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NOTES BRÈVES

50) Some remarks on a recent edition of Aya-ane-pada's metal peg — The inscription on Aya-ane-pada's long-neglected metal peg (BM 90951 = CDLI Q004866) is missing from all standard editions of Sumerian royal inscriptions. N. Kraus's edition (2024) is, therefore, an important step towards a better understanding of this enigmatic inscription. A good photo of the peg is available at CDLI (P423674); another recent copy of the text was made by A. Westenholz (CUSAS 26, 217).

This short note contains some remarks on Kraus's edition hoping to improve our understanding of some difficult lines.

I. Some observations on the copy made by Kraus:

i) On the copy of Kraus, ii 1 aligns with i 3. According to the CDLI photo and on Westenholz's copy, it aligns with i 4. This alignment may have relevance to the question of where the inscription actually begins. Kraus does not discuss this question; he follows Westenholz (2014: 170), who suggested that dedicatory inscriptions should start with divine names.

One may, however, assume that the first line of the second column aligns with the first line of the first column. A quick survey of other pegs with photos on CDLI supports this assumption. It must be mentioned though that on all these objects, the beginning of the columns is also marked with a double ruling. Nevertheless, the findings may indicate that the alignment of the first lines was customary.

On mss. of En-metena 3 (CDLI Q00192), another peg, i 1 tends to be aligned with ii 1, whatever the first line of col. ii is: on P222550, i 1 is aligned with ii 1 (^dšul-MUŠ×PA-am₆); on P393090, P235685, P222586, P222582, i 1 is aligned with ii 1 (diñir-ra-ne₂); on P253748, P247892, P222550, P235684, P222584 i 1 is aligned with ii 1 (lu₂ e₂-muš₃ du₃-a).

On P222495, a ms. of En-anatum I 17 (CDLI Q001804), the beginnings of all three columns are aligned.

On mss. of Ur-niñin 1 (CDLI Q001449): on P216757 i 1 is aligned with ii 1 (e₂-šeš-e-ñar-ra); on P387685, i 1 is aligned with ii 1 (nin-a-ne₂).

I therefore suggest that Aya-ane-pada 7 begins with the line which is i 4 on the copy of Kraus, and aligns with ii 1 on the actual peg (for the sake of clarity, I keep using the line numbering of Kraus in this and the next section of the paper). For more on the structure of the inscription, see the note to i 7 below.

ii) In i 3, Kraus copies only a DU after NI. On Westenholz's copy and on the photo on CDLI, one can see and UD between NI and DU, as expected.

II. Observations on Kraus's transliteration and interpretation:

i 1–3: The difficulty of this passage lies in the finite verbal form in i 3: **pa mu-ni-e₃**. The compound verb **pa — e₃** “to make something appear, to create”, marks its semantic object with the locative₃ (cf. ZÓLYOMI 2017: 201–203, 215–220). Accordingly, with **nam-men-ne₂** “his lordliness” as its non-human semantic object, one would expect a verbal form like **bi₂-e₃** or **e-mi-e₃**. The verbal form **mu-ni-e₃** indicates, however, a human semantic object.

Kraus translates i 1–3 as “(For) Enki, his natural father, who causes his lordliness to appear there”, i.e., as a relative clause modifying Enki, its subject being also Enki. This translation takes no account of the verbal prefix /*(n)ni/*; unless “there” in the translation is meant to give back this prefix (in which case one would expect a form **ba-ni-e₃** or **im-ma-ni-e₃**, cf. ZÓLYOMI 2017: 230–232). Note also that there seems to be no basis for assuming a subordinate form.

Another solution would be to assume here an external possession construction. In this construction the finite verbal form shows agreement with the human possessor instead of the non-human possessum; the possessor may be expressed both as an overt noun phrase and a pronominal enclitic attached to the possessum, or only as a pronominal enclitic (for the details cf. ZÓLYOMI 2017: 228–230). A possible translation based on this interpretation and analysis is: “Enki, the father who created him, made his (= Aya-ane-pada's) lordship apparent”, the verbal prefix /*nni/* agrees with the possessor of **nam-men**.

The word **nam-men** is attested in two Old Babylonian literary texts: Rīm-Sîn C 4 (ETCSL 2.6.9.3 = UET 6 102) and Nanna E 8, 17, 48, 49 (ETCSL 4.13.05 = UET 6 67), both mss. are from Ur. **nam-men** is usually considered a sandhi-writing for **nam-en** “rulership” (cf. CHARPIN 1986: 371), although in Nanna E 12 and 18 also **nam-en** occurs.

The use of **men** “crown, tiara” in the metonymic meaning of “ruler” in i 6 of Aya-ane-pada's peg, however, suggests that **nam-men** and **nam-en** are two separate lexemes, and **men** acquired the meaning “ruler”, at least in Ur.

i 5: Kraus transliterates here **eš₃ kur-muš^dinanna-na** and translates as “the shrine ‘Snake Mountain’ of Inanna”, apparently suggesting that the name of Inana is in the genitive. Inana's name ends with a /*k/* in Sumerian, so one would expect here **^dinana-ka**.

i 6: Kraus reads the end of the line as **me^rgi^l-na**. He takes the sign read as NU by others as the beginning of a GI. The sign GI, however, starts with two slanted wedges closing above. The sign on the peg contains two slanted lines closing below. The sign is, therefore, more likely to be a NU.

Another solution would be to read the damaged sign after NU as ŠE, and to assume that the indented NA, in fact, belongs with the sign ME together. This would result in the following transliteration of the line: **abzu diŋir men na-me nu-še** “Abzu, (whose) god no crown (i.e., ruler) would disobey”. For **na-me nu-še** in the late bilingual text “The Elevation of Ištar”, cf. VELDHUIS 2018: 188.

i 7: This line is the main reason why the text has been neglected, as Sollberger took the AN sign after **lugal-be₂** as a divine determinative prefixed to Aya-ane-pada's name and concluded that it “clearly shows that the text, the script notwithstanding, is much later than A-ane-pada who never uses it himself” (SOLLBERGER 1960: 88).

Kraus overcomes this problem by assuming that AN stands for **-am₆**, it writes the enclitic copula attached to **lugal-bi: lugal-bi-am₆** “he is its lord”. He then assumes that the following royal name functions as the subject of the clause in col. ii 1.

Although it elegantly solves the problem pointed out by Sollberger, the transliteration and translation **lugal-bi-am₆** “he is its lord” can be ruled out. The 3rd ps. sg. non-human possessive enclitic =/*be/* followed by the 3rd ps. sg. enclitic copula will be =/*bem/* and not =/*be'am/* (cf. ZÓLYOMI 2017: 108), i.e., the vowels of the possessive enclitic and the copula contract preserving the vowel quality of the former, and the form is written until the end of the 3rd millennium BCE as **-be₂**. The writing **mu-be₂**, for example, may stand for *mu=be=em*; it will be written as **mu-be₂-em** only from the time of Amar-Suena onwards.

Another solution would be to read the line as **lugal-be₂ diŋir aya-an-ne₂-pad₃-da** “its lord/owner, the god of Aya-ane-pada”, as already suggested by Visicato and Westenholz (2005: 64 fn. 21). The possessive enclitic =/*be/* refers back the sanctuary described in the previous lines (i 4–6 on Kraus's copy).

This line then, together with i 1 of Kraus’s copy (“Enki, the father who created him”), are the ergative subject of the finite verb in i 3, see also below.

ii 2: Kraus reads here **ṛmu-na-nu₂¹** and offers the translation “he lay down (the foundation³) for him”, with hesitations as described in his commentary to this line. Another solution would be to assume that NA₂ is a mistake for HU+NA₂ = še₂₁ “to call, to name”, as already suggested by Gadd (1928: 628). This mistake is attested also in i 11 of Ur-Bau 5 (CDLI Q001466).

III. A preliminary edition

Below is an attempt at a new transliteration and translation of the peg with the hope that others can improve on it. For an electronic edition, cf. the edition of ETCSRI (Aya-ane-pada 7add = <https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/Q004866>).

column i

- | | | |
|---|-------|--|
| 1. unu AB-IGI-BUR | ii-17 | The dwelling AB.IGI.BUR, the sanctuary, the mountain of |
| 2. eš ₃ kur-muš ^d inana NA [(x)] | | snakes, where ³ Inana ..., the Abzu (whose) god no crown (i.e., |
| 3. abzu diŋir men na-me nu-ṛše ¹ | | ruler) would disobey, its owner, the god of Aya-ane-pada, |
| 4. lugal-be ₂ diŋir aya ₂ -an-ne ₂ -pad ₃ -da | | Enki, the father who created him, made his (= Aya-ane-pada’s) |
| 5. ^d en-ki aya ₂ tud-da-ne ₂ | | lordship apparent. |
| 6. nam-men-na-ne ₂ | | |
| 7. pa mu-ni-ṛe ₃ ¹ | | |

column ii

- | | | |
|---|---------|--|
| 1. AB-IGI-BUR mu-na-ŋar | ii1-ii3 | He (= Aya-ane-pada) (then) established the AB.IGI.BUR |
| 2. mu-na-še ₂₁ ¹ (NA ₂) | | for him (= Enki), called its name for him, and fashioned his |
| 3. men-ne ₂ mu-na-ṛdim ₂ ³ | | crown for him. |

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51) Eine ungewöhnliche Inschrift des Aja’anepada — Einen vernachlässigten Kupfer- oder Bronzenagel aus Ur mit einer Inschrift von Aja’anepada hat Julian Reade (READE 2002) wiederentdeckt. Aage Westenholz hat Kopie und Foto veröffentlicht (WESTENHOLZ 2014, 170; Pl. III; s. a. CDLI P423674) und mitgeteilt, dass Jakob Andersson und Kamran Zand die Inschrift an anderer Stelle behandeln würden. Das ist anscheinend bisher nicht geschehen. Nun hat Nicholas Kraus in NABU 2024/38 den Text mit neuer Kopie übersetzt und besprochen. Syntax und Phraseologie sind ungewöhnlich. Die Analyse wird dadurch erschwert, dass in Ur zumindest bis Aja’anepada die Phonogramme ka und ke₄ anders als in Lagaš seit Eannatum noch nicht verwendet werden. Auch der verkürzte Dativ nach Vokal /-r/ und Ergativ nach Vokal werden nicht geschrieben. Zur Klärung der Syntax soll hier beigetragen werden. Der Wert der Bearbeitung durch Kraus wird dabei voll anerkannt.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| I | 1) ^d en-ki ajá dú-da-né | Für Enki, seinen leiblichen Vater, |
| | 2) nam-men-na-né | der sein Kronenamt |
| | 3) pa mu-ni-ṛē ¹ [-a?] | hat strahlend hervorgehen lassen, |
| | 4) ṛēš ¹ ? AB.IGI+BUR [...?] | der der Herr des Heiligtums(?) AB.IGI+BUR, |
| | 5) ṛēš ¹ kur-muš ^d innana na [...?] | seines Heiligtums, des Schlangenberges der Innana (und) |

	6) abzu ^d men me ^r ge ¹ -na	des Abzu, der (göttlichen) Krone, der verlässlichen Me ist,
	7) lugal-bé-am ₆ ajá-an-né-pà-da	hat Aja'anepada
II	1) ^r AB.IGI+BUR ¹ mu-na-ĝar	das AB.IGI+BUR gegründet
	2) mu-na-nú	(und die Krone) für ihn hingelegt -
	3) men-né ^r mu ¹ -na-[dí]m	seine Krone hat er ihm gemacht!

Kommentar

I 1-3: Subjekt zu pa è ist normalerweise der Herrscher. Da der zu erwartende Dativ beim Verbum fehlt, ist mit Kraus Enki als virtueller Ergativ anzunehmen. Ich zögere etwas nam-men für nam-en zu nehmen. Die Verbindung von nam mit einem Gegenstand, auch wenn er für eine damit verbundene Funktion stehen kann, ist aber ungewöhnlich.

I 4: Aufgrund der Beschädigung ist nicht klar, ob UNUG oder AB am Anfang vorliegt. Die Vorstellung von UNUG wäre aber ungewöhnlich. Die Übersetzung „dwelling“ beruht auf der Gleichung *šubtu*, die aber eine Bandbreite von Übersetzungsmöglichkeiten zulässt. Einen sicheren Beleg für „dwelling“ kenne ich nicht. In Zame-Hymne 148 ist wohl die Stadt Uruk gemeint. Auch Attinger 2021 verzeichnet kein entsprechendes Wort. Zum AB.IGI+BUR Kraus a. a. O.

I 5: Dass muš für mùš steht, wie Kraus erwägt, ist prinzipiell möglich. Die Worte kur „Berg, Unterwelt“ und muš „Schlange“ deuten auf einen chthonischen Aspekt der/dieser Innana hin, der zur Verbindung mit Enki gut passt. Siehe auch den Kommentar von Kraus zu dieser Zeile und den Hinweis auf ^dinnana nin-kù-nun-na in seinem Kommentar zu Zeile 4. Das na kann nicht zu innana(-k) gehören. Die Kopie bei Kraus lässt außerdem nicht erkennen, dass es eine beschädigte Fläche am Ende der Zeile gibt. Hier wären ein Zeichen oder sogar zwei Zeichen möglich, die dann entweder vor oder nach ^dinnana oder nach na einzufügen wären. Der Platz reicht wohl nicht für die Zeichen kù-nun. Alles in allem ist es wahrscheinlich, dass die Zeile wie die folgende auf -na endet. Wir nehmen ein Suffix der 3. Person Personenklasse und einen vorausgestellten Genitiv parallel zur folgenden Zeile an.

I 6: Kraus liest „abzu an“. Im Gegensatz zum é-an-na Innanas ist der Abzu Enkis immer mit der Erde verbunden. Kraus umgeht die Schwierigkeit, indem er „the holy abzu“ übersetzt. In PSD A III 184-202 wird keine einzige Parallele zitiert. Die Krone ist mit Gottesdeterminativ und in einem Abschnitt mit Gottheiten belegt. Siehe KREBERNIK/LISMAN 2020, 113 und CUSAS 26, 261 i 9'. Kraus übersetzt: „the crown has been fixed by the mes“. Die Me erscheinen aber nie als handelnd.

I 7: Nach der kurzen Form der Kopula /-am/ wird ebenso wie nach -gen₇ niemals ein Kasusmorphem geschrieben. Z. B. šà ^den-líl-lá-ke₄ ⁱidigna-àm a du₁₀-ga nam-de₆ „das Herz Enlils ist der Tigris, es bringt gutes Wasser“ Gudea, Zyl. A i 9. Im Gegensatz zur nominalisierten finiten Form: mu dumu-ge i-me-a-šè „weil er ein freier Bürger ist“ NG 184, 10. Deshalb ist nach lugal-bé-am₆ kein Dativmorphem zu erwarten. Damit wird die Syntax klar: von ^den-ki bis lugal-bé-am₆ reicht der erweiterte Dativ. Es folgt der Ergativ und in der nächsten Zeile Objekt und finites Verbum.

II 1: Für „bauen“ wäre dù zu erwarten. Daher steht ĝar wahrscheinlich für ki ĝar „gründen“, weniger wahrscheinlich ki-bé ĝar „wiederherstellen“. Vgl. é-sila-sír-sír an-né ĝar-ra-za „in deinem (Tempel) Esilasirsir, den An gegründet hat“ Luma A 12; 15; en-ul-e ĝar-ra „(Tempel) von einem Urzeitherrscher gegründet“ TH 65; é-kur é ^den-líl-lá ^šes-al-e ĝar-ra-àm „das Ekur, der Tempel Enlils wurde mit der Hacke gegründet“ Lied von der Hacke 35.

II 2: nú wird normalerweise intransitiv gebraucht: „liegen“, „sich hinlegen“. Ein kausativischer Gebrauch impliziert normalerweise eine negative Wendung. Cf. ĝeš-búr nú „eine Falle auslegen/stellen“, ATTINGER 2021, 823. Selten auch neutral: na da-bé kun-šè mu-nú „Steine legte er an ihre Seite als Treppe hin“ Gudea Zyl. A xxiii 5. Etwas wird sorgfältig hingelegt. Als Objekt kommt nur die Krone in Betracht, obwohl sie erst in der nächsten Zeile genannt wird.

Den Nagel würden wir mit Reade als „foundation deposit“ qualifizieren und eine Bauinschrift erwarten. Der Text legt aber mehr Gewicht auf die Krone als auf den Bau des AB.IGI+BUR. Das Wort erscheint gleich dreifach im Text: als Insignie der von Enki geförderten Herrschaft, in der Mitte als göttliche Krone und in den Schlusszeilen als Krone, die der Herrscher für Enki macht und in den Tempel legt. Also bekommt Aja'anepada von Enki eine Krone und umgekehrt Enki eine Krone von Aja'anepada. Trotz ihrer Kürze ist die Inschrift literarisch gestaltet.

Das auffallendste Merkmal ist das Fehlen des Herrschertitels. Dass Aja'anepada der Herrscher ist, wird nur zwischen den Zeilen gesagt: er ist der Sohn eines Gottes, besitzt eine Krone und baut einen Tempel. Man kann nur darüber spekulieren, warum sein Titel nicht wie üblich genannt wird. Es könnte sein, dass Ur den Titel „König von Kiš“, den sein Vater Mes'anepada zumindest zeitweise noch führte, nicht behaupten konnte und Aja'anepada das kaschieren wollte, ehe er sich dann doch einfach als König von Ur bezeichnete.

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52) ^dab-ba-bu₁₁ in Ur-Klage 24f. und ^dAB-bu₁₁ — Christopher Metcalf weist auf den Dativ ^dba-Ú-úr in MS 3329 (CUSAS 38, 2) 6 und U 16868, 6 hin und schließt daraus auf ^dba-ú (METCALF 2019, 24) statt der lange Zeit üblichen Lesung ^dba-ba₆. Offenbar war ihm die Deutung als ^dba-bu₁₁ (KEETMAN 2018; SCHRAKAMP 2019) noch nicht bekannt, da er ^dba-bu₁₁-úr nicht in Erwägung zieht. ^dba-bu₈(Ú heute bu₁₁) wurde bereits früh vereinzelt vertreten (THUREAU-DANGIN 1935; FINKEL 1976, 50). Es gibt zahlreiche Hinweise auf ein zweites b, angefangen mit ED Geographic List 189: ba-Ú^{ki}, in Ebla bù-bù^{ki} (CIVIL 2010, 196) über sumerische Personennamen (SCHRAKAMP 2019 und apud KEETMAN 2018, 15) und in akkadischen Kontexten ab der aB Zeit, die sich nicht einfach ignorieren lassen (MARCHESI 2002, 166). In allen Fällen wird /bu/ belegt. Ú = bu₁₁ ist auch außerhalb des Namens belegt (KEETMAN 2018, 17; 2019). Der Dativ bestätigt, dass die Nebenform ^dba-ba SF 1 xi 12 und falls hierher gehörig ur-ba-ba (RUBIO 2010, 36) tatsächlich von ^dba-Ú zu unterscheiden ist, sofern es sich wirklich um die gleiche Gottheit handelt, was zumindest in SF 1 wahrscheinlich ist, da die anderen wichtigen Lagaš-Gottheiten ^dnin-ĝîr:su v 23', ^dnanše ix 11, ^dĝá-tùm-du₁₀, ^dhendur-saĝ ix 5, ihre Söhne ^dig:alim', ^dšul-šà-na xii 5f. und der abgeleitete Göttername ^dkuš₇-ba-bu₁₁(!) xi 21 genannt werden. ^dhendur-saĝ fehlt in der Götterliste in Abū Šalābīh. Ansonsten werden die Lagaš-Götter relativ zueinander in der gleichen Reihenfolge genannt. Bezüglich dieser relativen Reihenfolge steht ^dba'-bu₁₁ (IAS 82 iv 21) an der Stelle, wo in Tell Fāra ^dba-ba steht und ^dba-ba taucht auch sonst nicht in der zu ca. 85% erhaltenen Liste auf (siehe MANDER 1986, 19-34). Cf. Nammu/Namma, Nusku/Nuska.

In Lagaš wird auch in Personennamen ^dba-bu₁₁ geschrieben (Übersicht: SELZ 1995, 98f. vollständige Beleglisten BALKE 2017 s. v.). Angesichts dessen ist es sehr unwahrscheinlich, dass der Frauennamen ba-ba-e (BALKE 2017, 99 mit Anm. 178) das theophore Element enthält. Möglich wäre eine Interpretation mit deiktischem -e als „sie (diese) wurde geschenkt“, vergleichbar nin-ba-ba „eine Schwester wurde geschenkt“ (BALKE 2017, 317).

Daher ist es wahrscheinlich, dass (^d)ba-ba eine lokale Variante ist, die in Tell Fāra neben ^dba-bu₁₁ belegt ist, z. B. ur-^dba-bu₁₁ WF 91 i 2; ur-ba-ba TŠŠ 757 ii 5 passim und ebenfalls in Adab CUSAS 26, 76 vi 4 passim. Da ba₆ ausscheidet stützt die Variante die Lesung ^dba-bu₁₁ statt ^dba-ú. Die Variante kann durch Vokalharmonie bedingt sein, könnte aber auch auf eine selbständige Muttergestalt zurückgehen. Cf. ba-ba, a-ba-ba = *ummu* „Mutter“ Silbenvokabular A 46, CAD U/W 120a. Die zweite Gleichung mag mit ^da-ba₄-ba₄ als Beinamen der Nin'imma zusammenhängen. Dazu Focke 1999-2000, 96f. und nun auch CUSAS 38, 5, 49. Nin'imma gehört jedoch nicht in unseren Kontext.

Wie ^dba-bu₁₁ ist auch ^dab-bu₁₁ zu lesen. Aus ^dab-ba-Ú in Ur-Klage 24f. schließt RICHTER 2004, 118, Anm. 526 auf ba₆ nämlich ^dab-^{ba}ba₆. RÖMER 2004, 109 und SAMET 2014, 54 lesen weiter ^dab-ba-ba₆, ATTINGER 2019, 4 AbbaU; 2021, 459 Abbabu. Als Beweis für die Lesung ba₆ kann die Stelle nicht dienen, denn ^{ba}ba₆ wäre nur in diesen zwei Zeilen belegt, dort aber in allen 8 Textzeugen. Diese Singularität lässt sich nicht durch eine gemeinsame Vorlage erklären, denn die Texte kommen aus mindestens zwei Städten und weichen nicht unerheblich voneinander ab. Die gleichen Texte schreiben zwei Zeilen davor ^dba-Ú statt *^dba-^{ba}Ú. Doch wie verhält sich ^dab-ba-bu₁₁ zu ^dab-bu₁₁?

Gottesnamen können variieren. Z. B. schreibt Text B (P345382) in Urnamma B fünfmal ur-^dna-na-ma-ki statt ur-^dnamma-ke₄ (FLÜCKIGER-HAWKER 1999, 8) und jünger ^dnun-nam-nir statt ^dnu-nam-nir, An *Anum* I 153 (LITKE 1998, 38) etc. Doch die Situation ist komplizierter als bei ^dba-bu₁₁/ba-ba.

Statt ^dab-bu₁₁ lässt sich auch ^daba-bu₁₁ oder ^dabba-bu₁₁ lesen. Es ist aber sehr unwahrscheinlich, dass dies für alle Belege gilt und nur in Ur-Klage 24f. durch abba^{ba} geklärt wurde. Vergleiche oben zu ^{ba}ba₆. Dass ^dab-bu₁₁ und ein davon abzugrenzender Name ^dabba-bu₁₁ existierten, wäre möglich. Das plötzliche Auftreten von ^dab-ba-bu₁₁ wäre erklärt. Einwenden ließe sich, dass aba, abba fröhndynastisch nur in (^{ĝeš})kul-aba^(ki) (RGTC 1, 96f.) und in Fällen, in denen AB für (a-)ab-ba „Meer“ steht, sicher belegt ist. Andererseits gibt es eine Parallele: Erstmals in Ur III ist ein Fest ezem ab-è belegt. Damit zu verbinden ist der 10. Monat *tebetu*, altbabyl. als ^{ti}ab(-ba)-è. Also ebenfalls erst altbabylonisch ab-ba für älter AB. Da das Fest mit dem Totenkult verbunden ist, könnte „Fest: hervorkommende (verstorbene) Väter“ gemeint

sein (zum Fest SALLABERGER 1993, 146-48). Davon abgesehen ist AB für ab-ba „Vater“, „Senior“ aber nur lexikalisch belegt (PSD A II 129-33).

Die Ähnlichkeit mit dem Namen ^dba-bu₁₁ mag zu Spekulationen über einen Zusammenhang geführt haben, wobei die Folgen kaum widersprüchlicher sein könnten: ^dab-bu₁₁ erscheint als Sohn der ^dba-bu₁₁ (FALKENSTEIN 1966, 63 Anm. 6), wird aber weder altsumerischen noch bei Gudea unter den Kindern der Babu genannt. In CT 25, 13, 27 wird er mit Ninurta identifiziert. Da Babu auch in An *Anum* V 58 als Gemahlin des Ninġirsu erscheint, zuvor in V 50 als Gemahlin des Zababa und beide in CT 25, 13, 25; 29 mit Ninurta gleichgesetzt werden, wäre ^dab-bu₁₁ auch der Gemahl seiner Mutter Babu. Die Gleichsetzung mit Ninurta, erklärt sich vielleicht aus Ninurtas Beziehung zur Landwirtschaft und Enki und Ninġursaġa 273: ^dab-bu₁₁ lugal ú ħé-a „Abbu soll der Herr der Pflanzen sein!“ Augenscheinlich wurde die Schreibung ab-Ú etymologisch gedeutet. Das mag eventuell (wie bei Babu?) auch seiner altbabylonisch zu vermutenden Nähe zur Heilgöttin Gula (RICHTER 2004, 117-19) förderlich gewesen sein. Dass man diese Etymologie nicht zu ernst zu nehmen braucht, zeigt Z. 255f. wo wahrscheinlich über den Gleichklang mit akkadisch *abbutum* ein Vergleich mit ugu „Scheitel“ hergestellt wird.

In An *Anum* V 54 steht ^dab-bu₁₁ vor ^dgu-la (Variante ^dgú-lá), die als seine Gemahlin bezeichnet wird und mit Babu identifiziert werden kann. Kurz darauf in V 60 wird ^dab-bu₁₁ als Mutter der Babu erklärt (LITKE 1998, 174). In Ur-Klage 24 bezeichnet ein Text aus Nippur ^dab-ba-bu₁₁ als Kind der Babu und ein anderer aus Nippur als ihre Mutter. Dies tun auch die beiden Texte aus Ur, der Text P (Larsa?) und ein Text unbekannter Herkunft. Damit ließe sich die Göttin ^dab-bu₁₁ in An *Anum* V 60 als Variante zu ^dab-ba-bu₁₁ und eventuell ^dabba-bu₁₁ deuten, wobei letztere Lesung ohne Glosse in An *Anum* gewagt wäre. Hierher gehört, wenn richtig gedeutet, der altsumerische Name ama-^dab(ba)-bu₁₁-é-ta „Mutter Ab(ba)bu hat aus dem Tempel“ (BALKE 2017, 84 m. Anm. 107). Außerdem ist ^dab-ba in An *Anum* II zusammen mit ^dta-kuna als Pförtner von Esaġila belegt (KREBERNIK 2011-13). Mutmaßlich ein semitischer Gott und trotz Variante ^dab-bu₁₁ von sumerisch ^dab-bu₁₁ zu trennen.

In Lagaš ist kein Tempel der/des ^dAB-bu₁₁ nachgewiesen. Die Zuordnung einer Weihinschrift (STEIBLE 1982, Teil II 202f.) zu dem deshalb „Abu-Tempel“ genannten frühdynastischen Tempel in Ešnuna zieht Marchetti in MARCHESI/MARCHETTI 2011, 12 Anm. 6 in Zweifel. Doch mindestens einen Schrein sollte die Gottheit in der Nähe gehabt haben. Alleine aus der Herkunft des Textes aus der Diyālā-Region sollte man nicht auf einen semitischen Gott schließen. Cf. ^dnin-tur₅ OIP 58, 3 i 1 (Ĥafāġī) und ^dšāra OIP 58, 10, 1 (Tell Aqrab). Auch der Weihende, lugal-kisal-si trägt einen sumerischen Namen. Unklar ist, ob ^dAB in dem akkadischen Namen PÜ.Š[A]-^dAB [D]JUMU n[a-b]í-um Tutub 3, i 9f. (Narām-Suen) etwas mit ihm zu tun hat.

Die Ur-Klage kennt also eine Göttin ^dab-ba-bu₁₁, die mit einer Ausnahme aus Nippur als Mutter der Babu bezeichnet wird. Bei der Ausnahme bleibt offen, ob ein Sohn oder eine Tochter der Babu gemeint ist. Im ersten Falle wäre an eine Verwechslung mit dem männlichen Abbu zu denken. „Babu, gehegt von An und Uraš“ in STVC 36 Rs. 9‘ ist wohl sekundär aus der Verbindung von Uraš und An abgeleitet. Die Ur-Klage ist die ältere, detailliertere und nicht schematisch ableitbare Quelle. Die frühdynastischen Belege für ^dAB-bu₁₁ aus Ġirsu meinen wahrscheinlich die Göttin. SELZ 1995, 18 weist darauf hin, dass ein nach dem Hügel der ^dAB-bu₁₁ benanntes Feld, nach den „Reformen“, bzw. der Restitution des Irikagena der Babu zugeschlagen wird und vermutet, dass es eine Verbindung mit ^dab-bu₁₁ als Sohn der Babu gibt. Allerdings hat die Tradition einer Verbindung als Sohn oder Gemahl der Babu in Lagaš keinen Platz, denn diese Stellen sind besetzt. Nicht besetzt ist der Platz der Mutter der Babu. Auch der erwähnte altsumerische Name spricht dafür, dass ^dAB-bu₁₁ in Lagaš weiblich eine Göttin mit mütterlichen Eigenschaften war. In der Ur-Klage wird ^dab-ba-bu₁₁ zwischen Babu in Uruku und der Lamma von é-sila(TAR)-sír-sír (= Lammasaga, METCALF 2019, 19) eingefügt, und das ist der Tempel der Babu in Uruku. Daher könnte ihr ma-gú-en-na (Ur-Klage 25; 58) ein Teil des é-sila-sír-sír gewesen sein. Mit ġá, Emesal ma ist ein Teil eines Tempels gemeint (cf. ATTINGER 2021, 459). ġá steht nur in bestimmten Zusammensetzungen vielleicht am Anfang eines Tempelnamens (GEORGE 1993 Nr. 299-305). Als Tempelteil ist ma/ġá?-gú-en-na auch in Nippur (KRECHER 1966, 195) und vielleicht in Ur belegt (GEORGE 1993, 86, 301). Dies würde auch erklären, warum nirgends ein Tempel von ihr erwähnt wird, obwohl der erwähnte Personenne auf eine Beziehung zu einem Tempel im Staate Lagaš schließen lässt. Diese Indizien sprechen dafür, dass die

Tradition als Mutter der Babu wohl nach Ĝirsu gehört und die älteren Belege von dort mit einiger Wahrscheinlichkeit ^dabba-bu₁₁ zu lesen sind.

Außerdem gibt es einen Gott ^dab-bu₁₁. Eine Nebenform ab-ba in ur-ab-ba ist frühdynastisch fraglich. Wahrscheinlich ist ab-ba „Vater“ gemeint, cf. ur-ad-da CUSAS 26, 227 i 2' Ur. Wenn es eine Nebenform ^dab-ba (dazu RICHTER 2004, 197) gab, dann ist es schwer, sie vom semitischen ^dab-ba zu trennen. Möglicherweise hielten bereits altbabylonisch einige Quellen, die Götter nicht mehr auseinander. Der Gott ^dab-bu₁₁ ließ sich nur als Sohn und auf Umwegen als Gemahl mit Babu verbinden.

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53) The išib profession at Nippur during the ED IIIb period — The *išib* profession is generally understood to be a priestly office, one that deals with purity and in later periods assumes an exorcistic role in the dispelling of magical machinations. Yet, the functions and responsibilities of this profession during the third millennium are less understood. One such aspect that I would like to bring to attention is the gender restrictions that were seemingly placed on this role. Both J. G. Westenholz and P. Steinkeller have put forward the argument that the *išib* office was confined to masculine-presenting individuals.¹⁾ While the profession is open to interpretation as to the sex of the individual, there is the presumption that this role is reserved for men²⁾ — particularly as our understanding of the role is based on the later Akkadian *pašīřu*, which was strictly limited to male practitioners.³⁾ However, evidence coming from Nippur in the ED IIIb period seems to challenge this. There are two tablets, HS 0882 (CDLI P020546) and HS 0761 (CDLI P020425) which feature a female (or in the case of the former text, a group of females) *išib* professional is listed.

In HS 0882, we have a clear example of a group of female *išib*, coming from Col. 2, L. 6-7 on the obverse. Here, we can read:

6. 15 *nin išib*
7. ^dInanna.

In this instance, the term *išib* is presented in conjunction with 15 explicitly female-identified individuals. The *nin*-sign in line 6 is a reconstruction due to damage, but based on the available signs, seems most likely.⁴ The line immediately following this (L. 7), the deity ^dInanna is present, implying that these individuals held associations with her. It is not a stretch to therefore argue that this group of individuals likely constituted part of a cultic group dedicated to ^dInanna, which would be unsurprising for this period and location. The fact that these *išib*-practitioners were women in propinquity with ^dInanna may reshape how we interpret and understand the role of the *išib* profession. What is challenging about this argument, however, is that this text, and more specifically this transcription of *nin išib*, appears to be a *hapax legomenon*.

In HS 0761, the identity of the female *išib* is slightly more obfuscated. In Col. 2, L. 9-11 on the obverse, we have:

9. *ma₂-gur₈-si*
 10. *ur-ur*
 11. *išib* ^dTu
 12. ^den-lil-la₂

The association between ^dTu and the *išib* as such present an intriguing element in the context of a list of persons and ships. This is further extended when we look at the surrounding lines, specifically, lines 9-12. Here, I recognise the signs to indicate a personal name of Magursi, rather than that of noun-form “profession”. Based on the following line, the *ur-ur*—which I am reading as the female servant based on the Akkadian *amtu*—I understand Magursi to be a female servant. Being that this precedes Line 11: *išib* ^dTu with no other personal name(s) between the two professions, there are two possible readings for these lines. The first could be to understand the absence of an additional personal name between the *ur-ur* profession and the *išib* indicates that Magursi fulfills this role as well; she is both the servant and *išib*-practitioner of ^dTu. The second possible reading could indicate that Magursi is a servant to an *išib* of ^dTu; a separate individual. Based on the structure of this column and the phrasing, I am far more inclined to adopt the first reading.

Both of these texts appear to indicate that female figures were able to assume the role and position of an *išib*—at least in as far as the role is understood at Nippur. Two distinct attestations from Nippur do not necessarily mean that this gendered restriction has been misinterpreted more broadly. Rather, these attestations demonstrate that Early Dynastic temple culture in Nippur may have deviated from this practice, particularly as both texts reference the *išib* practitioner(s) having associations to different deities (^dInanna and ^dTu respectively). Whether or not this lack of gendered practice was unique to Nippur, this evidence does intrinsically alter the current understanding.

Notes

1. WESTENHOLZ 2012: 262; STEINKELLER 2019: 114-115.
2. WESTENHOLZ 2012: 247.
3. CAD P, 2005: 253-255.
4. POHL 1935: 58; WESTENHOLZ 1975: 63.

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54) The status of the Enmetena cylinder BM 139994 — This is a stone cylinder with a total height of some 40 cm and diameter of 12.5 cm. It is rounded at one end and narrower at the other, as if designed to stand upright in a circular hole. The stone is hard whitish limestone or marble, with some wear and damage. The main length of the cylinder is covered by an incised text in Early Dynastic III script.

The cylinder was once stored in the British Museum as an unnumbered forgery. How it had arrived is unknown. There is no reason to suppose that the museum bought it. No such piece is recorded among items bought by George Smith in 1876 in Baghdad (when he got part of a Gudea statue from Telloh) nor among those excavated for the museum at Telloh in February 1879 (H. Rassam, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, pp. 276-9). Possibly the cylinder was brought to London by an antiquities dealer or by a soldier who had acquired it in Mesopotamia, was offered to the museum, and was left there after being identified by a member of staff such as L. W. King or C. J. Gadd as a worthless forgery.

I examined the cylinder about 1990 and concluded that the object and the inscription were both ancient. I therefore assigned it museum numbers: 139994, and the arbitrary date-number 1983-1-1, 386 (denoting probable acquisition before 1920). I. L. Finkel later recognised the text on the cylinder as a version, complete but embodying peculiarities, of the Enmetena text, RIME I, 9.5.1. The text concerns the boundary dispute between Lagaš and Umma, which suggested to me that cylinders like this might have been mass-produced, to be placed at points along the boundary, resulting in the production of some faulty copies such as this.

In 2018 a small illustrated book, *no man's land* (ISBN 978 0 7141 1192 6), with text by Irving Finkel and Sébastien Rey, and photographs by Ursula Schulz-Dornburg, was produced to accompany an exhibition sponsored by Asahi Shimbun at the British Museum. The book discusses the cylinder and other related objects. It proposes that the peculiarities in the text are deliberate and that the physical condition of the cylinder reflects a complicated history of damage and repair. Two or three colleagues outside the museum have informally told me that they regard the object as a forgery. The present note is intended to draw attention to BM 139994 and note that there is no current consensus on its status.



Enmetena cylinder BM 139994.

Courtesy Trustees of the British Museum.

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55) Minima Eblaitica 30: níĝ.kas₄ “military expedition” — In his review of the volume *ARET XVIII* by A. Catagnoli and P. Fronzaroli (2020), R. D. Winters (*ZA* 114 [2024]: 96–100) regrets that “the text commentary follows the interpretative framework of the Ebla texts concerning dozens of putative wars which Ebla supposedly fought against some of the most common named toponyms in the archive – most relevant here, the alleged wars against Mari and Armi – The core of this framework asserts that every attestation in the Ebla texts ‘NÍĜ.KAS₄ GN’ signifies an attestation of a “war” between Ebla and that GN. However, NÍĜ.KAS₄ means simply ‘journey, expedition’ or ‘caravan’ like its later Akkadian semantic equivalent *harrānu(m)* and *gerru(m)*” (p. 97).

Much data documenting the wars waged by Ebla during the approximately forty-seven years have been given in several studies. General presentations have been offered by BIGA 2010, and 2015; reconstructions of particular expeditions have been given by ARCHI — BIGA 2003 for the wars against

Mari; ARCHI 2019a for the wars of the time of king Irkab-damu; ARCHI 2021a for the wars of minister Ibrum; ARCHI 2019b for the wars against Ib'al and Mari during the last years of king Iš'ar-damu.

Even Winters dedicated pp. 30–70 of his dissertation (2019) to the military expeditions conducted along the Euphrates by four kings of Mari in the presumably fifteen years preceding the Ebla documentation – that is before the reign of Irkab-damu of Ebla – registered in the letter of Enna-Dagan (ARET XIII 4): a period which culminated with Iblul-il's victorious raid until the today's border between Syria and Turkey (approximately 600 km of road from Mari!).

Winters moreover believes that “given the depths and richness of attestations indicating close peaceful relations between Armi and Ebla, reconstructions which allege these two powers engaged in armed conflict are probably the result of wrong interpretation” (p. 98).

The texts (it is true) attest “a long period of cooperation” between Ebla and Armi. Notwithstanding that, Armi tried to take profit from the fact that the Ebla army (led by Ibbi-zikir) was engaged at Terqa against Mari, and attacked Ḥarran, a city-state linked to Ebla by a treaty also sealed by a dynastic marriage. Some passages surely to be dated around to the third year before the fall of Ebla, as ARET VIII 534 § 19, and 542 § 4, mention this war, to which one must add the fragmentary passage in ARET XII 34 r. IV 6–10:] šè *si-in* níĝ-kas₄ *Ar-mi*^{ki} (see ARCHI 2019: 181–183). One of the laws that regulates human behavior is: *homo homini lupus!* Minister Ibbi-zikir, who had defeated Mari's army by Terqa, taking prisoner Ḥidar, Mari's king, felt therefore forced to run back to Ḥarran. He defeated Armi with the help of the forces of his ally: the city of Manuwat. ARET VIII 522 (also to be dated in that year) has in obv. I 5–13: “(40+40 garments) 2 é-duru₅^{ki} *Ma-nu-wa-at*^{ki} lú mu-DU al₆-tuš *si-in* SA.ZA_x^{ki} lú MÈ *Ar-mi*^{ki} “40+40 garments for forty men from Manuwat: which is the delivery (for those men) who resided at the Palace: those of the battle (against) Armi”. Ibbi-zikir's decision was, however, fateful because he supposedly missed the opportunity to deliver the fatal blow to Mari. Three years later Mari took its revenge by savagely destroying Ebla and massacring its population (ARCHI 2019b: 181–183; 2021b: 166–167).

As the XXI century AD has its wars concluded by massacres (the wounded are often not counted), this was also true for the twenty-fourth century BC. Nothing has changed over the millennia. This was the fate of three towns of the confederation of Ib'al: Masanu, Badanu, and Darašum. MEE 10, 43: 3200 *na-se*₁₁ ug₇ *Ba-da-nu*^{ki} *wa* *Ma-sa-nu*^{ki} lú *Ib-al*₆^{ki} “3200 people of Badanu and Masanu of Ib'al killed”; TM.75.G.2383: 3600 *na-se*₁₁ ug₇ *Da-ra-šum*^{ki} iti *ga-sum* “3600 people of Darašum killed; month VII” (see ARCHI 2019: 154, 160, 155; ARCHI 2024: 47).

Winters also states that DU-*lu*^{ki} has to be read *Gub-lu*^{ki} and be identified with Byblos (p. 100), although any of the hundreds of Semitic lemmas and of the hundreds of geographic names requests the value *gub* for DU. Ur III texts gave *Gub-la*, perhaps a dual. He also believes that *Du-gu-ra-su*^{ki} “is certainly either Egypt or a place in Palestine that served as an intermediary with Egypt”. The documents, however, prove that Ebla had included in its territory to the south the area of Ḥamā and perhaps of Homs, and to the north-west Alalaha (ARCHI 2020), but they do not mention any city more to the south on the Mediterranean coast: probably even not Ugarit (ARCHI 1987). Dugurasu must be clearly identified with Tukriš of the Mesopotamian sources, located east of Sulaymaniya, towards the Zagros mountain. Ebla in fact was in contact with other Transtigridan states such as Erbilum, Gasur, and Ḥamazi (ARCHI 2016: 33–37).

This author considers it useless to present again details of the Ebla wars, for which see ARCHI 2019a, 2019b, 2021a. He presents this note only because Winters' thesis is published in such an authoritative journal as the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*. He also has to admit his responsibility in not having given the correct meaning of the term níĝ-kas₄ since the year 1985 not having identified the sign LAK493 (MÈ) in ARET I 16 o. II 9. Two sections of this text are given here; (§ 3) (3+3+3 garments, 3 bracelets) PN₁–PN₃ *Ar-mi*^{ki} ì-ti *mi-nu* MÈ *Dar-ḥa-ti*^{ki}; (§ 4) (3+3+3 garments) maškim-maškim *Ḥa-ra-ì* ì-ti *mi-nu* níĝ-kas₄ *Dar-ḥa-ti*^{ki} “1 garment and 1 bracelet to each of three men from the city of Armi who came back from the war (against) the city of Darḥati. 1 garment to each of the three representatives of Ḥara-i(l) who came back from the military expedition (against) the city of Darḥati”.

“War” is MÈ / *ga-ba-lum* (Akk. *qablum* “war”; Bilingual List no. 1277). The meaning of níĝ-kas₄ is “military expedition”; níĝ-kaskal means “travel provision”; kaskal “travel, journey”, usually used for a delegation or simply a messenger; kas₄ “messenger”. Please, reserve the meaning “caravan” for romantic

dreams. ARET IX 86 § 2 registers a large amount of flour as “travel provision” for the men leaving for a “military expedition”: AN.ŠÈ.GÚ 27½ zíd níĝ-kaskal guruš-guruš DU *si-in* níĝ-kas₄. A “military expedition” could have just the aim of devastating the barley fields of an enemy (in this particular case of the city of Kakmium, with which Ebla had usually friendly relations!), ARET III 259 III 1’–8’: ‘PN’ ì-ti *mi-nu* níĝ-kas₄ al.PAD (al-bu_x) še *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} “PN who returned from the military expedition that eradicated the barley of the city of Kakmium” (see PSD, p. 162–166 . s.v. bu B; cf. ARET XVI, p. 213; Bilingual List no. 136: AL.PAD / *ar-ša-lu*).

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56) E₂-SAGDANA NIBRU^{ki} (Drehim) in light of published and unpublished cuneiform texts —

This article includes texts studied in theses and dissertations of graduate students (texts No. 1 & 2) with an unpublished text (No. 3). These texts are part of an anonymous (confiscated) collection handed over by a person to the Karbala Antiquities and Heritage Inspectorate on 2019 for a total of 862 (757 original texts belonging to different eras, the majority of which are from the era of Ur III, 7 pieces for study, i.e. somewhat damaged, and 98 fake texts). This collection is considered as one of the important archives of the royal family related to workshops, factories, metals and grains. Through the study and tracking of the most prominent figures and their comparisons (in master’s theses, doctoral theses, research and books under publication), we were able to determine the origin of these texts to the city of E₂-sagdana Nibru^{ki} specifically and not from Puzriš-Dagan, because there is a date formula in one of the texts of this archive dated Šulgi 27, see Text No. 1 (W. N. Hussein, *Šulgi King ...*, p. 195), eleven years before Puzriš-Dagan was founded. Nevertheless some scholars suggest that E₂-sagdana Nibru^{ki} is the ancient name and place of Puzriš-Dagan, which was renamed by King Šulgi in his 39th year of reign (Sallabereger UAVA 1, p. 15; Wilcke, *E₂-sag-da-na Nibru^{ki}*, p. 312, al-Mutawalli & Sallabereger, ZA 107, p. 188).

If Šulgi did indeed change its name to Puzriš-Dagan, several questions arise:

1) Why does E₂-sagdana Nibru^{ki} continue to be mentioned in texts generally from Šulgi 26 (M. Hilgert, OIP 115, p. 65) until Ibbi-Sin 3 (D. Owen, Nisaba 15, 958)? Especially in the texts of this archive from Šulgi 27 (see Text No. 1), through Šu-Sin 2, (see Text No. 3), assuming that the name remained in circulation perhaps among the common people, but this should not be found in official royal transactions!

In one of the texts dated Šulgi 42 (see Text No. 2), a quantity of silver was given by the wives of king Šulgi (Nin-kala and Amat Enlil) to the city of E₂-sagdana Nibru^{ki} (see W. N. Hussein, *Šulgi King ...*, p. 192).

2) Why do we not find continuity and similarity in the working people and officials between Puzriš-Dagan and E₂-sagdana Nibru^{ki}, as we find in E₂-sagdana Nibru^{ki} a work staff different from what is found in Puzriš-Dagan as well as a difference even in the nature of the materials, as Puzriš-Dagan is specialized in animals only, while E₂-sagdana Nibru^{ki} initially had animals and workshops and after the year Šulgi 39 became specialized in workshops and factories (metals, stone, shoes, wood materials, textiles, leather ...). Perhaps this leads us to say that E₂-sagdana Nibru^{ki} is the main city and King Šulgi attached a barn or an administrative institution near it to manage the livestock of the royal family, and this is what is shown in the historical formula 39 of King Šulgi

mu Šulgi lugal Uri^{ki} e₂ puzur₄-iš-^ddagan e₂ šulgi-ra mu-du₃

Year Šulgi the king of Ur, king of the four quarters, built the cattle barn of Puzriš-Dagan. (Sigrist & Damerow, *Mesopotamian Year Names...*, p. 23)

In other words, he didn't build a city, he built a barn, and there is an important matter that must be paid attention to and emphasized, which is that Puzriš-Dagan never attached the ^{ki} sign used for cities in this archive and in the rule of Šulgi, as well as in the era of Šulgi. However, we find it very sparsely mentioned in the time of Amar-Sin in the fifth year and Ibbi-Sin in the second year.

This leads us to believe that Drehim may have included two cities or two administrative institutions, firstly, the city of E₂-sagdana Nibru^{ki}, then Šulgi, in the year 39 of his reign, added or separated the cattle barn from E₂-sagdana Nibru^{ki} with a place in Drehim as well, so we see that it is incorrect to call Drehim Puzriš-Dagan because the latter is part of Drehim in addition to E₂-sagdana Nibru^{ki}, and even if it was not part of Drehim but became a substitute for it, why even texts dated before Šulgi 39 are also attributed to Puzriš-Dagan (Drehim), and why do we always cancel the old name E₂-sagdana Nibru^{ki} and associate it only with Puzriš-Dagan?

1

Date: IX/Š 27

No: IM 239539

Transaction: zi-ga



Obv.

1. 3 urudu^ueme-gir₂
2. ki-la₂-bi ma-na / 4 gin₂
3. 3 urudu^ua-la₂-bi
4. ki-la₂-bi 1/3 ša / 5 1/2 gin₂

Rev.

5. e₂-a-ni-ša-kam
6. zi-ga ki ku₃-^dutu-/ta
7. iti ezem-maḥ
8. mu ḥa-ar-ši^{ki} / ba-ḥul

1. urudu^ueme-gir₂: knife blade; Owen, Nisaba 15/1, p. 371.

3. urudu^ua-la₂-bi: copper object; Owen, Nisaba 15/1, p. 357.

5. e₂-a-ni-ša: She was one of king Šulgi's wives who was economically active and continued to work until the year Šu-Sin 7; for Ea-niša see Weiershäuser, GBVO 1, p. 206-211.

2

Date: XI/Š 42

No: IM 239386

Transaction: in-na-ba



Obv.

1. 2 ma-na ku₃-babbar
2. ta₂-di₃-in-^d/inanna-e
3. 1 ma-na ku₃-babbar
4. nin-kal-la-a
5. u₄ geme₂-^dnin-lil₂-la₂
6. ur₃-ra-ni-tum maškim

Rev.

7. e₂-gal-ta
8. in-na-ba-še₃ / e₂-sag-da-na / Nibru^{ki}-ka
9. iti ezem-me-ki-gal₂
10. mu ša-aš-ru^{ki} / ba-hul

5. geme₂-^dnin-lil₂-la₂: She is a secondary wife of King Šulgi, nicknamed LUKUR (RIME 3, p. 180, Weiershäuser GBAO 1, p. 202-206) and appears in economic texts with nin-kal-la-a (also Šulgi's wife) in year Šulgi 37 in texts of gold, silver, and precious stones from Drehim as a donor and recipient of minerals to the city (E₂-sag-da-na Nibru^{ki}) (see for ex. V. Scheil, RA 17, p. 211-212 no. 4 = BDTNS 005381).

3

Date: IX/ŠS 2

No: IM 239931

Transaction: šu ba-ti. The document is sealed.



Obv.

1. 32 gi DIM
2. 50 du₆-lagab mušen
3. ki ur-ni₉-gar-/ta
4. ur-tum-ma-al

Rev.

5. šu-ba-ti
6. e₂-sag-da-na-en-lil₂^{ki}/še₃
7. iti ezem-^dšul-/gi
8. mu ma₂ ^den-ki ba-dim₂

3. Ur-ni₉-gar is the prince who dealt with Queen Šulgi-Simti (the last wife of King Šulgi) regularly for many years and supported her more than the members of the administration, and his relationship with the queen continues to the next generation, and he, his wife, his son Suruš-Kin, and his daughter were associated with the queen's work for many years. He started working in Drehim from 36 Šulgi until year 2 Ibbi-Sin, he held important positions in Drehim such as the head of the large stores as mentioned in one of the texts and dated 44 Šulgi and appeared as an anchor clerk in this archive (see Basima Jalil Abed, Abeer Saad Gazi, "Unpublished cuneiform texts from Ur III of the prince ur-ni₉-gar" *Journal of Studies in History and Archaeology*, No. 90, 2024).

4. Urtummal: In the time of King Šu-Sin in Drehim he served giri₃, as an administrator; Ozaki Nisaba 33 634.

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57) Three Neo-Sumerian Tablets from Drehem in Chinese Private Collections — The following three Neo-Sumerian cuneiform tablets dating to the Third Dynasty of Ur (Ur III, ca. 2112-2004 BC) belong to three private collections in China. Tablet No. 1 belongs to the collector Xue YANG, No. 2 to Zheng LI, and No. 3 to Zaixue WEI. The provenience of these tablets is Puzriš-Dagan (modern Drehem in southern Iraq). This work is written as part of a research funded by the Key Project on Philosophy and Social Sciences of Ministry of Education of China (Grant No. 23JZD040). I would like to thank the owners of the three tablets for permitting me to publish them here. Any mistakes or errors, however, are my sole responsibility.

1. Withdrawal of various travelling objects. Date: Šulgi 15 ix.

Obv.	1) 1 kuš ^š dabašin	1 tarpaulin
	2) 1 giš ^š da kuš ^š a ₂ -si la ₂ -a	1 side board bound by whip
	3) Lu ₂ - ^d Sun ₂ -zi-da / dumu lugal	for Lu-Sunzida son of the king (Šulgi)
	4) u ₄ kaskal-ta i ₃ -im-/gen-na-a	when he came from travelling
Rev.	1) in-ba	(they were) allotted,
	blank	
	2) ki Ur-mes-ta	from Ur-mes
	3) ba-zi	were withdrawn
	4) ša ₃ Puzur ₄ -iš- ^d Da-gan	at Puzriš-Dagan.
	5) iti ezem mah	Month: "Great festival".
	6) mu en ^d Nanna / maš-e i ₃ -pad ₃	Year: "The en-priestess of Nanna was chosen".

For the term ^{kuš}dabašin “tarpaulin”, see M. van de Mieroop, *Crafts in the Early Isin Period: A Study of the Isin Craft Archive from the Reigns of Išbi-Erra and Šū-ilišu*, Leuven, 1987, p. 134.

For the term ^{giš}da “side board (of a chariot)”, see M. Yoshikawa, “Sumerian Tablets in Japanese Private Collections (I)”, *ASJ* 9 (1987) 306. For the term ^{kuš}a₂-si “whip, hinge”, see M. van de Mieroop, *Crafts in the Early Isin Period...*, p. 134.

For the prince Lu-Sunzida (son of Šulgi), see D. Frayne, *Ur III Period (2112-2004 BC)*, RIME 3/2, Toronto, 1997, p. 168. For a homonymous person which literally means “Man of the just buffalo cow” and must be a translation of an Indian name, see R. Massimo Vidale, “Growing in a Foreign World: For a History of the ‘Meluhha Villages’ in Mesopotamia in the 3rd Millennium BC”, in A. Panaino & A. Piras (eds.), *Schools of Oriental Studies and the Development of Modern Historiography*, Milano, 2004, pp. 261-280.

2. Thread of wool weighed. Date: Šulgi 46 iii.

Obv.	1) 1/3 ša 6 gin ₂ / nig ₂ -U.NU-a siki-gi	1/3 mina, 6 shekels of thread of wool with medium quality
	2) 3 ma-na 6 gin ₂ / nig ₂ -U.NU-a siki-ud ₅	3 mina, 6 shekels of thread of female goat wool
Rev.	1) I-din- ^d IŠKUR	Iddin-Adad
	2) i ₃ -la ₂	weighed (them).
	blank	
	3) iti u ₅ -bi ₂ -gu ₇	Month: “ubi-birds eaten”.
	4) mu Ki-maš ^{ki} u ₃ Hu-/ur ₅ -ti ^{ki} ba-hul	Year: “Kimaš and Hurti were destroyed”.

For the term nig₂-U.NU-a “thread”, see M. van de Mieroop, *Crafts in the Early Isin Period...*, pp. 35-36, 148.

3. Receipt of various ceremonial garments. Date: Amar-Suen 9 iii.

Obv.	1) 1 ^{u₅} nig ₂ -lam ₂ us ₂ šar ₃	1 <i>niglam</i> -ceremonial garment following royal class
	2) ki-la ₂ -bi 1 1/3 ma-na 2 gin ₂	its weight: 1 1/3 mina, 2 shekels,
	3) 1 ^{u₅} nig ₂ -lam ₂ 3-kam us ₂	1 <i>niglam</i> -ceremonial garment with the third class
	4) ki-la ₂ -bi 1 1/3 ma-na 6 gin ₂	its weight: 1 1/3 mina, 6 shekels,
	5) 1 ^{u₅} nig ₂ -lam ₂ 4-kam us ₂	1 <i>niglam</i> -ceremonial garment with the fourth class
	6) ki-la ₂ -bi 1 1/2 ma-na 5 gin ₂	its weight: 1 1/2 mina, 5 shekels,
Rev.	1) tug ₂ ki-la ₂ tug-ga	(they were) the garment which weight was acquired,
	2) ki Šar-ru-um-ba-ni ugula uš-bar-ta	from Šarrum-bani overseer of weavers,
	3) Šu-ku-bu-um šabra	Šukubum the chief temple administrator
	4) šu ba-ti	received,
	5) giri ₃ DINGIR-mu-da GIBIL	via Ilmuda
	6) Lu ₂ - ^d Ašnan	Lu-Ašnan
	7) u ₃ Šu-ku-bu-um	and Šukubum.
	8) iti u ₅ -bi ₂ -gu ₇	Month: “ubi-birds eaten”.
	9) mu en Ga-eš ^{ki} ba-hun	Year: “The en-priestess in Gaeš was installed.”

For the term ^{u₅}nig₂-lam₂ “a ceremonial garment”, see H. Waetzoldt, *Untersuchungen zur Neusumerischen Textilindustrie*, Rome, 1972, p. XXII.

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58) The Old Assyrian letter KBo 71.140: text, notes and some observations — KBo 71.140 is a peculiar Old Assyrian letter published in hand copy by D. Schwemer in the 71st volume of the *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*. Some portions of the text are transcribed or discussed in the introduction to the volume. The document is peculiar in shape and paleography, as the signs are large and not very calligraphic (cf. Schwemer, cit.). It is also noteworthy content-wise, and quite interesting because of some grammatical peculiarities it seems to contain. I offer here a full transliteration, a translation, and a brief commentary (on lines obv. 4-6 and rev. 2-6 excluding the integration in rev. 3 cf. also Schwemer, cit.).

Obv.

1. *only traces*
2. DUMU¹ Ub-ha-ki-i[m]
3. a-na Ub-ha-ki-im
4. um-ma A-šur-dan lá-aš-me-ma

5. [š]a ba-a-ri-kà
 6. [lá i]-ba-ší-ma
 7. []-tí
 8. []x-ra-ni

Lower border: [] x-x [

Rev.

1. []x-ra-at []
 2. u₄]-ma-am šé-pá-ša
 3. [wa[?]]-bi-lu É a-wi-lim
 4. i-na-ha-ší-im
 5. e-zi-ib-ší a-lá-kam
 6. lá i-le-e
 7. a-ma-kam ki-a-am
 8. na-áš-pè-er-ta-kà
 9. ʾli-li-kam¹(-)²m[a[?]

Left border: a-s[í[?] ...] / lu[?](-)³x[

Translation:

“[To PN] son of U. (and) to U., thus A.D. Let me hear [no] protest(?) from you. [...] Today her feet (and) the [po]rter(?)/[po]rters(?) got tired (at) the house of a man. I left her behind. She cannot travel. Thus, (from) there: let a message of yours (sg.) come to me ...”

Philological notes:

Obv. 5 for the analysis of the problematic *ba-a-ri-kà* see Schwemer (cit.). Here I merely offer a very tentative translation.

Obv. 6 the integration of the negative [lá] is by Schwemer (cit.).

Rev. 1 Schwemer sensibly proposes that the name of the woman was on the lower border, but I would suggest that the *-ra-at* could also be the ending of an Assyrian feminine personal name. The traces of the sign before RA are perhaps compatible with a MU (if all visible parts belong to a single sign).

Rev. 2-4 my tentative integration [wa[?]] would restore *wābilu*, “carrier, porter” (cf. BIN IV, 79:2’), here either in nominative singular without mimation or in nominative plural (substantivized adjectives can be morphologically treated as nouns; see N.J.C. Kouwenberg, HdO 118, 266). This, if correct, implies imperfect verb agreement with the coordinated subject “her feet (and) the porter/porters”, probably because of the influence of the feminine dual form *šé-pá-ša* (see below for discussion). I am thankful to D. Schwemer (pers. comm.) for confirming to me that the integration of one sign before BI is epigraphically possible.

Rev. 6 as Schwemer (cit.) notes, gender is marked incorrectly on the verb.

Linguistic observations:

The text presents two interesting grammatical peculiarities. The first one is the use of either the dual or the feminine plural in the verb at rev. 4 (provided that the integration is correct). In general, cases of generalization of the dual are rare and uncertain (Kouwenberg, cit., 687). Instead, cases of extension of the feminine plural are not unheard of in the Old Assyrian corpus (Kouwenberg, cit. 690), but one may probably argue that the influence of Anatolian languages, that had no gender, played a role. The second peculiarity is the use of the third person masculine instead of feminine at rev. 6, a phenomenon that is well known from other Old Assyrian texts from Anatolia and has already been attributed by several scholars to the influence of the genderless Anatolian languages (J.G. Dercksen, ZA 96, 27; C. Michel, AOF 38, 107f.; A. Kloekhorst, HdO 132, 49; F. Giusfredi et al., ALAC 4, 79). All in all, it can be argued that the scribe who composed the text was probably an Anatolian native speaker, rather than an Assyrian one.

In general, the main topic of the letter seems to be the very incident involving the woman who was traveling with the sender and had to be left behind, possibly together with someone who was accompanying her. Finally, the sender asks to send back a message in reply. Whether such a message should also be about the woman who had been left behind is impossible to say.

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59) Towards some month names from Aššur and Mari — Recently Laurent Colonna D’Istria (2021) gave an important overview and discussion of month names from Mari during the *šakkanakku* Period. Discussing the month name *ZI-BI-ra* (p. 37f.) he stated “It is possible that this month name is related to

zibibi/arum attested twice in the Old Assyrian documents from Kültepe/Kaniš, the meaning of which is also unclear¹⁾). He proposes that the unknown meaning of the name could point to a „precise moment of worship or agro-pastoral activity“. Since this is very likely an intercalary month in the Old Assyrian calendar, and thus a pastoral character being rather unlikely, I do not (yet) believe in a connection between these two. But see also Michel’s remarks in 2021, 84.

In the context of the discussion of the month name ^dInana-*ša-ar-ba-at*, Colonna D’Istria then refers to Edzard, who “considered a possible link between ^dINANA-ZA.ZA and *Eštar-ZA.AT*” (p. 40), the latter well known from Old Assyrian sources. Colonna d’Istria neither rejects Edzard’s proposal nor can he confirm it, due to the lack of proof for one or the other. In this case I do believe in a connection but I also do not have additional evidence at hand.

But the publication of the *Studia Chaburensia* 9 seems a fitting opportunity to point to other, indeed more obvious, parallels between the *šakkanakku*-period²⁾ month names from Mari and the ones from Old Assyrian Assur, which might speak more in favor of the possibility of the above mentioned connections. To the best of my knowledge these parallels have escaped attention so far.

The first one is the month *hubur*, in Assur just as in Mari the sixth month of the year. In Mari it was in use during the *šakkanakku-restorers* and/or the *šakkanakku-royal* periods, the *Late šakkanakku* period (19th century BC) and the following period too.²⁾ I can’t see any reason why these two occurrences of this month name should be separated from each other. And the question can only be why there is a month name connected to the river Habur in early Assur.

Another parallel is *malkānum*, which is as the second month of the year found in Mari only during the *Late šakkanakku* period and the following period. But since the month names *hubur* (as ^dKUR) and ^dNIN-KI.TUL₈(KI.TUL₈) are also attested in the period of the *šakkanakku-restorers* and/or the *šakkanakku-royal* period, there is a good chance that *malkānum* was already in use during the *Šakk-RE/Šakk-Ro* as well, even as it is not yet attested. Since this month surely relates to the worshipping of the dead kings, it suggests itself to connect it to Old Assyrian *ab šarrāni* “fathers of the kings”,³⁾ the fifth month in the Old Assyrian calendar. In Assur one would at the foremost expect the kings of the Akkad- and/or Ur-III-dynasties to be the subjects of such worshipping, since no Assyrian ruler bore the title *šarrum*.

One is also tempted to follow a similar path for the fourth month from this period in Mari, *a-bi(-im)*, a month name known from other places too, and no doubt pointing to the venerating of the dead ancestors. There is no such name in the Old Assyrian calendar, but we have *maḥḥur ilī*, for which see already HIRSCH 1972, 55 (Anm. 281). It is also the fourth month in Assur and I am convinced that we have in *maḥḥur ilī* the dead ancestors, who were otherwise missing in the Old Assyrian calendar, receiving their offerings. Such a use of the *ilū* is e.g. also found in AKT 4 kt o/k 26, 22f.: *Ša-ra-ma-ta-an i-lu-a ù Ištar lu i-des-ū-[ni]* “(The god) Šarra-mātān, (and) my gods (= ancestors), and Ištar surely know (...)”.

In all, the likely parallels between the month names of early Assur and late 3rd millennium Mari fall to the months iv-vi of the Old Assyrian year. Whether these parallels are mere coincidents, or indeed hint to cultural contacts from Assur to regions more to the West/Northwest (as proposed in KRYSZAT 2021, 250f.) or if there are even other still unknown reasons behind these parallels, can in the end only be shown by excavations in the residential areas of the late third and early second millennium of the city of Assur itself, yielding new and especially written documentation. Only there will we find the key to Assyrian history prior to the so called Old Assyrian period.

Notes

1. The same assumption is made by MICHEL 2012, 83. References for this month are BIN 4 207a/b 10/10 (*līmum ša qātē* Iddi-Aššur son of Kūb-iddi, REL 82) and kt k/k 71, 19 (*līmum* Puzur-Niraḥ, REL 85, courtesy Hecker).

2. For the periodisation and the abbreviations used see COLONNA D’ISTRIA 2021, 35 and the table on p. 46.

3. I do not believe that we have here in the month name the word *apu* „hole“ instead of *abu* „father(s)“, but the background, i.e. the worshipping of the dead rulers, would be the same anyway. See J. de Ridder, JCS 76, 206 note 13 with further literature.

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60) Le sceau du chef des marchands Iddiyatum/Iddin-Numušda à Mari : un nouveau cas de sceau à monture à granulation — Iddin-Numušda était le chef des marchands (UGULA DAM.GÀR) de Mari. Il est mieux connu par l'hypocoristique de son nom Iddiyatum. Cette identification avait été faite par D. Charpin (1989) grâce à deux tablettes scellées, A.4649 (inédite) et M.15143 (désormais publiée comme FM 11 54). En effet, le texte de ces tablettes indiquait que de l'argent ou du vin étaient reçus par un certain Iddiyatum tandis que le sceau donnait son nom complet, à savoir Iddin-Numušda. La légende de son sceau est la suivante :

(1) *i-din*-^dNU.MUŠ.DA (2) DUMU (figure) *šu* (figure)-*išg-tár* (3) *İR zi-im-ri-[li-im]*
soit : « (1) Iddin-Numušda, (2) fils de Šu-Ištar, (3) serviteur de Zimrī-Lîm ».

Iddin-Numušda aurait ainsi scellé quatre tablettes (A.4649 ; M.15143 = FM 11 54 ; ARM 9 254 ; ARM 9 261) d'après D. Charpin (1989) auxquelles deux nouvelles tablettes peuvent désormais être ajoutées, FM 11 150 et FM 15 183.

Trois références peuvent être classées chronologiquement :

– 9/v/ZL 8 : FM 11 54 (= M.15143 ; Archibab T19841) : apport de jarres de vin, réceptionnées par Iddiyatum comme l'indique le total : « Total : 461 jarres de vin, reçues par Iddiyatum, en plusieurs fois » ([21] ŠU.NIGIN 4 *me* 1 *šu-ši* 1 DUG GEŠTIN.HI.A [22] *nam-ha-ra-at* [23] *i-dī-ia-tim* [24] *i-na a-hu-né-e*) ; la tablette est scellée du sceau d'Iddin-Numušda. Les traces de la monture à granulation de son sceau sont visibles sur les photos, cf. ci-dessous fig. 1 et fig. 2.

– 15/viii/ZL 10 : A.4649 (inédit) : reçu d'argent par Iddiyatum ; scellé par Iddin-Numušda ; cette tablette est toujours inédite et nous remercions D. Charpin qui nous a permis de consulter les excellentes photos qui en ont été faites. La monture du sceau n'est pas visible sur cette tablette.

– 18/viii/ZL 13 : FM 15 183 (= M.10426) : petit récapitulatif de quantités de pains confectionnés avec divers types de farine reçues par Rubātum, l'épouse d'Iddin-Numušda. La tablette est scellée du sceau d'Iddin-Numušda. Nous remercions ici aussi D. Charpin pour l'envoi des fichiers numériques des photos. Si la trace de la monture est bien visible sur les photos, ces dernières ne permettent cependant pas de distinguer entre monture lisse et monture à granulation.

Tablettes non datées par une année de Zimrī-Lîm :

– 27/iii/ZL – : FM 11 150 (= M.10499 ; Archibab T19024) : 15 jarres de vin pour la troupe. La tablette est scellée au sceau d'Iddin-Numušda. Une monture est visible sur les photos qui semble être une monture à granulation, toutefois sans certitude absolue.

– 14/vi/ZL – : ARM 9 254 (ARM 32, p. 419 ; Archibab T12007) : apport de lapis-lazuli, y compris celui qu'on a apporté d'Ešnunna ; bois (ébène) et jarres de stockage-*našpakum*, chaque fois avec l'indication des prix : « ce qui n'a pas été enregistré au Palais sur un document scellé ».

Dans la base de données Archibab (T12007), I. Arkhipov précise que la tablette ARM 9 254 est bien scellée par Iddin-Numušda comme l'avait indiqué D. Charpin (1989) et non par Šubnalû comme indiqué erronément dans ARM 32, p. 419. Les photos d'Archibab permettent de voir que le sceau avait une monture lisse.

– 10/xi/ZL – : ARM 9 261 : reçu d'or et d'argent par Iddin-Numušda ; tablette scellée par Iddin-Numušda (collation de D. Charpin [1989]). La copie du sceau publiée permet de voir qu'il s'agit des lignes 2 et 3 du sceau d'Iddin-Numušda (cf. BIROT 1960a, pl. 100 et CDLI P341842). Il n'existe pas de photos de cette tablette à l'heure actuelle : il n'est donc pas possible de déterminer le type de la monture du sceau.

Les tablettes scellées par Iddiyatum concernent avant tout des métaux précieux (or ou argent), du lapis-lazuli, du bois précieux (ébène) ou des biens de luxe (vin) ce qui est en accord avec sa fonction de chef des marchands. La tablette FM 15 183 qui mentionne des pains reçus par son épouse fait exception mais confirme en fait ce que I. Arkhipov (2019, p. 40 et tableau 1) a mis en lumière à savoir qu'il s'agit de ses archives privées conservées dans la salle 24 du palais (I. Arkhipov [2019, p. 40, n. 22] pense d'ailleurs que des mélanges avec des tablettes de la salle 5 fouillée la même année ont dû survenir).

Si la légende de son sceau est maintenant bien connue (voir aussi les remarques de D. Charpin en 2018 sur les légendes de sceaux d'UGULA DAM.GÀR à l'époque paléo-babylonienne), nous n'avions par contre pas encore d'informations concernant la monture de son sceau. Grâce à une étude attentive des photos disponibles (sauf pour ARM 9 261), il semble que celui-ci ait eu deux montures différentes, peut-être utilisées successivement (?), car il s'agit toujours du même sceau : les photos d'ARM 9 254 permettent de voir les traces d'une monture lisse. Les photos de la tablette FM 11 54 plus récente (9/v/ZL 8) permettent quant à elles de distinguer avec plus de certitude des traces de monture à granulation, notamment au niveau des lignes 1 et 2 (sur la face) et au niveau des lignes 20 et 21 (sur le revers) ; cf. les encadrés sur les photos retravaillées par nos soins ci-dessous. La définition des photos disponibles ne permet pas un grossissement suffisant pour ce type d'étude et la photo du revers est légèrement floue. Nous avons donc choisi ici deux des exemples les plus parlants afin de bien rendre lisible la granulation. La consultation des originaux en Syrie serait nécessaire mais cela est impossible en ce moment.

Il faut noter que la tablette A.4649 (15/viii/ZL 10) ne permet pas de savoir quelle monture était utilisée. Quant aux empreintes sur la tablette FM 15 183 (18/viii/ZL 13), en l'absence de collation, il nous est impossible de déterminer clairement la nature de la monture.

Quoiqu'il en soit, la possession par Iddiyatum à un moment donné d'un sceau à monture à granulation est très intéressante, du fait du caractère luxueux de cet objet (PATRIER 2014) et atteste de la position sociale très élevée de son possesseur comme nous l'avons déjà montré dans notre article sur le sujet (LACAMBRE & PATRIER 2017). Ceci correspond bien à la position de chef des marchands d'Iddiyatum et à la carrière de ce dernier retracée par C. Michel dans son article sur le commerce à Mari en 1996. À côté de ses activités dans le domaine du commerce (qui pouvait d'ailleurs s'étendre jusqu'à Kaneš, l'actuelle Kültepe, d'après l'étude récente de J.-M. Durand publiée en 2001), elle a montré qu'il a sans doute exercé aussi une activité militaire durant les années ZL 11-ZL 12 dans la région du Sindjar (cf. MICHEL 1996, notamment p. 420-422). Comme beaucoup de hauts fonctionnaires mariotes, il pouvait donc être appelé par le roi pour effectuer différentes missions, notamment dans les domaines militaire ou diplomatique.

Il avait épousé une dénommée Rubātum d'après le sceau présent sur la tablette M.10418 (= ARM 30, p. 390 ; Archibab T5102), datée du -/iv/ZL 11 :

(1) ^[munus] (figure) *ru-ba-[tum]* (2) [DUMU].MUNUS *i-šī-i[a-...]* (3) [DAM] *i-dī-ia-[tim]*
soit : « (1) [f]Rubātum, (2) fille d'İšiya[...], (3) [épouse] d'Iddiyatum ».

Iddiyatum aurait également marié l'une de ses filles avec un marchand d'Aššur (cf. DURAND 2001).

Jusqu'ici, à Mari, seul le roi Zimrī-Lîm, était connu comme possédant une monture à granulation (cf. en dernier lieu LACAMBRE & PATRIER 2017). Cette seconde attestation est donc des plus importantes pour la documentation sigillographique. Par ailleurs le fait que ce haut personnage ait possédé une monture à granulation n'est pas étonnant en soi vu son statut. Cela se rattache à ce que l'on voit en Babylonie où un grand nombre de fonctionnaires du roi de Babylone avait un sceau à monture à granulation. On peut penser d'ailleurs que c'est le roi qui le leur offrait comme le montre la pratique de l'époque d'Ur III (cf. CASSIN 1960, p. 745, n. 4 ou OWEN 2000). On pourrait supposer que la pratique était, de manière générale, la même à Mari : les montures de sceaux-*marpiqatum* (sans qu'on sache si celles-ci sont à granulation) sont attestées par exemple dans les dots des filles de Zimrī-Lîm ; on sait par ailleurs que les vassaux (par exemple Šubram, le roi de Susā dans ARM 28 97 ; Archibab T7008) ou que certaines des filles de Zimrī-Lîm (voir par exemple Šīmatum dans ARM 2 115 = LAPO 18 1226 ; Archibab T8740, cf. PATRIER en préparation) lui réclamaient un sceau pour asseoir leur légitimité. Ainsi, si notre hypothèse est bonne, cela montrerait la position très importante d'Iddiyatum dans l'administration et la confiance que Zimrī-Lîm lui aurait portée.



Fig. 1a

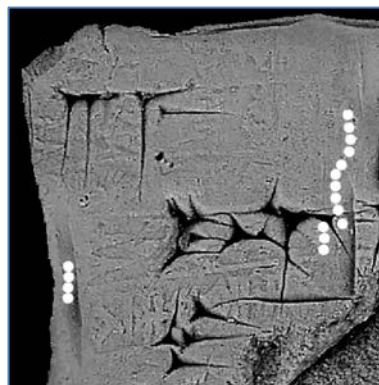


Fig. 1b

Fig. 1a et 1b. FM 11 54, détail de la face (haut de la partie gauche) avec les traces de la monture à granulation du sceau d'Iddin-Numušda/Iddiyatum au niveau des lignes 1-2.



Fig. 2a

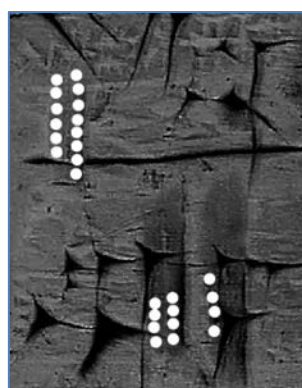


Fig. 2b

Fig. 2a et 2b. FM 11 54, détail du revers (milieu) avec les traces de la monture à granulation du sceau d'Iddin-Numušda/Iddiyatum au niveau des lignes 20-21.

Note

La présente note a été rédigée dans le cadre du projet PCEHM (« Pouvoir et culture écrite en Haute-Mésopotamie au 18^e siècle av. J.-C. »), financé pour 48 mois (2022-2026) par l'ANR (Agence Nationale de la Recherche).

Abréviations

ARM 2 : JEAN 1941 et JEAN 1950 ; ARM 9 : BIROT 1960a et 1960b ; ARM 28 : KUPPER 1999 ; ARM 30 : DURAND 2009 ; ARM 32 : ARKHIPOV 2012 ; FM 11 : CHAMBON 2009 ; FM 15 : CHAMBON 2018 ; LAPO 18 : DURAND 2000.

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61) La stèle de Cutha, édition paléo-babylonienne, col. iii (ex col. iv) ligne 18' — Il convient de lire :

i-na m[a-ah-ri 3] ṣu¹-šī¹ li¹-mi¹ um-ma¹-na ṣu¹-še¹-ši¹-am¹-[ma]

« Une première fois, j'envoyais 180.000 hommes. »

Elle est attendue, la suite immédiate du texte figurant à la première ligne de la colonne iv (ex col. iii).

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62) A Settling of Affairs — This beautifully preserved tablet (67 x 83 mm), which I have been able to study and copy only from photographs, has been consigned to Koller International Auctions (Switzerland). It is clearly from the Middle Euphrates city of Emar or its vicinity and dates to the thirteenth century BCE. It displays the “Syro-Hittite” format well known from that Syrian site.

- obv. 1. ^mḪi-nu-^dKUR DUMU *La-ah-ma*
 2. *a-kán-na iq-bi ma-a* ^{md}ṢKUR-*ma-lik*
 3. DUMU *Duq-na-ni i-na bu-ul-ti-šu*
 4. 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ù 1 GU₄ *it-ta-an-na*
 5. *ma-a le^{er}-qè i-na É-ka lu-ú šak-nu-mi*
 6. *ma-a ki-i tu-ta-ar-šu-nu-ti*
 7. *a-na DAM-ya ù a-na* ^mTu-ra-^dKUR
 8. *i-din-šu-nu-ti-mi i-na-an-na* ^mḪi-nu-^dKUR
 9. 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ù 1 GU₄ *a-na DAM* ^{md}ṢKUR-*ma-lik*
 10. *ù a-na* ^mTu-ra-^dKUR *it-ta-din*
 11. *ù a-nu-ma* ^{LÚ.M[ES]}ši-bu-tu₄ *Ip-qi*-^dKUR
- LoE 12. DUMU *Píl-sú* ^{md}KUR.EN
 13. DUMU *Ḫi-in-na* ^mA-bi-ka-pí
 14. ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR *ša INIM (KAxU)* ^mTu-ra-^dKUR
- rev. 15. *iš-mu-ú ki-i* 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR 1 GU₄
 16. ^mḪi-nu-^dKUR *a-na* ^mTu-ra-^dKUR
 17. *ù a-na DAM* ^{md}ṢKUR-*ma-lik*
 18. *it-ta-din ù a-nu-ma*
 19. *ki-i* ^{md}ṢKUR-*ma-lik i-ma-at*
 20. *šu-ú-ma ša* ^mḪi-nu-^dKUR
 21. *i-na ŠÀ ṭup-pí ša ḫu-bu-ul-la-ti-šu*
 22. *il-ṭú-ur šum-ma ṭup-pu ša-a-šú*
 23. *i-na-aš-šu-ú ṭup-pu an-nu-ú*

24. *i-le-²-šu ù a-nu-ma DAM-at*
 25. ^{md}IŠKUR-*ma-lik ù ^mZu-ba-l[a]*
 26. *qa-ta-ti KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ ù GU₄ ša-a-šú*
 UE 27. *il-qu-ú*
 28. IGI ^{md}KUR.EN DUMU *Hi-in-na*
 29. IGI ^mIp-qi-^dKUR DUMU *Pil-sú*
 30. IGI ^mA-bi-ka-pí ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR
 LeE Sealing: [N]A₄.KIŠIB ^A*bi-k[a-pí]*

Hinnu-Dagan, son of Lahma, spoke as follows: “During his lifetime, Ba’al-mālik, son of Duqnani, gave me ten shekels of silver and one ox, (saying): ‘Take (these things) and let them be kept in your household! When you return them, give them to my wife and Tūra-Dagan.’” Now Hinnu-Dagan has given the ten shekels of silver and one ox to the wife of Ba’al-mālik and to Tūra-Dagan. And here are the witnesses: Ipqi-Dagan, son of Pilsu; Dagan-bēlu, son of Hinnu; (and) Abī-kāpī, the scribe of the word/matter of Tūra-Dagan.

One learned that Hinnu-Dagan has given the silver and the ox to Tūra-Dagan and the wife of Ba’al-mālik. And now that Ba’al-mālik has died(!), (it turns out that) he had registered (these things) on a tablet of his debt to Hinnu-Dagan (as collateral).

If that tablet is presented, this tablet will take precedence over it. And now the wife of Ba’al-mālik and Zū-Ba’la are the guarantors and they have received the silver and that ox.

Witnesses: Dagan-bēlu, son of Hinnu; Ipqi-Dagan, son of Pilsu; and Abī-kāpī, scribe. Seal label: Seal of Abī-k[āpī].

Commentary

Line 1: Given the rarity of his patronymic,¹⁾ Hinnu-Dagan, son of Lahma, is probably the same individual as the man featured in RE 76 (BECKMAN 1996: 96–97). In that record, Hinnu-Dagan acquires a bride, but does not marry her himself or give her to his own son as is usual in such transactions, but arranges for her to marry Zū-Ba’la, son of Abdu. Perhaps this groom is the associate of the family mentioned here in l. 26.

Line 14: Notable is the use of the Sumerogram KAXU for *awātu*, “word; matter”. The presence of the inscribed U in the sign is frequently attested in texts from Boğazköy/Hattusa (Rüster and Neu, HZL 141) and Ugarit, but as far as I am aware, always stands for *pū*, “mouth”.

Line 19: *imāt* is present tense, but context demands interpretation as past.

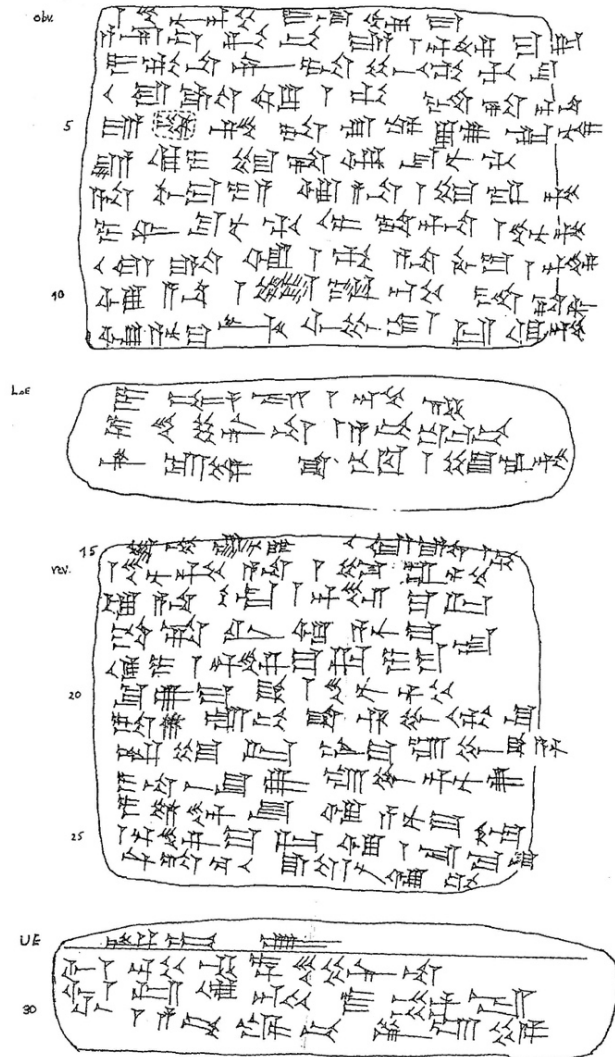
Sealing: BEYER 2001: 480 books six seal owners named Abī-kāpī, but all of the impressions differ from that on our tablet. The design is a typical one for a Syro-Hittite cylinder,²⁾ with the smiting Storm-god, carrying his TONITRUS (L 199), and the Sun-god facing one another.³⁾ The winged-disk that differentiates the image of the solar deity from that of the human monarch⁴⁾ is absent, but has probably been cut off by the metal cap of the seal or the rolling of the impression.⁵⁾



The cuneiform text of the label is atypical in that it gives Abī-kāpī’s job title and not a patronymic. With the exception of the bird in the upper right corner, the other elements in the field are difficult to discern. What appears to be a fish floats below the Storm-god’s queue, and perhaps a double-headed eagle⁶⁾ occupies the space between the deities. There is no personal name given in Hieroglyphic Luwian characters.

The subject of this unusual document is the clarification of the circumstances surrounding a debt incurred by the late Ba’al-mālik, son of Duqnani, to Hinnu-Dagan. The latter had received a sum of silver and an ox from the former, not in repayment, but apparently in pawn, with instructions that these goods ultimately be restored to Ba’al-mālik’s unnamed wife and Tūra-Dagan, whose relationship to the other parties is not stated. Was he the son of the debtor? This might account for the designation of the entire business as “the matter of Tūra-Dagan” (l. 14).

In the meantime, Ba’al-mālik, who might have already been in failing health when he delivered the collateral, has passed away and the silver and the ox have been turned over by Hinnu-Dagan to the former’s beneficiaries. The status of the original debt is unclear, but the fact that the spouse of Ba’al-mālik and a certain Zū-Ba’la are named as guarantors (l. 26) suggests that the obligation had not been expunged. The second half of the text deals with the possibility that an earlier document registering the pawned goods as a debt of Ba’al-mālik to Hinnu-Dagan might turn up, in which case the current record would trump it. Note that the same three witnesses attest to both portions of the settlement.



Notes

1. PRUZSINSZKY 2003: 585 (on CD) lists ten occurrences of the name Lahma, but seven of these are certainly or probably references to the father of Hinnu-Dagan.
2. Cf. BEYER 2001: 75–79, nos. 46–52, and BECKMAN 1981.
3. The element above the Sun-god’s outstretched hand is unidentifiable, but it is definitely not the VITA (L 369) commonly carried by this figure.
4. See GÜTERBOCK 1993.
5. The upper edge of the impression has been rolled unevenly, but the cap has left its mark on the lower edge of the scene beneath the Sun-god and the second line of the seal legend, where it cuts off the final portion of the bearer’s title.
6. See BEYER 2001: 390 for this symbol in Syro-Hittite glyptic.

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63) Imitated imagery — At first sight, the final two similes in a passage from the Ugaritic *Legend of Kirta* (KTU 1.14 ii 35-40 || 1.14 iv 15-18) appear to be unusual:

<i>šbūk ūl mād</i>	Your army is a vast force:
<i>tl̄t māt rbt</i>	charioteers: hundreds of myriads,
<i>hpt dbl spr</i>	recruits without number,
<i>tnn dbl hg</i>	archers without count,
<i>hlk lālp̄m hdd</i>	marching by the thousand (<i>like</i>) a downpour,
<i>wlrbt km yr</i>	and by the myriad <i>like</i> early rain.

In fact, the last couplet seems to echo the imagery in a passage in a Sumerian lament over Ur, in which the Elamite army is described as follows:

Large axes were sharpened in front of Urim. The spears, the arms of battle, were prepared. The large bows, throw-sticks and shields gathered together to strike. *The barbed arrows covered its outer side like a raining cloud.* Large stones fell together with great thuds.¹⁾

Incidentally, this same passage would seem to clinch the meaning “archer” for Ugaritic *tnn* (cf. DUL, 909). Another example of this kind is from an inscription by Sargon II: “I covered that district *like the dense clouds of evening* (*kīma urpat liliāte*) and overwhelmed all his fortified cities like a turbulent flood” (FRAME 2021, 294-295; cf. 70), which, as in the Ugaritic text, is combined with a mention of locusts (see below).

Further on in the same Ugaritic text, two parallel similes (KTU 1.14 ii 50-iii 1 || 1.14 iv 29-30)

<i>kīrby tškn šd</i>	<i>Like locusts</i> they (= the army) shall occupy the field,
<i>kḫsn pāt mdr</i>	<i>like grasshoppers</i> , the desert fringe ²⁾

are matched by later Assyrian imagery. In his annals, “Sennacherib claimed that his troops swarmed ‘like locusts’ out of the boats, defeated the defenders, and captured ‘30,500 archers (and) 20,200 shield bearers and added (them) to my royal [contingent]’”.³⁾ Other examples of this kind are: *kīma tibūt aribi ma’di ša pān šatti mithāriš ana epēš tuqmāte tebūni šēru’a*, “like a spring invasion of countless locusts, altogether, they had risen against me to offer battle” (OIP 2, 43:56; cf. CAD E, 257b; CAD T, 392b) and LÚ *elamū kīma tibūt aribi katim GN kališa*, “The Elamite is covering all Akkad like an invasion of locusts” (CAD T, 392b; cf. PIEPKORN 1933, 58/59 iv 46).⁴⁾ Further instances are in inscriptions by Sargon II: *ummānāt ašur rapšāte gimir ālānišunu eribiš ušaktimma*, “I had the extensive troops of Aššur envelop all their cities like locusts” (FRAME 2021, 295:256; cf. also 60:86 and 290:187) and *ina gipiš ummānija TN aribiš aktumma*, “with the mass of my troops, as with locusts, I covered the city TN” (WINCKLER Sargon, pl. 33:73). Also, by Sennacherib: *qurādūa ... ultu qereb elippāte ana kibri aribiš ipparšūma iškunu tahtāšun*, “my warriors swarmed like locusts out of the ships (and) onto the bank and brought about their defeat” (OIP 2, 75:93; CAD E, 258a).⁵⁾

Another use of the same simile, again in connection with an army, features in the Egyptian account of the *Battle of Qadesh* (1274 BCE) line 15:

Their rulers were there with him, each man with his forces; their chariotry was vast in extent, unequalled; they covered hill and valley, they were like the locust-swarm (*snḥm*)⁶⁾ in their multitude.⁷⁾

A final element common to these texts (as mentioned) is the indication of very large numbers of combatants.⁸⁾ Since the *Legend of Kirta* concerns a king, it is not surprising that it shows some similarities with ANE royal inscriptions.⁹⁾

Notes

1. The Lament for Sumer and Urim: <https://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=t.2.2.3#>, accessed 03/08/2024.

2. In KTU 1.3 ii 10-11 (part of the Baal Cycle), the similar word-pair *irbym* || *qsm*, “locusts” || “grasshopper(s)”, is also figurative for large numbers (as correctly noted by WYATT 2002, 73, n. 20); for further discussion, cf. LAM 2019, 51. They are also described as “destructive” (*grmn*) - see now MAZZINI 2021.

3. ÁLVAREZ-MON & WICKS 2024, 23, citing GRAYSON 1975, Chronicle 1: ii.36-ii.45.

4. See the discussion in JAKOB 2023, 61, which prompted this note.

5. The Assyrians were well used to dealing with real plagues of locusts; see PARPOLA 1987, Nos. 103, 104, 221. For such plagues in Anatolia see BILGISI 2019 and HOFFNER 2009: 66-67, 130.

6. Various: “Heuschrecken” (HANNIG 1997, 722a), “Wanderheuschrecke” (Wb 3, 461.6-8) or “grasshoppers” (BREASTED 1907, 138, §309; WILSON 1927, 268).

7. Translation by K. A. Kitchen in HALLO & LAWSON YOUNGER 2002, 34 (§2.5a). Another example in the Edfu texts is: “Worte zu sprechen von Horus Behedetī, dem großen Gott ... mit Soldaten so zahlreich wie Heuschrecken, der das Schlachtfeld betritt und dem, der ihn angreift, ein Ende bereitet” (Edfou VII, line 200, 4-6, cited from TLA, consulted 8.8.2024); see also SAYED 2018: 586b. MAZZINI (2021, 151 n. 17) cites an additional example, in Hebrew (Jer. 46:23).

8. On hyperbole in the *Legend of Kirta* see WATSON 1979.

9. For another possible military parallel see WATSON 1976, 440-441.

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64) RS 25.435 – Not the Epic of Tukulti-Ninurta at Ugarit — RS 25.435, discovered in the vicinity of the so-called *Lamaštu Archive* at Ugarit, has long been recognised as a manuscript of the *Epic of Tukulti-Ninurta* (EpTN). This suggestion has been made by Arnaud (2003, 19), who later edited this text (AuOrS 23, no. 36). According to him, the reverse of this small fragment corresponded to the manuscript from Nineveh, BM 121033, col. VI, lines 13’–25’ (manuscript A in MACHINIST 1978, 124–127). The obverse was not matched to any known part of the composition.

The presence of EpTN at Ugarit would have interesting consequences for the spread of Assyrian royal discourse into the West, attesting to the possible use of epic narrative propaganda in the international relations of the LBA. Connections can be made, e.g., with the letter RS 34.165 (RSO VII, no. 46) that also attests to the use of a propagandistic narrative in addressing the vassal of an enemy country. Therefore, caution is needed when including such a fragment in the discussion. The connections suggested by Arnaud were relatively weak. Since I started to verify the suggestion of Arnaud, it has become clear that the suggested overlap was meagre (including one additional line in the RS 25.435), lexical similarities among the manuscripts were weak, and what remained of the manuscript from Ugarit did not contain any solid plot similarities to the EpTN.

This suspicion was confirmed by the recent edition of the EpTN manuscripts by Jakob (2024, texts nos. 5–11), including several newly recognised manuscripts from Aššur. Namely, text no. 9 (VAT 10722 + VAT 12178) provides corresponding passages to the BM 121033, col. VI, lines 7’–27’. The overlap

recognised by Jakob is clear, and it fills parts of the lacunae of the manuscript from Nineveh, which now clearly does not correspond to RS 25.435. Therefore, the EpTN is not attested at Ugarit. The relevant passage is given below.

RS 25.435, rev. 14'–27', following AuOrS 23, no. 36:

- 14' LUGAL¹ [š_u-ba-ri-i u₃ qu-ti-i u₂-še-eš-kin₂]

15' ma-ḥi-ir ta-ḥa¹[-zi u₂-šik₂-niš₂ gim-ra]
16' la-a qab₂-bi-i-šu [ma-li-ki u₂-ter-ra]
17' [a]-na ba-la-ḥi₃ <<x>> [ba-u₂-la-at ša-be x x x URU]
18' ḥa¹-ni-a-am [ir-ta-šu pe-re-² bi-ti]

19' ḥa¹ e-pu-šu i-na IGI ḥu¹[-us-si ku-du-ur-ra x x x]
20' ḥi¹-ta-ra la-ke-šu [...] (note: the additional line)

21' u₃ DAM mu-te-er a-wa-ḥi¹ [DUMU.MÍ.MEŠ ru-be-e a-ši-bat^{URU} Ninua]
22' u₂-ši-i-ma <<x>> la-a-i[-ši-na DUMU u₃ bi-²i-ti]

23' ḥu¹-u₂-pu-un-da u₂-ša-as-si ḥa¹ [INIM-su qa²-²pa-at a-na be-e-ri]
24' mi-it-ḥa-ri-iš₃ u₂-ša-am-šu ḥi¹[-šir-ta iš-lu-ul]

25' ma-an-ku-ru lib₃-ba-šu u₂-ša-am-ma [šal-la-at la-a mi-ni ba-u₂-la-ti]
26' i-na šu-uk-ki-im ab-ba-šu e[-pu-šu 7-šu at-ru]
27' i-na-aš-ši ḥal-ṭa a-na¹ [...] na-pu-ul-ta-šu-nu i-²a-a-ad-ma]

VAT 10722 + VAT 12178, obv. 7'–19', following Jakob 2024, no. 9:

- 7' [... mu]¹-la²-iḥ ak-ḥa-di-i¹ pa-a 1-en kul₂-la-at qu-ti-i u₂-[še-eš-kin₂]
8' [... aḥ]¹-la¹-mi₃-i ḥap-šu-te¹ u₃ KUR ra-pi-qu u₂-šek₂-niš₂ [gimra]
9' [...] ḥu¹ KUR².KUR gu-un-[ni rubē(?)]¹ GIR₃.NITA₂.MEŠ ma-ḥi-ki¹ u₂-te-me-[eḥ]
10' [...]-un ḥa¹ še-mu¹-u₂¹ [ḥu¹ DINGIR¹.MEŠ ana šal-la-ti ba-u₂-la-[at ālāni(?)]
11' [... i-ta(?)]-bal-ma ḥu¹ MAN kaš-ḥi-¹i nab-ni-ta-ḥi¹ pe-re-²e [šarrūti(?)]
12' [... a]¹-lik² ur²[-ki] MAN-ti-ḥi¹ ḥa-bit^{GIŠ}GU.ZA ku-ḥu¹-ur-ḥi¹ [(bu-u)ḥ²]
13' [... ul]¹-te-ši DAM.MEŠ¹ E₂ DUMU.ḥu¹.MEŠ¹ ru-be-e a-ši-bat^{E₂}.[GAL-li₃]
14' [...]¹-ti² a-di ḥu¹ kul₂-la-at la-²e-e-ši-ḥi¹ na DUMU¹ u₃ ḥi¹[-i²-ti]
15' [...]¹-me²-ša₂¹ [kip-pa]-su ḥu-ḥi¹ tam₂-pa-at RU² be-ḥi¹[e-ri]

16' [... (u₂-ša-a)š₂-ša₂]¹-a ni-šir-ta¹ iš-ḥi¹[lu-ul]
17' [... šallat]¹ ḥa-a mi-ni¹ ba-ḥi¹ u₂¹[-la-a-ti]
18' [... ep]¹-pu-šu¹ 7-šu [at-ru]
19' [... na]¹-pu-ul¹-ta-šu-nu ḥi¹[-²a-a-ad-ma]

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65) Arabic Suteans? — There has been much discussion concerning the Sutean language, but one must be cautious. “Perhaps Sutean simply does not designate a group on the basis of geography, language, or subjection to a royal lord.”¹⁾ Still, texts from Dur Katlimmu (DKL), Tall Sabi Abyad and Tell Taban (ancient Ṭabete) provide some basis for speculations.

“The Assyrians could command the *šiluhlu*, with the Suteans they had to negotiate. At DKL, we hear about two groups of them, the Dabayau and the Nihsanayu. ... At Tall Sabi Abyad, Ili-pada, father of the later king Ninurta-apil-ekur made a detailed treaty with a group of Nihsanayu (T 04-37).²⁾ This text contains 12 Nihsanayu names, half of them

well preserved, apparently all Semitic. At DKL only one Sutean name is documented, but it is very interesting. The woman Zabiba had joined the *šiluhlu*. The name reappears some centuries later for an Arabic queen and has remained typically Arabic. ... In view of later developments, one may expect a dominance of Aramean ancestors among the Suteans, but it is unlikely that all of them spoke the same language.”³⁾

When I wrote that, I was not yet aware of TabT05A-191+. The text states that a king in Tabete bought a slave woman from a Nahsanayu Sutean. She is called ^l*da-du-l*^l*a-hi-l*^l*i* EME *na-ah-sa-na-ii-tu*, “Dadu-ahi, speaker of the Nahsanian language”.⁴⁾ Perhaps a specialist in Semitic proto-languages will be motivated to look at the names in T 04-37.

Notes

1. VALK 2018: 262.
2. WIGGERMANN 2010: 55f.
3. NAHM, W., 2022. Assyrians and *šiluhlu*. Talk at the 66th RAI, Mainz, in press.
4. SHIBATA, D., 2019: 416-420.

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66) The eponyms of the years 8-12 of Tiglath-Pileser I — The eponyms of Tiglath-Pileser I (Tp) are best discussed in five chronological groups (JEFFERS 2013, Chapter 3, Sections 4-11). Here they are called group A (the first seven names, Sections 4-5), group B, from the years 8-12 (five names, Section 9), group C (twelve names, Sections 6-8), group D (seven names, Section 10), and group E (ten names, Section 11). Group A is certain and needs no further discussion. Group C is well-established and has only very minor issues. It is not clear if Sahnutu is attested as eponym or just as father of the eponym Belu-libur.¹⁾ Moreover, Taklak-ana-Aššur as successor of Ninuayu must be replaced by *ša* EGIR Ninuayu.²⁾ Group E comes from the eponym list VAT 11254+ (KAV 21). Altogether, Jeffers found 41 names, but a reduction to 40 is possible by identifying a fragmentary name from group E with a name from group D.³⁾ A further reduction to 39 names may be or may not be necessary. According to the Assyrian King List, Tp reigned for 39 years, but we do not know if lunar or tropical years were counted. In the latter case, Tp had 40 eponyms.

These are minor issues, but in this note all eponyms from group B will be shifted to Aššur-reš-iši I and replaced by others, in particular by four names from group D. The problems with groups B and D are due to a lack of double dates. Jeffers’s discussion of these dates is more rigorous than previous treatments, but suffers from the unwarranted use of decimal numbers. The following explanation may help. For all periods of Assyrian history, eponymates coincided with Assyrian years. The Old Assyrians reckoned with tropical years, like the Babylonians and like us.⁴⁾ The Babylonian year started around the spring equinox, the Old Assyrian one at the beginning of the cold season. In the late years of Tp, the Assyrians adopted the Babylonian calendar. The status of the Middle Assyrian year is still under discussion, but the Old Assyrian year may have persisted until Tp’s reign, with or without minor changes. Indeed, the text MARV 2 2 from Tp’s first year shows that the Assyrian year (still?) started half a year after the Babylonian one. For the following three decades, Assyria used a lunar year of exactly 12 lunar months, as Muslims do today. From the Babylonian perspective, the start of the Assyrian year skipped a month whenever Babylonia had an intercalary month. This is documented in 20 texts with double dates, including both Assyrian and Babylonian month names. The intercalation method used at that time is not known, but it must have approximated the later cycle of 7 intercalations in 19 years, placed according to $3+3+3+2+3+3+2 = 19$. Thus the following scheme cannot be far off.

When Tp became eponym, the Babylonian year had completed six lunar months, from the spring to the autumn equinox. For Babylonian years 2,3,4 the advance was reduced to five months. For years 5,6,7 it was reduced to four months, for 8,9,10 to three, for 11,12 to two, for 13,14,15 to one, for 16,17,18 to zero. Somewhere in the latter range there must have been an intercalary year with eponymates beginning both in the first and in the last month. For the Babylonian years 19,20 we get a shift of -1, which means that the start of the Babylonian year came one month after that of the Assyrian one. With year 20 the next cycle of 19 years had begun. For the years 21,22,23 one gets a shift of -2, for 24,25,26 one of -3 and finally -4 for the Babylonian years 27,28,29. Starting with Tp as first eponym, the last block contained the beginning of eponymates 28, 29 and 30.

For the first seven years of Tp there exist abundant double dates and the eponym sequence is firm. No double dates for years 8-18 are known. Shifts of -1 and -2 months are attested on economic documents and are essential for the study of group C. Shifts of -3 and -4 months occur on the Broken Obelisk, which attests the eponyms Aššur-baissunu, [Taklak-ana-Aššur], Aššur-ra'im-nišešu, Ili-iddina and Bunanu in the third decade of Tp's reign.⁵⁾

Six eponymates have to be added to the ones considered by Jeffers, namely those of Aššur-abuk-ahhe,⁶⁾ ša EGIR Ninuayu, and four from the Broken Obelisk. To stay within 39 or 40 years, seven or six names have to be removed from Jeffers's list. Indeed, for all five eponyms from group B a placement in the time of Aššur-reš-iši I is feasible. Freydank did that with good arguments for Mušēzib-Aššur, Aššur-kettī-šēši and Mutakkil-Aššur.⁷⁾ For Adad-uballit and Kidin-Aššur from group D a placement in the time of Aššur-reš-iši I appears possible, too. For most of the dubious eponyms, the principal reason for placing them under Tp was their co-occurrence with Apliya AGRIG GAL.⁸⁾ That argument is invalid, because Apliya acted with this title already in the late years of Aššur-reš-iši, according to KAM 11 68,93 and 108. He also is attested in KAM 11 116 from the second year of Tp. Note that KAM 11 was published after Jeffers's work.

Due to the new understanding of the Broken Obelisk, all authentic Tp eponyms from group D have to be moved to earlier years of his reign. Because group C hardly allows the insertion of another eponym, they should be placed in the years formerly assigned to group B. This applies to Adad-rēša-iši, because MARV 10 7 mentions a campaign against Tumme and Nairi in his eponymate. Tumme was first mentioned by Tp, who pillaged this country three times.⁹⁾ Sin-apla-iddina is eponym in KAM 11 48, KAM 11 52 and in the unpublished text VAT 20037. He was the father of the Tp eponym Bunanu and his own eponymate under Tp is certain. Jeffers linked Sin-apla-iddina to Gadiu, who also appears to be an authentic eponym of Tp.¹⁰⁾ Like MARV 10 7 from the eponymate of Adad-rēša-iši, MARV 10 27 from the eponymate of Gadiu states that the king went to the Euphrates. The text appears to refer to presents for foreign rulers. This does not exclude a military context, indeed MARV 10 7 mentions shoes given to a hostage. Finally, Marduk-uballissu is an authentic Tp eponym.¹¹⁾ Perhaps he can be identified with the procurement officer mentioned in MARV 10 28 from the eponymate of Gadiu and in the undated text MARV 10 5.

Altogether, Jeffers's group B eponyms should be replaced by Aššur-abuk-ahhe, Adad-reš-iši, Gadiu, Marduk-uballissu and Sin-apla-iddina. Together with the well-ordered groups A and C this should yield the first 24 eponyms of Tp, with at most one name more or less. A little bit can be said about the order within the new group B. According to RIMA 2 A.0.87.2, the eponym of year 11 had the title SUKKAL GAL and was a son of Ninurta-nadin-apli SUKKAL GAL, who also is known from MARV 7 22. Marduk-uballissu and Sin-apla-iddina have other patronyms and must belong to different years. RIMA 2 A.0.87.2 27 mentions hostage-taking in Tumme. This looks like a literary reference to an event recorded in the economic text MARV 10 7, so that the eponymate of Adad-reš-iši should belong to one of the years 8-10. This leaves Aššur-abuk-ahhe and Gadiu as possible eponyms for year 11. Because Aššur-abuk-ahhe was a provincial governor, the best candidate for the eponymate of year 11 is Gadiu. It would be interesting to know his title.

Notes

1. JEFFERS 2013:137-140.
2. FREYDANK 2016:128.

3. JEFFERS 2013:95f.
4. STRATFORD 2015.
5. NAHM 2022.
6. FREYDANK 2016: 84 with n. 194
7. FREYDANK 2016: 90-101.
8. JEFFERS 2013:143-149.
9. RIMA 2 A.0.87.1 iv 71-87, A.0.87.3 9-10.
10. JEFFERS 2013:146f.
11. JEFFERS 2013:149f.

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67) Progress with the later eponyms of Tiglath-Pileser I — The outdated assignment of the Broken Obelisk to Aššur-bel-kala was based on Weidner’s quasi-join between the text VAT 11240 = Assur 18268 with the royal name and the text Assur 16308 k with the eponym Aššur-ra’im-nišešu.¹⁾ In hindsight, this quasi-join seems dubious. Assur 16308 k can no longer be located and Weidner had to use a photograph.²⁾ It is not clear at all if the space between the fragments allows his tentative textual reconstruction.

In contrast, Aššur-ra’im-nišešu is a certain eponym of Tiglath-pileser I (Tp). In particular, MARV 10 4 refers to Apliya AGRIG GAL and to the previous eponymate ša EGIR Ninuayu. The eponymate of Ninuayu dates the victory of Tp over Marduk-nadin-ahhe in RIMA 2 A.0.87.4, a text from the eponymate of Taklak-ana-Aššur. The name of that Babylonian king also was recorded on the Broken Obelisk, certainly in the context of the same battle. This record precedes accounts of the eponymates of Aššur-baissunu, Aššur-ra’im-nišešu, Ili-iddina and Bunanu.³⁾ Bunanu yields a link with the eponym list KAV 21. Nevertheless, two questions have remained open. Did Taklak-ana-Aššur precede or follow Aššur-baissunu and what was his precise temporal relation to Ninuayu?

The answer has been hiding in plain sight, at least for myopic eyes. In KAV 21 the very end of line III 4 is preserved, with part of the final sign. It ended in a double vertical, like *-a* or *-ia*. Schroeder copied the two linked heads, though at a location that is slightly too high.⁴⁾ To find the corresponding year in the reign of Tp one must determine the number of lines in a destroyed part of column III. This can be done by comparison with column IV. In III 1-4 the line height is the same as in IV 1-4. Below, the lines in column III are a bit less high than those in column IV. Thus the next partially preserved line in column III may be either III 13 or III 14. It named Bunanu, presumably eponym 29 under Tp I. Correspondingly, III 4 named eponym 18 or 19. In view of the final wedges, the only two candidate names anywhere close are Apliya and Ninuayu.

In case that the name in III 4 was Ninuayu, the double dates for Apliya, Ninurta-aha-iddina and Aššur-šuma-ēriš would deviate from best praxis. For Apliya and Aššur-šuma-ēriš there is a discrepancy of two months, for Ninurta-aha-iddina of one month. It is of course possible that the Babylonian intercalation rules were not optimal, but one would have to assume that nothing was done for four or five years, while an intercalation was overdue. This contradicts the impeccable intercalations in the years 1-7 and 26-29 of Tp. Another problem is the war of Tp against Marduk-nadin-ahhe. Most likely, it happened not earlier than year 13 of the Babylonian ruler. If the Bavarian distance number is correct, this means 1194 BC, or close to year 21 of Tp.⁵⁾ This disagrees with a placement of Ninuayu as eponym 18 or 19.

In case that the name in III 4 was Apliya, lines III 5-13 are just sufficient for the known eponyms between Apliya and Ninuayu. One obtains the reconstruction:

line in KAV 21	eponym	place among the TP eponyms
III 2	[Belu-libur]	17/18
III 3	[Nusku-alik-pani]	18/19
III 4	[Apliy]a	19/20
III 5	[Ninurta-aha-iddina]	20/21
III 6	[Adad-apla-iddina]	21/22
III 7	[Aššur-šuma-ēriš]	22/23
III 8	[Ninuayu]	23/24
III 9	[ša EGIR Ninuayu]	24/25
III 10	[Aššur-baissunu]	25/26
III 11	[Taklak-ana-Aššur]	26/27
III 12	[Aššur-ra"im-nišēšu]	27/28
III 13	[Ili-iddina]	28/29
III 14	[Bun]anu	29/30
III 15	[Sakipš]unu	30/31

For III 2-8 this is the order found by Jeffers,⁶⁾ for III 10-14 the one given by the Broken Obelisk. The latter has a lacuna corresponding to III 11, which is the only possible place left for Taklak-ana-Aššur. Sakipšunu came after Ninuayu,⁷⁾ so that he must be identified with the eponym from III 15, which indeed can be read -š]u-nu.⁸⁾ The list agrees perfectly with the known double dates. Moreover, the placement of Ninuayu in year 23 agrees with Brinkman's results for the time of the Babylonian war.

Two questions remain open. According to the Assyrian King List, Tp reigned for 39 years, but we do not know if lunar or tropical years were counted. In the latter case, Tp had 40 eponyms. No decision is possible at present and the table above admits both possibilities. Finally there is the mysterious eponymate of RIMA 2 A.0.87.10. It came after Ninuayu, but is hard to place more precisely. Could it be another name for the eponymate ša EGIR Ninuayu?

Notes

1. RIMA 2 A.0.89.4.
2. WEIDNER 1930-31:79 .
3. NAHM 2022.
4. I thank N. Morello for photographs.
5. BRINKMAN 1968:120. See also 127f. with n. 745.
6. JEFFERS 2013, Chapter 3, Sections 6-8.
7. FREYDANK 2016:106.
8. JEFFERS 2013: 152

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68) The Broken Obelisk and Middle Assyrian (non)-intercalation — Whether the Middle Assyrian calendar intercalated or not is a matter of debate.¹⁾ An important element in the argumentation for (non)-intercalation is the interpretation of the *Doppeldatierungen*, date indications which equate Assyrian months with Babylonian ones. These *Doppeldatierungen* show a striking irregularity, with the month of the Assyrian New Year, *šippu*, corresponding to many different Babylonian months (*tašrītu*, *araḥsamna*, *kislīmu*, *tebētu*, *addaru*, *abu*, and *ulūlu*).²⁾ In SAAB 24 (2018, 87-91), I have proposed that this irregularity does not testify to absence of intercalation in the Middle Assyrian calendar, but to the process by which Tiglath-pileser I replaced the Assyrian calendar with the Babylonian. He would have intercalated every

year (instead of every 2.7 years) in order to move the Assyrian New Year of *šippu* from the autumn equinox to the spring equinox, i.e., to the setting of the Babylonian New Year of *nisannu*. That study ranged the eponymates for which *Doppeldatierungen* are attested in the following order:

- Eponymates of Tiglath-pileser I and his successors Ištu-Aššur-ašamšu, Šamaš-apla-eriš, Hiyašayu, Ina-iliya-allak, and Šadanayu: *šippu* = *abu* and *ulūlu*.
- (An undefined period between Šadanayu and Aššur-šumu-eriš.)
- Eponymate of Aššur-šumu-eriš (VAT 17921, MARV 5 43):³⁾ *šippu* = *tašrītu*, following an extra intercalation on the Assyrian side in the preceding year.
- An unpreserved eponymate (VAT 13798, AfO 16, 210 [no. 77]): *šippu* = *arahšamna*, following an extra intercalation.
- Eponymate of Aššur-ra'im-nišešu (Broken Obelisk iii 3-20):⁴⁾ *šippu* = *kislīmu*, following an extra intercalation.
- Eponymate of Ili-iddina (Broken Obelisk iii 20-32): *šippu* = *kislīmu*. Both the Babylonian and the Assyrian calendars intercalated in the preceding year, and so the Assyrian calendar remained stable in its relation to the Babylonian one.
- Eponymate of Taklak-ana-Aššur (RIMA 2 A.0.87.4, l. 94): *šippu* = *tebētu*, following an extra intercalation.
- (An unattested *Doppeldatierung*: *šippu* = *šabātu*, following an extra intercalation.)
- Eponymate of Apliya (VAT 15466, MARV 6 90): *šippu* = *addaru*, following an extra intercalation.
- Eponymate of Ninurta-aha-iddina (VAT 16389, MARV 1 25): *šippu* = *addaru*. Both the Babylonian and the Assyrian calendars intercalated in the preceding year.
- Next eponymate: *šippu* = *nisannu* (an unattested *Doppeldatierung*), following an extra intercalation. The calendar adaptation had reached its goal, with *šippu* corresponding to the Babylonian New Year, and so the *Doppeldatierungen* halted.

In his contribution in *JCS* 74, D. Shibata (2022, 112-117) objects that this reconstruction seems to be contradicted by data found on the Broken Obelisk. The eponymates of Aššur-ra'im-nišešu (iii 3) and Ili-iddina (iii 20) on this item come after that of Aššur-[x] (ii 13),⁵⁾ but the New Year for Aššur-[x] cannot have fallen within the limits of *abu-kislīmu* (the period that I propose for the eponyms who precede Aššur-ra'im-nišešu and Ili-iddina): the months of *simānu* (ii 13) and *kislīmu* (ii 19) follow each other during the eponymate of Aššur-[x], and so the New Year must have fallen within the period of *tebētu-simānu*, not in *abu-kislīmu*. This would invalidate the process proposed for Tiglath-pileser I's calendar adaptation and argue for the opposite proposal, i.e., the absence of intercalation in the Middle Assyrian calendar.

However, the data found on the Broken Obelisk cannot be easily harmonized with the proposal of non-intercalation either. The Broken Obelisk seems to be an annalistic account, recording events of successive years.⁶⁾ In the (anonymous) eponymate that immediately precedes that of Aššur-[x], the month of *kislīmu* (ii 8) comes before the month of *tamūzu* (ii 11), and so the New Year should fall within the period of *abu-kislīmu*. Yet, it is unlikely that the New Year moved from the limits of *abu-kislīmu* to those of *tebētu-simānu* (the period required for the New Year of Aššur-[x]) in one year's time, as these periods do not have any month in common. Even non-intercalation cannot account for the discrepancy: in the supposition of a missing intercalation on the Assyrian side, the Assyrian New Year could have moved one month backward in one year's time, from *abu-kislīmu* to *tamūzu-arahšamna*, but the latter period does not overlap with the required period of *tebētu-simānu*.

The conundrum might be explained by an additional proposal: that of retaining the limits of *abu-kislīmu* for the position of *šippu* during the eponymate of Aššur-[x] but differentiating *šippu* from this eponymate's New Year. J. A. Brinkman (1968, 386) already observed that two different New Year settings are apparently used on the Broken Obelisk: one in or before the month of Sivan, and one likely in the month of Kislev. To solve this difficulty, Brinkman proposed that the New Year of the Assyrian calendar was not fixed but could correspond to any Assyrian month. However, nowadays, scholars generally agree that the Assyrian New Year was fixed and that it always corresponded to *šippu*.⁷⁾ Another solution to the observation that the eponymates begin in two different seasons on the Broken Obelisk—in spring (in or before Sivan) and in autumn (in Kislev)—might be found in the hypothesis that two different New Years are concerned: the Babylonian one (*nisannu*) for the spring cases, and the Assyrian one (*šippu*) for the autumn cases. During the period that Tiglath-pileser I was replacing the Assyrian calendar with the Babylonian, when these two calendars were being compared to each other, he might have used two types

of eponymates: one beginning on the Babylonian New Year, the other on the Assyrian New Year.⁸⁾ This would resolve the difficulties posed by the calendrical data found on the Broken Obelisk:

- The Babylonian New Year of *nisannu* is a convenient candidate for the New Year of Aššur-[x]: *nisannu* falls within the required period of *tebētu-simānu*.
- The period for the New Year of the immediately preceding anonymous eponymate, within the limits of *abu-kislīmu*, corresponds exactly to the period that the article in SAAB 24 proposes for the eponymates preceding Aššur-ra'im-nišešu's and Ili-iddina's, i.e., the period of *abu-kislīmu*. Thus, this anonymous eponymate would have begun on the Assyrian New Year of *šippu*, as did the eponymates of Aššur-ra'im-nišešu and Ili-iddina.

The hypothesis of two differing New Years for the eponymates during the period of Tiglath-pileser I's calendar adaptation certainly needs further exploration, but at least it can be concluded that the data found on the Broken Obelisk do not necessarily favour the hypothesis of non-intercalation to that of intercalation.

Notes

1. While many scholars hold that the Middle Assyrian calendar did not intercalate (e.g., BLOCH 2012, 23-30; JEFFERS 2017; SHIBATA 2022, 114 fn. 14; for more scholars, see MAHIEU 2018, 65 fn. 13), others argue that it did (e.g., CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM and JOHNSON 2011-2012, 123-127; MAHIEU 2018, 65-67).
2. For a survey of the attested *Doppeldatierungen*, see MAHIEU 2018, 75-76 and fn. 65.
3. In MAHIEU 2018, 76 fn. 70, I have proposed the reading ^{iur}gan¹ for the month indication found on VAT 17921, resulting in the equation *kalmartu* = *kislīmu* (and hence *šippu* = *tašrītu*). Bloch (2021, 33-34 fn. 23) objects that the reading is rather ^{iur}bār¹.
4. The Broken Obelisk (BM 118898, RIMA 2 A.0.89.7) has often been ascribed to Aššur-bel-kala, but it seems to belong to Tiglath-pileser I: MAHIEU 2018, 79-85; SHIBATA 2022, 110-112, 120-123.
5. In MAHIEU 2018, 82, I have suggested to identify Aššur-[x] with Aššur-šumu-eriš, whereas Nahm (2022, 239) opts for Aššur-ba'issunu. Shibata (2022, 117) prefers Aššur-apla-iqīša to Aššur-šumu-eriš, his two candidates for Aššur-[x], because the passage on the eponymate of Aššur-[x] (Broken Obelisk ii 13-24) does not refer to conflict with Babylonia, whereas Tiglath-pileser I clashed with Marduk-nadin-ahhe in the eponymate of Aššur-šumu-eriš (RIMA A.0.87.4, ll. 49-51). However, Marduk-nadin-ahhe is mentioned shortly before Aššur-[x] on the Broken Obelisk (i 17), and the rebuilding of the temple of Anu-Adad in Libbi-ali (ii 14-15) may have been undertaken to regain Adad's benevolence following the removal of the statues of Adad and Šala from Ekallatum by Marduk-nadin-ahhe (for this event, see RINAP 3/2 223, ll. 48-49): MAHIEU 2021, 79.
6. The Assyrian annalistic royal records begin with Tiglath-pileser I: DE ODORICO 1994; SHIBATA 2023, 168-169.
7. See the scholars mentioned in MAHIEU 2018, 65 fn. 14, 67-68.
8. Two parallel lines of eponymates might be attested in an earlier context of contact between Assyria and Babylonia: the seven eponymates of the seven years that Tukulti-Ninurta I ruled over Babylonia may have paralleled Shalmaneser I's last seven eponymates: MAHIEU 2020, 244-245, 258.

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69) Return to First-Millennium Sūhu — The article by A. J. Edmonds (2024) reviewing my book (Ph. Clancier, *À l'ombre des grandes puissances de Mésopotamie. Une histoire du Sūhu à l'époque néo-assyrienne*, 2021) allows me to return to Sūhu after a period of some years. The purpose of Edmonds's paper was to propose a reinterpretation of the reconstruction of the history of Sūhu and to reject several of the conclusions I have reached. In Edmonds's (2024, p. 58) words:

It is demonstrated that the central contention of two identically named polities of Sūhu (“Eastern” and “Western Sūhu” respectively), ruled by two competing dynasties with differing political relationships to Assyria, is not supported by the textual record. As a corrective, a new comprehensive political history of Sūhu in the early first millennium BC is presented here, as a basis for future research.

I would like to come back to some of the points raised by Edmonds, but above all to see whether his theory is more solid than that of the author of these lines.

Reading mistakes revealed by specific issues questions

Some of Edmonds's criticisms are due to a hasty reading of my book. He suggests that my reconstruction of the itinerary of Tukulti-Ninurta II should be rejected with the following argument (EDMONDS 2024, p. 62):

No crossings of the Euphrates are mentioned in Tukulti-Ninurta II's very detailed itinerary, and yet two are reconstructed by Clancier (2021, 140–142. 324, Map 23).

The references to crossings do not take the same form from one situation to another in this text. For example, when the army crossed the Wadi Tartara at the beginning of the campaign (RIMA 2, A.0.100.5, 42, p. 173), the scribe used the verb *ebēru* (^v*tar-ta-ra e-te-bir*). The same is true for Patti-Enlil (RIMA 2, A.0.100.5, 52–53, p. 174, ^v*pa-at-ti-ḏbad / e-te-bir*). These crossings took place outside any built-up area. On the other hand, this verb is not used for crossings made near towns with a ford. An example to prove this: when the army stopped at Hīt, the inscription reads: “I* pitched camp (and) spent the night before (*ina pu-ut*) the city Idu (...); the city Idu is situated on the other bank of the Euphrates River” (RIMA 2, A.0.100.5, 59–60). However, when reaching Harbû, the wording changes: “I* pitched camp (and) spent the night in (*ina*) the city Harbê; Harbê is situated on the other bank of the Euphrates River” (RIMA 2, A.0.100.5, 61–62). It seems to me that it is important to distinguish between spending the night “before” and “in”, with the preposition implying a crossing.

Another error is attributed to me. Edmonds (2024, p. 67) returns to N. Na'aman's (2003, p. 102) suggestion that Šamaš-rēš-ušur could be Nashir-Adad's brother. He then quotes CLANCIER 2021, p. 264, fn. 13 to say that:

(Clancier) misinterpreted Na'aman's argument and used it to shore up his own model.

This is not the case. I think Na'aman's idea of integrating Nashir-Adad into the line of descendants of Tunamissah is interesting, despite serious difficulties. However, his being a brother of Šamaš-rēš-ušur remains hypothetical. Edmonds does not seem to have read or understood p. 389–393 where I explain that it is possible to envisage Nashir-Adad having had another place in the family. This question is extremely complex in itself, so it is important to read all the arguments carefully, even if none of them is conclusive.

Another misinterpretation by Edmonds can be found on p. 66, this time concerning the question of the existence of two titles: the short one of “Governor of Sūhu” and the expanded one of “Governor of Sūhu and of the Land of Mari”. My idea is that only the descendants of Tunamissah ruling the eastern part of Sūhu bore the expanded title. However, the short title could also have been given to them for the purpose of brevity. In contrast, only the short title was given to the leaders of western Sūhu ruling from the city of Ānat. Edmonds refutes this argument and attempts to show the interchangeability of the titles by quoting texts RIMB 2, S. 0.1002.5 iv 7–9^{sic}; 9 i 22–ii 1 (translation EDMONDS 2024, p. 65):

Since Tabnēa, Iqīša-Marduk, and Našīr-Adad – three governors – for 50 years, Ānat belonged to the Assyrian, and for three years in the reign of Šamaš-rēša-ušur, ditto, my father.

Unfortunately, Edmonds uses only RIMB 2, S. 0.1002.9 i 22–ii 1 to demonstrate that Šamaš-rēš-ušur, a descendant of Tunamissah, bore the same short title as the other three governors. One of them, Tabnēa, reigned in Ānat, so there would be no reason to postulate two Sūhus or, more generally, to give any particular meaning to these different titulatures. Moreover, Edmonds points out that “Clancier seems unaware of this issue”. What is interesting about this passage is that there are in fact two different versions, one of which is more detailed and explicit than the one used by Edmonds. This is RIMB 2, S. 0.1002.5 iv 7–10, which reads:

Since T[abnēa, Iqīša-Marduk], and Našīr-Adad – three governors – [for 50 years, Ānat] belonged to the Assyrian, (and) for three yea[rs, in the days of Šamaš-rēša-ušur], the governor of the land of Sūhu and the land of Mari, [my] father.

This example shows that great care must be taken when interpreting the abbreviations in MIN, as the two titles are very close, but the expanded one is attributed only to Šamaš-rēš-ušur. The possible reason, in my opinion, is that in the first group of “governors” at least one of them, Tabnēa, was not from the family of Tunamissah’s descendants and ruled over the western part of the region. In contrast, Šamaš-rēš-ušur was indeed a member of the family and ruled the eastern portion of Sūhu when he ascended the throne.

Sūhu: a region or a united political entity?

I would like to finish by analysing Edmonds’s reconstruction of the political situation in Sūhu. According to him, there can only be one political entity in the whole region and he therefore writes (p. 67):

There is no convincing argument for the existence of two Sūhus, nor of two rival dynasties of governors, and the dichotomy between the titles “Governor of Sūhu” and “Governor of Sūhu and Māri” is entirely false. Indeed, the extant textual sources contradict these hypotheses.

Consequently, I will once again present the evidence for a possible partition of Sūhu and then compare it with Edmonds’s reconstruction.

I suggest that there were two political entities in Sūhu at least in the ninth and first half of the eighth centuries. This theory is based in part on the publication by S. Parpola (1990) of the letter from Marduk-apla-ušur of Ānat to Uratami of Hamath. In this text, it appears that the king of Hamath complained to Marduk-apla-ušur that Adad-nādin-[zēri] had captured some of the trade goods intended for the two rulers. Marduk-apla-ušur was already known as “the man of Sūhu” in the black obelisk of Salmanasar III, in which he appears as a tributary of the Assyrian monarch. It seems to me that we have here a mention of difficult relations, which can reasonably be understood through the existence of two different powers in Sūhu, resting on different territorial bases. Using Parpola’s idea, I have therefore suggested that there were two political entities in Sūhu: western Sūhu, ruled from Ānat, and eastern Sūhu, ruled from the modern site of Sur Jur’eh downstream. The latter entity was in the hands of a dynasty attested by the eighth-century inscriptions of Šamaš-rēš-ušur and Ninurta-kudurri-ušur and which can thus be restored at a minimum as follows: Kudurru, Adad-nādin-zēri (omission of intermediate governors in the texts), Iqīša-Marduk, Šamaš-rēš-ušur, and Ninurta-kudurri-ušur. This lineage bore the title of “governor of Sūhu and the land of Mari” and claimed to descend from a distant ancestor called Tunamissah. This is certainly a more complex local political situation than the one depicted in the Assyrian royal inscriptions. Two further arguments, among others, can be put forward in favour of a partition of Sūhu.

First of all, another clash between various individuals in the region emerged at the beginning of the ninth century. Indeed, Ilu-ibni, governor of Sūhu reigning in Ānat, went to Nineveh in the year of Aššurnaširpal II’s eponymy. RIMA 2 text, A.0.101.1, p. 200, I 99–101 states:

In the eponym year of my name (...) although in the time of the kings, my ancestors, the governor of the land Sūhu had not come to Assyria, Ilu-ibni, governor of the land Sūhu, in order to save his (own) life, together with (that of) his brothers (and) his sons, brought silver (and) gold, his payment, to Nineveh, to my presence.

It would therefore seem that Ilu-ibni was driven out of Ānat where he ruled during Tukulti-Ninurta II’s expedition in 885. In 878, we learn that Kudurru was then sole governor of Sūhu according to the inscriptions of Aššurnaširpal II. He was defeated and paid tribute and, I believe, a western Sūhu was re-

established over which Marduk-apla-ušur subsequently ruled. It should be noted that the existence of two Sūhu in no way prevents the eastern part, that of the descendants of Tunamissah, from having been regularly under Assyrian rule. Edmonds (2024, p. 70) advances that Kudurru was a regular tributary of Aššurnaširpal II. This remains a difficult point to establish, but it is possible that this ruler did indeed pay tribute several times after 878 (CLANCIER 2020, p. 342).

Finally, another argument is the genealogy of the “governors of Sūhu and the land of Mari”, which appears in the inscriptions of Šamaš-rēš-ušur and Ninurta-kudurrī-ušur (sometimes erroneously called Nabû-kudurrī-ušur by Edmonds (2024, p. 61–62) and which goes back to Kudurru but never makes any mention of Marduk-apla-ušur, Ilu-ibni, or even Tabnēa, the last governor of western Sūhu. That makes three people who reigned in Ānat and were excluded from the genealogy of Tunamissah’s descendants.

Having questioned the existence of several political entities in Sūhu, Edmonds (2024, p. 68–80) puts forward his own reconstruction. We have very few sources at our disposal and it should be borne in mind that attempts to reconstruct historical events remain hypotheses. There are, however, a few documents that should be taken into account. Edmonds proposes to demonstrate the supposed political unity of Sūhu by generating filiations that are not attested in any document. We can refer to his summary table on p. 68. He envisages the hypothesis of a filiation between Ilu-ibni and Kudurru, which seems to me to run counter to text RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, p. 200, i 99–101 quoted above, in which Ilu-ibni had to flee with his sons to Assyria, probably because of Kudurru. Above all, he believes that Marduk-apla-ušur and Adad-nādin-zēri were Kudurru’s sons and therefore brothers. He justifies this hypothesis (p. 76) with the fact that Marduk-apla-ušur would have been the eldest and would have been “later unseated” by Adad-nādin-zēri, his younger brother. Marduk-apla-ušur would not appear in the genealogy of Tunamissah’s descendants precisely because of this usurpation (p. 79). No reference would therefore be made to the members of the elder branch.

This hypothesis makes it possible to consider that there was only ever one Sūhu, but it is problematic. Indeed, according to this reconstruction, Šamaš-rēš-ušur and his son Ninurta-kudurrī-ušur, authors of the inscriptions in which the said genealogies appear, would also have erased Marduk-rēmanni and Tabnēa as predecessors on the throne, as they would have been part of this same supposedly elder branch. It must therefore be assumed that this branch would have returned to power after the reign of Adad-nādin-zēri without it being known how. With Tabnēa eliminated by the Assyrians, the younger branch would have returned to power again. The advantage of this reconstruction is that it could seem, at least partially, to conform to the fairly simple political image that the Assyrian inscriptions give of the region. However, it requires not only creating family links that are not based on any documents, but also going against the local sources that allow us to envisage a more complex regional history than that provided by the Assyrian narratives. The latter are self-centred and, ideologically, see the small local kingdoms only as dependents, without always going into detail about their political structures. Nor should the title “governor” be misinterpreted. It is very often a royal title, particularly in the Lower Middle Euphrates tradition (CLANCIER 2021, p. 307–318). Indeed, Ninurta-kudurrī-ušur speaks of his kingship over Sūhu (*lugal-ú-tu šá^{kur}su-hi*, RIMB 2, S.0.1002. 2, i 6).

Edmonds’s theory therefore requires establishing family links that are undocumented and not confirmed by the protagonists themselves, assumes shifts from one family branch to another, and leads us to disregard the existence of contemporary antagonistic political forces which are several times attested by ninth-century Assyrian and local sources. In his own words, this theory “is not supported by the textual record”.

Conclusion

Edmonds (2024, p. 59) stated the purpose of his article:

In the following study, the reviewer will survey the book’s contents and most important arguments, before providing a new history of Sūhu in the Late Bronze and Early Iron age which harmonises all available sources, yielding a chronology which can be integrated into the region’s broader history, a plausible sequence and genealogy for its governors, and a political historical which explains this kingdom’s repeated shifts in fortune and agrees with what is known of contemporary Assyrian policy.

There are several reasons for the direction taken by his article. The first is that he gives an overview of my book and we have seen from the few examples above that he tends to misinterpret certain passages while leaving others aside. The other point is that Edmonds tends to seek confirmation of the Assyrian vision without considering more important local complexities. In this respect, his discussion of the “transitional cases” (p. 75), while interesting, leads to a teleological reconstruction of the history of a region essentially seen as manipulated by Assyria only. We do not have many sources for understanding the complex history of Sühu. It therefore seems reasonable to put forward various hypotheses and to test them. It is likely that no reconstruction can be fully satisfactory, but all of them will provide elements of understanding. So let us keep an open mind and move our research forward.

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70) A Second Note on the Toprakkale Tablet — The tablet VAT 7770 was found from the Urartian administrative centre at Toprakkale (Urart. ^m*rusaḫinili* ^{KUR}*qilbanikai* “Rusaḫinili in front of (mount) Qilbani”), within the limits of Van in Eastern Türkiye, and has been subject of several editions¹. The tablet enumerates in groups the members of the palace/temple personnel, including nobles, different functionaries and specialists, a large number of eunuchs and dependant workforce and, as I have suggested in my previous paper in *NABU*, female personnel of the palace or palace women².

During a study of one of the texts written on a clay *bulla* found from another Urartian centre at Upper Anzaf near Van, that refers to some high-skilled textile-workers³, I again paid attention to the Toprakkale tablet, as it mentions a group of female weavers. The original reading, in fact, belongs to Igor’ Diakonoff, who interpreted the corresponding passage in the line Obv. 13 of the tablet as “68 ^ʿGAD-*ḫi-e*” and translated it as “68 female weavers (?)” or, literally, “women of (linen) cloths” (“68 ткачих (?)”, “женщин (льняной) одежды” respectively, see Fig. 1)⁴. In spite of the fact that Diakonoff’s interpretation was marked as questionable, it was accepted almost in all later editions⁵ and, most widely, in studies on Urartian textiles⁶.



Fig. 1. A close-up photo of the Toprakkale tablet CT Tk-1, Obv., line 13. The photo is subject to the following license: *CC-BY-SA 4.0*. © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatisches Museum / Olaf M. Teßmer.

A close look on that passage revealed that the Sumerogram interpreted by Diakonoff as GADA (GAD in original publication, see above) is not justified. Clearly, the cuneiform sign does not resemble GADA (*gad/t, qàd/t, kad/t, kid/t*), see Fig. 2/a-b)⁷, even if he had in mind the second half of that sign⁸. We can compare it with GADA in ^{L0}GADA of the text of Upper Anzaf mentioned above (Fig. 2/c-d). Along with this, the readings of the determinative MUNUS for “women” attached to that logogram, as well as the phonetic complement *ḫe* (graph. *ḫi-e*) are certain, even though the sign MUNUS is slightly damaged.

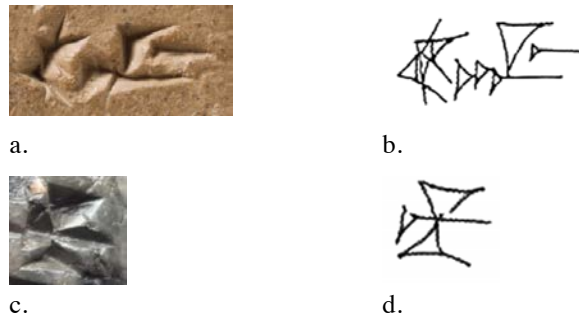


Fig. 2. The problematic sign GADA (?) on the Toprakkale tablet CT Tk-1 (a-b) and Upper Anzaf clay *bullā* CB An-1 (c-d). Drawings of the signs after Salvini 2012, p. 146 and 174.

The determinative MUNUS narrows the circle of logograms that one would expect to see in this context. The first possibility is that we deal here with a variant (?) of the sign DAM (*dam, tam, tām, t/da₄*), if we accept that the scribe misplaced the upper short horizontal wedge and wrote it after and not before the long vertical.

The logogram DAM stands for “wife”, “lady”, Akk. *aššatu(m)*⁹). The mention of 66 (not 68!)¹⁰ “ladies” in the list, where there is also a reference to “palace women”, 90 persons in total, seems logical. At the same time, it looks strange the mention of “ladies” in the section of eunuchs (^{LÚ}ŠÁ.REŠI^{MEŠ}) that includes several thousand dependent workers (^{LÚ}ubše), as well as accountants (^{LÚ}NÍG.ŠID.DA-ka-i “... (people) in front of the accountant”) and huntsmen (lit. “dog-keepers”, ^{LÚ}UR.GI₇).

The situation can be explained differently. One may think about some kind of negligence made by the scribe, who inserted the number of “ladies” not in its right place. One may also think about different usage of the logogram DAM by the Urartian scribes, to indicate, for example, women of some status or speciality, like, e.g., priestess and female physicians, musicians, singers, cooks or even textile workers. In this aspect one may remember that in the texts of Ebla the writing form for the female weavers is *dam túg-nu-tag*¹¹).

The second possibility is the reading of the logogram as LUKUR, Akk. *nadītu(m)*¹²). Certainly, in this case too we deal with scribal negligence, in particular, in the writing of the horizontal wedge of the sign MUNUS of the logogram LUKUR (= MUNUS-ME), that was carelessly repeated by the scribe.

If this is the case and if we really deal with the logogram LUKUR, we shall have an interesting mention of “childless women” in Urartian sources. The separate mention of a group of women, who were not allowed or physically could not have children, seems reasonable and fits well with the section, where these women occur, i.e., among eunuchs, see above.

In the meantime there is no ground to speak about existence of a category of women in Urartu that would resemble the Old Babylonian institution of *nadītu*¹³). Hence, there is no need to make also further discussions about status or functions of these women.

I cannot insist on the rightness of these suggestions, but the problem in the reading of line Obv. 13 of the Toprakkale tablet VAT 7770 surely exists.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1. LEHMANN 1900, p. 625f. (no. 135). For latest editions with bibliographical references see SALVINI 2007, p. 37-50; 2012, p. 145-147 (CT Tk-1); HARUTYUNYAN 2001, p. 330-333 (no. 412).

2. GREKYAN 2016, p. 53-56.

3. GREKYAN 2024, p. 221-227.

4. DIAKONOFF 1963, p. 39, 81 (no. 12₁₃). See also DIAKONOFF 1989, p. 99.

5. See, e.g., MELIKISHVILI 1971, p. 231f. (no. 286₁₃); SALVINI 2007, p. 38 (CTU CT Tk-1 V_{S13}); 2012, p. 145 (CT Tk-1 R_{O13}). See also Electronic Corpus of Urartian Texts (eCUT) Project, eCUT CT Tk-01 at

<https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/ecut/Q007996>. The only exception we find in the corpus of the Urartian texts published by N. Harutyunyan (2001, p. 330-333, no. 412₁₃ and note 16), where, following F.W. König (1957, p. 161, no. 131 Vo₁₃), he reads 68 ^xhi-e and desists from translating the passage.

6. See, e.g., ÇAVUŞOĞLU *et al.* 2014, p. 249-252; ÇİFÇİ 2012, p. 38; GÖKCE 2016, p. 432; BATMAZ 2022, p. 191; etc.

7. BORGER 1978, p. 83 (no. 90).

8. Whether Diakonoff interpreted the first part as a separate sign (in spite of close writing), a determinative MUNUS (?!), and omitted in his transliteration the proceeding sign MUNUS, cannot be ever answered.

9. BORGER 1978, p. 194 (no. 557).

10. SALVINI 2007, p. 38 (CTU CT Tk-1 Vs₁₃).

11. See, e.g., BIGA 2010, p. 152.

12. BORGER 1978, p. 192. (no. 554).

13. STOL 2016, *passim*.

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71) Humban-haltaš of the Astronomical Diaries — The Babylonian Chronicle is currently regarded as the only source covering the reign of the Elamite king Hu(m)ban-haltaš I (*Hum-ba-ḫal-da-šú* in Babylonian spelling) in 688-681 BC (ABC 1: iii 27-32). However, the Astronomical Diaries appear to contain one more reference to this ruler. The record ADART 5 52A: o ii 1' is dated to the 8th year (MU 8) of *Hum-ba-ḫal-da-šú*, who must be Humban-haltaš I, given the stated reign length and the record's chronological position.

All the rulers following Humban-haltaš I in ADART 5 52A – Esarhaddon, Šamaš-šum-ukin, Kandalanu, and Nabopolassar – successively reigned over Babylonia. A year was instead identified with Humban-haltaš I, a foreign monarch, during the Southern Mesopotamian power vacuum that lasted from Sennacherib's destruction of Babylon until the accession of Esarhaddon. ABC 1 indicates that Sennacherib outlived Humban-haltaš I by three months. It was therefore a deliberate choice of the astronomical records' author and/or compiler to present the king of Elam as the highest authority instead of dating the observed

event, most likely a conjunction of Mars and Mercury, to the 24th regnal year of Sennacherib (cf. VAT 4919 from Ħursag-kalama), the 13th year after Aššur-nādin-šumi (cf. L 1672 from Borsippa), or the 8th of the “kingless years” (cf. ABC 1: iii 28).

Similar but not identical examples of Babylonian dating formulae referring to Elamite sovereigns can be found in four economic and legal documents: BM 79013 (“accession year of Tammariṭu,” from Ħidālu), PTS 2713 (“1st year of Ħallusu,” from Bīt-Ħulummu), A 33248 (“15th year of Ħallusu,” from Sumuntunaš), and VAT 3146 (reign of Ħallusu, date and provenience uncertain). These cases differ in that the documents may have been produced in locations under Elam’s political control and jurisdiction, and therefore their Babylonian authors might have recognized themselves as Elamite subjects. As for the Astronomical Diaries’ evidence, it raises the possibility that Babylon’s loss of political autonomy in 689 BC strengthened Elam’s position in Lower Mesopotamia and inspired pro-Elamite sentiment among some local elites, resulting in the attested recognition of Humban-haltaš I as the most legitimate ruler of the region.

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72) Squeezes of cuneiform inscriptions in the British Museum — The RIM and RINAP volumes include periodic brief references to the existence of paper squeezes of cuneiform inscriptions made by A. H. Layard and others, formerly kept at the museum, and now lost. A more definitive statement of the situation, with a summary list of squeezes that survive, was provided in *Iraq* 64 (2002) p. 64. The gist is as follows:

‘They were kept in the squeeze collection of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum; the present Department of the Ancient Near East retains a catalogue of paper slips listing them by number but without description. Most of the squeezes were burnt on instructions from Sidney Smith when Keeper of the Department (1931-1948), on the grounds that they had all been published. J. E. Reade had this information from the late R. D. Barnett (Keeper, 1956-1974) who, besides remarking of Smith that “he was mad, mad,” said that he had succeeded in saving the Carchemish squeezes because he himself was working on them. Some other squeezes were saved by chance or design, and are listed in a provisional typescript catalogue by C. B. F. Walker and Reade. They come from Bavian, Judi Dagh(?), Behistun, Elvend, Urartu and elsewhere, and there are unidentified scraps. Five fragments have parts of Ashurnasirpal annals that may derive from Nimrud temple daises.’

The catalogue remains available but does not seem to have been consulted often. The squeezes can be useful. For instance, in a study of divine names and symbols (J. E. Reade, *Iranica Antiqua* 12, 1977, p. 40, n. 9), it was stated that ‘The association of this symbol with Nergal in Assyrian iconography was suggested by F. Thureau-Dangin in *Revue d’assyriologie* XVI (1919), 140. It depends on the restoration of a few missing wedges in two of the Khinnis stelas. Squeezes of these texts, made by L. W. King, are preserved in the British Museum. Mr Walker and [Reade] are agreed that there is inadequate space for King’s proposed restoration “Ninurta” and that the traces do not suit Luckenbill’s “Nusku”. The only divine name which does seem to fit the traces, and to which there is no objection, is Thureau-Dangin’s “Nergal”.

That text is the so-called Bavian inscription, now Sennacherib 223, RINAP 3/2, pp. 309-317. RINAP 3/2 refers to King’s unpublished hand copies but not to squeezes. The relevant passage is part of line 1 (p. 313), and the reading, now generally accepted, has been much discussed in the past. Study of King’s squeezes might make other contributions to the *apparatus criticus* of Sennacherib 223 and perhaps also to that of the Judi Dagh text, Sennacherib 222.

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73) Gammagara, Gir-e Gomel and Kurbaile — Sennacherib 226, RINAP 3/2, pp. 319-320, the so-called Jerwan Inscription B, records that the waters of the towns of Hanusa and Gammagara (A.MEŠ URU *hanu-sa* A.MEŠ URU *gam-ma-ga-ra*) were added to the canal that the king constructed from the Gomel river to irrigate the Nineveh area. Full references to the debate over the location of Gammagara are provided by Ariel Bagg, *RGTC* VII/2-1 (2017), p. 178.

My own 1978 proposal (*RA* 72: 169), favoured by some colleagues, was to equate Gammagara with modern Gir-e or Tell Gomel (corresponding to Greek Gaugamela and Syriac Gogomel). Bagg objects

that this site is in flat land far downstream of the canal and that water from it could not have reached the canal. This is correct but does not affect the proposal. The term “waters of Gammagara” surely refers to waters belonging to and employed by the people resident in and around the territory of Gammagara; the equivalent will have applied to the waters of Hanusa. The territory of Gir-e Gomel must have received some of its water from the hills north of Sennacherib’s Nineveh canal, and that water could indeed have been diverted into the canal.

The identification Gammagara = Gir-e Gomel therefore remains unproven but quite probable, but the toponym does not appear in other Neo-Assyrian texts. Excavations have shown, however, that the site of Gir-e Gomel was much more important during the late third and early second millennia BC. It was “undoubtedly serving as the central place of the Navkur plain during these periods” according to D. Morandi Bonacossi et al., *Mesopotamia* 53 (2018), p. 72, although the site of Amyan, further east (B. Couturaud et al, <https://shs.hal.science/halshs-04088135>) could have been a competitor for this status. The Bronze Age toponyms associated with these major sites should eventually be recognised in early texts. The status of “central place of the Navkur plain” could have passed to Neo-Assyrian Kurbail, for which see Bagg, RGTC VII/2-1, pp. 354-5. The latter remains unlocated, but a position close to the confluence of the Gomel and Khazir rivers currently seems most suitable.

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74) Assyrian lion weights: Addenda — In a handlist of Assyrian bronze weights, *SAAB* 24 (2018) pp. 179-184, I assigned the number B-21 to a lion weight found during excavations by Helmy Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Mosul, at Nabi Yunus in 1852-3. I missed the fact that the copy of a brief Esarhaddon inscription on the lion, stating that it was booty from Egypt and Kush, had been published by Rawlinson (IR48, 4); this inscription was already mentioned by H. Lobdell, *JAOS* 4 (1854), p. 472. The text is now Esarhaddon 141 (RINAP 4, pp. 282-283). So this lion, unless the Kushites had once captured it and Esarhaddon captured it back, was not really Assyrian.

Rawlinson further states that the lion is “now [in 1861] in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople”, but he assigns the same destination to the stone tablet from the same excavations (IR43-44; Sennacherib 34; RINAP 3/1, pp. 219-226), which has not been found in Istanbul despite repeated searches. Possibly the ascription of both pieces to Constantinople was based on a single erroneous assumption.

There is or used to be a “lion with a worn cuneiform inscription” housed at the Hancock Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne, England; it is mentioned in *NABU* 1999/2, no. 29, p. 28, footnote 3. The material is unspecified. Stefania Ermidoro refers to this lion in “The William Kennett Loftus legacy to the north: Near Eastern materials in Newcastle upon Tyne”, in I. L. Finkel/St J. Simpson, editors, *In Context: The Reade Festschrift* (2020), p. 250, n. 26, but was unable to find it.

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75) The bronze throne from Nabi Yunus, Nineveh — Hormuzd Rassam, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrud* (1897), pp. 302–3, was told that, ‘some few years before’ his own excavations at Nabi Yunus around 1880, ‘while the overseers of the mosque of Nebee Yunis were digging a foundation for a minaret within the inclosure, or outer wall, of the sanctum, they came upon a large reservoir hewn out of one solid stone, inside which was found a bronze throne covered over with inscriptions and representations of animals and human figures. The former was used for the base of the minaret, but the latter was broken to pieces and divided amongst different officials.’ Elsewhere Rassam specifies that ‘the local authorities got possession of it and divided it amongst themselves. I heard that it was afterwards melted and sold to the workers in brass’: see *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists* (1893), p. 188.

Ariane Thomas discussed Neo-Assyrian wheeled thrones, with special reference to one carved on a wall-panel from Khorsabad, in ‘A royal chariot for Sargon II’, in I. L. Finkel/St J. Simpson, editors, *In Context: The Reade Festschrift* (2020). She refers there (pp. 91-92, fig. 2) to a bronze figure of a god, 12 cm high, which was formerly part of a larger object. ‘The Louvre owns a rare figure of a god whose costume

and posture are apparently identical to those of the figures supporting the arms of the throne on the relief that concerns us here. This little bronze figure was probably found during Botta's excavations at Khorsabad but owned by a family from the Mosul region until it was sold to the Louvre in 1913 through negotiations with Elias Géjou, a French antiquities dealer of Armenian origin who was active between at least 1895 and 1939 and frequently in Baghdad according to his correspondence. In addition to the fact that its dimensions seem to correspond with the size of the supporting figures on our relief, this bronze figure terminates below in a long tenon with a triangular section and above in a ring above the truncated conical tiara. This tenon might very well have been inserted into the body of a throne, while the ring could have attached the figurine to the armrest. Such an object thus corresponds very closely to the caryatid figures on the throne on our relief.'

In the circumstances it seems highly probable that this bronze figure at the Louvre was not found at Khorsabad by Botta in 1843-4 but that it was part of the throne, or perhaps mobile throne, found before 1880 by the overseers of the mosque at Nabi Yunus and distributed among various people in Mosul. Most of those who got fragments presumably failed to appreciate that they might be worth more than the value of the metal, but it would not be surprising if a few attractive pieces such as this one survived.

There is also a piece of bronze relief, purchased by the Louvre in 1956, which represents Naqi'a, mother of Esarhaddon, and an Assyrian king: it is Esarhaddon 210 (RINAP 4, pp 323-324). The fragmentary text refers to the Assyrian restoration of Babylon. Presumably it too had been part of a larger object found in a Neo-Assyrian context by people who cut it up as scrap metal, and this Naqia piece then happened to survive. I have previously suggested that it might have belonged to the Nabi Yunus throne: see Y. Heffron/A Stone/M. Worthington, editors, *At the Dawn of History*, Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of J. N. Postgate (2017), p. 437. The Thomas figure is much more convincing as part of the main structure of this throne, but the Naqia fragment might have been cut from a podium or some other item about the same time.

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76) The provenance of Lord Aberdeen's Black Stone — This cuboid monument, Esarhaddon 114, RINAP 4, pp. 231-237, is covered with carvings and an inscription concerning Babylon. The note *NABU* 2000/4, pp. 80-81, no. 70, with information on an erasure at the end of the text, should be added to the RINAP bibliography.

The material is a black limestone similar to that of Babylonian kudurrus, but that does not define who worked on the stone or where the work was done. Eleanor Guralnick, on pp. 34-38 of 'New drawings of Khorsabad sculptures by Paul Émile Botta', *RA* 95 (2002), pp. 23-56, presented strong evidence favouring the traditional provenance of Nineveh (presumably Esarhaddon's palace at Nabi Yunus) rather than Babylon as once proposed by myself in *ZA* 86 (1996) p. 254 and tentatively accepted in RINAP. Further details are as follows.

In June 1842 A. H. Layard spent three days at Mosul. One of his notebooks of this period includes a description of the stone; he calls it 'Mr Rassam's stone' and states that 'It was found at Nineveh' (British Library, Add. Ms. 39084, folio 33). This Mr Rassam was Christian A. Rassam, British Vice-Consul at Mosul (not to be confused with his younger brother Hormuzd). A letter from C. Rassam to Aberdeen, then British Foreign Secretary, dated 23 March 1844, begins: 'My Lord, I have the honour to beg your acceptance of a stone with a cuneiform inscription which was found two years ago while digging among the mounds which are supposed to cover the site of ancient Nineveh' (British Public Records Office, FO 78/574, folio 41). So Aberdeen did not purchase the stone, as often stated, but received it as a gift. He eventually donated it to the British Museum in 1860 where it has the numbers 91027 and 1860-12-1, 1.

Given that the Black Stone surfaced near Mosul, one might have expected Nimrud as another possible provenance, since Esarhaddon was active there. If Rassam had thought this, however, he would undoubtedly have said so, since the real purpose of his letter was to persuade the British to pay him to excavate at Nimrud, and the Black Stone was a sweetener.

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77) The last years of Ashurbanipal — The authors and editors of RINAP 5/3 (2023) deserve warm thanks and congratulations on successful completion of an enormous task. The volume has a long introduction including the presentation of evidence on the chronology of Ashurbanipal and his successors. At least one addition is needed.

Pages 26-7 refer to the classical accounts of how Sardanapalus, identified by modern scholars as Ashurbanipal, killed himself by setting his palace on fire. Everyone now regards these accounts as mistaken, seeming to conflate his death with that of his brother Šamaš-šuma-ukīn at Babylon in 648 or his son Sīn-šarra-iškun at Nineveh in 612. The existence of another tradition, however, was already recognised in antiquity by Athenaios of Naucratis in his book *Deipnosophistai*: see S. D. OLSON 2010 (Loeb edition), VI, pp. 94-95, chapter 12.530a, or C. D. Yonge, *The Deipnosophists* (1853-4), p. 849 (translation on-line). This important reference has previously been cited in this general context, e.g. *Orientalia* 67 (1998), p. 263, but appears to be absent from RINAP 5/3.

The Greek text is straightforward. ‘Kleitarchos, in Book IV of his *On Alexander*, says that Sardanapallos died of old age after being deposed from the Syrian throne’ or ‘after he had lost the sovereignty over the Syrians’ (μετὰ τὴν ἀπόπτωσιν τῆς Σύρων ἀρχῆς). If this Sardanapallos is Ashurbanipal, then he did not necessarily die in 631 BC but was deposed. That would raise the question whether the phrase *illiku nammušišu*, applied to Ashurbanipal by his successor Aššur-etel-ilani (SAA XII, pp. 35-38, nos 35-36), really means that the king had died (CAD). The same phrase is applied to the pharaoh Taharqo when he was succeeded in unclear circumstances.

Ashurbanipal’s survival after losing the throne of Assyria in 631 BC would incidentally have had consequences for the situation in Babylon where the king was required to participate in person in annual ceremonies. The Assyrians, controlling Babylon, needed someone to play this role. This person, in the latter part of Ashurbanipal’s reign as king of Assyria, is recorded through king-lists and dating formulas as Kandalanu. If Kandalanu was not an ordinary living man but a statue of Ashurbanipal in some distinctive form, brought to life by appropriate rituals, that would explain why Kandalanu only appears as king of Babylon in this formulaic fashion. Kandalanu disappears from the records in 627-626 BC. His disappearance could have coincided with the real death of Ashurbanipal. The present author first presented this hypothesis in *JCS* 23 (1970), p. 1. It has not been approved by colleagues but remains an economic means of reconciling various strands of evidence.

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78) Assyrian royal eunuchs — It is suggested in RINAP 5/3 (2023), p. 32, that Sin-šuma-lišir, the eunuch who reigned briefly in 627-626 BC after the death of his protégé Aššur-etel-ilani, ‘was not a member of the royal family’. This echoes statements by E. Frahm, *A Companion to Assyria* (2017), pp. 191, 198, that ‘Sin-šumu-lišir ascended the throne himself, effectively ending more than a thousand years of uninterrupted rule by members of the Adasi dynasty’, though a footnote adds “that it cannot be entirely excluded that he too was a member of the royal family”.

No DNA evidence is yet available, and no reason is given for the assumption that Sin-šuma-lišir was not of royal blood. An alternative hypothesis, helping to account for the substantial number of eunuchs employed in the Assyrian administration, is that they were largely or entirely drawn from the ranks of superfluous male children born to royal concubines. There are likely to have been many of these princesses and young women who had arrived with consignments of tribute or booty.

The hypothesis was first aired, so far as I know, in a work of fiction by N. Guild, *The Assyrian* (1989), pp. 17-23. The book may not have been read by many academics but that does not detract from the plausibility of the hypothesis. It has been mentioned at least twice in papers that should have been seen by epigraphists, in 2004 (Fs Larsen, p. 457) and 2009 (Fs Parpola, p. 252), and I am unaware of any serious argument that has been raised against it. It is supported by the fact that N. Ziegler has independently concluded from ample evidence that the *kirisagqum* attendants prominent in the court of Zimri-Lim at Mari were eunuchs, sometimes perhaps eunuchs of royal parentage, with the suggestion of direct continuity of practice from an even earlier date in the third millennium through to the first (Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, *Comptes rendus*, janvier-mars 2019, Paris, pp. 103-106).

This would help explain why, in the second half of the ninth century, eunuchs in the royal establishment were able to take such a considerable degree of power and control over decision-making processes into their own hands and keep it for much of the eighth century. It was a critical phase in Neo-Assyrian political development: see Reade, in F. M. Fales, editor, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons* (1981), pp. 156–159, expanded by A. K. Grayson, *SAAB* 7 (1993), pp. 19–52, and others, notably C. Ambos (Fs Parpola, pp. 1-7). The changing status of eunuchs may even be reflected in the palatial architecture of Khorsabad and Nineveh: see *Mesopotamia* XLVI (2011), pp. 118-121.

Under Esarhaddon (?) a eunuch was suspected of having royal aspirations: S. Parpola, *SAA* X, p. 143, no. 179, ‘Will the chief eunuch take over the kingship?’ The fact that Sin-šuma-lišir did subsequently take over the kingship must indicate that he had reasons to hope that he might succeed in maintaining his position. The most obvious reason would be that, by birth, he was a legitimate claimant to the ancestral throne. The fact that he was a eunuch may have been a critical factor that rendered him unacceptable in some quarters and contributed to his failure, but that is a different issue. What is strange is the modern suggestion that he was not a member of the royal family.

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79) Assyrian letters to god — A. L. Oppenheim, in his paper entitled ‘The city of Assur in 714 B.C.’, *JNES* 19 (1960), pp. 133-147, discussed the well-preserved clay tablet with a letter to god in which Sargon II reported on his campaign against Urartu and Musasir (RINAP II, Sargon II 65). Oppenheim also offered on p. 143 (in passing, because it is not the main purpose of his study) the hypothesis that this letter and the few others of the kind that partly survive ‘replace in content and most probably in form the customary oral report of the king or his representative on the annual campaign to the city and the priesthood of the capital.’ If it is correct that kings reported regularly to god in this way, which Oppenheim seems to have virtually taken for granted and which could have been a long-standing tradition not only in Assyria, it would follow that such reports were once saved and deposited in an office somewhere in the Ashur temple complex.

B. Pongratz-Leisten, in J. D. Hill, P. Jones and A. J. Morales, editors, *Experiencing Power, Generating Authority*, Philadelphia (2013), pp. 285-309, proposed (p. 301) that “the restricted number of royal reports to the gods ... suggests that this particular kind of communication was only performed when royal action was in absolute need of divine sanction”. She also notes, however (p. 299), that the tablet inscribed with Sargon’s letter bears a colophon showing that it belonged in the library of the chief exorcist. It was a copy, not the original that the king presented to the god. The other reports that partly survive may equally have been copies, and their restricted number has no bearing on the question of how many originals once existed. In any case the originals presented to the god could have once been written on waxed board-books such as are regularly shown in the hands of Assyrian scribes, e.g. Fs Fales (2012), pp. 703-4, figs 12-16; these would not have survived at all.

There is a related situation with the records of Ashurbanipal. He is the Assyrian king whose reign is most fully recorded in official and unofficial annalistic and quasi-annalistic texts of several kinds, fully described, discussed and republished in RINAP 5/1-3. The texts are all written on clay or other durable materials. Ironically, despite the abundance of these records, there are many uncertainties about the exact year in which various events happened. Basic annual sources for these annalistic records are largely absent. An easy explanation for the absence of sources is that they were once written on perishable media such as waxed board-books. If Oppenheim’s hypothesis is correct, the lost documents are likely to have included copies of the king’s annual reports to Ashur.

Incidentally the Sargon clay tablet does not include any drawing of the campaign of 714 BC, including the sack of Musasir, which came to be carved on wall-panels in Room 14 of Sargon’s royal palace at Khorsabad. Similarly Ashurbanipal’s clay tablets include copies of captions written for the illustrations carved on his palace wall-panels but they do not include drawings of the illustrations themselves. The originals of all these images could have been drawn on board-books or other media saved and deposited in the same office somewhere in the Ashur temple complex.

How far back the temple records of royal activities may go is unknown but the diary-type reports of campaigning in the Broken Obelisk which may now be ascribed to Tiglathpileser I look like early examples (RIMA 2, A.O.89.7). The fixed epistolary format exemplified in the Sargon text of 714 BC could have emerged alongside other innovations under Shalmaneser III: see Reade, in F. M. Fales, editor, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons* (1981), p. 156.

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80) Invisible Assyrian history — H. Crawford in a 1973 paper entitled ‘Mesopotamia’s Invisible Exports in the Third Millennium B.C.’ (*World Archaeology* 5/2, pp. 232-241) discussed the evidence for organic perishable goods such as food, cloth and leather which left limited traces in the archaeological record. Modern processes can recover more such evidence but there is always more to find.

Similarly, while a 2014 conference aimed to establish ‘a full-fledged methodological address to the problems concerned with the "Writing of Neo-Assyrian History"’ (Editors, SAAS XXIX, p. xi), more attention could have been paid to the problem of invisible history, to the existence of evidence which is evasive or persistently ignored. The present writer has himself since 1962 been using epigraphic and archaeological sources in the attempt to write balanced Assyrian history and is very familiar with this problem.

The preceding three notes about Ashurbanipal’s death, Assyrian royal eunuchs and Assyrian letters to god are examples of hypotheses or ideas about invisible history. Such hypotheses can be large or small, sound or mistaken, but this kind of exploration of underlying contexts is essential to the process of transforming historical information into informative history.

The contexts may be technical. Thus, if it is correct that the lines of text visible on fragments of clay tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection represent very roughly some 30-40% of those that originally existed, then some 60-70% are still to be found: see SAAB 29 (2023), p. 46. These clay records must have been far outnumbered by what S. Parpola called the ‘vast amounts of documents written on papyrus, leather and waxed writing-boards’ which are lost: see K. R. Veenhof, editor, *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries* (1986), p. 236. The interpretation of records that do survive must take account of those that do not. For instance, for an earlier period, there are remarkably few texts from the third-millennium urban centres excavated in north Mesopotamia; that could be explained by a hypothesis that Hurrians normally wrote on waxed writing-boards.

Invisibility can also result from bias. Most obviously, the epigraphic sources say more about men than about women. Those of us academics who are men tend to acquiesce in the situation. The fact that more epigraphists are now women has resulted in the evidence concerning Assyrian women becoming better appreciated and more visible, if we are willing to notice it. There are classes of people and categories of data which have no advocates and remain invisible.

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81) Eine akkadisch-ägyptische Parallele bei der metaphorischen Vorstellung des Todes als Ankommen im Hafen — Der Beitrag stellt einen motivgeschichtlichen Vergleich zwischen der akkadischen und ägyptischen Literatur an, in dessen Zentrum die metaphorische Idee des Sterbens als Landen steht. Die Untersuchung bezieht ein akkadisches Beispiel und vier ägyptische Beispiele ein. Die tatsächliche Zahl dürfte sehr viel größer sein, so dass es sich lediglich um einen repräsentativen Querschnitt handelt.

Der Einstieg ist am besten mit dem akkadischen Material zu schaffen. Die Aufmerksamkeit richtet sich auf eine persönliche Klage, die in der Nacht an Ishtar geäußert wird. Der aus Nippur stammende Text kann in die altbabylonische Zeit datiert werden. Die inhaltliche Paraphrase, literaturhistorische Einordnung und poetische Charakterisierung wird durch viele schlecht erhaltene Passagen erschwert. In der Liste der Leiden des Klagenden werden u. a. auch unheilvolle Träume erwähnt:

„šū-na-tu-[ia*] n[a*]-ap-pa-ša-am iš-ti-ma-ni-im
um-mi a-a[m*-ri*] a*-di-i[r*-ti a]-na-ka-ri-im ša la i-du a-na-ku e-mi-id⁽⁴¹⁾

„[Meine*] Träume bestimmten* mir* den Schlagstock?*.
Meine Mutter, sieh* [an meine] Betrüb[n]is*]
[A]n einem Kai, den ich nicht kenne, legte ich an“

Die Aussage der letzten Zeile wird bereits von Streck²⁾ als Metapher für die Todesnähe gedeutet. Die Sprache ist sehr bildhaft gewählt, der nautische Hintergrund fällt deutlich auf. Die Reihe wird nun mit dem ägyptischen Material fortgesetzt.

Das erste Beispiel gehört zu den Pyramidentexten, deren Aufgabe in der Sicherung der jenseitigen Existenz des Königs – und später auch der Königin – bestand. Die Spruchsammlung darf als ältestes religiöses Textcorpus der Menschheitsgeschichte gelten. Die entscheidenden Worte lauten:

„hrw pw mni.n=f⁽³⁾
„An jenem Tag, an dem er landete“

Der Satz steht im Zusammenhang mit dem Himmelsaufstieg des verstorbenen Königs. Das Verb „mni“ „landen“ wird hier als Umschreibung für den Tod gewählt. Das Beispiel kann ins Alte Reich datiert werden.

Das zweite Beispiel findet sich in der Lehre des Kagemni, die mutmaßlich in der 9./10. Dynastie verfasst wurde, selbst wenn die einzige erhaltene Handschrift aus dem Mittleren Reich stammt. Die Aufmerksamkeit richtet sich auf die Worte:

„h' hm=f n nsw.t-bi.t (hw=ni) mni n=f⁽⁴⁾
„Und dann ist seine Majestät von Ober- und Unterägypten (Huni) angelandet“

Die Passage schließt die Lehre ab und bezieht sich auf den Regierungswechsel zwischen Huni und Snofru. Der Text betrachtet so in der Rückschau die Zeit des Alten Reiches. Die Stelle verwendet ebenfalls das Verb „mni“ „landen“ als Umschreibung für den Tod.

Das dritte Beispiel lautet „hm-ntr dd-hnsw-iw=f-’nh, htp-di-nsw.t n=k Imn-r’...mri=t m hw.t ntr, hr krs.t nfr.t m-h.t mni⁽⁵⁾“ und lässt sich durch „Prophet des Amun Dd-hnsw-iw=f-’nh, ein Königsopfer sei für dich des Amun-Re..., indem du geliebt bist im Tempel...und ein schönes Begräbnis folgt nach dem Landen“ übersetzen. Die Passage ist einem biographischen Kontext entnommen und spielt auf das ordnungsgemäße Begräbnis an. Das Verb „mni“ „landen“, das m. E. die wahrscheinlichste Lesung ist, dient wiederum als Metapher für den Tod. Das Beispiel kann in die Spätzeit datiert werden.

Das vierte Beispiel ist in der Identifikation des Fruchtlandes des 8. u.ä. Gaeus in einer Prozession auf der Außenseite des Naos von Edfu zu finden. Im dortigen Kontext sind folgende Worte zu lesen:

„ntk s3-t3 ntri št3 m rdw=f ’nh irw=f iwti mni=f⁽⁶⁾
„Denn du bist die göttliche s3-t3-Schlange, die geheim ist in ihrem Ausfluss, deren Gestalt lebt, die nicht landet“

Die übertragene Bedeutung von „mni“ „landen“ im Sinne von „sterben“ liegt auch diesem Beispiel zugrunde. Wenn Schmidt⁷⁾ das Verb durch „untergehen“ übersetzt, so orientiert sich dies zumindest nicht am eigentlichen Bedeutungsumfang der Wurzel. Die Möglichkeit des Todes wird hier ausdrücklich geleugnet. Die Schlange lässt wohl eine Identifikation mit dem Gott Atum zu⁸⁾. Was das Alter des Beispiels angeht, so lässt es sich in die griechisch-römische Zeit datieren.

Die Untersuchung hat gezeigt, dass die metaphorische Vorstellung des Sterbens als Landen sowohl in der akkadischen als auch ägyptischen Literatur ein Heimatrecht besitzt. Die Tatsache, dass Mesopotamien und Ägypten Flusskulturen sind, muss hierbei unbedingt mit berücksichtigt werden. Das sicher im Hafen landende Schiff hat wohl Pate gestanden.

Anmerkungen

1. M. P. STRECK, Die Klage „Istar Bagdad“, in: W. Sallaberger/K. Volk/A. Zgoll (Hrsg.), Literatur, Politik und Recht in Mesopotamien, Festschrift für Claus Wilcke, Orientalia Biblica et Christiana 14 (Wiesbaden, 2003), S. 308.

2. M. P. STRECK, Die Klage ..., S. 303.

3. PT § 1090 f; vgl. Sh.-W Hsu, Bilder für den Pharao, Untersuchungen zu den bildlichen Ausdrücken des Ägyptischen in den Königsinschriften und anderen Textgattungen, PdÄ 36 (Leiden-Boston, 2017), S. 33.

4. Kagemni 2, 7-8; vgl. Sh.-W Hsu, Bilder für den Pharao, S. 33.

5. K. JANSEN-WINKELN, Thebanische Statuen der 25. und 26. Dynastie, SAK 34 (2006), 225.

6. E IV, 28, 3.

7. N. SCHMIDT, Körperflüssigkeiten und –ausscheidungen der Götter des Alten Ägypten, Teil 2, *ÄgAb* 82/2 (Wiesbaden, 2022), S. 568.

8. Chr. LEITZ, Geographisch-osirianische Prozessionen aus Philae, Dendara und Athribis, *Soubassementstudien II*, SSR 8 (Wiesbaden, 2012), S. 352ff.

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82) Der gesenkte Kopf als Trauersitte im Akkadischen und Ägyptischen — Die Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen der ägyptischen und akkadischen Literatur decken ein breites Spektrum ab. Das verwandte Motiv der Trauersitte, das Senken des Kopfes zu Boden wurde m. W. in der bisherigen Forschung noch nicht registriert.

In der Erzählung „Ischtars Gang in die Unterwelt“, deren Stoff bekanntlich ältere sumerische Traditionen aufgreift, erzürnt das unrechtmäßige Eindringen Ischtars in die Unterwelt die Totenherrscherin Ereschkigal so sehr, dass sie ihrem Minister Namtar befiehlt, eine ganze Schar von Krankheiten zu entfesseln. Die Reaktion des Papsukkal auf die daraufhin entstandene Störung der irdischen Ordnung fällt folgendermaßen aus:

„Papsukkal sukkal ilāni rabūti quddud appašu pānūšu, karru labiš male naškun (?)“¹⁾

„Papsukkal, der Bote der großen Götter, gesenkt ist seine Nase, sein Antlitz ..., mit einem Trauergewand ist er bekleidet, trägt (?) verfilztes Kopfhhaar“

Der Götterbote nimmt hier eine ganz charakteristische Trauerhaltung ein, bei welcher das Gesicht gen Boden gesenkt ist. Die gleiche Sitte wird in der ägyptischen Literatur zur Sprache gebracht. Der Autor weiß derzeit auf insgesamt zwei klare Beispiele zu verweisen. Das viel zitierte Beispiel aus dem „Sinuhe“ wird dabei stillschweigend als bekannt vorausgesetzt. Die anschließend berücksichtigten Beispiele sind so gewählt, dass dabei Götter im Mittelpunkt stehen. Die Parallele wird so besonders deutlich.

Das erste Beispiel taucht an der Stelle „wn.in ntr.w m tp hr mʿš.ti=śn, hr.w=śn r hri“²⁾ auf, für welche die Übersetzung „Daraufhin saßen die Götter mit dem Kopf auf den Knien und ihre Gesichter waren nach unten gerichtet“ am besten passt. Die Worte sind im Kontext der Klage um den verstorbenen Gott Osiris zu beobachten. Das Beispiel gehört altersmäßig ins Neue Reich.

Das zweite Beispiel zeigt sich an der Stelle „ntr.w hr tp mʿš.t n iw=k“³⁾, für welche die Übersetzung „die Götter – das Gesicht auf den Knien, da du (nicht) (?) kommst“ am nächsten liegt. Die Trauer gilt auch dieses Mal dem verstorbenen Gott Osiris, auf welchen die 2. Person Maskulinum Bezug nimmt. Das Beispiel lässt sich aus chronologischer Sicht in die Griechisch-Römische Zeit datieren.

Die Parallele zwischen den Texten ist damit klar. Das zu Boden gesenkte Gesicht drückt in allen Fällen Trauer aus. Die Texte brauchen nicht voneinander abhängig gemacht zu werden. Die Wahrscheinlichkeit ist größer, dass man es mit einer allgemeinorientalischen Sitte zu tun hat. Das Trauermotiv des Kopfes zwischen den Knien kommt im Übrigen auch noch in der späteren jüdischen Überlieferung vor⁴⁾.

Anmerkungen

1. L. KING, *Cuneiform texts (CT) 15* (London, 1902), Nin 81-82.

2. Chr. LEITZ, *Tagewählerei*, Das Buch *hʿ.t nḥḥ pḥ.wy d.t* und verwandte Texte, *ÄgAb* 55, Wiesbaden 1994, 232.

3. A. DEMBSKA, *Song of Nut*, in: U. Luft (ed.), *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt. Studies Presented to Laslo Kákosy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday*, *StudAeg* XIV, Budapest 1992, 114 (die neuere Ausgabe von B. Backes, *Der „Papyrus Schmitt“* (pBerlin P. 3057), Ein funeräres Ritualbuch der ägyptischen Spätzeit, Edition und Kommentar, *ÄOPH*, Band 4, Berlin-Boston 2016, war Verf. nicht zugänglich).

4. K. ALAND, *Bemerkungen zum Montanismus und zur frühchristlichen Eschatologie*, in: K. Aland, *Kirchengeschichtliche Entwürfe*, Alte Kirche, Reformation und Luthertum..., Berlin 1960, 138.

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83) Neo-Babylonian leap years — In the first section, the study describes the way in which the Babylonian leap years came about. The second section describes the intercalation, which can be observed in the third section on the Neo-Babylonian leap years. The study concludes in the fourth section with an interpretation of the observation result. – A detailed presentation with literature references and a registry of sources for leap years can be found at:

https://michael.kiertscher.net/PR1/E/THE_NEO-BABYLONIAN_LEAP_YEARS.pdf#page=1

https://michael.kiertscher.net/PR1/D/DIE_NEUBABYLONISCHEN_SCHALTJAHRE.pdf#page=1.

(1) **The Chaldean notification route** shows how a beginning of the month or an intercalation came about and how the information was passed on throughout the empire. The final decision regarding intercalation was up to the kings, who regularly received cuneiform messages from their astrologers containing both astronomical observations and astrological interpretations. When intercalating, the kings were guided, among other things, by favorable or unfavorable omens. This meant that the timing of intercalation could be influenced by both astronomical and astrological components of these messages. The present Neo-Babylonian leap years would therefore be the result of astronomical and astrological reasons. – The kings had their decisions about the beginning of the month or an intercalation spread and proclaimed across the temples, resulting in a coordinated timing in Babylonia.

(2) **The Intercalation** – The Assyrian-Babylonian regency years were lunar years, the deviation of which was compensated for by an additional intercalary month. Neo-Assyrian cuneiform texts show that this deviation of the lunar year, which increased by around 11 days annually, was observed using the starry sky in order to estimate the time of the insertion of a leap month. Although mathematical astronomy was already advanced, the intercalations could only be decided empirically. For the Assyrian-Neo-Babylonian period, it cannot be proven that the length of the solar year was known, which would have been necessary to calculate the deviation of the lunar years from the sidereal solar year. According to the modern worldview, the length of the solar year corresponds to the earth's orbital period, knowledge of which enables the following mathematical description.

Leap Law. The law describes the deviation of the lunar years in relation to the orbital periods of the Earth and the Moon and the effect of the intercalations made. It states that the deviation of a lunar year from the sidereal solar year at the end of a certain time period is determined by the difference in the orbital periods of the Earth and the Moon, the number of leap years in this time period and the length of the leap months:

$$D_n = n (TE - 12 TM) - n_i M$$

The leap effect of n_i leap years results in the deviation D_n of an n th lunar year. Included are:

D_n = deviation of an n th lunar year from the sidereal solar year (referred to as *deviation* for short)

n = number of lunar years in a time range,

TE = sidereal orbital period of the Earth,

TM = orbital period of the moon,

n_i = number of leap years in a time range of n years,

M = length of intercalary months.

A time range has an additional initial deviation D_0 due to the previous years. All deviations were first calculated with an initial deviation of $D_0 = 0$ d.

The course of the deviation was examined using different leap ratios of 1:3, 3:8, 2:8 and 4:8. Leap ratios refer to the number of leap months in a specific sequence of years. The deviations were calculated over the course of n lunar years with n_i intercalations with full leap months of 30 d. There was an increasing deviation at the leap ratios 1:3, 2:8 and 4:8. The leap ratio 2:8, i.e. the intercalation of *two* leap months in eight lunar years, results in a lead of $D_8 = 29.92$ days compared to eight solar years, which means an under-intercalation. In contrast, the leap ratio 4:8, i.e. the intercalation of *four* leap months in eight lunar years compared to eight solar years, leads to a delay of $D_8 = -30.08$ days, and is therefore an over-intercalation.

The deviation of the leap ratio 3:8 is regularly compensated for in sequences of eight years. This means that the intercalation of three full leap months causes the lunar year to align with the sidereal solar

year in the eighth year of the eight-year sequence with a deviation of -0.08 days from the initial deviation D_0 . The deviation of the leap ratio 3:8 is independent of the distribution of the three leap years in an eight-year sequence.

Due to the small deviation of the leap ratio 3:8 it follows from the leap law for $n = 8$ and $n_i = 3$:

$$8 (TE - 12 TM) \approx 3 M$$

The approximate equation describes the equalizing effect of the leap ratio 3:8. It states that the deviation of the lunar years from the sidereal solar year is almost balanced after eight years ($D_8 \approx 0$ d) if an eight-year sequence consists of five plain years and three leap years. When this leap ratio is applied in a series of eight-year sequences, a cyclical equalizing effect is seen with a slight progressive over-intercalation resulting from the deviations of the eight-year sequences that make up the cycle. With an initial deviation of $D_0 = 0$ d, the deviation of an eight-year cycle after $12 \times 8 = 96$ years is $D_{96} = D_0 - 0.96$ d ≈ -24 h and a leap day should be inserted.

The approximate equation can be used to show that *full* intercalary months cause the smallest deviation, since three intercalary months with 30 days correspond to approximately eight times the orbital period difference $TE - 12 TM$.

(3) The deviation of the Neo-Babylonian leap years – In order to understand the effect of the intercalations mathematically, knowledge of the length of the solar year is required, which, as already mentioned in section (2), has not yet been observed in Babylonian cuneiform texts. However, the leap years were reconstructed and their investigation using the leap law could be informative. The datings and sources of leap years were kindly provided by Christopher Walker for this study. The directory is included in the detailed study and can be opened using the link in the first paragraph. Details were compared with Abraham SACHS and Hermann HUNGER, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia* (Vienna 1988-2006). The cuneiform-based leap years 624/623 Nau 2 A2, 621/622 Nau 5 U2, 619/618 Nau 7 A2, 614/613 Nau 12 A2, 608/607 Nau 18 U2, 600/599 Neb 5 U2 and 593/592 Neb 11 A2 do not agree with PARKER and DUBBERSTEIN, *Babylonian Chronology, 626 B.C. – A.D. 75 (Providence RI 1956)* p. 5. The leap month Neb 11 A2 has only been documented in cuneiform writing once.

The following tables list the Neo-Babylonian kings with their regency years and the intercalary months determined by them (U2 - Ululu II, A2 - Addaru II). The deviations D_8 , which result from the number of intercalary months per sequence, were calculated for all eight-year sequences. D_n is the continuous sum of the deviations D_8 .

In Table 1 there are only 32 intercalation months in the range of investigation of 88 years, which could be related to a changed intercalation after the Persian takeover of Babylon. As a result, a leap month was missing during the Babylonian-Persian transition and an under-intercalation occurred after 88 years ($D_{88} = 29.12$ d).

	Nau 1	Nau 9	Nau 17	Neb 4	Neb 12	Neb 20	Neb 28 A2	Neb 36 A2	AM 1	Nab 3 A2	Nab 11
	Nau 2 A2	Nau 10 U2	Nau 18 U2	Neb 5 U2	Neb 13	Neb 21 U2	Neb 29	Neb 37	AM 2 A2	Nab 4	Nab 12 A2
	Nau 3	Nau 11	Nau 19	Neb 6	Neb 14 A2	Neb 22	Neb 30	Neb 38	Ner 1	Nab 5	Nab 13
	Nau 4	Nau 12 A2	Nau 20 A2	Neb 7 U2	Neb 15	Neb 23 A2	Neb 31 U2	Neb 39	Ner 2	Nab 6 A2	Nab 14
	Nau 5 U2	Nau 13	Nau 21	Neb 8	Neb 16	Neb 24	Neb 32	Neb 40	Ner 3 A2	Nab 7	Nab 15 A2
	Nau 6	Nau 14	Neb 1	Neb 9 U2	Neb 17 A2	Neb 25	Neb 33 A2	Neb 41 U2	Ner 4	Nab 8	Nab 16
	Nau 7 A2	Nau 15 U2	Neb 2 U2	Neb 10	Neb 18	Neb 26 A2	Neb 34	Neb 42 A2	Nab 1 A2	Nab 9	Nab 17
	Nau 8	Nau 16	Neb 3	Neb 11 A2	Neb 19	Neb 27	Neb 35	Neb 43	Nab 2	Nab 10 U2	Cyr 1
32	3	3	3	4	2	3	3	3	3	3	2
D_8	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08	-30.08	29.92	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08	29.92
D_n	-0.08	-0.16	-0.24	-30.32	-0.4	-0.48	-0.56	-0.64	-0.72	-0.8	29.12

Table 1: Deviation calculation from 625 – 538 BC

	Nau 2 A2	Nau 10 U2	Nau 18 U2	Neb 5 U2	Neb 13	Neb 21 U2	Neb 29	Neb 37	AM 2 A2	Nab 4	Nab 12 A2
	Nau 3	Nau 11	Nau 19	Neb 6	Neb 14 A2	Neb 22	Neb 30	Neb 38	Ner 1	Nab 5	Nab 13
	Nau 4	Nau 12 A2	Nau 20 A2	Neb 7 U2	Neb 15	Neb 23 A2	Neb 31 U2	Neb 39	Ner 2	Nab 6 A2	Nab 14
	Nau 5 U2	Nau 13	Nau 21	Neb 8	Neb 16	Neb 24	Neb 32	Neb 40	Ner 3 A2	Nab 7	Nab 15 A2
	Nau 6	Nau 14	Neb 1	Neb 9 U2	Neb 17 A2	Neb 25	Neb 33 A2	Neb 41 U2	Ner 4	Nab 8	Nab 16
	Nau 7 A2	Nau 15 U2	Neb 2 U2	Neb 10	Neb 18	Neb 26 A2	Neb 34	Neb 42 A2	Nab 1 A2	Nab 9	Nab 17
	Nau 8	Nau 16	Neb 3	Neb 11 A2	Neb 19	Neb 27	Neb 35	Neb 43	Nab 2	Nab 10 U2	Cyr 1
	Nau 9	Nau 17	Neb 4	Neb 12	Neb 20	Neb 28 A2	Neb 36 A2	AM 1	Nab 3 A2	Nab 11	Cyr 2 U2
33	3	3	3	4	2	4	3	2	4	2	3
D8	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08	-30.08	29.92	-30.08	-0.08	29.92	-30.08	29.92	-0.08
Dn	-0.08	-0.16	-0.24	-30.32	-0.4	-30.48	-30.56	-0.64	-30.72	-0.8	-0.88

Table 2: Deviation calculation from 624 – 537 BC

Table 2 has 33 leap months in 88 years and at the end of the time range the deviation is $D_{88} = -0.88$ d, although the leap ratio 3:8 was changed in six eight-year sequences. If the time range examined is set one year later step by step, the same deviation of $D_{88} = -0.88$ d will result in the end. If the time range finally begins with the eighth year of Nabopolassar’s reign, the same under-intercalation occurs after 88 years as in the first year of the reign (Table 1), since the range of investigation has already been shifted by an entire eight-year sequence.

	Nau 3	Nau 11	Nau 19	Neb 6	Neb 14 A2	Neb 22	Neb 30	Neb 38	Ner 1	Nab 5	Nab 13
	Nau 4	Nau 12 A2	Nau 20 A2	Neb 7 U2	Neb 15	Neb 23 A2	Neb 31 U2	Neb 39	Ner 2	Nab 6 A2	Nab 14
	Nau 5 U2	Nau 13	Nau 21	Neb 8	Neb 16	Neb 24	Neb 32	Neb 40	Ner 3 A2	Nab 7	Nab 15 A2
	Nau 6	Nau 14	Neb 1	Neb 9 U2	Neb 17 A2	Neb 25	Neb 33 A2	Neb 41 U2	Ner 4	Nab 8	Nab 16
	Nau 7 A2	Nau 15 U2	Neb 2 U2	Neb 10	Neb 18	Neb 26 A2	Neb 34	Neb 42 A2	Nab 1 A2	Nab 9	Nab 17
	Nau 8	Nau 16	Neb 3	Neb 11 A2	Neb 19	Neb 27	Neb 35	Neb 43	Nab 2	Nab 10 U2	Cyr 1
	Nau 9	Nau 17	Neb 4	Neb 12	Neb 20	Neb 28 A2	Neb 36 A2	AM 1	Nab 3 A2	Nab 11	Cyr 2 U2
	Nau 10 U2	Nau 18 U2	Neb 5 U2	Neb 13	Neb 21 U2	Neb 29	Neb 37	AM 2 A2	Nab 4	Nab 12 A2	Cyr 3 A2
33	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
D8	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08	-0.08
Dn	-0.08	-0.16	-0.24	-0.32	-0.4	-0.48	-0.56	-0.64	-0.72	-0.8	-0.88

Table 3: Deviation calculation from 623 – 536 BC

In Table 3, three leap years occur in each eight-year sequence throughout the Neo-Babylonian period. Starting in the third year of Nabopolassar’s reign, all eight-year sequences have a leap ratio of 3:8 and at the end of the time range of 88 years result in a deviation $D_{88} = -0.88$ d. The eleven consecutive eight-year sequences form an eight-year cycle due to the repeating constant leap ratio. Table 3 shows the only case in which the leap ratio 3:8 can be observed in all 11 eight-year sequences. Tables 1 and 2 show that the eight-year cycle has a balancing effect, although the leap ratio of 3:8 is changed in places by the shift in the time range. The deviations D_8 and D_n clearly show that shift-related over- and under-intercalations regularly balance each other out as long as the leap ratio of 3:8 exists for the entire time range of 88 years. This can also be observed when the first eight-year sequence of the cycle begins with the fourth, fifth, ... or eighth year of Nabopolassar’s reign.

The low degree of regularity of the intercalations hardly suggests a cyclic leap ratio of 3:8. Only by calculating the deviations using the leap law does this cycle become apparent for the Neo-Babylonian leap years. Is there the trace of a criterion to be seen here that all Neo-Babylonian kings took into account when making leap year decisions? Calculations of sequences of three random leap years each have shown that the probability of a random sequence of eleven eight-year sequences with the constant leap ratio 3:8 is 0.000,000,05.

Taking into account an unknown initial deviation D_0 from the Neo-Assyrian period, the Neo-Babylonian eight-year cycle in 88 years results in $D_{88} = D_0 - 0.88$ days $\approx D_0 - 21$ h. There are no cuneiform reports about the degree of ripeness of the harvests known from the Neo-Babylonian period. They were obviously not needed by the kings and their advisors as criteria for making intercalation decisions because they were hardly necessary for the regular adjustment of the eight-year cycle.

(4) **Interpretation of the result** – Several authors have pointed out that the eight-year cycle once proposed for the Greek calendar must have its origins in Babylon. From the presentation so far, the question arises as to how this cycle came about; to what extent the leap ratio 3:8 was known to the Chaldeans and was taken into account in the decisions of the intercalations. There would be a clue for this: The effect of the eight-year sequences could be observed empirically by astrologers. Consequently, the key to the origin of the eight-year cycle may lie in observing and exploiting the equalizing effect of an eight-year sequence with three leap years. – As already shown in section 2, an eight-year sequence of lunar years with only *two* leap years has a lead time of $D_8 = 29.92$ days compared to eight solar years. In contrast, an eight-year sequence with *four* leap years has a delay of $D_8 = -30.02$ days compared to eight solar years. The deviation of the lunar years in an eight-year sequence with two or four leap years could be clearly observed in the constellation of the planets and stars. In an eight-year sequence with three leap years, however, an alignment of the lunar years with the sidereal year could be observed. Astrologers were able to retrospectively observe this effect of intercalations by the position of the stars over the centuries. As a result, experience was continuously collected in order to compensate the deviation, which increased by around 11 days every year, through intercalary months. In comparison to the Neo-Assyrian period, the intercalations took place more regularly in the Neo-Babylonian period. This would be an indication that the leap ratio 3:8 was already empirically known as the most favorable leap ratio in Assyrian times and found practical application in the Neo-Babylonian era with the rise of Nabopolassar. The kings observing the leap ratio of 3:8 also had the leeway to respond to astrological omens. The astrological components of the astrologers' recommendations continued to lead to the postponement of intercalations. On the other hand, by paying attention to the astronomical components in these recommendations, the leap ratio 3:8 would have been regularly confirmed in the further course of observations after the intercalations. Consequently, the decisions of leap years would have a random component with the influence of the omens and a regulatory component with the observance of the leap ratio.

This conclusion can be represented with a series of eight-year sequences, each of which has three random leap years inserted. The resulting calculation takes into account both the eight-year cycle and random intercalations and would therefore correspond to the procedure for intercalation decisions. The calculation shows that the deviation course of the Neo-Babylonian leap years corresponds to the course of eight-year sequences with three random intercalations. This would confirm the interpretation of this section using the leap law.

Personal afterword – The observations in this study are not the result of own acumen. They were given to me by the one who sharpened my senses during research work. About him a captive of Judah confessed before Nebuchadnezzar: *He gives wisdom to the wise and knowledge to those who have understanding.* Daniel 2: 21

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84) An Allusion to Oannès(-Adapa)? Revisiting TU38 Rev. 46 — TU 38 (TCL 6, 38) is an illegally excavated tablet from Uruk that records a set of ritual instructions for the daily meals of Anu, Antu, Ištar, Nanāya and other Urukian gods.¹⁾ The tablet's instructions appear to be a unique composite of various sources from multiple epochs and locales including Neo-Babylonian Borsippa.²⁾ It was "copied" by Šamaš-eṭir, a relatively well-known *āšipu* and *aḫu rabû* of the Bīt Rēš from the late 3rd to early 2nd century.³⁾ The first four lines of its uncharacteristically long colophon read:

TCL 6, 38 (=TU 38); Rev. 43-46:⁴

^{43.} *qat*₃^{md}UTU-SUR A *ša*₂^mIna-*qi*₂-*bit*-^dLX A *ša*₂^mŠib-*qat*₂-^dLX

^{44.} ^{gis}DA GARZA ^dLX-*u*₂-*tu*₂ ŠU.LUḪ.ḪA KU₃.MEŠ *sak-ke-e* LUGAL-*u*₂-*tu*₂ *a-di* ŠU.LUḪ.ḪA DINGIR.RA *ša*₂ E₂
re-eš EŠ₃.GAL

^{45.} E₂.AN.NA *u*₃ E₂.MEŠ TIR.AN.NA^{ki} *al-ka-ka-at* ^{lu}₂MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ ^{lu}₃GALA.MEŠ *u* ^{lu}₂NAR.MEŠ *u*₃ DUMU.MEŠ
um-man-nu

^{46.} *nap-ḫar-šu*₂-*nu* *ša*₂ EGIR ^{lu}₂PAP *a-na ma-še-e ma-la* *ša*₂ ^{lu}₂ŠAMAN₂.MAL.LA₂

(Copied by the) hand of Šamaš-eṭir, son of Ina-qibit-Anu, son of Šibqat-Anu. (Copied from a) writing-board (consisting) of the cultic ordinances of Anu’s divinity, the holy purification rituals (and) the rites of kingship, including the purification rituals of the gods of the Reš, Irigal, Eana and (other) temples of Uruk, the cultic activities of the incantation priests, the lamentation priests and the musicians, and of all the scholars which are the legacy of the ancestor [i.e. Oannès(-Adapa)] leaving aside everything that concerns an apprentice scholar.

Though there is much of interest in this colophon, what remains problematic and unexplained is the meaning of EGIR ^{lu}₂PAP in line 46. Linszen, for example, simply translates the line as “all of them, who are subservient to the...” leaving an ellipsis for the signs ^{lu}₂PAP — Krul follows suit.⁵ Instead, I argue that EGIR ^{lu}₂PAP should be taken to refer to the *arkatu abi*, the “legacy of the ancestor.” Thus, *arkatu* (EGIR) is the subject of the null-copula subordinate clause introduced by *ša*₂ with *ša*₂’s antecedent being *alkakāt* which is itself in construct with ^{lu}₂MAŠ.MAŠ.MEŠ ^{lu}₃GALA.MEŠ *u* ^{lu}₂NAR.MEŠ *u*₃ DUMU.MEŠ *ummannū napharšunu*. While this reading is speculative, given the Late Babylonian Urukian Anu cult’s well-established fascination with Oannès(-Adapa),⁶ does it not cohere in a context referring to the totality of cultic practices to call all of the items in this list the *arkatu abi* (EGIR ^{lu}₂PAP)—to claim that the entire corpus of Urukian cultic knowledge is the heritage of the primordial sage passed down in unbroken succession through the *ummanū*? If my reading is correct, then it further highlights the mythographic and ideological character of the text. Since it is implausible that a *singular* writing board could contain *all* of the information that the colophon claims it contained, the writing-board itself becomes a clever fiction, a primordial board containing almost the entirety of the scribal knowledge relevant to the Bīt Rēš, further reinforcing the idea that the text was not actually “copied” but was rather a unique composite by Šamaš-eṭir written to legitimize the antiquity of the Hellenistic Anu cult.

Notes:

1. KRUL, 103.

2. Ibidem.

3. Ibid., 104.

4. Transliteration and translation adapted from Rev. 43-50: <http://oracc.org/cams/gkab/P363710> and LINSSEN, 175-179; cf. KRUL, 103-104.

5. LINSSEN, 179; KRUL, 104.

6. See the discussion in KRUL, 92-96.

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NOUVELLES PARA-ASSYRIOLOGIQUES

Cette rubrique permet la publication de notes très brèves (max. quelques lignes) concernant la parution d’ouvrages ou œuvres culturelles ayant un lien avec l’Assyriologie.

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VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

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https://www.peeters-leuven.be/detail.php?search_key=9789042953437&series_number_str=35&lang=fr

ARM XXXV comprend l'édition de 235 textes, dont 174 publiés pour la première fois, les autres étant la reprise de documents déjà édités, suite à des collations ou grâce à des compréhensions nouvelles. Les lettres éditées sont celles de Hâlî-hadun, qui font le lien avec ARM XXXIV, ainsi que les documents qui émanent de la nouvelle génération de rois mâr yamîna, ceux qui remplacent les chefs bédouins vaincus lors du conflit qui les opposa au roi de Mari. Selon la coutume des publications des textes de Mari, est éditée ici la totalité du dossier à leurs noms, allant donc parfois jusqu'à la fin du règne de Zimrî-Lîm. La période étudiée est celle où les armées d'Ešnunna montèrent jusqu'aux régions du Tigre qui constituaient le cœur de l'empire du défunt Samsî-Addu, roi d'Ekallatum. Dans cette période très complexe, l'attention est portée principalement sur Yaggih-Addu, le prince yarihéen, un survivant de la première génération des rois bédouins, qui a essayé jusqu'au bout, mais en vain, de s'opposer à la puissance mariote.

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