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NOTES BRÈVES

35) A Pig in a Poke — The interpretation of the list known as Archaic Swine has been debated since its publication in ATU 3. The composition is preserved on one complete manuscript, W 12139 (P000014), and another fragmentary tablet, W 20497 (P000456), which contains only a few items and does not fully duplicate the former. The following presents a detailed analysis of W 12139. As notably argued by Englund (*Fs. Boehmer*), the text has generally been considered to represent a compilation of various types of swine, featuring diverse aspects such as their color and age. Steinkeller (*AfO* 42/43, 211-214), however, challenged this interpretation, citing factors such as the “absence of separate swine lists in later periods,” the list’s length, and paleographic issues regarding the identification of the sign šubur. While Cavigneaux (2006: 20-21) agreed with Englund’s view that the sign ŠUBUR likely denotes a swine, he also acknowledged the inconsistencies of the list and its limited currency, suggesting that it might have served purposes beyond mere lexicography, possibly including puns or proverbial expressions. Nevertheless, he attempts to contextualize the names within a herding background.¹⁾

One of the main challenges revolves around the interpretation of the sign ŠUBUR, which appears in Archaic Lu₂ 7 in GAL_a ŠUBUR. In the ED III tradition, it is equated with ŠAH₂. However, it seldom refers directly to swine in the administrative documentation.²⁾ Steinkeller thus proposed that ŠUBUR could be interpreted as šubur, a servant or slave, or correlated with the well-known Sumerian term ur.³⁾ Recent studies on archaic documentation, particularly Englund CDLJ 2009:4, which includes a list of slaves’ names, provide an opportunity to present new insights and draw attention to several intriguing parallels with late Uruk administrative documentation.

Archaic Swine	Administrative Texts	Commentary – concordance with Englund CDLJ 2009:4
1. ŠUBUR	Passim. MS 2840. O0107a./R0202a. MS 2393. O0201. MS 2497. O0102. MS 2388. O0102b3. MS 2431. O0107b1. MS 2443. O0103b. MS 2498. O0101b8. MS 2520. O0101a. MS 2863/30. O0104’. CUSAS 1, 18. O0401. CUSAS 21, 162. O0101.	Recipient of land with a number of sheep as a tax. R0202a. Delivery of goats? Recipient of land with a number of sheep as a tax. Ration of cereals. List of personnel. List of personnel. List of personnel. List of personnel. List of personnel (ŠUBUR seems to have supervised two dead (?) slaves). List of personnel. List of names.

Archaic Swine	Administrative Texts	Commentary – concordance with Englund <i>CDLJ</i> 2009:4
	CUSAS 31, 44.	Small round tablet. SANGA _a RAD _a ŠUBUR x KIŠ KUR _a SAL Compare with MS 2391. O0101. ŠUBUR NIMGIR. Englund <i>CDLJ</i> 2009:4, 23
2=42. ŠUBUR+1N ₅₇	MS 2862/12. O0105a. MS 4503. O0203 (?).	Ration of cereals. Equines and onagers.
4=38. U ₄ ŠUBUR	Uruk IV. W 21060.01. O0302a. MS 2389. O102b. O103b. MS 4552. O0105.	Beer and pots. Unknown commodity. Personnel? List of an unknown commodity (ŠE ₃ ?) with professions (SUKKAL, SANGA _a , NAR) and possible personal names (PAP _a EN _a)
5. KAB ŠUBUR	Uruk IV. W 9579.cx. O0102. CUSAS 31, 49. O0203. MS 4552. O0301.	Uncertain. Account of onagers. Associated with personal or professional names. List of an unknown commodity (ŠE ₃ ?) with professions (SUKKAL, SANGA _a , NAR) and possible personal names (PAP _a EN _a)
7. RAD _a gunû ŠUBUR	CUSAS 31, 44. R0201.	Account of onagers. This personal name seems to be a SANGA _a .
10=39. BU _a ŠUBUR	W 19415.1. O0301 W 20511.02. O0203b. W 24181.a. O0202b. MSVO 1, 78. O0201. CUSAS 21, 217. O0101.	Uncertain commodity. Deliveries for Inanna's festival. BU _a ŠUBUR is followed by SUKKAL. Uncertain commodity. Cereals. Personal name. Small tablet with a personal name.
11=21. MUŠEN ŠUBUR	CUSAS 31, 29. O0201?	Fragment featuring other terms with ŠUBUR Compare with ŠUBUR RAD _a MUŠEN in MRAH O.4995. O0105b3 (E Englund <i>CDLJ</i> 2009:4, 22). Personal name.
12. PAP _a ŠUBUR	CUSAS 1, 84. O0102. (?) CUSAS 31, 173. O0205. (?)	Fragment. Fragment. Compare with PAP _a ZI _a ŠUBUR in W 20274.126. O0104c3 (but the sign PAP _a seems to be an administrative mark), See Englund 2009:4, 22. W 20274.002. O0204b2, W 20274.009. O0102b1, W 20274.24. O0204. This is a personal name.
15. KASKAL ŠUBUR	MSVO 1, 224. O0204a. MS 2431. O0110b2. MS 2436. O0103b2. MS 2437. R0109a. MS 2498. R0201b1.	Uncertain commodity. Probably a personal name. List of slaves. List of slaves. List of slaves (KASKAL ŠUBUR is the supervisor of two slaves) List of slaves. Englund <i>CDLJ</i> 2009:4, 22
16. LAM _b ŠUBUR	CUSAS 31, 16. O0302. W 23973.9a. R0102. (?)	List of personnel. Pots for Inanna's festival. Compare with W 9579.ae (Uruk IV). O0101. Rations? MS 2357. O0105. ZATU795 ŠUBUR LAM _b . Uncertain commodity, the term refers to a personal name.
18. ADAB ŠUBUR = W20497. O0301.	MS 2840. O0409a. MSVO 4, 54. O0104. MSVO 4, 58. O0102b1. O0105. R0101.	Recipient of land with a number of sheep as a tax. Cereals with personal names. List of slaves (ADAB ŠUBUR is both the name of a slave and of the supervisor of six of them).
20. UB ŠUBUR	MS 2436. O0101b2.	List of slaves. Englund 2009: 22-23
23. GI ŠUBUR		Compare with MS 2677. O0305. GI ŠUBUR UŠ _a . See MS 2391
24. UR _a ŠUBUR		Compare with CUSAS 31, 90. O0202. DUB _a GA _{2a2} UR _a ŠUBUR and MSVO 4, 41. O0205. MEN _a UR _a ŠUBUR?, the last sign being probably not ŠUBUR.

Archaic Swine	Administrative Texts	Commentary – concordance with Englund <i>CDLJ</i> 2009:4
25. ŠA _{3a1} ŠUBUR = W 20497. O0301.	W 17729.ee. R0103c1. MS 2357. O0105.	Equines? Uncertain commodity. Personal name?
26. GAN ₂ ŠUBUR	MS 4, 45. O0104a. CUSAS 21, O0201.	Cereals. Personal name? Equines. Personal name.
32. AB ₂ ŠUBUR	MSVO 4, 1. O0202.	Cereals. Personal name?
41. KAL _{b1} ŠUBUR		Compare with KAL _{b2} ŠUBUR. MS 2437. O0305a. Supervisor of slaves. MS 2840. O0209a. Holder of a plot of land.
45. EN _a ŠUBUR	MS 2840. R0402b1. (?)	Responsible for the delivery of sheep and kids. Compare with W 9579.by1. O0101. W 14354.a. O0205. EN _a ZI _a ŠUBUR. W 20274.111. O0103. CUSAS 31, 138. O0101.MS 2863/04. O0102.
47. MU ŠUBUR	MS 2507. O0206a. MS 2432. O0203. MS 2437. R0101a.	Recipient of land with a number of sheep as a tax. List of slaves (MU ŠUBUR is a supervisor). List of slaves (MU ŠUBUR is a supervisor).
48. TE ŠUBUR	MS 2356. O0104. O0202. MS 4162. O0404. R0104. MS 2437. O0107. MS 2499. O0205. MS 2862/16. O0203.	Sheep and goats. Sheep and goats. Complete form IB _a TE ŠUBUR URI _{3a} . List of personnel (?). List of personnel (?). Beer.
54. ŠUBUR+IN ₅₇	CUSAS 21, 183. O0101.	Small round tablet. Compare with ATU 6, 14329,a+. O0202. GEŠTU _b ŠUBUR? 3N ₅₇

26 entries, including four which occur twice, can therefore be identified as personal names in administrative sources with varying levels of certainty, particularly in lists of unknown provenance dealing with slaves or personnel. The relatively high number of names containing ŠUBUR may lend support to the connection with Sumerian terms šubur or even ur, as suggested by Steinkeller, although these archaic names show only weak ties with the later Sumérian onomasticon.⁴⁾ They do not appear to be exclusively borne by slaves or individuals of low status. We can point to several instances of personnel supervisors as well as of higher administrators, notably SANGA_a. Two entries in the list might also conceal a combination of the personal name ŠUBUR and a professional term: 28. GURUŠDA ŠUBUR and 31=51.BAĦAR_{2a} ŠUBUR. It is unlikely that a potter would be associated with a pig. The term BU_a+DU_{6a} in Swine 35, which is not found in the extant administrative texts, is likely used in other names (cf. Englund *CDLJ* 2009:4, 22), and may also represent a personal name combined with ŠUBUR. Other correspondences with administrative documents are highly improbable.⁵⁾ Entries featuring the sign ŠUBUR either alone or associated with a numeral N₅₇ are to some extent ambiguous, since they may either represent abbreviated personal names or merely refer to the age of the animal. Despite these correlations with personal names, several other entries are ambiguous. They may refer to pigs, to their anatomical features, or even to other animal species: the signs NE_a, GI or U₄ denote the color of textiles and animals; ŠA_{3a1} the inner body; SUĦUR ŠUBUR, the “pig-carp” and MUŠEN ŠUBUR, the “pig-bird.”⁶⁾

A review of the archaeological information available for tablet W 12139 also provides insight into its chronological context. According to the Uruk-Warka excavation inventory, W 12139 was discovered during the 4th campaign (winter 1931/32 - UVB 4), at “Oe XVI,4; +19.80 m, über der Tempelmauer von IVa, südwestlich vom Labyrinth”.⁷⁾ The “Tempelmauer von IVa” corresponds to the remains of *Gebäude D* and Eanna IVa phase. The so-called *Labyrinth* is located northeast of square Oe XVI,4 and belongs to Eanna III – 2nd Phase. In square Oe XVI,4, the remains of *Gebäude D* are almost entirely covered by the Terrace of Eanna III – 1st Phase.⁸⁾ This Terrace is documented in plans and in two sections (Profil 35 and Profil 36).⁹⁾ In Oe XVI,4, according to the sections, the Terrace stands at an elevation between +19.65 m and +20.15 m (Profil 35) or between +19.80 m and +20.20 m (Profil 36) (AUWE 14: 272, Plan 67). Since tablet W 12139 was founded at +19.80 m, it might have been discovered in fill layers beneath the terrace or in lower brick layers of this terrace. Thus, we can propose a *terminus ante quem* equated to Terrace of Eanna III – 1st Phase (UA 4: T 13/14-1).¹⁰⁾ The often problematic nature of findspots in the inventory and the presence of a *wadi* in the south-western part of square Oe XVI,4 (UVB 4: 18, Taf. 3) add to the

uncertainty of this t.a.q.¹¹⁾ However, the elevation annotation “+19.80 m” can be distinguished on the plan of the preliminary report (UVB 4: Taf. 3), written above the remains of *Gebäude D*, above the southwest wall of room R6 and northwest of passageway D10 (cf. AUWE 14: Plan 65), just southwest of the wall associated with the *Labyrinth*.¹²⁾ This location corresponds well with the inventory description and to a location where the terrace remains intact, unaffected by the *wadi* (AUWE 14: Plan 67). Thus, despite the proximity of a *wadi*, we can consider W 12139 with a possible t.a.q. Terrace of Eanna III – 1st Phase (UA 4: T 13/14-1). According to H. J. Nissen’s model, it should be characterized by a t.a.q. “IIIc”, which is applied almost exclusively to tablets from the “Uruk IV” paleographic phase (Nissen 1987a; 1987b: 53-62; 2021: 304).¹³⁾

The Archaic Swine list exhibit some specific features consistent with an early stage of composition, likely between the “Uruk IV and III” paleographic phases:

- While the paleography of the text aligns with the “Uruk III” style overall, its layout, oval shape, and the presence of the colophon on the edge are distinctive characteristics
- The absence of later witnesses parallels the situation of several other lexical tablets labeled simply as “Vocabulary” and in the corpus “Geography”, a forerunner to the Early Dynastic Word List F. This indicates that despite the existence of manuscript W 20497, this list did not succeed in becoming one of the established texts of the Late Uruk traditions
- The topic of personal names featuring a single common sign and its potential combination with terms referring to pigs is also quite unique within the archaic lexical corpus

Notes

1. We thank Christian W. Hess for correcting our English. More recently, Dahl (2006), Veldhuis *GMTR* 6, 46, and Wagenonner (*Die frühen lexikalischen Texte und ihr Aufbau*. Unpublished Diss, Vienna, 2016, p. 208-210), in his review of the list and its bibliography, do not seem to challenge the conventional interpretation; the latter accepts Cavigneaux’s observations. See also Lion-Michel (*Babel und Bibel* 4, 422).

2. Following Englund (*Fs. Boehmer*, 126), Dahl (2006, 32) refers to W 23948 as “the only known administrative text concerning pigs”.

3. Englund *CDLJ* 2009:4, 20 notes that the correspondence is uncertain.

4. ŠUBUR U₄ is the only entry which may represent a possible divine name. Another example, but not mentioned in Archaic Swine, is ŠUBUR (AN) MUŠ_{3a}, cf. ATU 6, W 13675. O0101; MS 2439. O0404 and MS 4488. R0109.

5. These generally consist of longer combinations of signs than those found in Archaic Swine. Swine 29. A ŠUBUR. Maybe W 14338.d. O0101. Swine 33 NE_a ŠUBUR: compare with CUSAS 31, 80. O0202. Swine 36. LAGAB_a ŠUBUR: compare with CUSAS 31, 138. O0101. Swine 40. URI_{3a} ŠUBUR: compare with MS 4162. O0404. Swine 43. KU_{6a} ŠUBUR: compare with MSVO 4, 22. R0102. ŠUBUR KU_{6a} RAD_a. Swine 49. AN ŠUBUR. Compare with MS 3886. O0105. AN ŠUBUR HI_{gunû}_a. MS 2863/29. O0302. AN² ŠUBUR RU. MS 4488. R0109. KUR_a ŠUBUR AN MUŠ_{3a}. See also Archaic Cities 54. DU AN ŠUBUR (= W 20274, 126. O0102b). ATU 5, W 9656, ew (Uruk IV). Bottom. 0101. U_{2b} ŠUBUR AN. Swine 53. GIR_{3a} ŠUBUR. Compare with MS 2862/01. R0101. GIR_{3gunû}_c ŠUBUR SIG RAD_a.

6. The modern taxonomy contains similar examples of names of species referring to the pig, e.g. the pigfish (*Orthopristis chrysoptera*), while the call of the water rail (*Rallus aquaticus*) resembles the grunt or squeal of a pig.

7. As argued in Lecompte and Nacarro, “The Archaic Colophons and their Social Setting,” forthcoming, this context corresponds to Findspot 3.

8. According to revisited terminology used by R. Eichmann in the Uruk-Warka publications (AUWE 3 and 14), the *Gebäude D* = *Gesamtstratigraphie* 15: *Untersuchungsareal* 4: *Bauschicht* 14; Eanna IVa (cf. see AUWE 14: 262-268, Plans 65; UVB 4: 17-18, Taf. 3-5a). The *Labyrinth* = GS 13-12: UA 4: BS 12-11; Eanna III - 2^{de} Phase (cf. see, AUWE 14: 296-299, Plans 69-70; UVB 4: 19-21, Taf. 3-5b). The terrace = GS 14/15: UA 4: T 13/14-1 (cf. AUWE 14: 269-272, Plans 67; AUWE 3: Plan 38). The architectural analysis of Eanna III, which included the definition of the two phases and the *Labyrinth* analysis, is developed in greater depth in my PhD thesis (Naccaro 2023, 317-478), currently in preparation for publication.

9. The terrace is documented in Profil 35: SE 18 and Profil 36: SE 66 (cf. AUWE 3: 100-101, Beilage 12).

10. On the application of *terminus ante quem* to the Uruk excavations, see Hrouda *BagM* 5; Nissen 1987a; van Ess 1992: 125; Sürenhagen 1999: 83-97.

11. On the difficulties involved in defining findspots in the inventory, see Nissen 1987a: 22; van Ess 1992: 124-125; Englund and Nissen ATU 3, p. 10 fn. 18; Nissen *CDLJ* 2014:a, 13-16). To illustrate the topography of this area before excavations, see Sürenhagen 1999: Taf. 13.

12. The wall is associated with the *Labyrinth* = UA 4: BS 12-11: 14 (cf. AUWE 14: Plan 69-70).

13. Sürenhagen (1999: 87-88, 107-112 and 117-119) highlighted exceptions to the Nissen model, with rare occurrences of tablets of “Uruk III” paleographic phase featuring a t.a.q. “IIIc.”

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36) Aunt or cousin: A cross-generation consanguineous marriage in Early Dynastic Umma — In a famous gold tablet from ED IIIb Umma collected by Louvre Museum (AO 19225), a woman Bara-irnun was the wife of Gishakidu ruler of Umma. She was also a daughter (dumu) of Ur-Lumma ruler of Umma, granddaughter (dumu-KA) of Enakalle ruler of Umma, and daughter-in-law (e₂-gi₄-a) of Il ruler of Umma (THUREAU-DANGIN 1937: 177-182; SOLLBERGER and KUPPER 1971: 83-84; ANDRÉ 1982: 86; STEIBLE 1982: 268-269; COOPER 1986: 93-94; BRAUN-HOLZINGER 1991: 378; FRAYNE 1998: 371; ANDRÉ-SALVINI 2003: 78; PETTINATO 2003: 126; NEUMANN 2011: 4).

In his interpretation on the term dumu-KA, Å. W. Sjöberg (1967: 210), followed by D. O. Edzard (1959: 22), wrote that Il and Bara-irnun were cousins, and grandchildren of Enakalle, whose sons were Urluma and Eandamua. However, the identification was later disputed.

In his *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, J.-J. Glassner (2004: 104) wrote that “one Giššakidu who married his cousin Bara-irnun”. In his list on the Genealogy of the Kings of Umma, both En-a-kal and E-anda-mu were co-generational (brotherhood), and both Bara-irnun and Gišša-kidu were also co-generational (cousinhood) (GLASSNER 2004: 105). J. M. Asher-Greve (2013: 368) also recognized the cousinship between Bara’irnun and Gishakidu, “Marriage between cousins is attested in the inscription of Bara’irnun, wife of Gishakidu, king of Umma”. In his article, S. F. Monaco (2015: 163) listed that Enakalle and Eandamua were co-generational (probably spousal relationship), and Bara-irnun and Gišša-kidu were also co-generational.

We agreed to the identification by Edzard (1959: 22) and Sjöberg (1967: 210). Based on another text (FRAYNE 1998: 369), Ur-Lumma was a son of Enakalle. Il was a son of Eandamu, also a grandson of Enakalle. It is clearly supposed that:

- i) Eandamu was a son or a nephew of Enakalle, also a cousin of Ur-Lumma;
- ii) Bara-irnun was a cousin of Il, also an aunt of Gishakidu.

As his aunt, Bara-irun married Gishakidu, which was an infrequent cross-generation consanguineous marriage in ancient Mesopotamia.

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37) Proto-Euphratic (PE) vs. Sumerian* — A brief addendum to note NABU 2024/1 will be given here. In the PE texts (Uruk IV and ~ III writing phases), the following four expressions are attested for the two verbs GU₇ (to consume, to debit) and BA (to bring in front of the eyes, to allot) in connection with personal names:

“PN GU₇” (GI.GI GU₇ [(Mr) GI.GI has debited]: m4/69), “GU₇ PN” (GU₇ GI.GI [GI.GI's debit]: a7/20274,39); “PN BA” (GI.GI BA [GI.GI has allotted]: a7/20511,11) and “BA PN” (BA GI.GI [GI.GI's allotment]: W 20274,78).

The question is whether there are equivalents in (mainly) ED texts; if not, this should be taken as further evidence that the archaic texts were not written in Sumerian. Examples:

“PN GU₇” (n lugal-ša, ì-gu₇ [L. has consumed n litres <of barley grits>]: Nik¹ 130, i6f.), “GU₇ PN” (8 udu-nita gu₇-a, lugal-sa-šu₄-gal [eight rams; consumption (of) L.]: Nik 160, i1f.; without specification of a “commodity”: Nik 157, rev. i5f.), “PN BA” (en-ig-gal ... e-ne-ba [E. ... has allocated them (this)]: Nik 1, rev. viii10ff.), “BA PN” (ba-a PN: a [convincing] example is not known to me).

If the “allotment” is specified by a substantive (example: še-ba [vs. še-ba-a: P491594, rev. 10 (Old Akkadian)]), it goes to the person named below [Nik 1, i1f.: n še-ba, sa₆-sa₆ – n (litres of) barley rations (for) S.]. In contrast to “gu₇-a PN” (with PN as “supplier”) or also “zi-zi-ga/zi-ga PN” (PN: “supplier”)², “ba-a PN” does not seem to have been formed in this sense. In the PE expression “BA PN” ‘BA’ refers to the following PN as acting person (allocator), whereas in Sumerian (BA → “ba-a”), unless it is a PN (cf. P110136, obv. 6), it refers in all cases known to me to the preceding product (allotted item)³. If “ba-a” is followed by personal names, their function (supplier, responsible person, etc.) is indicated by the familiar markings such as ki (from), maškim, gīri, kišib and others. P382046 gets by without labelling the person responsible (4ff.: [...], éren ninda ba-a, PN)⁴. The fact that various PN qualifications occur shows unmistakably that – in contrast to PE – “BA” is not the qualifying element.

Notes

* Abbreviations as in *NABU* 2024/1 (please pay particular attention to the abbreviations “a, c, mM/NN” for “ATU, CUSAS, MSVO, vol. M/text no. NN”). – ED: Early Dynastic; P123456 [P plus six digits]: CDLI tablet number; PN: person(al name).

1. Nik: Nikol'skij texts, published in Selz, G. J., 1989, FAOS 15/1.

2. Nik 156, rev. i2f. (with commentary); c35/132, ii1ff.; without indication of a “commodity”: P453826, rev. 2 (Ur III). “ZI PN” in the sense of “(product) debited from PN’s account” is apparently not yet attested in the writing phases Uruk iv, ~ iii, ED I–II or ED IIIa. In Sumerian, “gu₇-a PN” is seemingly only attested from the ED III writing phase onwards.

3. Examples: “ù še apin-lá-da ba-a, ì-gál” (pisan-dub-ba text, P107364 = BRM 3, 164, 4f. [Ur III]); “(field area) níg-en-na-ta ba-a-am₆” (P221349 = HSS 3, 40, iv1); “n, šà siki-ba-a, a-na-gu-gu” (P206253 = BM 14646, 3ff. [Ur III]).

4. The scribes were familiar with the competences as a comparison of P252761 with P252791 shows; the PN named after “zi-ga” is called “maškim” in the first text, in the second the occupational title is missing.

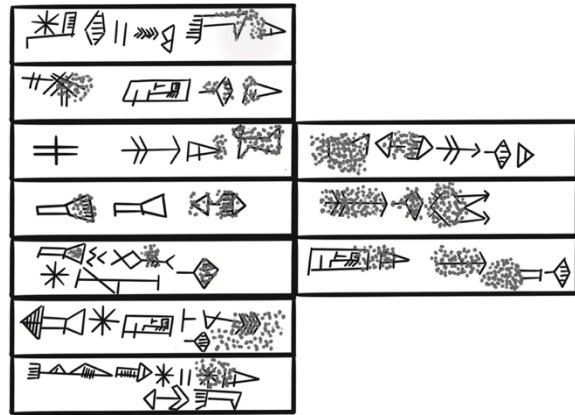
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38) A Dedicatory Peg of Ayanepada from Ur — In the British Museum a copper peg on display bears a dedicatory inscription of Ayanepada, an early king of Ur and member of the family of those buried in the Royal Tombs. The peg was first discussed in a short article by C. J. Gadd in the early twentieth century, who made a hand copy and preliminary transliteration, but was unable to provide a translation at the time (see GADD 1928). Decades later, the peg was mentioned by Sollberger (1960, 88) in a survey of royal inscriptions from Ur and Ubaid, but he thought it unlikely to be a genuine inscription made by Ayanepada due to the appearance of the sign AN before the name of the king, an uncertainty that was echoed a short time later by Ellis (1968, 56-57). Subsequently, J. Reade (2002) was able to determine the origins of the peg and reconstruct the foundation deposit in which it was discovered, and a new copy was produced by Westenholz (2014, 170; = CUSAS 26, 217), along with photos uploaded to CDLI (P423674). The inscription presents several difficulties with regard to its syntax, and erosion and damage further confound an interpretation.

According to Reade (2002, 250), the peg was discovered in 1858 in a foundation deposit by J. Taylor, then British Consulate at Basra, during an excavation he conducted at Ur. Buried in the deposit with the peg were two other objects: a carved stone in the shape of a bag consisting of a handle mimicking woven reeds with rosettes/stars and eyes carved onto the body, and a lapis lazuli plaque with the face of a woman (images of all the objects are available in READE 2002, figs. 2, 3, and 4).

Based on the inscription, the peg appears to commemorate laying the foundations of a structure known as the AB.IGI+BUR by Ayanepada, along with the fashioning of a crown for Enki.



col. i ^den-ki aya₂-tu-da-^rne₂¹
 nam-men-na-^rne₂¹
 pa mu-ni-^re₃¹
 unu AB.IGI+BUR
 eš₃ kur-muš ^dinanna-na
 abzu an men me ^rgi¹-na
 lugal-bi-am₆ aya₂-an-ne₂-pa₃-da
 col. ii AB.IGI+BUR mu-na-gar
 ^rmu-na-nu₂¹
 ^rmen-ne₂ mu¹-na-^rdim₂¹

(For) Enki, his natural father,
 who causes his lordliness to appear there.
 (Of) the dwelling AB.IGI+BUR,
 the shrine “Snake Mountain” of Inanna,
 the holy Abzu (where) the crown has been fixed by the *mes*,
 he is its lord. Ayanepada
 established the AB.IGI+BUR for him,
 he lay down (the foundation?) for him,
 he fashioned his crown for him.

Notes

1: There are several parallels to the expression a-tu-da. For example, ama-tu-da “natural mother” appears as an epithet of Ninura as the mother of the city of Umma in an ED text from Lagash (BIGGS 1973, 28, iii 4). Lugalzagesi likewise refers to himself as the natural son, dumu-tu-da, of Nissaba in a royal inscription (RIME 1.14.20.1 i 26), as does Ur-Ba’u of Ninagala (RIME 3/1.1.6.4 and 5).

4: The sanctuary mentioned here, the AB.IGI+BUR, appears later in ED IIIb/Early Sargonic administrative texts from Ur under the name AN.UNUG.IGI+BUR.ME.MU as a destination where sheep and goats were sent as part of regular offerings. In those texts, the signs ME and MU are sometimes omitted, and in one instance UNUG is written without *gunu* as AB. The divine classifier is not shown in this inscription and must have been added at a later time. Therefore, the sanctuary’s name should be understood as consisting of AB/UNUG.IGI+BUR, the precise reading of which is unclear (see the commentary in VISICATO and WESTENHOLZ 2002, 64-65; and SAADOON and KRAUS 2024). Civil (1987, 154) suggested the reading *lim* for IGI+BUR (as ^{lim}BUR) based on the sign’s interpretation as *li-im-am* in an Ebla lexical list, although this does little to clarify the name of the shrine in this context. On the other hand, Reade (2002, 253) suggested that this is an early reference to a shrine known as the eš₃-bur dedicated to Inanna-Ninkununna, which was built/refurbished by Ur-Namma in the Ur III period. It may be then that the sign IGI+BUR should be read as bur in the ED III, and therefore the name of the shrine is eš₃-bur, but given the writing of its name with additional signs in the ED IIIb/ES administrative texts, I hesitate to arrive at that conclusion too quickly.

5: The kur-muš “snake mountain” (perhaps even a syllabic writing for kur-muš₃ “shining/multicoloured mountain”) is named in other sources, specifically the hymn Shulgi X, where it is called the birthplace of Ninazu. The reference may be to a mythological mountain, or perhaps to the ziggurat temple of Ur. Inanna is associated with a kur-muš₃ “shining mountain” in the poem Inanna and Ebih, although in that case it may be a more general mountain local, rather than a specific temple of the same name (KLEIN 1981, 157). Likewise, Gudea (Cyl. A XXVII 19) refers to a kur-muš associated with the emblem of the Anzu bird that sits upon the E-Ninnu temple (see WILSON 1996, 119). A notable further connection exists in the Early Dynastic *zame* hymns, which mention a deity called ^dMUŠ₃.KUR, which is possibly an epithet of the goddess Inanna as the evening star (see the discussion by KREBERNIK and LISMAN 2020, 140). The line’s syntax suggests, nonetheless, that this is the name of a sanctuary associated with the goddess Inanna.

6: It is difficult to say for certain if this line is meant to be the name of a sanctuary, i.e. the “holy Abzu (where) the crown is fixed by the *mes*” or a further description related to the previous two lines. A parallel example of a sanctuary dedicated to Enki is found in Eridu called abzu e₂-me-ku₃-ku₃-ga-ne₂ Abzu – “his house of the pure *mes*”; numerous sanctuaries throughout Mesopotamia are named for the *mes*, such as the “house of the true *mes*” dedicated to Ea, two temples called the “house which gathers up the *mes*” dedicated to Ishtar, and Ninšubur’s “house which lifts on high all the *mes*”, to name but a few (see GEORGE 1993, 65 and 122-124). It is noteworthy to mention as well that in the *zame* hymns from Abu-Salabikh, Eridu is called NUN^{ki} men an “Eridu, the crown of heaven” (KREBERNIK and LISMAN 2020, 95). It is plausible then that in this line the AN be understood as a divine classifier for the crown (i.e. ^dmen) and the line translated as “Abzu (where) the divine crown is fixed by the *mes*”, but for the sake of simplicity, I have refrained from that assumption.

Alternatively, there is a little-known deity called ^dMen who appears in god lists from Fara and Abu-Salabikh, as well as the *zame* hymns (see KREBERNIK and LISMAN 2020, 113). One could thus interpret the line as “Abzu (of) Men (where) the *mes* are/have been fixed” or something along those lines. This explanation, however, seems less likely given that Enki is central to the dedication.

9: The construction mu-na-nu₂ in a dedication is odd as the verb nu₂ typically describes people or animals who lay down (usually to sleep, e.g. in Lugalzagesi’s inscription RIME 1.14.20.1). I suggest that it refers to Ayannepada laying down a foundation for the sanctuary, although the establishment of temples is normally described with the verb du₃ and the driving in of foundation (pegs) with si-si (e.g. RIME 1.12.7.1).

Weaving together these strands, it seems possible to reconstruct a history for the sanctuary known as the AB.IGI+BUR. As it is attested here, it was established (or perhaps renovated) by Ayannepada in the Early Dynastic III period and was primarily associated with Enki, as well as Inanna. It is difficult to say at this time whether lines 4-6 are three distinct sanctuaries, or if they are all descriptive epithets of the same place. Whatever the case, the sanctuary continued to be used into the Akkadian and Ur III periods, and the name was amended to include the glosses AN and ME.MU. Administrative texts from the early Akkadian period dossier tell us that two animals were delivered there at the start and mid-point of a given month (see VISICATO and WESTENHOLZ 2002; and SAADOON and KRAUS 2024). Given that other deities, such as Ninhursag and Ningublag, were sent only a single animal on the same schedule, it may be that two offerings were needed because there were two deities worshipped at the AB.IGI+BUR. In the subsequent Ur III period, the sanctuary name became eš₃-bur, it was refurbished by Ur-Namma, and the main deity of worship seems to have been Inanna-Ninkununna. The name Ninkununna is a reference to Inanna’s cult centre in Eridu, the E-kununna (see FRAYNE 1997, 38). It appears then that worship for Enki, the titular

deity of Eridu, was eschewed in favour of Inanna. Yet, the fact that the sanctuary was a place of worship for the lord of Eridu must have remained, as it was dedicated to Inanna under her cult title in Eridu.

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39) ^dnin-SI₄-an-na „Herr(in) der Abenddämmerung“ — Die mal männliche, mal weibliche Gottheit „Ninsiana“ gilt als mit Venus (als Abendstern) verbundene Erscheinungsform der Innana/Ištar.¹⁾ Ist ihre Gestalt greifbar, erweist sich dagegen ihr Name²⁾ als schwer zu deuten. Der von Heimpel und anderen vertretenen Auslegung „rote (si₄) Herrin des Himmels“³⁾ lässt sich der Einwand entgegenheben, dass in Ur III-zeitlichen Urkunden der Name oft ^dnin-^dSI₄-an-na geschrieben wird,⁴⁾ denn das Zeichen wäre kaum sinnvoll, bildete der zweite Namensteil keine morphologische Einheit.

Diese Sonderschreibung bietet einen interessanten Einklang mit dem Wort für die Abenddämmerung /usan/, meist (^d)usan(₆) bzw. phonographisch (^d)ú-sa₁₁(SI₄)-an geschrieben.⁵⁾ Dass eine kürzere Fassung /san/ existierte, verdeutlichen die Formen (^d)sa₁₁-an und ^dsa₁₁~(SI)-an,⁶⁾ welche ihrerseits mit der Graphie des zweiten Teiles von „Ninsiana“ übereinstimmen. Der Begriff wird nicht allein für die Bezeichnung des Naturphänomens verwendet,⁷⁾ sondern ebenfalls als Göttername – und zwar auch als Erscheinungsform der Innana/Ištar als Abendstern.⁸⁾ Dabei ließe sich die Sonderform AN-^dusan(₆)⁹⁾ vielleicht zu einem alten Götternamen des Typus AN-^dnissaba, AN-^dgar₇-dú, und AN-^dinnana zurückverfolgen.¹⁰⁾

Sowohl die Natur als auch die phonologische Gestalt des Namens dieser zweiten Gottheit ähnelt dann denen von „Ninsiana“, insbesondere wenn man sich die Sonderform ^dnin-^dSI₄-an-na vor Augen hält. Aufgrund dieser Übereinstimmungen schlage ich vor, im zweiten Teil dieses Namens wieder das Wort für die Abendröte zu sehen und somit das Ganze als ^dnin-(^d)sa₁₁-an-na¹¹⁾ „Herr(in) der Abenddämmerung“ zu verstehen. Diese Schlussfolgerung passt nicht allein der Natur der Gottheit selbst, sondern ebenfalls dem Umstande, dass Belege für eine Gleichsetzung von „Ninsiana“ mit der vergöttlichten Naturerscheinung Usan ab der Ur III-Zeit vorhanden sind.¹²⁾ Ob die beiden tatsächlich von Anfang an ein und dieselbe Gestalt darstellten, lässt sich freilich nicht feststellen.

Anmerkungen

1. W. Heimpel, *RLA* 9 (1998-2001), 487b-488a; vgl. P.-A. Beaulieu, *Or.* NS 64 (1995), 202f und M. Such-Gutiérrez, *MVN* 9/1, 346.

2. Zu den verschiedenen Schreibformen s. ePSD2 s.v. „Ninsiʾanak [1] DN“ (<https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/epsd2/o0047039> [abgerufen 3/5/24]).

3. W. Heimpel, *SMS* 4/3 (1982), 11; A. Westenholz / J. G. Westenholz, *CM* 33 (2006), 9; J. M. Asher-Greve / J. G. Westenholz, *OBO* 259 (2013), 86.

4. S. <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/epsd2/sux?xis=sux.r002acb> [abgerufen 3/5/24]; vgl. M. Such-Gutiérrez, MVN 9/1 (2003), 346, der sich auf die Entwicklung der Schreibweise bezieht. Zur Problematik der Lesung des zweiten AN s. ebd. Anm. 1528; für eine Deutung als Determinativ sprechen m.E. die graphische Entwicklung selbst, die eine abrupte Verschwendung der Lautreihe /an/ nach der Ur III-Zeit voraussetzen müsse, sowie die Tatsache, dass ein Lautindikator vor einer phonographischen Schreibung kaum sinnvoll wäre. Die genaue Lesung des Zeichens beeinträchtigt jedenfalls die folgenden Überlegungen nicht.

5. P. Attinger, *Glossaire sumérien-français*, Wiesbaden 2021, 1131. Vgl. ePSD2 s.v. „usan [EVENING] N“ (<https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/epsd2/o0041977> [abgerufen 3/5/24]), mit einer ausführlichen Auflistung der Schreibungen.

6. CM 10, 102 Vs. 8 (N. Rudik, *Die Entwicklung der keilschriftlichen sumerischen Beschwörungsliteratur von den Anfängen bis zur Ur III-Zeit*, Jena 2015, 245); RIME 3/2.1.3.14 2; UET 6.111 Rs. 14 (Å. W. Sjöberg / E. Bergmann, TCS 3 (1969), 22 Anm. 93). S. auch unten, Anm. 12.

7. Dabei ist er z.B. mit einigen Tiernamen vergleichbar, in denen der „gefrorene“ Gottesdeterminativ behalten wurde: s. P. Attinger, *Glossaire*, 808f.

8. M. Krebernik, *RLA* 14 (2014-2016), 505a.

9. P. Attinger, *Glossaire*, 175 (als „Abendhimmel“ gedeutet).

10. Zu derartigen Namen s. zuletzt G. J. Selz, *AOAT* 436 (2016), 609.

11. Oder ⁴nin-sa₁₁-(SI)-an-na.

12. Die Ur III-zeitliche Urkunde THMNF 1-2 83 (Foto P134395): ur-⁴nin-sa₁₁-an-na (Vs. 4) // ur-⁴sa₁₁-an-na (Siegel) scheint diese Identifizierung zu bieten (P. Steinkeller, *FAOS* 17 (1989), 244 zu 18; zurückhaltender M. Such-Gutiérrez, MVN 9/1 (2003), 346, Anm. 1528 und 365). Für die altbabylonische Zeit s. die Gleichung ⁴usan = ⁴nin-sa₁₁-an-na in einem kurzen Preisstück (P.-A. Beaulieu, *Or.* NS 64 (1995), 201).

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40) Is the Evil Udug of UDUG.ĜUL XII:15 a God? — According to the standard interpretation, UDUG.ĜUL XII:15 contains a statement by Marduk to Ea that an evil Udug is “not a god,” despite possessing certain god-like characteristics. The following is Geller’s transliteration and translation of the passage:

UDUG.ĜUL XII:14-17

[Transliteration]¹⁾

14. a-a-mu udug-ĝul muš₂-me-bi i₃-kur₂-ra alan-bi i₃-sukud-da
a-bi u₂-tuk-ku lem-nu ša₂ zi-m[u]-šū₂ nak-r[i] la-an-šū₂ zu-uq-qur
15. **dingir nu** za-pa-ag₂-bi i₃-gal-gal-la m[e-l]am₂-bi i₃-sukud-da
ul i-lu ri-gim-šū₂ ra-bi m[e-l]am-mu-šū₂ ša₂-qu-u₂
16. u₄-šū₂-uš-ru an-du₃-bi kukku₂-g[a] su-bi zalag-ga nu-un-gal₂
ur-ru-up šil-la-šū₂ uk-ku-ul ina zu-um-ri-šū₂ nu-u₂-ri ul i-ba-aš₂-ši
17. a₂-ur₂-a₂-ur₂-še₃ i₃-gir₅-gir₅-re nir-gal₂-bi la-ba-an-su₈-ge-eš
ina pu-uz-ra-a-ti iġ-ta-na-al-lu-up e-tel-liš ul i-ba-a?

[Translation]²⁾

14. My father, the evil Utukku-demon, whose appearance is hostile and who is tall in stature,
15. **is not a god** – but his voice is loud and his sheen is lofty.
16. He is shady, his shadow is very dark, there is no light in his body,
17. he always slinks around in secret places, nor does he ever promenade proudly.

According to Geller,³⁾ there are four manuscripts of UDUG.ĜUL XII:15, which when compared side-by-side appear to be virtually identical (while the broken exemplars cannot be verified, they contain near identical readings for other lines). In other words, there is no legitimate reason to doubt the authenticity of the reading **ul ilu** / **dingir nu**:

- | | |
|-----|--|
| [a] | dingir nu za-pa-ag ₂ -bi i ₃ -ga[l]-bi i ₃ -sukud-da
ul i-lu ri-gim-[.....-l]am-mu- ¹ šū ¹ ša ₂ -qu-u ₂ |
| [p] | dingir nu za-pa-ag ₂ -bi i ₃ -gal-gal-la m[e-l]am ₂ -bi i ₃ -sukud-da
¹ ul i-lu ¹ ri-gim-šū ₂ ra-bi m[e- . . .m]u-šū ₂ ša ₂ -qu-u ₂ |
| [r] | [.....p]a-ag ₂ -b[i]
[..... ¹ l]u r[i-.....] |

[X] [.....]-sukud-[...]
[.....-q]u-u₂

However, the standard interpretation of this phrase (represented here by Geller) should be called into question for several reasons—first and foremost, because Udug (or the Udug-type) is considered to be a god in various contexts throughout the span of Mesopotamian civilization, including in the second millennium BCE, when this text was probably composed.⁴⁾

The Divine Nature of Udug beyond UDUG.ĜUL

Udug (or the Udug-type) is a “demon” in the true sense of the word, derived from the Greek *daimon*, which refers to a minor deity—a god of lower status than the great gods—a designation that applies to most gods. Apparently, there were believed to be good and evil Udugs, of unknown number.⁵⁾ In any case, the divine nature of Udug can be seen in many texts across different genres, as well as by comparison with other similar divine beings, such as Lamma and Šēdu.

Third Millennium

The Sumerian Zi-pad incantations begin with the statement: DINGIR *lem-nu u₂-tuk-ku lemnu* . . ., “the evil god is an evil Udug . . .”⁶⁾ And, indeed, the divine determinative is attributed to the evil Udug (^dudug ġul) in other Sumerian texts, such as the incantation TIM 9 (TIM 9, no. 63, line 36’).⁷⁾ Likewise, the evil Udug is explicitly deified (as ^dudug ġul) in a hymn to Ur-Namma (Ur-Namma A: 233).⁸⁾ In the myth Lugalbanda and the Anzu Bird (lines 330–331), ^dudug and ^dlamma appear as benevolent guardian deities,⁹⁾ while in Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Netherworld, Udug also appears with the divine determinative (as ^dudug).¹⁰⁾

Second Millennium

In the second millennium, we find Udug deified (^dudug) alongside Lamma in a royal inscription of Išme-Dagan.¹¹⁾ In a hymn to Rīm-Sin, the benevolent Udug and Lamma appear together, both with the divine determinative.¹²⁾ An Old Babylonian incantation (TIM 9 63 = OECT 5 55) lists ^dudug ġul, “evil Udug,” alongside several other “demons” (line 36), as well as ^dudug sa₆-ga, “good Udug,” who appears with ^dlamma sa₆-ga, “good Lamma,” as a benevolent dyad (line 40).¹³⁾ In this context, Geller suggests that Udug is another name for Šēdu, the male counterpart of Lamassu.¹⁴⁾ This association further supports the divine nature of Udug, since Šēdu was widely regarded as a deity.

First Millennium

A Neo-Babylonian period text (CT 42 pl. 4 IV:15) contains the reading ^dudug, while the Neo-Assyrian version (V R 52) lacks the divine determinative.¹⁵⁾

The Sporadic Use of the Divine Determinative for Minor Deities

The above passage highlights the inconsistent application of the dingir, especially for minor deities, as seen with Udug in UDUG.ĜUL. This appears to have been the case not just in the first millennium BCE, but throughout the history of Mesopotamia. Selz notes that “in the third millennium the use of the DIĜIR-sign for marking divine names is still somewhat restricted.” He points to the lack of the determinative for primeval gods and other gods of lower rank, largely dependent on local scribal traditions.¹⁶⁾ In the second millennium BCE, the dingir ceased to be used for certain lower ranking gods, such as Enki’s vizier, Isimu(d).¹⁷⁾ In other words, the absence of the dingir does not necessarily constitute evidence that Udug was not divine.

The Divine Nature of Udug in UDUG.ĜUL

While the name Udug almost always appears without the divine determinative in UDUG.ĜUL, there is one instance in which the dingir appears: ^dudug ġul-a-ke₄ (Tablet 3, line 78).¹⁸⁾ It should be noted that this deified Udug is the evil Udug in particular. While this sole instance of the dingir should be enough to indicate the belief that Udug was divine, there is another passage in UDUG.ĜUL that points to its divine nature:

UDUG.ĜUL XVI:131–132

[Transliteration]¹⁹⁾

131’. u₄-du₇-a-mes dingir ġul-a-[meš]

[UD.MEŠ *mut-tak-pu-tu₄* DINGIR.MEŠ *lem-nu-tu₄ su-nu*]
 132'. udug ħul a-la ħul gedim ħul gal₅-la ħul din[*gir ħul*]
 [*u₂-tuk-ku lem-nu a-lu-u lem-nu e-ṭim-mu lem-nu gal-lu-u lem-nu i-lu lem-nu*]

[Translation]²⁰⁾

131'. O rushing winds who are evil gods,
 132'. the evil Utukku, evil Alû, evil ghost, evil Sheriff-demon, (and) evil god,

It should be noted that the dingir does not appear before any of the names of these wind gods—udug, ala, gedim, or galla. In fact, not one of these names take the dingir anywhere in the corpus, despite being explicitly referred to as gods here (except for Udu_g, which does in III:78, as previously mentioned).

It is also important to note that Lamma, the counterpart and companion of the Udu_g, is always indicated as a god throughout the UDUG.ĤUL corpus. Though they appear together in numerous passages, only Lamma takes the dingir (e.g. II: 79; III: 68–69, 112, 191–192; XI:1; XVI: 185', 195') but it is highly unlikely that only one member of this pair was believed to be divine, while the other was not.²¹⁾

Finally, we may note that Namtar, “Fate,” is also typically written without the divine determinative in UDUG.ĤUL, (III:141, VI:61, VII:14, 86; XIII–XV:139), but occasionally appears with it (IX:88). Even within the same line the dingir may be employed for Namtar, or not, depending on the manuscript (VI:144, 148).

Since Udu_g was clearly a god throughout the history of Mesopotamia, including elsewhere in the UDUG.ĤUL corpus, it is peculiar that Geller attributed the counterintuitive statement “he is not a god” to the author of UDUG.ĤUL XII:15, without attempting to address the clear discrepancy.

Another glaring contradiction Geller failed to address is the description of the evil Udu_g in line 15 compared to the description provided in lines 16 and 17. Geller renders line 15 “[he] is not a god – but his voice is loud and his sheen is lofty,” despite the fact that lines 16 and 17 reveal that the Udu_g is very dark in appearance—in fact, he is said to possess no radiance whatsoever—and slinks around secretly, never promenading proudly.

Line 15:		Lines 16–17:
Loud Voice	≠	Secretive / Humble Movement
Great Radiance	≠	Cloudy / Dark / No Light

It seems unlikely, if not impossible, that the author would contradict himself so blatantly regarding the description of the Udu_g, let alone flagrantly repudiate the established fact that Udu_g was a god. Instead, the author may have intended to say that the Udu_g is *not a god with a loud voice and lofty radiance*. In other words, he *is* a god, just not the kind of god that possesses typical divine characteristics, as the scribe goes on to describe in detail.

Arguably, the following translation better suits the surrounding context, as well as what we know about the Udu_g from other texts:

“My father: The evil Udu_g, whose appearance is hostile and whose stature is lofty,
 is not a god whose voice is great, whose radiance is lofty.
 He is cloudy, his shadow is dark, there is no light in his body,
 he always sneaks around in secret, he does not move about proudly.”

Grammatical Concerns

The Akkadian phrase *ul* + noun + relative clause with verb does not transgress any grammatical rules. While it is somewhat rare, other examples can be found, such as: *ul attū'a uttata ikkalu*, “it is not my grain that they eat” (BE 17 83:13) (CAD 20:66), *ul PN ēpiš šibūtīya*, “PN is not one who does what I wish” (YOS 2 6:5) (CAD 20:67).

The Sumerian negative particle, *nu*, comes after the noun it is negating. When there is a relative clause following the noun, the *nu* appears after the noun but before the relative clause. For instance, a Sumerian proverb reads: *uru nu ur-gir₁₅ ka₅-a nu-banda₃-am₃*, “in a city (with) no dogs, the fox is the boss” (Sumerian Proverbs 2.118).²²⁾ Note that in this passage the clause *uru nu* . . . does not mean “it is not a city,” but rather “it is not a city (with) *x*.” Likewise, *dingir nu* . . . can mean “he is not a god (with) *x*.” Of course, this proverb does not contain a verb, unlike UDUG.ĤUL XII:15, which has two verbs, so the correspondence is not exact.

Thus, grammatically speaking, UDUG.ĤUL XII:15 could be translated in either of the following two ways: (a.) “he is not a god, (but) his voice is great and his radiance is lofty,” or (b.) “he is not a god whose voice is great and whose radiance is lofty.” However, option (a.)—which to this point is the standard interpretation—should be rejected for the aforementioned reasons, namely because the description of the evil Udug in UDUG.ĤUL XII:16–17 directly contradicts it, and because Udug (or the Udug-type) was considered to be a god throughout the history of Mesopotamia.

Notes

1. GELLER 2007: 158.
2. GELLER 2007: 236 (cf. GELLER 2016: 402).
3. GELLER 2016: 402.
4. Certain incantations found in the UH corpora are known from the Old Akkadian period, but the date of the extant versions of most other incantations vary widely—Old Babylonian, Middle Babylonian, Middle Assyrian, Late Assyrian, etc. Although most of the variants of Tablet XII date to the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, Geller (2016: 16) has identified a Middle Babylonian (second millennium BCE) forerunner: 12N 228. Geller (2016: 428) thus considers it possible that the original version of the entire tablet dates to this time, although this is impossible to verify.
5. Several texts describe a good and evil Udug who appear in a pair, as a dyad, which may seem to indicate the existence of only two Udugs. However, the term UDUG.ĤUL.MES (UDUG.ĤUL VI:154'; X:colophon) implies that there are more than two evil Udugs.
6. GELLER 2011: 335–336.
7. TONIETTI 1979: 305.
8. FLÜCKIGER-HAWKER 1999: 141.
9. VANSTIPHOUT 2003: 152–153.
10. Lines 229, 237: GADOTTI 2014: 166.
11. Išme-Dagan A: 114: POLONSKY 2002: 144.
12. Rīm-Sīn D: 7: POLONSKY 2002: 356.
13. TONIETTI 1979: 305.
14. GELLER 2011: 335–336.
15. LAMBERT 2013: 239.
16. SELZ 2008: 15.
17. KEETMAN 2022: 153.
18. GELLER 2016: 106. The title udug dingir-re-ne-ke₄ (Tablets 13–15, line 197: GELLER 2016: 484) could potentially signal the divinity of the Udug as well.
19. GELLER 2007: 183.
20. This translation is based on Geller 2007: 255. Note that Geller erroneously included “evil Bailiff-demons” in his translation. Regarding the u₄ / ud -gods as “winds” rather than “storms,” see SARLO 2022: 62–63. In the greater context of the tablet, this passage addresses these minor deities as the seven messengers of Anu (aka. the Sebitti). Regarding their equation, compare Tablet 16: 123'–124', which omits the list of gods in line 132'. Furthermore, in Tablet 7: 27–29, UDUG and Alû are referred to as winds (u₄ / UD). For more on the Sebitti as winds, see Lugalbanda and the Wilderness, l. 411–417 (Konstantopoulos 2023: 67–68).
21. As Konstantopoulos (2023: 39) notes: “the consistent pairing of the udug and lamma help establish the former's identity.”
22. See <https://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/proverbs/c.6.1.02.html#c6102.A.2.68.118>.

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41) Ilī-ublanni's father and the god Nūnu — The small fragment KUB 4.38 (Bo 6597) has fascinated Hittitologists for some time because it preserves a scribal colophon inscribed in Old Babylonian monumental script. Almost nothing is left of the text itself, but it seems to be written in a standard script of the 13th century, possibly even the form of cuneiform that Hittite scribes typically used. The colophon was edited by Waal (2015, 535), whose readings were adopted by Gordin (2015, 127) and Dardano (2023, 54). Weeden (2016, 158–59) made important progress in the reading of the OB signs and the reconstruction of the full colophon in recognizing that the second line of the colophon contains the name of the scribe's father, but the reading of the father's name remained unclear, as did the full reconstruction of lines 4'–6' (cf. also VAN DEN HOUT 2020, 328–29). Despite showing a "very exaggerated" monumental script (WEEDEN 2011, 84), there can actually be little doubt about the reading of the signs themselves and I would propose to reconstruct the whole colophon as follows:

3'	[Š]U 1DINGIR-ub-la-a[n-ni]
4'	[DU]MU 1ŠUM-KU ₆ .KU ₆
5'	[G]ÁB.ZU.ZU šá ^{r1} [LÚ]
6'	[a-n]a pa-ni 1LÚ
7'	[o] iš-tur

[Ha]nd of Ilī-ubla[nni], [so]n of Iddin-Nūnu, [app]rentice of [Ziti]. He wrote (it) [be]fore Ziti.

3': The reading Š]U follows Waal; there is not enough space in alignment with the following lines for Weeden's [ŠU š]a, but Weeden is certainly right that nothing has to be restored before "Hand of ...".

4': For the reading [DU]MU 1ŠUM-..., see already Weeden. The following two signs were read ŠÈ.ŠÈ by Waal (followed by Gordin and Dardano) and GAR[?].GAR[?] by Weeden, but the sign in question is certainly 𒀠. It seems distinctly possible that the scribe's father, like his son, had an Akkadian name. If so, the first element of the name should probably be read *iddin* "gave" and be followed by a theophoric element. A very common theophoric element in personal names of the OB period is Nūnu, which is regularly written without the divine determinative (see CAVIGNEAUX and KREBERNIK 2001). While the actual etymology of the divine name Nūnu is unknown, an association with Akkadian *nūnu* "fish" would have been obvious to any cuneiform scribe and scholar. I therefore suggest that the scribe of KUB 4.38 chose the plural of Sumerian *ku₆* "fish" (*ku₆-ku₆ = nūnū*) as a (modestly) learned writing for the second element of his father's name, which, as such, was a common enough personal name of the OB period. The divine name Nūnu is not well attested in later periods, but is included in An – Anum and resurfaces as a god associated with Lugaldukuga in a late esoteric text (see CAVIGNEAUX and KREBERNIK 2001). Since Ilī-ublanni worked as an apprentice of a Hittite scribe, the present fragment provides a welcome attestation of the divine name Nūnu as part of a personal name in post-OB times.

5': Apprentice scribes usually write their tablets before their master, and the name of the master must have been very short. It is therefore very likely that Ziti's name should be restored at the end of this line. Waal, Gordin, Weeden, and Dardano read šà rather than šá, but in OB monumental script ŠÀ should have the form of a rhombus with an inscribed cross, whereas the sign in question shows the basic form of NÍG with one additional oblique wedge.

6': Waal, Gordin, Weeden, and Dardano read [...] KI pa-ni, but this does not make sense, and the second half of NA is identical to KI in OB monumental script.

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42) Notes on Anatolian Hieroglyphic Materials 2 — In this second paper of the series, I would like to add further comments and corrections on some published Anatolian Hieroglyphic materials (see PEKER 2018 for the first article).

Ablak Höyük bulla. A close comparison may be added to the bulla which was found in Ablak Höyük during the survey of the Afyonkarahisar province in 2018 (KOÇAK *et al.* 2019). Hieroglyphs on the central area of the Ablak Höyük bulla are URBS (L255) – *da* (L41) – *na* (L35) or URBS.DA-*na*, REX.FILIA, which read ‘URBS-*dana* / *Happirada(n)na* or DA...*na*, the princess’. Along with the usage of the sign URBS (L225) while writing the name *Mursili* and the toponyms *Tarhuntassa* or *Nerik*, the base of a seal in the Samsun Museum (DİNÇOL & DİNÇOL 1986: Cat. 1) reads URBS-*da-zi/a* or less likely L417(3)-*da-zi/a*.

Boğazkale Bo 14-520-560. Additional comments on the two individuals on the sealing (DOĞAN-ALPARSLAN *apud* SCHACHNER 2015: 93) from Boğazkale are: A) the reading of the name on this impression does not need a ‘question mark’ since it is clearly written by the sign L416 (*a*)*li* (initial position *ali*) and also there is no need to list unnecessarily unrelated names on footnotes while the highly related names were missing: ^f*Ali-wanatti* (HKM 113 obv. 11, ALP 1991: 53) and ^l*á-lál-í*-FRATER.LA of KARKAMIŠ A18j (AHYB 1.32). The name *Ali-tati* can be interpreted as ‘father of A.’ or ‘high father;’ B) for the last sign of the name, instead of the sign *a* (L450) I would like to suggest *na* (L35), and the hieroglyphic signs of the name are *lu* (L186) – *lu* (L186) – *wa/i* (L439) – *na* (L35) or with an addition of the sign BOS₂ (full body of an ox can be taken as the element of the name). Thus it reads *Lul(l)uwan(n)a* (cf. *BoHa* 19.206, *Lulluwa NH* 707; *RS* 18.116 = *PRU* 6.118; a toponym *Lulluwa* see *RGTC* VI: 251) or less likely *Lul(l)uwan(n)a-muwa*.

A seal from a private collection. The misreading of this seal (D’ALFONSO 2009) continues to create further misinterpretations (SIMON 2019: 890 with bibliography). According to proportions of the signs, there is no *ku* (L423) on side A, but it is a filling motif and there is no BO[NUS₂+]⁷AURIGA on side B, but it is a simple partly damaged AURIGA (L289) sign. So there is no need to speculate on the phonetic value of the sign L128 based on this seal. The inscription on both sides is: L128-*la-i(a)* BONUS₂ VIR₂ AURIGA.

BM 115655. I suggest a new reading (see Fig. 1 for a drawing of the central area) for this seal housed in the British Museum (GÜTERBOCK 1989: fn. 2 and its bibliography): *hi* (L413) – *HANA* (*506) BONUS₂ SCRIBA, PITHOS.VIR, *Hi(ya)h(h)an(n)a*, wealthy-scribe, pithos-man. The profession PITHOS.VIR is attested on *Bo* 3.38; *BoHa* 19.547 and *BoHa* 22.25.

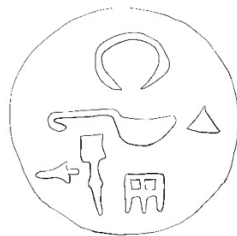


Fig. 1 Drawing of the central area of BM 115655.

TATARLI AY-186. The name of the seal owner is not *Salipi* but *sà* (L104) – *li* (L278) – *ka*² (L434), *Saliqua* (see his namesakes on *BoHa* 22.97 and BÜKLÜKALE BHS 2 below). As for its dating, it has to be dated to the early 15th century (not in general to “a date around the 15th-14th century BC” as stated by

DOĞAN-ALPARSLAN & GIRGINER 2021: 35), according to its frame with zoomorphic figures and with an interrupted braid band(s) with animals and the flat seal face.

TATARLI BA-186. As for this sealing with the name *Pat(t)i(ya)*, the wealthy woman, the editors use an unfathomable dating criterion such as “...seals with small impression areas...” concluding for “...extending / a date from the 14th to the 13th century BC” (DOĞAN-ALPARSLAN & GIRGINER 2021: 35). The crucial dating criterion for this seal is rather its simple ring with repeating (3) horizontal bars following (3) vertical bars, which is a kind of imitating of cuneiform signs. That pattern can be seen on EM 99:38 (DINÇOL & DINÇOL 2004) and on the tablet RS 17.135 from Ugarit (*UGARITICA* III: 60-61, figs. 85-86). Thus, the seal should be dated to the mid-13th century BCE.

EMAR EM 02:134. In 2012, Ali Dinçol and Belkıs Dinçol sent to Ferhan Sakal a corrected edition of two Emar seals (one is mentioned above, DINÇOL & DINÇOL 2004), but it has not yet been published. I here would like to cite this correction by permission of Belkıs Dinçol: on EM 02:134, the hieroglyphs of the name are *zu(wa)* (L285) – *wa/i* (L439 -partly damaged-) – *zi/a* (L376), BONUS₂ MAGUS/MEDICUS (L135.2) which reads *Zuwanza*, the wealthy physician. This name is documented in cuneiform sources (see *NH* and *NHS* 1583).



Fig. 2 Corrected drawing of the impression of EM 02:134.

BÜKLÜKALE BHS 2. The SAL(U) phonetic value had been given to a variant of L417 and the decorated triangles are overcategorized in the publication by the editor (WEEDEN 2016: 94). However, L417 here is a form of L417(3) (attested on KARKAMIŠ A27g* as a logogram and on İVRİZ 2, *BoHa* 22.97, and *SBo* 2.113 as a syllabogram) and has the *sal(a/i/u)* phonetic value. The hieroglyphs of the name of the seal owner are L417(3) – L56 (not L41 as the editor suggested). The name reads *Saliqqa* and his namesakes can be found elsewhere (see TATARLI AY-186 above and *BoHa* 22.97 below).

SBo 2.113. The sign L417(3) with the */sal/* or */sala/* phonetic value is attested on this seal. The hieroglyphs of the name are L417(3) – *wa/i* (L439) – *ní* (L214) which can be read *Salwini* (*NH* 1090) or *Salawani/Saliwani*. The meaning of this name can be compared with the “deities of the gate” attested in cuneiform sources (HAAS 1994: 282, LEBRUN 1976: 177).

SBo 2.156. The sign L417(3) with the */salu/* phonetic value is attested on this seal. The hieroglyphs of the name are L417(3) – *wa/i* (L439) – *ta* (L100), which can be read *Saluwanta*. The name is attested in cuneiform sources (*NH* 1089). Cf. also ... (MONS)L417(3)-*wa/i-tá*, Mount *Saluwanda* on KARAKUYU line 2 (PEKER 2023: 374).

BoHa 22.97. The sign L417(3) with the */sali/* phonetic value is attested on this seal. The hieroglyphs of the name are L417(3) – *ká* (L56), which can be read *Saliqqa*. *Saliqqa* with his profession L490 (= L254+MAGNUS), “commander of the troops loyal to the palace” (= GAL UKU.UŠ in cuneiform sources) must be the same individual attested in the Tudhaliya IV & Kuruntiya treaty rev. IV.39 (DINÇOL & PEKER 2023: 198).

SÜDBURG. In the light of a recent discovery from Tarsus-Gözlükule (TGK 2019 B798 object no. 471, reading *507 – L461+L383, *pù-mara/i.ra/i*, MAUSOLEUM.DOMINUS+*MI*, *Pumari*, Lord of the Rock Sanctuary, see PEKER *apud* ÖZYAR *et al.* 2022: 147-149), by assigning the */pu/* phonetic value to the sign *507, some crucial paragraphs of the SÜDBURG inscription (cf. *CHLI* III: 51) could be translated as follows:

§ 12 In the land of Tarhuntassa, (I) subject(ed) the enemy (and I did) have (it).

§ 13 *pu-wa/i-ti* AVUS-hana.na-zi/a NEG-wa/i-tá REL-ti-ha *507

None (of my) ancestors (did) **hold** (it = the land of Tarhuntassa for themselves)

§ 14 (But I,) Suppiluliuma the Great King, subject(ed) the enemy,

§ 15 (and I did) take the head/loyal-man/men (CAPUT.VIR = LÚ SAG = L254³) of the land of Tarhuntassa away.

And additionally the names with *507 can be read as follows:

á-*507-na-ni, *Apunani* (GELB 1965: 15, fig 8 and *BoHa* 19.94)

á-*507-na, *Apuna* (*BoHa* 19.91-93; see *NH* 110)

*507-ni, *Punni(ya)* (*Mst.* 74/75, *BoHa* 19: 251).

The names *Punni*, *Punniya* and *Punni-Harpa* are attested at Nuzi (see GELB *et al.* 1943: 118).

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43) A Neo-Assyrian lion figurine in the University of Tartu Art Museum — According to information from the University of Tartu Art Museum* this lion figurine was probably created in 900–600 BC and originated (supposedly) from Aššur. It was made from clay. The sizes of this clay figurine are as follows: the height is 11.5 cm and the diameter is 5.4 cm. According to University of Tartu Art Museum's information the beige clay lion-shaped figurine is created as an amulet, and it is in a standing position. The back of lion figure is slightly modelled, decorated with a sharp-tipped object with lines drawn in the clay that intersect. In the same technique, the lines of the face of lion and toes have been hollowed out and the lacquer shaped. The forepaws are crossed on the chest. A hole has been drilled through them, probably originally intended to contain an attribute which is now missing. Two shields on the left paw broken and dark paint worn away (EESTI MUUSEUMIDE VEEBIVÄRAV 2024).

The figure of lion KMM A 44** as two cuneiform tablets (ESPAK, SAZONOV 2019; JOHANDI, SAZONOV, FINK 2021) was donated to the University of Tartu Art Museum by Johan Laidoner (1884–1953), a general of the Estonian army, who served as chairman of the committee of the League of Nations in Mosul from October to December 1925, resolving border disputes between the Kingdom of Iraq (under British administration) and the Republic of Turkey. During his stay in Iraq, Laidoner bought (in Mosul) some artefacts of ancient Mesopotamian origin. In a letter sent from Mosul to his wife Maria Laidoner on the 5th of November 1925 he mentions two artefacts that he bought from an antiquities market in Mosul: a document in a clay envelope (ESPAK, SAZONOV 2019) and a figurine of a lion from Aššur (STRUMPE 2001: 11).

When General Laidoner returned to Estonia he donated some of these Mesopotamian artefacts to the University of Tartu (ERELT 2006). One of them was a figure of lion (KMM A 44) which is now located at the University of Tartu Art Museum.

What are functions of this lion figurine? Looking at other similar lion figurines and depictions of lions on cylinder seals in ancient Mesopotamia (e.g., BM 129538; GREEN 1983: p. 91 and pl. XII) from the same nA era, one can assume that it was most probably an apotropaic figure. For

example, a similar lion figurine we can see in J. Oates, D. Oates (2004: 255, fig. 163) where is written "*prophylactic clay figurine of a lion-man, holding a mace across his right shoulder; inscribed 'the one who admits the...'*", from south box outside west door of corridor E, Fort Shalmaneser". This lion creature is often identified as *ugallu* in nA and nB periods (RIA 8: 242, Mischwesen A: 7.6; RIA 8: 251, Mischwesen B: 3.6). For that remark I am thankful to Prof Chikako Watanabe.



Source: <https://opendata.muis.ee/object/1893226>

Other possible interpretation that this lion figurine could potentially connected with god Lā-tarāq or even represents the god Lā-tarāq (LAMBERT 1987–1990b; BLACK, GREEN 2004: 7; GREEN 1983; GREEN 1986; GREEN 1988; NAKAMURA 2005: 35; NAKAMURA 2004: 22) and as it was supposed by Wiggerman (1992: 52): “there is good reason to believe that Lulal is an anthropomorphic god ... and that therefore Latarak is the monster”. Chikako Watanabe also drew my attention to the following facts in connection with the above-mentioned lion’ figurine that lion-garbed figure who often holds a whip in the hand (RIA 8: 251-2, Mischwesen B: § 3.7: “a human-looking figure cloaked in a lion’s pelt, with full lion’s head, a carrying a whip (Löwenmensch)”. See also on lion men ELLIS 1977; THOMSEN 2000) could be also associated with god Lā-tarāq (RIA 8: 251-2, Mischwesen B: § 3.7; see also RIA 8: 242, Mischwesen A:7.7).

As A. Glenn and J. Peterson (2018: 169) rightly remarked, “the god Lulal was the counterpart of or identified with Akkadian *Lā-tarāq*”. Glenn and Peterson published a translation of the only attested Sumerian cultic song of the god ^dLu₂-lal₃ (GLENN, PETERSON 2018; see also BLACK, GREEN 2004: 116). As Glenn and Peterson (2018: 169) highlighted, the reading of this divine name ^dLu₂-lal₃ follows the analysis of George (2003: 888), and this divine name contains the root *tarāku(m)*. According to Black and Green (2004: 116), in the later 2nd millennium BCE ^dLu₂-lal₃ and Lā-tarāk were treated as a pair, and later in the nA period lion figurines of ^dLu₂-lal₃ and Lā-tarāk “were buried at doorways as magically protective deities”. See also ^dLu₂-lal₃ and Lā-tarāk *šēp lemutti ina bīt amēli parāsu* edited and translated by Wiggerman (1992: 14, lines 188-189, II NU ^dLÚ.LÀL šá IM^a šá IM.SIG₇.SIG₇ l[ab-šú xxxxx(xxx)^b] II NU ^dLa-ta-ra-ak šá IM šá IM.GI₆ la[b-šú xx(xxx)^a] – “two statues of Lulal of clay, [cla]d in blue paste [] two statues of Latarak of clay, [cla]d in black paste[]”. See also the association of Lā-tarāk with the constellation of Leo – BLOCH, HOROWITZ 2015, Ura = *hubullu* XXII where is 287’ ^{mul}ur-gu-la = *la-ta-rak* and H v 3T b SpTU 3 114A: 31. See also SpTU 3 p. 331, ^{mul}UR.MA[H = *la*]-ta-rak x x. For that remark I am thankful to Prof Gebhard J. Selz.

In the case of the lion figure in the Art Museum of the University of Tartu, it could be assumed that it is an apotropaic figure. It could be the god Lā-tarāq, but other interpretations are also possible, since nothing is known about the real origin of the above-mentioned figure.

Notes

*See University of Tartu Art Museum, <https://www.muis.ee/museaalview/1893226>

** The author would like to thank Dr. Jaanika Anderson, Director of Research at the University of Tartu Art Museum, for permission to publish the photograph of the lion figurine. The author would like to thank Prof. Gebhard J. Selz, Dr. Sebastian Fink for critical remarks and especially Prof. Chikako Watanabe for several useful suggestions and interesting ideas about the lion figurine.

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44) Une inscription de la main du roi Assurbanipal ? — L'inscription d'Assurbanipal K 891 du British Museum, Kuyunjik Collection, figure sur une petite tablette en argile de 5,6 x 9 x 1,7 cm, en écriture babylonienne contemporaine¹⁾. On a fait remarquer que cette inscription est tout à fait inhabituelle parce qu'elle ne mentionne ni le nom ni les titres du roi, parce que le contenu du droit est très différent de celui du revers et que la plainte exprimée au revers ressemble davantage à *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* qu'aux inscriptions royales habituelles. Il est vrai que cette inscription est inhabituelle, mais pas pour les raisons indiquées. Tout porte à croire en effet qu'elle est de la main du roi Assurbanipal.

L'absence du nom du roi et de ses titres, présents dans les inscriptions royales, s'explique si cette tablette n'est pas un brouillon, destiné à être reproduit sur un support en pierre, selon le processus habituel. Il s'agit en fait d'une rédaction personnelle, une sorte de confession, comme on écrirait une page d'un journal intime. Il n'y a pas non plus de discontinuité entre le contenu du droit et celui du revers. Assurbanipal expose d'abord les actions qu'il a réalisées pour Ishtar d'Arbèles, sa déesse (GAŠAN-ia)²⁾ aux différentes épicleses (SAA 3, n° 3, rev., ll. 14-16 ; PORTER 2004, 41-44) : il a restauré avec splendeur les remparts intérieur et extérieur de sa cité ; il a décoré son temple avec de l'argent, de l'or et du cuivre étincelants comme la lumière du jour ; il a placé les emblèmes de la déesse en argent et en or sur ses portes. Il s'est occupé ensuite de restaurer Milqī'a, la ville voisine, notamment le temple d'Ishtar/Shatru et le *Bīt-akītu*. La phrase suivante annonce le contenu du revers : « Je me suis attelé à cette tâche avec détresse et en pleurant car un ennemi l'avait détruite³⁾. » De même, il décrit au revers sa détresse et ses pleurs, et les énormes difficultés qu'il rencontre dans son métier de roi⁴⁾. Après la description de ses actions en faveur d'Ishtar, il mentionne ce qu'il a fait pour Nergal (SAA 3, n° 43, l. 5) : il a installé lui-même les emblèmes de ce dieu dans son temple de Tarbisu, ce qui n'avait pas été fait par le passé. Cette phrase est en relation avec les premières lignes du revers où il parle de ses offrandes funéraires aux rois ses ancêtres et du culte des morts qu'il a restauré⁵⁾, car Nergal est le roi des enfers et des morts. Il décrit ensuite ce qu'il a fait pour sa famille : il a d'abord installé son frère Shamash-shum-ukīn sur le trône de Babylone, selon la volonté de son père Assarhaddon, en 668, un an après sa propre accession au trône d'Assyrie (BARTELMUS 2007, 287-302). De son propre chef, il s'est occupé aussi de la carrière de deux de ses frères : Ashur-mukīn-palē'a qu'il consacre comme prêtre d'Assur, et Ashur-etel-shamē-er-seti-muballissu comme prêtre de Sīn.

La conclusion de ses réalisations vient ensuite : « J'ai réalisé de bonnes actions pour les dieux et l'humanité, à la fois pour les vivants et les morts⁶⁾ ». L'enchaînement est clair : après son autojustification, il décrit de manière poignante son état de dépression et de désespoir (« La mort s'empare de moi et je souffre le martyr »), et il reproche aux dieux de lui infliger un tel état, alors qu'il a tout fait pour les servir et pour le bien de ses sujets : « Combien de temps, ô dieu, vas-tu me traiter ainsi ? Je suis traité comme quelqu'un qui ne vénère pas le dieu et la déesse (DINGIR ù d'INANNA)⁷⁾ ! » Il est vraisemblable que cette confession intime, poignante et désespérée, est destinée aux dieux auprès desquels il se justifie. Il s'agit sans doute d'Ishtar et de Nergal dont il vient de parler puisqu'il emploie le singulier. Ces deux divinités ont joué un rôle important dans la vie d'Assurbanipal (VILLARD 2023, 1137-1142). Le caractère très personnel de l'inscription signifie aussi qu'il ne l'a pas fait écrire par un scribe, mais qu'il l'a rédigée de sa main.

La tablette est bien écrite, mais on a relevé quelques particularités. Par exemple, sur le bord droit figurent deux traits parallèles barrés par un trait diagonal dont le sens n'est pas clair et que l'on hésite à

interpréter comme une notation de scribe. É à-*kit-su* est employé au lieu de É à-*kit-šù* à la ligne 7 du droit. Des traces de plusieurs clous et d'effacement sont visibles sous les lignes 2 et 6 du revers⁸⁾. On pourrait les interpréter comme des tâtonnements et/ou des corrections d'erreurs, comme si l'auteur de l'inscription n'avait pas autant l'habitude d'écrire qu'un scribe de métier.

La question qui se pose est la suivante : Assurbanipal était-il capable d'écrire cette tablette ? On a la chance de connaître l'éducation qu'il a reçue dès son plus jeune âge, puis comme prince héritier (VILLARD 1997, 135-149), grâce à l'inscription exceptionnelle K 2694+ qui provient de la même collection du British Museum : c'est une grande tablette en argile, brouillon d'un texte à graver sur une stèle⁹⁾. Il a appris « tout l'art des scribes » et il a fait des études très poussées dans le déchiffrement des anciennes inscriptions : « J'ai lu de manière astucieuse les textes écrits dans un sumérien et un akkadien obscurs, difficiles à interpréter. J'ai examiné avec soin des inscriptions sur pierre antédiluviennes dont le sens était caché, confus et déroutant¹⁰⁾. » Il semble donc probable qu'Assurbanipal, le roi qui portait dans sa ceinture un poignard et un calame (BRERETON 2018, 11, fig. 1), ait écrit lui-même cette tablette dans les premières années de son règne, après 668, pendant une période difficile de maladie doublée d'une dépression, sur laquelle on manque d'informations (ELAYI 2021, 231-254).

Notes

1. RINAP 5/2, p. 222-224, n° 185.
2. *Ibid.*, obv., l. 4.
3. *Ibid.*, obv., l. 8.
4. *Ibid.*, rev., ll. 3-4 et 10.
5. *Ibid.*, rev., ll. 1-2.
6. *Ibid.*, rev., ll. 2-3.
7. *Ibid.*, rev., ll. 12-13.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 223-224, notes.
9. RINAP 5/2, p. 319-328, n° 220, i, ll. 1'-35'.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 323, n° 220, i, ll. 16'-18'.

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45) A Brick Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II in the Pearson Collection in Jerusalem — This brick inscription is part of the Pearson Collection housed in Christ Church in Jerusalem. The collection contains a wide range of Near Eastern objects from at least the Ur III period through the Ottoman period. The Nebuchadnezzar II brick inscription is one of around a dozen objects with cuneiform writing within the collection, a few of which are certainly modern forgeries. Amongst the cuneiform objects are tablets, cones, and cylinder seals. Additionally, there are several other Mesopotamian cylinder seals without writing on them and a couple of Achaemenid period stamp seals (to be published in the future).

The brick is in good condition, save for some damage to its back. Not completely square, the brick measures 19.1cm wide on the top side (in relation to the inscription) and 19.6cm wide on the bottom, 15-15.2cm tall from left to right, and 7.5-7.4cm thick from top to bottom. The indentation area of the inscription is 11cm tall, 14.7cm wide, and contains seven lines of text. However, the inscription does not

appear to have been evenly stamped onto the brick, with the left side of the inscription indented considerably deeper, 0.25mm deep on the left and 0.05mm deep on the right. The right side of the text is thus less legible. Additionally, some wear and modern damage across the face has caused scarring; this is especially noticeable on the right side where the signs are already difficult to distinguish due to the improper indentation. The script of the inscription is, like other Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions, “an archaizing cuneiform inspired by monumental Old Babylonian” (DA RIVA 2008, 76). The inscription can be dated—based on the reign of the posthumous king—to 604–562 BC.

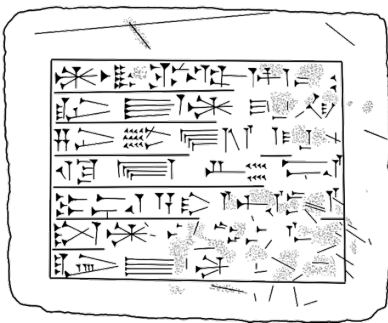
Since the object lacks archaeological context, and similar bricks of Nebuchadnezzar II have been found around Babylonia (DA RIVA 2008, 117), no sound proposal can be made as to where it originated. Nevertheless, brick inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II are well known, and the similarity of this inscription’s text and paleography to the others allows for some level of confidence in its authenticity. A few examples of similar brick inscriptions are BM 90064, 90081, 90115, 90121, 90124, 90136, and 90302. The inscription BM 90064 is particularly similar to that on the present brick. Both are seven-line inscriptions that read sign for sign identically, although slight differences in the strokes of the signs deters from suggesting they were made with the same stamp. Interestingly, the indentation of BM 90064 also appears—in photographs—to be slightly deeper on the left side (thanks to Yuval Levavi for pointing this out to me), although the available information cannot confirm this.

The Pearson Collection

The objects in the Pearson Collection, in which this brick resides, were originally collected by Leonard Pearson (1884-1978), a British Anglican minister who frequented the Middle East in the 1930s. It was during this time that he came into possession of the various objects. Upon his passing, the collection passed to his wife, Marjorie Pearson. At the time of her death, in 1998, the collection was bequeathed to the Christian Ministry to the Jews, located in St. Albans, England. When the organization’s headquarters moved from St. Albans to Farnsfield in 2008, the entire collection was shipped to Christ Church in Jerusalem, where it remains.

In addition to the objects already mentioned, the collection houses materials from various Mediterranean cultures, including Egyptian, Levantine, Hellenistic, Roman, and Ottoman. To date, practically none of these materials have received any proper study or publication. A summary of the various objects includes small stone, wooden, and metal statuettes, several dozen Egyptian scarab seals, a wide distribution of pottery, hundreds of coins, miniature models, ottoman period tools, and more. As mentioned above, some of these are certainly forgeries, but further study needs to be done to determine precisely which ones, although a few are obvious enough to tell at first glance.

Inscription: Following the reading of Walker (1981, pgs. 82-85) on BM 90064.



- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| 1. ^d AG-ku-du- ^r úr-ri-URÙ ¹ | 1. Nebuchadnezzar |
| 2. LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR. ^r RA ^{ki} | 2. King of Babylon |
| 3. za-ni-in é- ^r sag-íla ¹ | 3. Who provides for Esagil |
| 4. ù é-zi- ^r da ¹ | 4. And Ezida |
| 5. IBILA a-ša- ^r re-du ¹ | 5. Firstborn heir |
| 6. ša ^d AG-IBILA-URÙ ¹ | 6. Of Nabopolassar |
| 7. LUGAL KÁ. ^r DINGIR ¹ . ^r RA ^{ki}] | 7. King of Babylon |

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46) Patterns of Vocabulary Usage Across Time in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions — The ever-increasing digital availability of primary materials from the ancient Near Eastern world — particularly those coming from the Sargonid period of the Assyrian Empire — is an invaluable resource for modern Assyriological research. These digital tools, such as ORACC and the eBL, allow scholars to assess large amounts of data from a broader perspective than was possible in previous generations. In preparing an upcoming volume dealing with the frequency of terminology in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions (ARIs) from the Old-Akkadian to Neo-Assyrian (NA) periods, the authors of this note were able to analyze the occurrences of lexemes across these various time periods¹. In doing so, we recognized several different patterns in the data that are worth pursuing in more detailed studies.

Within the expansive corpus of ARIs, a total of 4,027 lexemes (excluding proper nouns) occur across the approximately 1,821 extant inscriptions. Organized by period, the following table (Figure 1) illustrates the general trends in lexemes and inscriptions:

Figure 1 – Lexemes and Inscriptions by Era

	Total Lexemes by Era	Number of Inscriptions by Era
Old Akkadian	8	7
Ur III	11	
Old Assyrian	363	106
Middle Assyrian	1,234	294
Neo-Assyrian	3,844	1,414

Unsurprisingly, NA inscriptions predominate in this data, with the numbers of inscriptions and lexemes decreasing as we examine texts from successively earlier periods. This is almost certainly due to a combination of the accidents of discovery with the well-known increase in literary production during the NA period (FINCKE 2017; NOVOTNY 2019). The same dataset can also be used to calculate the number of lexemes whose distribution is limited to a single era (Figure 2):

Figure 2 – Number of Lexemes that Only Occur in a Single Era

	Lexemes Occurring in a Single Era	Total Lexemes by Era	% of Corpus for One Period Lexemes
Old Akkadian	0	8	0%
Ur III	0	11	0%
Old Assyrian	41	363	11.3%
Middle Assyrian	138	1,234	11.2%
Neo-Assyrian	2,683	3,844	69.8%

Further confirming the widely agreed-upon perception that the content and style of NA inscriptions demonstrate an increase in scholarly involvement at the royal court (FRAHM 2019; NOVOTNY 2019), the number of lexemes that occur only in that era dwarfs those from any other period, representing approximately 70% of the lexemes used in NA inscriptions. In contrast, the words that only occur in Old-Assyrian (OA) or Middle-Assyrian (MA) inscriptions represent only 11% of those respective corpora. This

data allows us to confirm prior conclusions regarding the increase in scholarly contribution to literary production during the NA period with a greater degree of statistical exactness.

In addition to lexemes that show a single-period use, the dataset also allows us to identify continuities across different eras (Figure 3).

Figure 3 – Lexeme Continuities Among Eras

Trend	Number of Lexemes in Trend	Notes
OA-MA Exclusive	4	
OA-NA Exclusive	68	43 of these terms appear in other MA texts despite not occurring in royal inscriptions in this period
MA-NA Exclusive	839	
OA-MA-NA continuity	249	238 of these terms are first attested in OA inscriptions, with the other 11 present in earlier periods
Attested in Old Akkadian but not present in Ur III	5	1 of these terms (<i>šallatu</i>) is also not attested in OA, but appears in MA and NA inscriptions
First attested in Ur III	8	3 of these terms (<i>arba'u</i> , <i>kibru</i> , <i>šakkanakku</i>) are not attested in the OA period, but are attested for MA and NA
Attested in all but MA	1	<i>wardu</i> appears in ARIs of all eras except MA
Present in all periods	2	The terms are <i>ana</i> and <i>šarru</i>

This data shows that 249 lexemes were consistently used in royal inscriptions across the OA, MA, and NA periods. Moreover, only 4 terms used in both OA and MA periods do not carry over into the NA era. In addition, 839 words first appearing in royal inscriptions in the MA period — approximately 68% of the MA lexeme stock — continue in use during the NA period. In other words, NA royal inscriptions not only show a considerable increase in unique lexemes but, just as importantly, show a high degree of retention for the lexemes that were used in prior periods.

The level of retention in NA royal inscriptions reaches beyond these strict OA-MA-NA continuities. NA royal inscriptions also contain lexemes that occur only in the OA and NA periods, with no attestation in the royal inscriptions of the MA era. The number of lexemes that fall within this category is surprising. While there are only 68 of these terms, they represent approximately 18% of the entire OA ARI lexeme stock. A detailed study of these terms would be worthwhile, as a number of them do occur in MA texts (e.g., *amtu* or *andurāru*) — just not in MA royal inscriptions. Given the fact that these terms occur in other MA texts and that we have almost twice as many MA royal inscriptions as those from the OA period, it is not feasible to attribute this pattern to the accidents of discovery.

The preceding demonstrates the usefulness of employing electronically concordanced texts such as those contained in ORACC, the eBL, the CDLI, and the growing wealth of digital tools facilitating modern research of the ancient Near East. These tools not only allow us to view long-available datasets in new ways (e.g. ALSTOLA, et al. 2019), but can also suggest fruitful avenues for more traditional research projects. Such research also allows us to quantify previously qualitative analyses of these datasets, providing a statistical view of the lexical innovations occurring during the NA period.

Notes

1. Based on data prepared by the LMU-Munich- and Humboldt-Foundation-funded OIMEA Project and stored in the Royal Inscriptions of Assyria online.

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47) The Latest Dated Non-Astrological Tablet — The digitization of the British Museum’s “Babylon Collection” in the framework of the eBL project has brought some surprises. Among them, that of the latest known copy of a traditional text. Until now, the champion of late tablets was BM.45746 (CTL 1, 85), a copy of ‘Marduk 1’, first reported by J. Strassmaier (ZA 7 [1892], 204), dated to n/VII/213 Arsacid Era = 277 Seleucid Era = October/November 35 BCE. The colophon of the recently digitized BM.46073+ preserves an even later date:

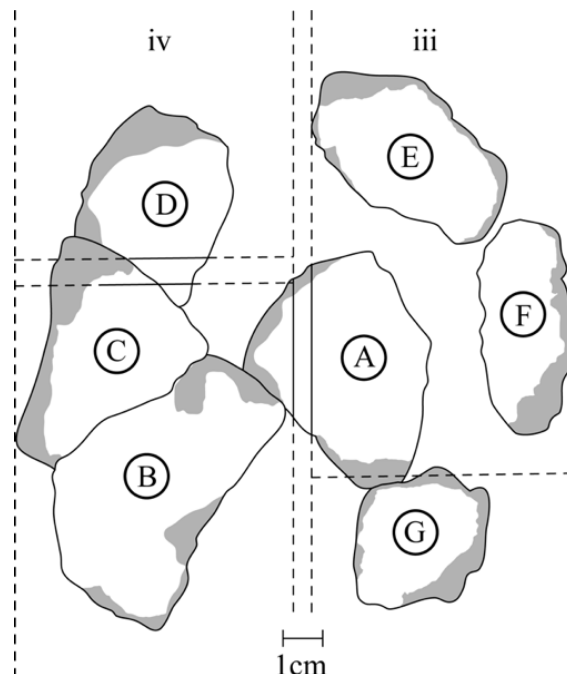
[e^k]ⁱ iⁱⁱ zíz u₄.x.[kam^v] | [mu] ʾ2ⁱ.me.25.k[am^v šá šī-i] | [mu.4].ʾ49ⁱ.<kam^v> ^ma[r₅(gam)-šá-kám]

The tablet is thus dated to n/XII/225 AE = 289 SE, i.e., February/March 22 BCE.

Several fragments of the same tablet of BM.46073+, a manuscript of ‘Tintir V’, have been identified in the eBL project. In its present state, the tablet consists of: BM.46070 (BTT pl. 17) (+) BM.46073+ BM.46128+ BM.46095(+) BM.46101(+) BM.46162(+) BM.46207 (BTT pl. 17) (see the adjoining schematic diagram; Jon Taylor has kindly checked the joins in the British Museum; photographs of the individual fragments can be found on the electronic Babylonian Library platform, <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/>).

The new tablet represents the third manuscript of ‘Tintir’ dated to the first century BCE, together with BM.87224 (CDOG 1, 145f.) = 100 BCE and BM.33491+ (BTT pl. 4) = 61/60 BCE. That three MSS of the text bear such late dates is a reminder of the importance of the composition in the terminal period of Mesopotamian culture, when Babylon was no longer the city described in ‘Tintir’. Like the now penultimate dated tablet, BM.45746 (‘Marduk 1’), the various fragments of the new manuscript belong to the 81-7-6 (formerly SH or Shemtob) collection. Many of the tablets of this and related consignments have a script very similar to the ‘Tintir’ V and ‘Marduk 1’ manuscripts, but lack – like most copies of traditional texts – dated colophons.

Fig. 1: Join sketch of BM.46070+ (rev.):
 BM.46070 (A) (±) BM.46073 (B) +
 BM.46128 (C) ± BM.46095 (D) (±)
 BM.46101 (E) (±) BM.46162 (F) (±)
 BM.46207 (G)



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48) Encore sur le petit chien d'albâtre de Hatra (Inscription no. H 72) — Dans le célèbre site parthe de Hatra (Mésopotamie du Nord, 1^{er}-3^{ème} siècles apr. J.-C.), lors de la campagne de fouilles de 1954, les archéologues irakiens ont découvert, entre autres antiquités, quatre inscriptions en alphabet et langue araméenne hatréenne parmi les vestiges du « temple no. 10 ». Ce bâtiment est situé dans le tissu urbain de la ville, à l'ouest du Grand Temenos central (SAFAR 1955, 3-4). Parmi les quatre épigraphes, numérotées de H 70 à H 73 selon la séquence de Beyer (voir aussi MORIGGI-BUCCI 2019, 160), je voudrais ici prendre en considération le numéro H 72. Le texte de cette inscription a été gravé sur le socle d'une statuette en albâtre représentant un chien accroupi sur ses pattes postérieures (fig. no. 1). La statuette est aujourd'hui exposée dans la deuxième salle dédiée aux antiquités hatréennes à l'Iraq Museum de Bagdad, où l'a photographiée en 2020 l'archéologue italien Enrico Foietta (Università di Torino), que je remercie ici d'avoir mis à ma disposition ces nouvelles images. L'inscription occupe trois des quatre côtés du socle de la statuette et, en plus d'être gravées, il semble que, plus tard, les lettres aient été pigmentées en noir par une main peu experte dans la reconnaissance des graphèmes de l'araméen hatréen. L'inscription a attiré l'attention de divers chercheurs, et pas seulement des épigraphistes, en raison de son lien possible avec l'histoire religieuse de Hatra. En fait, il fait partie du groupe d'inscriptions qui font référence au « chien » ou aux « chiens », comme un animal probablement lié au culte du dieu Nērgol (DIRVEN 2013). En effet, selon une interprétation qui remonte aux premières études sur le temple no. 10, cette dernière était dédiée au culte du dieu Nērgol.



Fig. 1 (avec l'aimable autorisation de Enrico Foietta, Università di Torino)

Je résume ici les lectures proposées à ce jour (avec la traduction dans la langue de l'édition respective)¹⁾ :

H 72

tltt klbn' (?)d (?) d(?)m dy 'bd [...] (Safar 1955, 12)

« The third blood-dog that has made [...] »

tltt klbn' (?)' šd/rd/rm dy 'bd/ryt y'lš(t) (Caquot 1955, 269)

Il ne traduit que « trois chiens », car il estime que « seul le début est aisément intelligible ».

tltt klbn' n' šdr m dy 'bdythy lšt/lšdr[p'] (Milik 1972, 166 ; Drijvers 1978, 171-172)

« Three dogs, that I Šad-ram made for the lady (?) »/« for Šadrafa ».

tltt klbn' n' šdr mry 'bdythy lšt (Vattioni 1981, 47)

« Tre cani io Šrd il signore ho fatto a Št »

tltt klbn' šd dm dy 'bd [']ytyb 'ls[m]yn (Aggoula 1991, 50-51)

« Le troisième chien sanguinaire qu'a fait [']ytyb 'ls[m]yn »

tltt klbn' (ln)pš dr m dy 'bd (l)tw' (d)št (Beyer 1998, 46)

« Die drei Hündchen zugunsten von *Drm* selbst, welche er gestiftet hat für das Zimmer der sechs (Priesterinnen?, Balken?, Fenster?) »

tltt klbn' n' šrrmry 'bdyt w'lšt(?) (Marcato 2018, 130-131)

« Three dogs; I, Šrrmry, have made and...? »

A partir de ce que l'on peut observer dans les nouvelles photographies, je propose maintenant cette lecture (fig. nos. 2-4) :

tltt klbn' n' šrw'f mry 'bd{t}ty b'lšm[yn]

« Trois chiens, je, šrw'f mry, ai fait. B'elšmēn »



Fig. 2

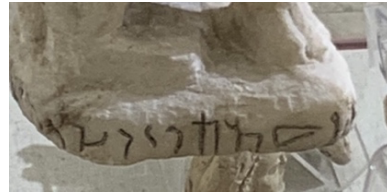


Fig. 3

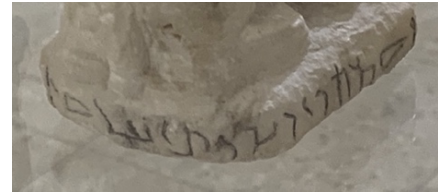


Fig. 4

(avec l'aimable autorisation de Enrico Fioletta, Università di Torino)

Comme déjà Marcato, je pense que le quatrième mot est un nom propre : *šrwṭmry* (Marcato lit *šrrmry*). Ce nom pourrait remonter à la racine *šrt*, connue en syriaque avec le sens de « garde » (voir la même racine en arabe). Cependant, la lecture n'est pas absolument certaine, même si elle explique mieux la séquence de signes qui suivent l'initiale *š* du nom propre. Concernant la séquence *bd{t}ty*, les photographies permettent de lire le premier *t* comme une erreur du lapicide - peu précis dans sa gravure en général - qui a répété le signe immédiatement après. Dans ce contexte, le *y* que l'on s'attendrait à trouver après le *d* (= *bdyt*), serait ajouté à la fin.

Notes

1. *Legenda* : [...] = trois lettres ou plus manquantes ; [x] = lecture reconstituée ; (x) = lecture incertaine ; ^x^ = lettre écrite au-dessus de la ligne ; x_ = lettre écrite sous la ligne ; {x} = lettre superflue / dittographie / erreur du lapicide ; x/y = lecture ou traduction alternative ; xxx = lecture graphématique. Les noms propres des individus ne sont pas vocalisés en raison de l'incertitude quant à leur éventuelle vocalisation. Voir le choix analogue de Marcato (2018, 14). La vocalisation des noms de dieux et de déesses est conforme aux normes proposées par Beyer (1998), avec quelques variations mineures ; laissant de côté la distinction entre les *begadkefat* adoucis et leurs réalisations phonétiques dures correspondantes. Voir Sima (2000, 163-164).

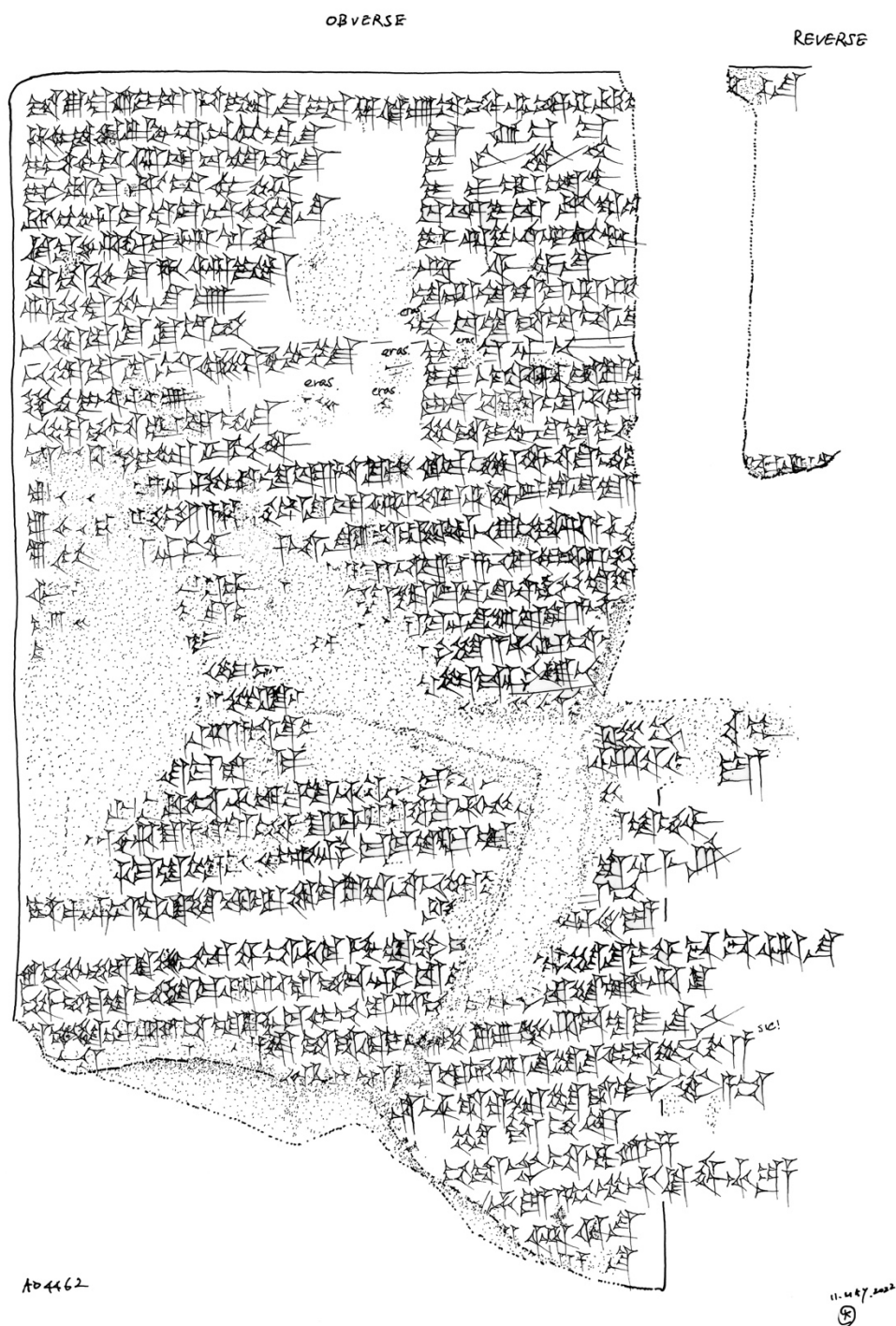
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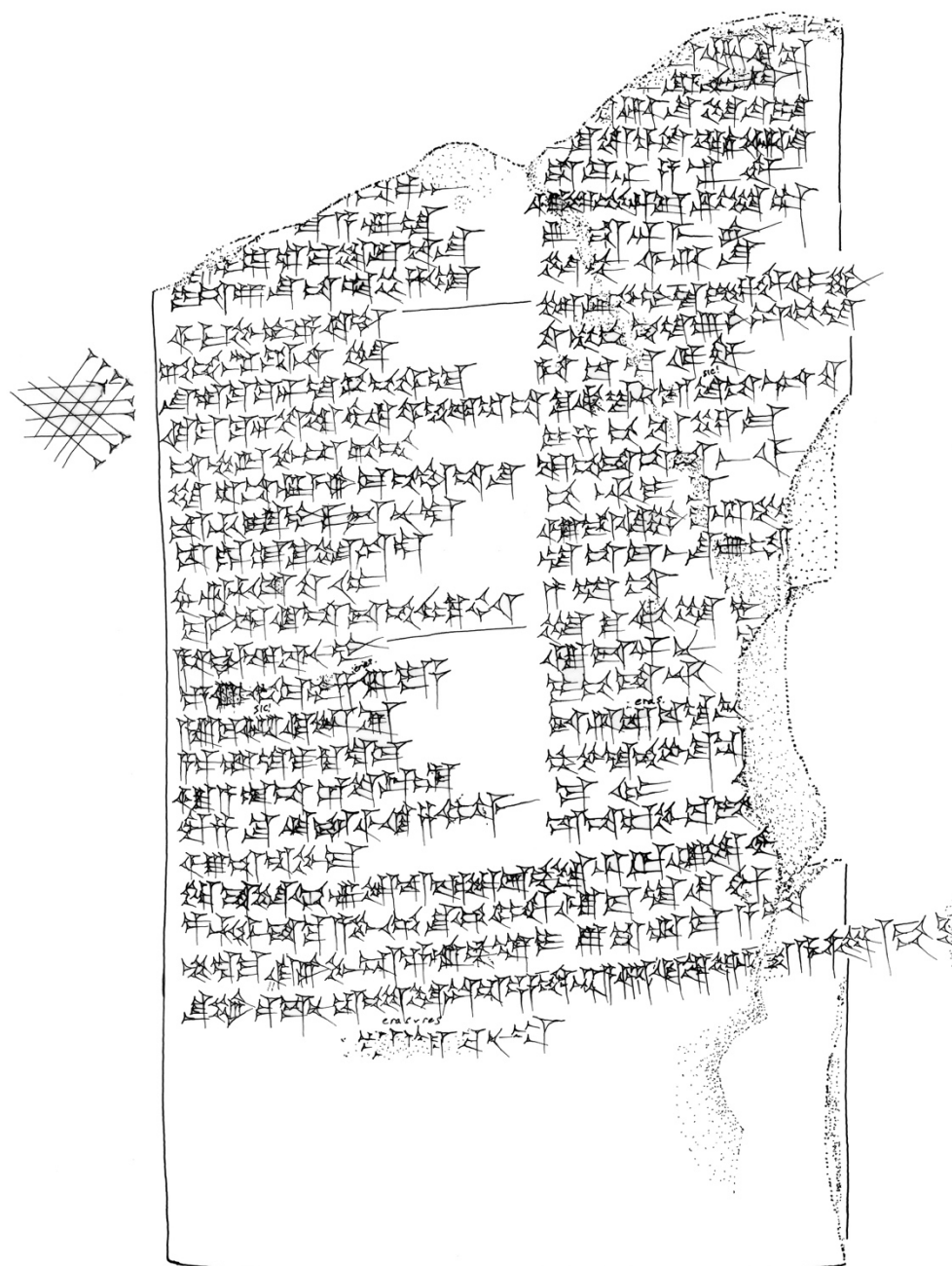
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49) New Copies of AO 4462 (the Old Babylonian Man and His God) — The Old Babylonian literary tablet, AO 4462, was first published by J. Nougayrol under the title “Une version ancienne du ‘Juste Souffrant’” in *Revue Biblique* 59 (1952), pp. 239–250. Its copies appear on pl. VII–VIII of the same journal, which have served as the basis of studies of this difficult text. W.G. Lambert praises Nougayrol's copy by stating that it is “remarkably accurate in view of the difficulty the tablet presents.” Nonetheless, various scholars such as W.G. Lambert and W. von Soden have offered many collations, and AO 4462 merited a new copy. As part of the preparation of the French translation of Akkadian theodicy texts, I prepared a new

set of hand copies of AO 4462 at the Louvre Museum, Paris, in May 2022. My copies were published on pp. 20–21 of T.M. Oshima and S. Anthonioz, *Affronter le mal en Babylonie: Théodicées Akkadiennes*, (LAPO 23), Paris, 2023. However, I have received several complaints about their size: Due to the book's compact format, my copies are too small to read. Moreover, the image's resolution is too poor for magnification. In order to mend this shortcoming, I republish my copies of AO 4462 here.



REVERSE



AO 4462

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Les Éditions du Cerf and Dr Stéphanie Anthonioz, the series editor of *Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient*, for their generous permission to republish my hand copies of AO 4462. Thanks are also due the Louvre Museum, Dr Ariane Thomas, director of Département des Antiquités Orientales, and Dr Mahmoud Alassi for their generous permission to study AO 4462 and their hospitality during my visit to the museum. I am also grateful to Dr Nele Ziegler for her kind suggestion to publish my copies of AO 4462 in *NABU*.

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