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NOTES BRÈVES

1) Some considerations on the geographical lists from the Uruk III period* — This note is a compilation of observations made from a comparison of the Proto-Euphratic (PE) list “Cities” (ATU 3) with the geographical lists “Geography” published in ATU 3 (henceforth GL, numbers 1–8 and X) and the only other known GL, namely MS 3173 (:= GL 9).¹⁾ In the first instance only the list “Cities” itself (because of the well-known place names) and GL 8 (URU in the colophon) can without doubt be seen as GLs. The list “Cities” makes it clear that there was originally no determinative for GNs: Determinatives are added to (almost) all the entries in a list.²⁾ AB und É could be termed as “2nd order determinatives” as they are part of several GNs but are not used throughout (see *NABU* 2013/55, note 13).³⁾ GL 8, a “non-canonical” GL, shows that a determinative for GNs (especially not KI) was never introduced in the PE writing system (KI occurs in GL 8 at the beginning and at the end of toponyms, so it is a sign like any other).⁴⁾ In the other GLs only the GNs GI UNUG, ILDUM, NÍ, NUN A and UB, which are known from Cities and GL 8, can with certainty be found. To ASAR und NUN (?) the determinative KI is added. Each of the lists contains only a few of these GNs;⁵⁾ the lists are linked to each other by further entries.⁶⁾ The appearance of a GN in a list does not necessarily mean that it is a GN list: Compare UNUG in Cities and in Lú A; the GN ŠENNUR (GL 1, 2, 3, 9) is also listed in “Tribute” and is probably not a GN there. In GL 1 and 9 (and possibly also in GL X) entries without KI are followed by ones with KI⁷⁾ (GL 3, 4, 5 and 7 have no KI section, but do contain KI entries; there are no KI entries in GL 6). GL 2, col. ii is, as far as it is preserved, a duplicate of GL 9, iii 7’–11’ (i.e. a “canonical” list?).⁸⁾ After the city GI UNUG, which is known from Cities, the KI section begins in both lists with ŠÁM KI,⁹⁾ followed by a MAR section in GL 9 (the GL 2 part is missing). It is not a foregone conclusion that GNs are listed in the KI section (possibly also in the MAR section); it could be an arrangement according to signs or to concepts which are still unknown to us (GL 9 sections: ...-Ø [= ?], ...-KI, ...-MAR, ...-Ø; compare ATU 3, Unid. 44 [...-A] or Unid. 50 [EN-...]). However, this would mean that KI had different meanings in the Uruk III period texts and in Sumerian: In the ED I-II texts from Ur KI would emerge as a GN determinative “out of nothing”. If one assumes, on the other hand, that the “GLs” *are* indeed GLs, which is not only suggested by entries such as GAL SIMUG KI in GL 4 (see, in contrast, GAL TÜR in GL 8!), KI definitely fulfills the function of a determinative in the GLs 1, (3) and 9; as a consequence, EN ZATU647+BA in GL 4 must be equated with EN ZATU647+BA KI in GL 1. The town ASAR (Cities 49) appears in GL 9 as ASAR KI (col. vii 5’). The same argument could be made for NUN/NUN KI (see note 5).

Since in PE no evidence for a GN determinative KI can be provided (see above), it makes sense to assume it is a Sumerian innovation. Is it conceivable that lists such as GL 1 were written by a Sumerian scribe who left the “well-known” (PE) GNs unchanged, but appended at the end of the list Sumerian or

little-known PE GNs, which do not appear in Cities and well-established PE GLs, by adding the Sumerian determinative KI to mark them as place names?¹⁰⁾ A similar assumption has been made by Burrows for the archaic texts from Ur (UET 2, p. 22).

A PE scribe would presumably not have come up with the idea of “suddenly” writing some of the well-known GNs (especially ASAR, Cities 49) by adding KI; if KI had been a PE innovation, it would probably have been attached to all GNs (see note 2). Mixed lists such as GL 4 (KI and non-KI entries are mixed up) are unorthodox from a PE perspective, and even more so are those such as GL 1. In GL 6, KI in the colophon could correspond to URU in GL 8.

KI should have primarily meant “field” (MSVO 1, 1: KI A and BU KI; OBO 160/1, 204–213). From this, KI = place could have developed via “field + settlement” = “hamlet” (only in Sumerian?); other explanations (phonetic consonance of PE KI and Sumerian KI = place and the like) are conceivable. One cannot argue that in GL 9 a GN list is followed by a list of fields since KI is not a determinative for fields in PE (see, e.g., MSVO 1, nos. 1–12).

Notes

* Abbreviations as in *NABU 2018/93*.– ED: Early Dynastic; GL: Geographical list; GN: Geographical name (means place name in this note); PE: Proto-Euphratic.

1. Reference should be made to the remarks in ATU 3 and OBO 160/1, 90–94. The composite transcription of GL X (ATU 3, 150f.) contains entries from GL 3 and GL 4, but not the GNs from W 20266,148, ~149 and ~174. (This fragment is classified as GL X [ATU 3, p. 162] or as “Unidentified” [ATU 3, catalogue and CDLI]). Somewhat inconsistently, only the three latter fragments are referred to as “GL X” in this note.

2. Simplifying, one could say that there are lists in which (with very few exceptions) only one determinative is used throughout (Birds [MUŠEN], Fish [KU₆], Swine [ŠUBUR], Wood [GIŠ]), lists without determinatives (Tribute, Lú A, Officials, Cities, Geography, Grain) and lists in which the entries are arranged in subject groups (Vessels, Metal, Animals, Plant).

3. Reference needs to be made to ÛRI AB = URI₅ (Cities 1), ÛRI É (Cities 27) and ÛRI KI (GL 9, iii 14'). The “2nd order determinatives” are a fixed part of the GN, they cannot be omitted (*ad* EN NUN for EN É/KID see OBO 160/1, 94). The variant É NINLIL of NINLIL in Cities 38 can hardly be considered a counterexample. MÛŠ (GL 3) and MÛŠ AB (= ZABALAM, GL X [in Cities (no. 6) not preserved, but compare SF 23, i 6]) should therefore be different towns. See also [Ø?] É KI (GL 3, iv 11).

4. KI in BAPPIR (Cities 56) is presumably not a determinative. KI in AK SI KI instead of SI AK (Cities 57) is probably due to inattention on the part of the scribe (repetition of the sign KI from the previous line). KI in BU [Ø?] KI (Cities 52) instead of BU ŠÀ (Cities 52) could be a scribal error. Still the ED III copy SF 23 of Cities shows that KI was originally not a determinative for place names.

5. Destroyed place names remain disregarded. GL 1: NUN (which appears as NUN KI; GL 8: [Ø?] NUN or [I] NUN, Cities 15?; NUN does not occur by itself in Cities); GL 2: GI UNUG; GL 3: NÍ; GL 4: ILDUM, NÍ; GL 5: –; GL 6: –; GL 7: NUN A (only in GL 8, not in Cities); GL 8: NÍ, NUN A (not in Cities), UB, UNUG; GL 9: ASAR (which appears as ASAR KI), GI UNUG, UB.

6. AN MÛŠ KI: GL 3, 9; EN ZATU647+BA KI: GL 1, 4 (without KI); EZEN×SU: GL 1, 2, 9; EZINU: GL 3, 9; KA ZAG_a/MES_a: GL 1, 9; ŠÁM KI: GL 2, 9; ŠENNUR: GL 1, 2, 3, 9; TUM: GL 3, 9; UB KA ZAG_a/MES_a: GL 1, 2, 9 (none of the entries are completely preserved); isolated: GL 5–7, X (possibly [ANŠE] X [=Ø?] [KI] from GL 1, iv 1 and [ANŠE] from GL 6, ii 3 belong together).

7. Aside from GL 1, iii 3, 4, 6 and GL 9, iii 13'.

8. GL 9, iii 6'–9' (possibly even 3'–9') appear in the same sequence in GL 1, ii 5–8 (2–8).

9. See OIP 99, 39 plus duplicates: Also here, a KI section follows after GI UNUG in col. vii (but KI is at the beginning of the entries); compare KI NÁM DI (vii 12') and DI NÁM KI (GL 4, iii 3).

10. The determinative KI with ASAR, EN ZATU647+BA and NUN (?) should then be due to inattentiveness.

Erlend GEHLKEN (27–03–2019)
Universität Frankfurt/Main (Allemagne)

2) On the meaning of a-e i₃-mi-e₃ in En-metena 1¹⁾ — The expression a-e i₃-mi-e₃ is used twice to describe the hostile action of an Umma ruler in En-metena 1 (RIME 1.9.5.1) (CDLI Q001103). These passages are preserved in two of the published manuscripts: the Louvre cone (AO 3004 = CDLI P222532) and the Yale jar (NBC 2501 = CDLI P222533).

First time the actor is Ur-Luma. The description of this episode is the same in both manuscripts:

(1) AO 3004 2:28–35 = NBC 2501 3:12–19

ur-lum-ma, ensi₂, umma^{ki}-ke₄, eg₂ ki-sur-ra, ^dnin- η ir₂-su-ka, eg₂ ki-sur-ra, ^dnanše, a-e i₃-mi-e₃

Second time the action was carried out by Il. The description of this episode is different in the two manuscripts. The Louvre version specifies the location of Ningirsu’s boundary (**im-dub-ba**) in 4:6–7; while the Yale version names two additional deities in 3:35–36.

(2) AO 3004 3:38–4:10

eg₂ ki-sur-ra, ^dnin- η ir₂-su-ka, eg₂ ki-sur-ra, ^dnanše, im-dub-ba, ^dnin- η ir₂-su-ka, gu₂ ^{id}:idigna-še₃ η al₂-la, gu₂-gu₂ η ir₂-su^{ki}-ka, nam-nun-da-ki- η ar-ra, ^dnin- η ur-sa η -ka, a-e i₃-mi-e₃

(3) NBC 2501 3:28–3:38

eg₂ ki-sur-ra, ^dnin- η ir₂-su-ka, eg₂ ki-sur-ra, ^dnanše, im-dub-ba, ^dnin- η ir₂-su-ka, nam-nun-da-ki- η ar-ra, ^den-lil_x(E₂)-la₂, ^den-ki-ka, ^dnin- η ur-sa η -ka, a-e i₃-mi-e₃

The construction used is the same in both episodes. The verbal form is transitive, its subject (= A[gent]) is a human actor, the word **a** “water” is case-marked with a case-marker =/e/,²⁾ the object (= P[atient]) of the verbal form is the boundary levees, which are in the absolutive. So, the verbal form has three participants: an Agent, a Patient, and a participant case-marked with =/e/.

This pattern is characteristic of causative verbal forms with a non-human causee, derived from an underlying transitive construction.³⁾ The form of the finite verb confirms this assumption, as it may be analysed as **i-m-b-i-n-e- \emptyset** (FIN-VEN-3.SG.NH-L3-3.SG.H.A-leave-3.SG.P).⁴⁾ The structure of the verbal prefix-chain indicates that the =/e/ case-marker is not the ergative but the locative₃, the case used to denote the causee in causative forms of transitive verbs.

Below is a selection of translations of ex. (1), demonstrating that the grammar of this passage is routinely neglected.⁵⁾

“Urluma, ruler of Umma, diverted water into the boundary-channel of Ningirsu and the boundary channel of Nanshe.” (Cooper 1986: 55)

“(Ur-Luma) diverted water from the boundary dike of the god Ningirsu and the boundary dike of the goddess Nanše.” (Frayne 2007: 196)

“(Ur-Luma) had the water go out of Ningirsu’s border canal and Nanshe’ border canal.” (Jagersma 2010: 432)

In both Cooper’s and Frayne’s translation the word **a** “water” is assumed to be in the absolutive, and the boundary levee in an adverbial case. Jagersma’s translation correctly reflects the causative construction but disregards the absolutive case of the boundary levees.⁶⁾

If these passages contain a causative construction as assumed and demonstrated above, then the underlying transitive construction must be one in which the word **a** “water” functions as the Agent, the levees as the Patient, and the verb **e₃** has a transitive meaning.⁷⁾

The Akkadian equivalent of the verb **e₃** “to leave, go out”, (*w*)*ašû* is used regularly in transitive constructions in Š-stem; and the causative form *šūšû* “make/let go out” is attested to mean in certain contexts “to carry off, to remove”, cf. CAD A/II, *ašû* 6j. A similar semantic development may also be imagined in Sumerian: “to leave” > “to make something leave” > “to remove” > “to obliterate”.

In Sumerian texts from the 3rd millennium we have numerous attestations of expressions in which **a** “water” functions as the agent of a destructive action. In these expressions water may “carry off/wash away” fields (**a-e de₆-a**) or “consume/destroy” levees (**a-e gu₇-a**), see Wilcke 1999a: 303–320 and 1999b.

I therefore suggest that the causative verbal form **a-e i₃-mi-e₃** in En-metena 1 is based on an idiom **a-e — e₃** used as a literary synonym of the idioms **a-e — de₆** and **a-e — gu₇**, its meaning is “to wash away, to destroy”.

Ex. (1) may thus be translated as

“Ur-Luma, ruler of Umma, let water wash away/destroy the boundary levee of Ningirsu, the boundary levee of Nanše.”

In causative constructions in which the causee is non-human inanimate, the causee may be interpreted as the instrument with which the verbal action is carried out. Consequently, a less literal translation of ex. (1) may be:

“Ur-Luma, ruler of Umma, washed away/destroyed the boundary levee of Ninġirsu, the boundary levee of Nanše with water.”

This translation not only adheres to the grammar of the Sumerian construction but also explains the sense of En-metena’s action in a later part of the text:

(4) AO 3004 5:12–12 = NBC 2501 5:36–37

nam-nun-da-ki-ḡar-ra, ur₂-be₂ na₄-a mu-na-ni-du₃

“(En-metena) built the substructure of the Namnunda-kiḡara of stone for him.”

On the basis of the passage in exx. (2) and (3), Namnunda-kiḡara was the name of a segment of the levees or it may refer to the boundary levees as a whole. En-metena strengthens its substructure so that no future ruler of Umma may destroy it so easily as apparently Ur-Luma and Il did, when its base was not made of stone.

The passage of exx. (2) and (3) is followed by the clause of ex. (5) below:

(5) AO 3004 4:11–12 = NBC 2501 4:39

še lagaš^{ki} 3600 guru₇-am₆ i₃-su

Here the verb **su** is usually understood as “to replace, repay”, Akkadian *riābu*, cf., e.g., Cooper’s (1986: 55) translation: “He repaid⁷ (only) 3600 *guru* (18,662,400 hl.) of Lagash’s barley”. After the hostile action described in the passage of exx. (2) and (3), however, it is unlikely that Il would have been willing to fulfil any repayment. It seems more logical to understand the verb **su** here as “to submerge”, Akkadian *tubbū*, cf. already Sjöberg 1967: 277¹¹. If Il destroyed the boundary levees with the help of water as was assumed above, the water must have also affected the neighbouring fields with their barley. A translation of ex. (5) as “He (= Il) set under water 3600 *guru* of the barley of Lagaš” would therefore fit better into the context.⁸⁾

Notes

1. I thank Ingo Schrakamp for his comments on a draft of this note.

2. Keetman (2015) remarks that “[i]n Old Sumerian the directive is not written after a vowel”; and refers to Jagersma 2010: 165f. Note, however, that Jagersma assumes that the word **a** “water” ends in a glide /j/, cf. Jagersma 2010: 168, bottom of the page.

3. On causatives in Sumerian, see Jagersma 2010: 307 (§11.5.4), 429–434 (§18.3.2); Zólyomi 2017: 219–221, 223–226.

4. The abbreviations in the gloss are: FIN = finite marker; VEN = ventive; SG = singular; NH = non-human; L3 = locative3; H = human; A = agent, subject of a transitive verb; P = patient, object of a transitive verb. See Zólyomi 2017, and especially pp. 77–87 for the description of the verbal form used in this note. For the case labelled as locative3, see Zólyomi 2017: 215–221.

5. Steible and Behrens are uncertain about the meaning of this passage: “Die genaue Bedeutung von a-e – è bleibt unklar und wird hier versuchsweise angegeben mit ‘(einen Kanal) des Wassers berauben(?)’” (1982, II: 117). The translation in PSD A/I: 9 “(at) the boundary ditch of Ningirsu and the boundary ditch of Nanše he diverted the water of ditch(?)” was elegantly dismissed by P. Attinger in his review of the volume: “à distinguer de a è est l’obscur a-e è dans Ent. 28 ii 35 // et iv 10 //; «to divert the water of the ditch(?)» à peine credible (a e-ga!)” (ZA 85: 130). See Steiner 1986: 276 for a much larger selection of translations, including Steiner’s.

6. Jagersma’s translation is in contradiction with his analysis and glossing of ex. (1), which show that he also considers the levees to be the object of the verb; so Ceccarelli’s (1995 n3) criticism against his translation (“it must be noted that the causative construction of an intransitive verb corresponds to a monotransitive construction and one would expect **a**_{absolute} + **e**₃”) is not pertinent.

7. In the expression **a e**₃-**a** “water that left, breach”, the verb **e**₃ is intransitive “to leave” and the word **a** “water” is understood as its intransitive subject, cf. Civil 1994: 134 and R. de Maaijer and B. Jagersma’s review of PSD A/I in AfO 34–35: 280.

8. Bauer (1998: 473) paraphrases this passage as “Er entzog einem so großen Gebiet das Wasser, daß 3’6000 Haufen ... Getreide vernichtet wurden”. It is unclear which meaning Bauer assigns to the verb **su**.

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Gábor ZÓLYOMI <gzolyomi@gmail.com>

Dept. of Assyriology and Hebrew Studies, Eötvös L. University

3) Éblaïte dam *munabbī'tum* = akkadien d'Émar ^{munus.meš}*munabbī'ātu* — À Ébla on trouve la graphie *mu-na-bī-tum* dans le cadre des lamentations funèbres exécutées lors des obsèques d'importants personnages de la cour. Les passages concernés jusqu'à présent connus sont les suivants :

[1] *ARET* XX 25 f. IV:17–V:13: 1 túg-NI.NI / 2 kin siki / 1 dam / *mu-na-bī-tum* / 12 kin siki / 6 dam / eme-bal-SÛ / 1 túg-NI.NI 3 na₄ siki / 1 dam / *mu-na-bī-tum* / 15 na₄ siki / 5 dam / eme-bal-SÛ / ér (funérailles de la princesse *Dar-ib-da-mu*) ;

[2] *TM.75.G.2276* r. I:3–11: 1 túg-NI.NI 3 na₄ siki 1 dam *mu-na-bī-tum* 12 na₄ siki 6 dam eme-bal-SÛ (funérailles de la princesse *Ti-iš-te-da-mu*) ;

[3] *TM.75.G.1962+* r. II':1': [1 túg-NI.NI dam *mu-na-bī-tum*] 14 [kin siki] 7 dam eme-ba[l] dam ér S[AR] 1 túg-NI.NI dam *mu-n[a]-bī-tu[m]* 10 kin [siki] 10 da[m] *ra-zi-ma-tum* 1 sal-túg 1 íb+III-túg gùn al₆-èn-tar [...(funérailles de la mère du roi, *Du-si-gú*)¹].

On peut interpréter cette graphie comme /munabbī'tum/, un participe féminin singulier de la forme D de *nb', « se lamenter »², et le traduire par conséquent par « lamentatrice ». Cette dam *mu-na-bī-tum* était la soliste qui guidait la lamentation, correspondant aux θρήνων ἑξαρχοί de la tradition homérique, lorsque le chœur était constitué par d'autres opératrices culturelles : les dam eme-bal, « celles qui répondent » [1-2], et les dam *ra-zi-ma-tum*, « pleureuses » (/rāzimātum/, participe de la forme 0/I du sém. *rzm, « pleurer ; gémir », connu en arabe) [3]³.

Or, si dans les textes mésopotamiens on ne connaît que la forme masculine *munabbû*, attestée seulement dans les listes lexicales en tant qu'équivalent de mots sumériens signifiant « lamentateur »⁴, jusqu'à présent il n'avait pas été remarqué que le parallèle le plus étroit avec le mot éblaïte *mu-na-bī-tum* on le retrouve dans les textes d'Émar du milieu du deuxième millénaire av. J.-C., où le terme au génitif ^{munus.meš}*mu_x[A]-na-bi-a-ti* (var. ^{munus.meš}*mu_x[A]-nab-bi-ia-ti*), indiquant une typologie d'opératrices culturelles liées à la déesse Išhara⁵, peut être interprété comme /munabbī'āti/, participe féminin pluriel de la forme D de *nb'. La graphie avec la voyelle non contractée et présentant le signe *mu_x(A)* à la place de *mu* semble indiquer qu'il s'agit d'un terme local de tradition sémitique occidentale⁶. Même si les passages attestant ce terme gardent une certaine opacité, la signification que le verbe *nabû* (à la forme G ainsi qu'à la forme D) présente ailleurs dans les textes d'Émar en rapport avec le culte des ancêtres et des dieux familiaux, a amené les savants à voir dans ces opératrices culturelles des lamentatrices⁷. La comparaison que l'on vient de proposer avec les attestations éblaïtes confirme maintenant cette hypothèse.

Ces professionnelles, qui accomplissaient leur tâche pendant les cérémonies en l'honneur des défunts et des ancêtres divinisés, étaient bien enracinées dans la tradition religieuse de la Syrie ancienne, si

elles sont citées encore dans la Bible, où en effet on connaît en Ezéchiel 13:17 le terme *mitnabbe'ôt*, voire un participe féminin pluriel hitpaël de **nb'*, correspondant aux formes que nous avons trouvées à Ébla et Émar⁸). Ces femmes sont accusées de sorcellerie et âprement méprisées comme c'est toujours le cas dans la Bible pour les nécromants et en général pour tous les opérateurs culturels liés au culte des défunts. On a raison de supposer, en revanche, qu'il s'agissait de professionnelles très respectées qui garantissaient la continuité du rapport entre la communauté et ses ancêtres⁹).

Notes

1. Passages cités par Archi 2012: 22.
2. En suivant *AHW*: 700, je considère l'akkadien *nubbû*, « se lamenter », comme la forme D de *nabû*, « nommer » (du sém. **nb'*, connu aussi en arabe et dans les dialectes sudarabiques ; voir Huehnergard 1999: 91), lorsque *CAD*, N/1: 32 et 39, répertorie les deux formes séparément. Pour le rapport sémantique entre la forme G et la forme D de la racine **nb'* en akkadien, voir aussi Kouwenberg 1997: 178, selon lequel « the semantic relationship between *nabû* G and D, and *qabû* G and D suggests that they originally denoted the production of certain sounds, but their G-stem became neutral verbs of speaking or naming through weakening of their meaning ». Quant à la racine **nb'*, « pleurer », connue en éthiopien (*CDG*: 382 b), il peut s'agir d'une variante de **nb'*.
3. Pour une analyse de ces contextes Pasquali 2018, avec bibliographie.
4. *CAD*, M/2: 199 ; Huehnergard 1999: 91.
5. Il s'agit des passages suivants : 373:97 ; 379:11-12 ; 383:10 ; 406:5.
6. Fleming 1993: 176, n. 5 ; Huehnergard 1999: 93, n. 40.
7. von Soden 1987 ; Tsukimoto 1989: 4-5 ; Huehnergard 1999: 91 ; Stökl 2012a: 161 ; 2012b: 48-49. L'interprétation « prophétesses » proposée par Fleming 1993a et 1993b sur la base de la signification de l'hébreu biblique *nābî'*, « prophète », est vraisemblablement à exclure.
8. Gruber 1999: 129 ; Stökl 2013.
9. Pour le lien entre la lamentation funèbre et la nécromancie, Pasquali 2018.

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Jacopo PASQUALI

5, Avenue du 7^e Génie, 84000 AVIGNON (France) <pasquali.jacopo@laposte.net>

4) Die Lesungen der Götternamen ^dba-U₂ und ^dab-U₂. Bemerkungen zu J. Keetman, *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 112, 2018, 15-22 — Die Lesungen der Götternamen ^dba-U₂ und ^dab-U₂ sind hochkontrovers. Zuletzt hat sich Keetman aufgrund unterschiedlicher Überlegungen für die Lesungen ^dba-bu₁₁ und ^dab-bu₁₁ ausgesprochen (ausführlich KEETMAN 2018 mit rezenter Literatur, siehe bereits KEETMAN 2014, 458). Den Anlass für die neuerliche Diskussion bot die von Marchesi zitierte Ur III-Urkunde UET 3, 1309 (CDLI-No. P137634). Während der Siegelungsvermerk in Rs. 1 den konventionell ur-^dab-U₂ transliterierten Namen in der Schreibung ur¹(LU₂)-^dab-U₂¹ wiedergibt, bietet die zugehörige Siegelinschrift für dasselbe Anthroponym hingegen die Variante ur-ab-bu (zur Lesung MARCHESI/MARCHETTI 2011, 227 Anm. 64 mit Verweis auf P. ATTINGER). Dass es sich bei ur¹(LU₂)-ab-U₂¹

und ur-ab-bu um dieselbe Person handelt, ist aufgrund des kišeb-Vermerks in Rs. 1 unzweifelhaft (siehe dazu SALLABERGER 1999, 228-231).

Unter anderem aufgrund dieser Variante setzt Keetman für U₂ die Lesungen bu₁₁, pu₁₁ an. Darüber hinaus verweist Keetman auf Textvertreter der *Early Dynastic List of Geographical Names*, die dasselbe Toponym in der Schreibung ba-U₂^{ki} und der Variante bu₃-bu₃^{ki} wiedergeben (CIVIL 2010, 196, 189), auf den Wechsel von U₂ und pu₃ bzw. bu₃ in ḫa-U₂-da und ḫa-pu₃/bu₃-da sowie auf präargonische semitische Personennamen wie pu₃-i₃-lum, pu₃-ma-ma, U₂-il, U₂-ma-ma usw., die anscheinend strukturgleich sind und denselben Wechsel belegen. Aus der älteren Überlieferung kann Keetman aber keine weiteren orthografischen Varianten zugunsten der Lesungen ^dba-bu₁₁ und ^dab-bu₁₁ anführen, die wie jene der *Early Dynastic List of Geographical Names* auf Parallelstellen beruhen oder wie UET 3, 1309 prosopografisch gesichert sind.

Tatsächlich lassen sich jedoch zwei Fälle orthografischer Varianten in Personennamen anführen, die sich zweifelsfrei auf denselben Namensträger beziehen und den Ansatz der Lautwerte bu₁₁, pu₁₁ und die Lesungen ^dba-bu₁₁, ^dab-bu₁₁ unterstützen.

Unter den präargonischen Texten aus Lagaš finden sich mit den Urkunden über „Emmerzuteilungen für die Freunde der Kindschaft“ (ziz₂-ba ušur₃ nam-dumu) DP 128 (CDLI-No. P220778) und DP 129 (CDLI-No. P220779) und der Urkunde über „Emmerzuteilungen (und) Gerstenzuteilungen für die Freunde“ (ziz₂-ba še-ba ušur₃-ne) VS 27, 33 (CDLI-No. P020349) drei Texte, die denselben, festen Personenkreis von Rationenempfängern aus dem Umfeld des Herrschers erfassen (WU 2001, 111-112, 127-128 Table 5; SELZ 2004, 199-206; SCHRAKAMP 2015, 324 Anm. 168). Während die beiden zuerst genannten Texte nach einer kar-ke₃ namens ama-ab-e₂-ta eine Person namens U₂-za erwähnen (DP 128 Vs. iv 2-4; DP 129 Vs. iii 8-10), erscheint dieselbe Person in der dritten Urkunde unter der Schreibung PU₃-za (VS 27, 33 Vs. v 13-Rs. i 2). Da dieser Text durch eine Vielzahl von orthografischen Varianten und Kurzschreibungen auffällt (SELZ 2004, 199-206, mit abweichender Lesung), keine der beiden Namensformen im präargonischen Lagaš an anderer Stelle belegt ist und alle drei Urkunden denselben Personenkreis erfassen, darf man PU₃-za und U₂-za als orthografische Varianten deuten und für U₂ den Lautwert pu₁₁ ansetzen. Auch Foxvog weist in seinem rezenten Überblick über das Onomastikon der präargonischen Texte aus Lagaš auf diesen Wechsel von pu₃-za und pu₁₁-za hin, allerdings gibt er keinerlei Belegstellen an und äußert sich auch nicht zur sprachlichen Zuordnung des Namens (FOXVOG 2011, 95; vgl. FOXVOG *apud* SELZ 2004, 205; abweichend BALKE 2017, 361 s.v. ^mpu₃-za, 403 s.v. ^mu₃-za). Als wahrscheinlichste Parallele für pu₃-za bzw. pu₁₁-za kann wohl der semitische Name pu₃-za-um gelten, der in einem präargonischen Kudurru aus Sippar (?) erscheint (DP 2 = OIP 104, 35 Rs. i 2', CDLI-No. P220668, siehe SOMMERFELD 2010, 120).

Außerdem lässt sich auf die altbabylonische Rechtsurkunde mit Hülle CT 47, 27 // CT 47, 27a (CDLI-No. P366163) aus Sippar verweisen, die denselben Personennamen einmal in der Schreibung ir₃-^dba-U₂¹ und einmal in der Variante U₂-ba-bu wiedergibt (CT 47, 27 li. Rd. 3 // CT 47, 27a Rs. 13, siehe HARRIS 1969, 141; BAUER 1991, 274).

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Ingo SCHRAKAMP <Ingo.Schrakamp@fu-berlin.de>

Freie Universität Berlin - Institut für Altorientalistik / SFB 980 Episteme in Bewegung

5) A crying calf in HAV 5, 5 — CBS 12590 = HAV 5 is a small but nice fragment and the only known piece of a cultic song in favour of the God Lulal. An excellent edition together with a study of Lulal was just published by Anna Glenn and Jeremiah Peterson in *AoF* 45 (2018) 168-81. But the phrasing in line 5 seems still obscure:

amar áb kù-ga ì gára KAxLI.KAxLI amaš-a gú peš-⁷a¹

We expect the calf suckling milk from the cow so that its neck (gú) can grow (peš). The normal phrasing would be ga gu⁷ as it is used in line 6 and 7.

A possible reading of KAxLI is mu⁷ roughly “to cry”. This verb can be used in connection with cattle (already mentioned by Glenn and Peterson). It can have the meaning to cry something in the difficult context Ean. 1 ix 6f.: igi-ba bí-mu⁷-mu⁷ lú-líl¹-e (following line is missing) “in their frontline he was crying: ‘this good-for-nothing...’”

Infinite verbal forms are difficult. They can be interpreted as active or passive participles or infinitives (author NABU 2013/20) and they are lacking the prefixes which are sometimes important for the meaning of the verb. In the so called mes-an-né-pà-da construction the ergative is marked. But often the infinite verb and its objects are used as an apposition for a word. This word is not a part of the infinite construction and that's why it can't take a mark which belongs to the infinite construction. We have to guess if the infinite verb is used transitive or not.

The poor calf may cry something to the “pure cow”. But áb kù-ga is non-person class and in this case we expect the locative-terminative instead of the dative, rarely written after a vowel. Now we will hear the calf crying:

“A calf, crying to the pure cow: ‘Butter! Cream!’ - whose neck grows thick in the fold”.

Jan KEETMAN <jkeet@aol.com>

6) KIŠ.ARAD sumerisch šakkanakkum und šakkanak zu lesen — Die umfassendste Behandlung dieses Begriffs findet sich in der Dissertation von Ingo Schrakamp, Schrakamp 2010, 199-208. Davon hat auch diese Note wesentlich profitiert.

Es gibt keinen Text, der die sumerische Aussprache zur Gleichung KIŠ.ARAD = *šakkanakkum* angibt.¹⁾ In Ur III-Texten finden sich Schreibungen wie ša-GA-na-kum.²⁾ Doch anstatt hier ein akkadisiertes Sumerisch anzunehmen, ist es einfacher und mit der Ur III-Orthographie völlig in Übereinstimmung, gleich akkadisch zu lesen: *ša-kà-na-kum*.

Es gibt eine Reihe sumerischer Lehnworte im Akkadischen, die ebenfalls auf *-akkum* enden wie *iššiakkum* „Stadtfürst“, *abarakkum* „Verwalter“. Außerdem reiht sich der Bedeutungsbereich von KIŠ.ARAD, *šakkanakkum* hoher militärischer Befehlshaber, in etwa „General“, „Gouverneur“, Herrschertitel, gut in die Reihe dieser Lehnworte ein und es gibt ein ähnliches akkadisches Wort *šaknu(m)*

„Gouverneur“. Also vermutete Hallo die Rückentlehnung von *šaknum* aus dem Sumerischen.³⁾ Status constructus *šakin*, selten *šakan*, woraus sich über einen Prädikativ **šakina* ein Lehnwort **šagina*, bzw. **šagana* ableiten ließe. Doch *šaknu(m)* ist erst altbabylonisch belegt und hat als Logogramm GAR.DU. Ein Lehnwort **šagina* sollte im Sumerischen vokalisch auslauten. Also lässt sich keine Rückentlehnung *šakkanakkum* damit begründen.

Eine andere Theorie, die als Vermutung auch Eingang in CAD gefunden hat, ist ein freier Genitiv von einem Wort /*šakan*/ für Esel. Schrakamp vergleicht „Marschall“ von mittelhochdeutsch *marschalch* „Pferdeknecht“.⁴⁾ Tatsächlich ist KIŠ (ZATU 219) ursprünglich ein Tierkopf, allerdings nicht der Kopf eines Equiden. Später wird das Zeichen in KIŠ LAK 248 und ANŠE LAK 253 und LAK 240 gespalten, wobei das Zeichen auch im Bereich des Ohres, oder wenn man von ZATU 219 ausgeht, ehemaligen Hornes verändert wird.⁵⁾ ANŠE, nicht KIŠ wird auch zum Zeichen für den männlichen Herdengott Šakkan, dessen Name eine Bandbreite von Variationen aufweist und der in Sumer kaum heimisch wurde (RIA 13, 308). Damit ist schon die Verbindung zwischen KIŠ und einem Wort für Equiden fraglich. Die Aussprache /*šagan*/ ist das nächste Problem. Schrakamp verweist auf die Berufsbezeichnung *sipa AMA.GAN.ŠA* in ED IIIb Lagaš. Die Belege stellt PSD A III 211b zu *ama-gan*, *ama-ša-gan* und übersetzt: „breeding female (animal)“, „childbearing woman“, „pregnant female“. Der Begriff ist zu kompliziert, um hier alle Möglichkeiten durchzugehen. Jedenfalls kommt *ša-gan* nicht alleine zur Bezeichnung von Equiden vor.

Eine entscheidende Schwierigkeit bei diesem Ansatz wurde bisher völlig übersehen, nämlich dass KIŠ.ARAD im sumerischen Milieu vor Lugalzagesi nicht belegt ist. Frühe Listeneinträge wie Lú E 7 stammen aus Tell Abū Šalābīḥ und Ebla. In Tell Fāra ist KIŠ.ARAD in den Listen nicht belegt. Auch sonst taucht der Titel im sumerischen Gebiet nicht auf, weder als Beauftragter oder handelnde Person, noch als Zeuge oder Empfänger von irgendetwas. In Ur-Nanše 51 werden als Befehlshaber feindlicher Truppen ein *énsi má-gur₈* und mehrere *nu-bānda* genannt. Vielleicht ist KIŠ.ARAD in Uruk III lexikalischen Listen belegt,⁶⁾ aber als sumerisches Wort ist es frühdynastisch nicht zu belegen. Yuhong vermutet das Wort hinter der Personenbezeichnung GĪR/ANŠE in ED IIIb Lagaš.⁷⁾ Allerdings ist die Schreibung KIŠ.ARAD im 3. Jahrtausend sonst ziemlich konsistent und die Funktion der GĪR/ANŠE nicht klar. Attinger schlägt *gīr* „Gefolgsleute“ vor.⁸⁾

Damit wird auch der sumerische Genitiv fraglich. Ab der sargonischen Zeit lässt sich im Sumerischen ein Auslaut –k für KIŠ.ARAD belegen und im Fluch über Akkade 34 zeigen drei Texte einen Auslaut auf –m. Dieser Befund würde zu einem über das Semitische ins Sumerische gekommenen Lehnwort passen. Am Ende der frühdynastischen Zeit tauchen die ersten Lehnworte im Sumerischen auf, die ihre akkadische Nominativ-Endung behalten.⁹⁾ Diese Form der Entlehnung ist nicht nur durch den Fluch über Akkade, sondern auch durch die genannten syllabischen Schreibungen im Sumerischen belegt. Daneben hat es aber auch Entlehnungen ohne Endung gegeben.

In Lugalzagesis Vaseninschrift aus Nippur heißt es: *mu pà-da^dutu sugal₇-maḥ^dEN.ZU KIŠ.ARAD^dutu* „mit Namen genannt von Utu, der Großwesir des Suen, der General(?) des Utu“ (Luzag. 1 i 19-24). Man ist versucht, hinter der zweiten Erwähnung des Utu den Šamaš von Sippar zu vermuten. Andererseits behauptet Lugalzagesi zwar seine Macht weit nach Norden erweitert zu haben, reklamiert aber nicht explizit eine Herrschaft über Sippar.

Schrakamp lehnt die Übersetzung „General“ für die frühen Belege ab, weil die Listen den Titel zwar zwischen hohen Verwaltungsbeamten aber ohne Bezug zum Militär zeigen. Eine klare Abgrenzung zwischen zivilem und militärischem Bereich fehlt aber ohnehin in der Terminologie. Man fragt sich auch wo sonst die Spezialität des *šakkanakkum* gelegen haben könnte. Das Fremdwort *šakkanakkum/šakkanak* könnte um die Zeit des Lugalzagesi ins Sumerische gekommen sein, vielleicht im Zusammenhang mit Bemühungen, militärische Organisationsformen nachzubilden, die Feldzüge über weite Distanzen und von einiger Dauer ermöglichten. Es dürfte sich also um ein Lehnwort unbekannter Herkunft handeln, das über das Semitische seinen Weg ins Sumerische fand. Die Herkunft aus dem Norden könnte auch das Logogramm erklären: „Diener von Kiš“.

Anmerkungen

1. Dazu Hallo 1957, 106; Borger 2010, 402 Nr. 701. Gelegentlich erscheint die Kombination auch mit den von KIŠ differenzierten Zeichen ĠRI oder ANŠE. KIŠ ist die ältere und vorherrschende Form. Siehe Mittermayer 2005, 23.
2. Siehe Attinger apud Mittermayer aBZL, 200; Schrakamp 2010, 200.
3. Hallo 1957, 106f.
4. CAD Š I 175b; Schrakamp 2010, 200f. mit weiterer Lit. in Anm. 1302.
5. Zu den Zeichen Mittermayer 2005, 23-35.
6. Deutung von ZATU 219 folgt Mittermayer 2005, 23.
7. Yuhong 2005, 4f.
8. Attinger, apud Bauer 1998, 481.
9. Keetman 2013.

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Jan KEETMAN <jkeet@aol.com>

7) Die sumerischen Worte gú-tuku und ġri ba-da-ra — Der erste Ausdruck wird normalerweise mit „stark“, bzw. „mächtig“ übersetzt, hat aber nicht die zu erwartende Gleichung *dannu*. Die Deutung beruht wohl auf einer Analyse „der einen Nacken hat“ oder „der Schultern hat“.

Das Sumerische macht vielfältigen Gebrauch von den semantischen Möglichkeiten, die in dem Wort gú stecken. Z. B. Innanas Gang zur Unterwelt 118: enim a-ra-ab-bé-en-na-ġu₁₀ gú-zu la-ba-an-šub-bé-e „das Wort, das ich dir sagen werde, wirst du nicht vernachlässigen!“ Wenn man es wörtlich nimmt, so wird der Hals fallen gelassen, was nicht das Bild einer aufmerksamen Person ergibt. Vogel und Fisch 54f.: i-ġi₄-in-zu éme-da u₅-a-aš mu-ni-in-du₁₁ enim-šè gú-né nu-mu-na-ab-šúm-mu enim ħulu mu-un-ta-an-è „als ob eine Amme ein Schlaflied gesungen hätte, achtete er nicht auf die Rede, die schlimme Rede entging ihm“. Hier bedeutet gú šúm offenbar „etwas beachten“. Das lässt sich von einer mehr wörtlichen Auffassung „den Hals geben“ = „sich zuwenden“ herleiten. Wem gú gegeben wird, der hat gú, und also kann man es mit gú-tuku „Aufmerksamkeit genießen“ versuchen und auch mit „Aufmerksamkeit haben“ = „aufmerksam (sein)“.

Diese Interpretationen passen vorzüglich zu den Belegen. Z. B.: nin gú-tuku nir-ġál gú-en-na-ke₄ „die Herrin, die in der Versammlung Aufmerksamkeit und Vertrauen genießt“ Nin-me-šara 143; ab-ba-ab-ba gú-tuku-gen₇ bur-šu-ma-e-ne gaba u₄-da-zu a-ār u₄ ul-lí-a-aš ši-im-du₁₀-du₁₀-ge-ne „Wie die Ratsherren, die Aufmerksamkeit genießen, preisen die weisen alten Frauen dein warmes Sonnenlicht auf ferne Zeit“ Lugalbanda I 251-53; sipa [g]ú-tuku ^dnin-[ġ]ír-su-ka-ke₄ „der aufmerksame Hirte des Ninġirsu“ Gudea Zyl. B xiii 12. An die Situation in Lugale erinnert folgendes Zitat: šakkanakkum gú-tuku é-ninnu mušen sūr-dù ki-bala-a „der aufmerksame General des Eninnu, der Vogel, der Falke für das aufsässige Land“ Gudea Zyl. B vii 20f.

Das Wort ba-da-ra, selten ba-ad-ra ist überwiegend in der Kombination ġri ba-da-ra, Emesal me-ri ba-da-ra belegt (immer in dieser Reihenfolge!). In úru àm-ma-er-ra-bé XIX 19 wird dies in *patru* und *patarru* aufgelöst: kur-¹mar-ra¹ me-ri(-a) ba-da-ra-na dè-<mu-un-ġi₄-ġi₄> kur-ga-ru-ú ina pat-ri u pa-tar-ri <lidūkšī>. Volk 1989, 90: „Der kurgarra-,Priester‘ soll <sie> mit seinem Schwert und Keule <töten!>“. Ebenso Z. 57: igi-du₈ ġri ba-da-ra mu-ni-ib-[D]U am-ru ¹pat-ri¹ u pa-tar-ri i-re-ed-di, Volk 1989, 92:

„Seher (mit) Schwert und Keule führt sie mit sich“. Z. 59: ù-bu-bu-ul ġíri ba-da-ra mu-ni-íb-DU *za-ab-bu pat-ri u pa-tar-ri i-^lred^l-di*. Also entsprechend mit *zabbu* „Ekstatiker“ (sonst sum. ní-su-ub).

Gegen „Keule“ wendet sich bereits Landsberger, MSL 9, 207. In einem Proto-Aa Text wird *patarru* mit *zugud*, *zubud* (beide *ĤA-tenû*, MSL 14, 134f.) geglichen. Ea IV 155f. übersetzt *zubud* = *zubuttû* und *zugud* = *patarru* (MSL 14, 359). Anders Hh XI 400f.: ^{undu}šen-tab-ba = *pāštu* „Axt“ / ^{undu}šen-tab *zabar ĥuš-a* = *ĥu-ut-pa-lu-u*, *pat-ta-ru/pa-tar-ru-ú*. Die Verwirrung der akkadischen Form mag damit zusammenhängen, dass *patarru* in einsprachigen Texten nach aB nicht mehr belegt ist. Auch davor nur im *Maništušu*-Obelisk und in *Ištar*-Louvre ii 13: *na-šu pa-tar-ri zi-ik-ka-ru* „es tragen... die Männer“ (Groneberg 1997, 26). Es ist von Kultstatisten der *Ištar* die Rede. Zu denen gehört auch der mit *ġíri ba-da-ra* assoziierte *kurgarrû*. *Maništušu*-Obelisk, ELTS 40 C ii 1-5: 1 ^{undu}*pá-tá-ru-um ZABAR NÍG.ŠÁM 1 ġešTUKUL 5 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.BABBAR-su-nu 1 MA.NA LÁ 5 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR* „1... (aus) Bronze, Kaufpreis (für) eine Waffe: 5 Sheqel Silber. Ihr Silber: 55 Sheqel“. In dem Bruch davor werden also noch 10 Waffen (vielleicht Äxte) genannt. Deswegen und weil es hier Logogramm ist, steht ^{eš}TUKUL für *kakkum* „Waffe“ und nicht für „Keule“. Auch das Material ist für eine Keule unüblich.

Heimpel, apud Zgoll 1997, 414, schlägt vor, in *ġíri ba-da-ra* einen einzigen Gegenstand zu sehen: „Badara-Messer“. Vgl. die Ergänzung durch Landsberger Hh XII 54: [ġír.ba.da.r]a.zabar = *pa-tar-ri* (MSL 9, 204). Wie das Emesal zeigt, ist *ġíri* kein Determinativ. Die anfangs zitierten Texte sind auf Assurbanipal und Nebukadnezar II datiert. Die Übersetzungen sind daher mit Vorsicht zu bewerten.

In Iddin-Dagan 74 (beschädigt) werden *ġíri ba-da-ra* erwähnt. In 76 halten Kurġara in Trance *ba-da-ra* und in 78 ist von blutigen *ġíri* die Rede ohne dass eine weitere Personengruppe erwähnt wird. Es liegt nahe anzunehmen, dass die Messer aus 78 die *ba-da-ra* in 76 meinen. Eventuell separat genannte Messer in 74 würden in 76 übergangen. Das ist nicht auszuschließen, aber wahrscheinlicher ist die Annahme, dass *ba-da-ra* ein kürzerer Ausdruck für *ġíri ba-da-ra* ist. Dies steht im Einklang mit Innana und Ebiĥ 173, denn dort gibt Innana dem Kurġara *ġíri ba-da-ra*. Wären das Messer und *ba-da-ra*, wäre die Auslassung des Messers in Iddin-Dagan 76 noch weniger verständlich.

Der Begriff wird in der Literatur mit dem Kult der Innana/*Ištar* und dem kur-ġar-ra/*kurgarrû* assoziiert (siehe oben und PSD B 18b 2.1). In der Eridu Klage verletzt sich aber Damgalnuna mit *ġíri ba-da-ra*. Sektion B 8-10: *gaba-né ì-ĥur-[re] igi-né ì-ĥur-re ġù-nir-ra im-me šu min-a-na ġíri ba-da-ra bí-in-duġ téš-bé ì-gu₇-e siki-né ^unumún-bur-gen₇ ì-zé-e i-lu ge₁₇ ġá-[ġá]* „Ihre Brust zerkratzt sie, ihr Gesicht zerkratzt sie, Klagerufe schreit sie. In beiden Händen hält sie Badara-Messer, sie fressen gemeinsam. Ihr Haar reißt sie aus wie Binsen, eine schlimme Klage hervorstoßend“. Für den übertragenen Gebrauch von *gu₇* vgl. LSU 384: ^{eš}pana gal-gal ^{eš}illar ^{kuš}e-íb-ùr-ra téš im-da-gu₇-e „die großen Bögen und das Wurfholz fressen gemeinsam unter den Schilden“ (andere Lesungen für ^{kuš}e-íb-ùr cf. aBZL Nr. 167). Dass Damgalnuna beide Hände gebraucht, würde wohl nicht extra erwähnt, wenn klar wäre, dass es sich bei *ġíri ba-da-ra* um zwei verschiedene Gegenstände handelt.

Nicht jeder hat diese speziellen Messer und so ist in CA 205f. nur von Messern die Rede: *ki-sikil-bé siki sab nu-ġá-ġá ġuruš-bé ġíri saga₁₁ nu-ġá-ġá* „ihre jungen Frauen hören nicht auf, die Haare abzutrennen, die jungen Männer hören nicht auf, (sich) mit dem Messer zu malträtieren“.¹⁾

Das Verb *ĥur* hat wohl die Grundbedeutung „ritzen“, „Linien ziehen“ (*ešġuru*), kann aber auch eine Verletzung mit einer Spindel, also wohl durch einen Stich beschreiben.²⁾ In Innanas Gang zur Unterwelt 37f. bedeutet *ĥur* ziemlich sicher „kratzen“. Da es sich dabei um einen Ausdruck der Trauer an/auf (Grab?-)Hügeln handelt, liegt auch beim Gebrauch von Messern „ritzen“ näher als „stechen“.

Demnach ist *ġíri ba-da-ra* ein besonderes Messer mit dem man sich bei Trauer oder in Ekstase die Haut ritzte. Dazu passt die Verbindung zu *quppû* „Skalpelle“. Sie beruht einmal auf *Erra* IV 57 wo im gleichen Kontext wie die *nāšū patarri* in *Ištar*-Louvre die *nāš patri nāš naglabi quppê u šurt[i]* „die Träger des Schwertes, Träger des Rasiermessers, des Skalpell und des Flintschabers“ auftreten. Außerdem wird in einem Hargud-Kommentar zu Hh XII 54 (siehe oben) auch *quppû* erwähnt (MSL 7, 172; MSL 9, 207).

Daneben hat aber PSD B für *ba-da-ra* noch die Übersetzung: „rod (pushed through the seal for rolling)“. Der einzige Beleg sind die Geschenke Ur-Nammas für Ninġeszida, Ur-Nammas Tod 120: ^{na}kišib *za-ġin ba-da-ra ì-lá-a*. Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 122 (cf. 175): „A lapis lazuli seal which is hanging from a

pin“. Die Version aus Susa hat [ʰ]ᵏᵢᵃkišib za-gìn zà-bé kù-sig₁₇ ʰù ba-da-ra¹ kù me-a „ein Siegel (aus) Lapislazuli, seine Enden (eingefasst in) Gold und ein... (aus) purem Silber“.

Man könnte sich noch auf die Gleichung ba-da-ra = *ši-ba-rum* UET 7, 93, 16 berufen. AHW 1097a: „ein spitzer Stift“. Vage Hinweise auf das Aussehen liefern die Gleichungen ḡešgag-šar-ra, ḡešgag-du₈, da sie gag „Pflock“, „Nagel“ enthalten und der Izbu Kommentar *ši-ba-ru šīru atru kīma ubāni [ašī]* „... hervortretendes Fleisch, das wie ein Finger hervorgeht“ (CAD S 154b). Dass *šibaru* eine Art Stift war, folgt daraus keineswegs. Die Vergleiche könnten sich auch auf die Form eines spitzen Dolches beziehen.

Die Deutung als „pin“ bzw. „rod“ hat damit zu kämpfen, dass der Gegenstand sonst nicht erwähnt wird, obwohl er auch aus kostbarem Material sein konnte. Auch ein anderes Wort mit der Bedeutung „Stab“ taucht nicht im Zusammenhang mit Siegeln auf. Der Gedanke, durch das Loch in der Längsachse eines Rollsiegels einen Stab zu stecken, um es damit abzurollen, liegt nahe. Aber zunächst diente das Loch dazu eine Schnur hindurchzuziehen.³⁾ Abrollen lassen sich Rollsiegel auch gut mit der Hand und man spart sich so das Öffnen der Schnur. Kappen für Siegel werden erwähnt.⁴⁾ Man sollte das Schweigen der schriftlichen und archäologischen Quellen von Stiften ernst nehmen.

Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich um ein Lehnwort von *patrum* oder *patarrum*. *patrum* ist ein Schwert bzw. großes Messer. *patarrum* ist aus dem Zusammenhang von *Ištar* Louvre und *Erra*-Epos und der wahrscheinlich nicht zufälligen Ähnlichkeit mit *patrum* am ehesten als ein spezielles Messer zu deuten. Nimmt man die Hinweise auf eine Axt mehr ernst als die Beziehung zu den Messern in *Ištar* Louvre, so könnte man auch an eine Sichelaxt denken, was gut dazu passt, dass der einzige Beleg außerhalb von kultischen Handlungen auf *Maništūšu* datiert (zur Sichelaxt Schrakamp 2010). Nichts deutet auf einen Stab.

Bei lá im Sinne von herunterhängen würde man eine Konstruktion mit dem Ablativ erwarten. Siehe Innanas Gang zur Unterwelt 172; Dumuzis Traum 33; 56. Es könnte auch bedeuten, dass es ein ba-da-ra zum umbinden war.

Vielleicht bekam Ninḡešzida ein Siegel weil er einmal die Funktion des Schreibers in der Unterwelt innehatte, oder wenigstens siegelte. Altbabylonische Texte weisen diese Rolle Ninḡeštinana und Ninazimua zu. Letztere ist die Gemahlin des Ninḡešzida und erstere wird als ḡeštinana ebenfalls zur Gemahlin des Ninḡešzida, während Ninḡešzida aB in die Rolle des Sesselträgers der Unterwelt schlüpft (Katz 2003, 174; 391-95).

Als ein Instrument, das auch zur Klage gehörte, könnte das ba-da-ra mit der Rolle des Ninḡešzida als Unterweltgott zusammenhängen. In Nin-me-šar-ra 108 berichtet Enḡeduana: ḡíri ba-da-ra ma-an-šúm a-ra-ab-du₇ ma-an-du₁₁ „ein Badara-Messer gab er mir und sagte zu mir: ‚Das passt zu dir!‘“ Mit dieser Zeile schließt der Bericht über die schlechte Behandlung Enḡeduanas ab. Er beginnt in Z. 69 mit den Worten: ki-sì-ga bí-ib-ḡar ḡá-e nu-mu-un-ti-en „Totenopfer, waren hingestellt, als würde ich nicht mehr leben!“ Vgl. noch Z. 99: sèr kù-ḡá-ke₄-eš ì-ug₅-ge-dè-en „Wegen meiner heiligen Lieder soll ich sterben!“ Nähe zur Klage verrät auch Innana und Ebiḡ 173f.: kur-ḡar-ra ḡíri ba-da-ra mu-na-šúm gala-ra^{kuš} ub li-li-š mu-na-šúm „dem Kurḡara gab sie das Badara-Messer, dem Klagesänger die Ub-Trommel und die Kesselpauke“.

Wahrscheinlich bezeichnen ba-da-ra und ḡíri ba-da-ra den gleichen Gegenstand, ein Messer bzw. Skalpell, das bei ekstatischen Riten ebenso wie bei Traueritten zu Selbstverletzungen gebraucht wurde. Die Interpretation als „Stift“ ist abzulehnen.

Anmerkungen

1. zu ḡíri saga₁₁ (bzw. sag₁₁, sig₁₈) vgl. ḡíri saga₁₁ „zertreten“ SP 3.8, šu saga₁₁ „die Augen reiben“ Dumuzis Traum 18, Lugalbanda I 362. Anders Attinger 2007/2017 mit Verweis auf eine späte Bilingue: „ses jeunes hommes ne cessent d’aiguiser (leurs) poignards (pour se lacérer)“.

2. Instr. of Šuruppak 226, lies kir₄ ḡur aka cf. CAD P 178b, im Gegensatz zu zú ḡur „nagen“ in CA 253 mit Glosse zu in AUWE 23, 111. Der Schaft der Spindel wird etymologisch als „Nase“ giri₁₇/kiri/kir₄ beschrieben. Die Spitze diente wohl dazu, die Spindel in den Boden zu stecken, wenn sie nicht gebraucht wurde.

3. Z. B. ^{na}KIŠIB-šú lu allāt „(und) hast du auch sein Siegel (um)hängen“ BWL 102, 82; weitere Belege CAD K 447bf. 544b.

4. Siehe CAD s. v. iḡzū b, kubšu 3, mandītu 2b, pingū b(?), sanḡu.

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Jan KEETMAN <jkeet@aol.com>

8) Iškur and the Four Heroes — CBS 15142 (CDLI P269698) is the bottom left corner fragment of an *imgida* preserving portions of both sides of the tablet, written in a familiar OB Nippur script. The preserved content includes the exertion of the storm god's powers in conjunction with a group of what seems to be four heroes, assuming that the ur-sag gal-gal-la of obverse 3', whose qualities are subsequently described in obverse 4'-6', pertains to the ensuing description of four entities on the reverse. The juxtaposition of their numbered totality (limmu_x-meš) with the "seven storms" (u₄ imin) that are attributed to Iškur elsewhere¹⁾ may summarize the ensuing section where the heroes are individually mentioned. Depending on the connotation of the dative²⁾ in conjunction with the first three of the heroes, who are introduced by an ordinal genitival copulative phrase modified by the deictic suffix -bi (#.ak.am.bi), either Iškur is using his powers as a storm god on the heroes' behalf or he is transferring this power directly to them. Thus, the dative reflects either an ethical dative or marks the indirect object of a verb such as šum₂ "to give," which may have occurred in lines r1-3 or possibly, in introduction, o8'. A similar convention of ordinal introduction is famously observed with the seven heroes appointed by Utu to escort Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Urukian to and through the seven mountain ranges in Gilgamesh and Huwawa A 37f. and Gilgamesh and Huwawa B 38f. An ordinal sequence is also used to introduce seven names of Inana in the *balag* compositions *uruamirabi* tablet 21 lines 80-86 (Volk 1989: 202, 206) and *a uru ime* 34-39 (Cohen 1988: 648).

A strikingly similar but not identical passage to CBS 15142 occurs within the section preceding the *saġara* rubric of the Iškur *adab* composition Ur-Ninurta F (VAT 8212, VS 17 40) rev. 1f.' (van Dijk 1965: 11 n. 11, Schwemer 2001: 181, ETCSL 2.5.6.6). It is unclear if CBS 15142 is a variant version of the same text, but given the considerable amount of lexemic variation between the two, it seems most likely that they were separate texts. In Ur-Ninurta F, this stimulation of the growth of abundant grain is for the immediate benefit of king Ur-Ninurta of Isin as the provider of his people,³⁾ while in the current context, no mention of a king is preserved, unless the bal of CBS 15142 reverse 7 refers to the reign of a mortal king⁴⁾.

I do not currently know of an unequivocal reflex of these four ur-saġ from elsewhere, although the statement of Ezina/Ašnan after asserting her ability to withstand Iškur's winds in Sheep and Grain 140^d Ašnan-me-en ur-saġ-ra-tu-da ġa₂-la nu-mu-un-ta-dag-ge-en "I am Ašnan, born for (a fight with?) the hero—I will not relent!" may reference these entities. The description of the entities in service of Suen, Ninlil and Iškur, frequently understood to be nocturnal demons, in the difficult conclusion of Lugalbanda Hurrim, lines 401-405 (see Alster 2005: 63, Konstantinopoulos 2015: 87-88) is reminiscent of the four heroes' role, albeit without eliciting the positive effect of a bountiful harvest. In the Lugalbanda Hurrim passage, they are described without explicit numeric designation, as Iškur's "helpers" who make flax and barley tremble and massacre the livestock. If there is a direct connection, the latter context could hint at a lack of formal attachment to the circle of any one deity. A direct reflex of these four heroes is not immediately evident within Iškur's divine circle, perhaps due to the fact that they were not fully divine. The number four is somewhat novel and may somehow reflect the four winds or possibly a team of four animals, although the application of the lexeme ur-saġ to an animal would be rather unusual.⁵⁾ If a team of animals was referenced here, it may evoke the An : *Anum* tradition⁶⁾ (An : *Anum* 3 253-256), where Iškur/Adad is attributed with four bovines, including two calves, Amar-Suena and ^dPA+U₈-ab-ba, and two bulls, Šeriš and Magiru. The two bulls probably reflect the storm god's chariot team on analogy with the Hittite god Teššub, with the anomalous god Magiru perhaps somehow a corruption or re-interpretation of Ĥurri (see the discussion of Schwemer 2001: 69-70, 481-482).

Several subordinate deities could also be involved with Iškur's storms in an analogous manner to the contexts under consideration. The deities Haniš and Šullat, who were associated with Iškur/Adad as well as with Utu/Šamaš as the vanguards of destruction (see George 2003: 884 and Schwemer 2001: 413f.). Iškur is also attributed with six ^{su}gud₁₀ functionaries (An : *Anum* 3 257-262, for these deities, see also Gabbay 2014: 105), with all but the first bearing names that could evidence a connection to the storm or abundance arising from its precipitation (^dU₄-sur₉-ra, ^dPirig₃-gu₃-dug₃-ga, ^dMur-ša₄-ni-ta, ^dŠeĝ₁₀-mu-un-gi₄-gi₄ and ^dGiri₁₇-zal-kalam-ma). The reading as well as the precise meaning of the designation GUD.BALAG, to be read gud-balag or perhaps ^{su}gud₁₀, is obscure and debated,⁷⁾ but, as Michalowski has recently suggested (Michalowski 2010: 222 n. 47), it may in some instances reflect the rarely attested and variously rendered /gud/ = *qarradu(m)* and thus could possibly be understood as a rare synonym of ur-saĝ.

As Schwemer notes (2008: 130, 134), the climatic conditions of the Mesopotamian alluvial plain and the resulting reliance on irrigation rather than rain for agriculture tend to make the depiction of the destructive forces of the storm god Iškur/Adad more prominent than his role in the abundance and fertility of the land. Such a conception of precipitation may be reflected by the fact that Iškur is sometimes mentioned in conjunction with the flourishing of crops without eschewing his seemingly incompatible primary role as a destructive storm. This is apparent in CBS 15142 and Ur-Ninurta F, where a description of the violent storm, even including a description of destroying the field in CBS 15142 r3, and the yielding of an abundant crop are immediately juxtaposed with each other. Another context where the stark contrast between the violent storm and the role of Iškur in furnishing abundance to the land are immediately reconciled to each other is found at the beginning of the text "Šin-iddinam and Iškur" (Michalowski 1988: 268, Wagensonner 2011: 19), where a description of Iškur's powers as storm god culminates in the simple enclitic sentence za-pa-aĝ₂-bi he₂-ĝal₂-am₃ "the scream (of the storm wind) is abundance."⁸⁾ A symbiotic relationship between Iškur and the grain goddesses is alluded to in numerous other contexts such as Išbi-Erra E (Nisaba hymn) 83-84, where Iškur is said to grow barley on Nisaba's behalf with wind and rain as her helper (a₂-dah), Inninšagura 99-102, as well as their respective roles in various curses found in royal inscriptions.⁹⁾ In contrast, in contexts such as Sheep and Grain 134-140 and Ninmešara 10 (via simile), an antagonistic relationship is implied between Iškur and the grain goddesses.

CBS 15142

- o1') eĝ₂ pa₅-re x [...]
The dike and ditch...
- o2') gana₂ zid-de₃ še x [...]
The fertile field... grain...
- o3') ur-saĝ gal-gal-l[a...]
The great heroes...
- o4') e₄-ne-ne-ne [...]
They...
- o5') šag₄-ta kalag-ga [...]
From the womb (i.e., since birth) strong...
- o6') sul a₂ pad₃-da [...]
The youth having discovered his strength...
- o7') ^dIškur-re an niĝ₂-[daĝal-la?...]
Iškur... [broad?] heaven
- o8') limmu_x(4×DIŠ)-me-eš₂ u₄ imin [...]
They were four, the seven storms...
- r1) diš-ra u₄ šeg₁₂ ĝi₄-ĝi₄-da x [...]
For/to the first, a storm that is to scream...
- r2) min-kam-bi-ir u₄ du₇-du₇-du₇-da x [...]
For/to the second, a storm that is to thrash...
- VS 17 40 min-[kam]-ma ^{tum}u₁₈-lu ^{tum}mir mir-ra-da m[u-...]
(For/to?) the second, the southern and northern winds(?) that are to rage(?)...
- r3) eš₅-kam-bi-ir gana₂ niĝ₂-hul-ĝal₂ [...]
For the third the field... with(?) malevolence
- VS 17 40 eš₅-kam-ma-ra tum₉ hul an-na-ke₄ gaba ĝi₄-bi n[u?-tuku?...]
For/to the third, a destructive wind of the sky, unopposed(?)...

- r4) limmu_x(4×DIŠ)-kam šeĝ_x(IM.A) an-na-ke₄ ĝi[r₃... ra-ra?]
The fourth [devastates with(?)] the rain of heaven
- VS 17 40 limmu-kam-ma dungu sir₂ an-na-ke₄ gu₃ im-ma-an-d[e₂?]
The fourth, who shouts at the thick clouds of heaven(?)...
- r5) gana₂ zid ab-si-in du₆-du₆ x [...]
The fertile field... the furrows and heaps...
- r6) he₂-ĝal₂-bi-še₃ ^dAšna[n...]
By means of/on behalf of its abundance Ašnan...
- VS 17 40
- r7) u₄ he₂-ĝal₂-ba bal-bi [...]
In the day of abundance(?)... its reign/change?...
- r8) x x ki-mah-a x [...]
... the supreme place...

o4') The A sign was written over another sign, perhaps a ŠAG₄ sign as a corrected error of anticipation for the next line. For the orthography of the third person plural independent pronoun with initial e₄, see Attinger 1993: 171. The triplicated form /e/-ne-ne-ne, possibly carrying an additional connotation of totality or emphasis, is only occasionally attested in the Old Babylonian period (see, for example, Lugalbanda Hurrim 490, Hendursag Hymn 74), with the Akkadian explanations *šu-nu* and *ka-lu-šu-u₂-nu* in grammatical texts (OBGT I 380, XVI 5, see MSL 4 50, 126). For discussion, see Attinger and Krebernik 2004: 65.

o8') Compare the numerical specification with the enclitic copula of the seven heroes in Gilgameš and Huwawa A 36, as well as the seven brothers of Lugalbanda in Lugalbanda Hurrim 59.

r4) Note that the dative is also omitted for fourth entity in Ur-Ninurta F, perhaps suggesting that the fourth hero is the primary agent of this action in contrast to his counterparts. The restoration of the verb, which šeĝ an.ak is the likely semantic object of as marked by the locative terminative, is somewhat uncertain. It seems most likely that a compound verb with the nominal component ĝir₃ “foot” occurs here. In later tradition ĝir₃ occurs with the verb ra(h) “to strike” to elicit the Akkadian translation *raḥāšu(m)*, “to trample, devastate,” etc., a verb which often describes devastation at the hands of the storm god (see George 1991: 157, Schwemer 2001: 63 n. 364). The current context may therefore more fully express the corresponding Sumerian expression ĝir₃... ra(h), with the action of striking or trampling of the feet represented by the pelting of rain drops or hail.

r2) The interpretation of the corresponding line in Ur-Ninurta F is somewhat ambiguous. As copied by van Dijk, the combination IM MIR MIR-RA-DA is present, leaving the interpretation between ^{um₉}mir mir-ra-da “northern wind that is to rage” or tum₉ mir-mir-ra-da “wind that is to rage.” If the former was intended, note the northern and southern winds may also act together in conjunction with Iškur’s storm in Šulgi A 60, although the great majority of sources give mir-mir-ra (var. -re, -e) without the wind determinative rather than ^{um₉}mir mir-ra, which only occurs in one source (see Delnero 2006: 1893, Vacin 2011: 438).

r5) For the occurrence of reduplicated du₆ in an analogous agricultural context, compare Enki and the World Order 311, for which see the remarks of Schwemer 2001: 177 n. 1243. This line contains a rarely attested syllabic spelling of /absin/ “furrow”: compare, for example, the syllabic *sandhi* writing ab-si₂-na-nam (for ab-sin₂-na na-nam) attested at Kiš (OECT 5, 4 (PSK 451), rev. iii 8’: see Bowen 2017: 143)

r7) For u₄ he₂-ĝal₂, “day (of) abundance,” compare/contrast the u₄ dug₃-ga “propitious day” of Ur-Ninurta F (VS 17 40 8’). The BAL sign, perhaps referring to the mortal king’s reign, is unequivocal in CBS 15142 against the partially paleographically similar NUMUN of VS 17 40, making the direct compatibility of these lines unlikely.

Notes

1. See, for example, Lugalbanda and Anzu 172 (where it serves as a simile for great speed) and the Iškur eršema gu₄ mah pa e₃-a 18 (Cohen 1981: 52, Schwemer 2001: 184, 188), and note also Iškur’s use of seven winds (tum₉ imin of Šulgi A 61 and the [...] ^{um₉}u₁₈-lu ^{um₉}mir imin “seven southern and northern winds(?)” mentioned in the hymn to Iškur’s temple at Karkar (Temple Hymns 339)).

2. Without recourse to the contents of CBS 15142, Schwemer 2001: 182 n. 1267 assumed the dative was an error for the terminative -eše in VS 17 40 and assumed a instance-based temporal connotation.

3. Note that for VS 17 40 r7’ a-gar₃ “meadow” is not present. Instead, the compound gu₂...gur is a very likely restoration: read Ur-^dNin-urta gur₇-du₆ gur₇-maš-a gu₂ mu-na-a[n-gur 0/...].

4. If CBS 15142 was a wholly separate text, it is possible that it belongs to the Iškur *adab* am ud-da u₅-a lugal ^d[Iškur?...], known only from the fragment CBS 7055 (STVC 57, see Schwemer 2001: 175, 190-191, Metcalf 2015: 230) or what is most likely a *tigi* or *adab* of Iškur mentioning Išme-Dagan, 3N-T 901, 32 (+) 3N-T 906, 224 (catalogued by Schwemer 2001: 175 n. 1236).

5. Note that in the Iškur *eršema* gu₄ mah pa e₃-a 18, Iškur seems to control the reins of the seven storms (if a reading IB₂×EŠ = zib₂, “(equine) bridle” applies: for the rare attestations of this word, see Attinger 1998: 186, and note in comparison that the animals of Utu/Šamaš’s chariot team seem to have always been horses: see the detailed

examination of Bonechi and Alaura 2012. Perhaps some kind of numerical adaptation is involved in o8', as a team of four would have been more manageable than a team of seven.

6. For the Iškur/Adad circle of An : *Anum* 3 see Schwemer 2001: 16f.

7. For the most recent iteration of the predominant interpretation of GUD-BALAG as a musical instrument, see Gabbay 2014: 103-114, who understands it to originally refer to the bull-headed sound box of a lyre.

8. A gentler description of Iškur's role in aiding the crop is articulated in a *kakaniğara* composition of Iškur to be published by Geller and Schwemer (I am grateful to Professor Schwemer for sharing a preliminary version of the text with me).

9. In Ur-Ninurta B 9-10 and Išme-Dagan Db 25-27 a very similar role is attributed to Enki (delegated by An in the former context), which is further evocative of the delegation of these powers by Enki to Iškur in Enki and the World Order 308-316.

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J. PETERSON <jeremie.peterson@gmail.com>

9) Nouveau fragment de Gilgameš et Ḫuwawa A. — Ni 9780 (ISET I p.180) n'a pas encore à ma connaissance été remarqué, même dans le travail colossal de Delnero 2006. Ce fragment contient le bas de la face et le début du revers d'une tablette, une *Teiltafel*, contenant un extrait de l'œuvre. Il faut intervertir öy (en fait le revers) et ay (en fait la face). Le progrès pour la reconstitution est minime et le fragment n'a pas pu être joint aux témoins publiés.

Notre numération suit Edzard 1990 et 1991.

face

- 1' (=55) [...] 'a₂¹ nam-^rur¹-[saĝ-...]
 2' (=55) [...] -ni-im-de₂-de₂
 3' (=56) [...edi]n-na giri₃-ni bi₂-in-gub

rev.

- 1 (=57) [...ħaš]ħur ^rĝeš¹taškarin-na-ka
 2 (=57) [...-n]i-sag₃-sag₃-ge
 3 (=58) [...d]e₃[?]-^rre₇[?]¹-eš-am₃
 4 (=58) [...]-^rbi₂[?]¹-i[n[?]-ĝar[?]]

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D.O. EDZARD, “Gilgameš und Ĥuwawa A. II. Teil” ZA 81 (1991) p.165-233.

Margaret JAUQUES, Université de Zurich <margaret.jaques@uzh.ch>

10) Bilgameš, Enkidu et le monde infernal 147-164 — Dans un article récent (2018), P. Steinkeller a remis en question l’interprétation usuelle de *GiEN* 147-164, à savoir que Bilgameš contraindrait les jeunes gens d’Uruk à jouer avec lui à un jeu, quelle que soit la nature exacte de ce jeu¹. Il écrit à la p. 159 :

« But this is a completely preposterous idea. What kind of a team ball-game is this, one that continues day after day, from sunrise till sunset, and that involves many players but only *one* stick ?! The text makes it clear that the handling of the *pukku* and *mekkû* was done *exclusively* by Gilgameš, with the suffering of the young men of Uruk being merely a result of those actions. »

Et un peu plus loin (pp. 160 sq.) :

« There cannot be any doubt, I believe, that the *pukku* and *mekkû* formed some kind of a percussion instrument or noise maker, which Gilgameš used to mobilize the men of Uruk for corvée work, and probably also to keep them working. [...] Therefore, one can be quite confident that *pukku* was either a type of drum or some sort of an idiophone, with the *mekkû* constituting the accompanying drumstick or beater. » Lui-même propose de traduire les ll. 151-164 de la manière suivante (p. 172) : « (With) the ‘drum’ he makes a request, he brings out the ‘drum’ into the broad street. He sounds the ‘noise-maker’, he brings out the ‘noise-maker’ into the broad street. The young men of his city whom the ‘drum’ requested, the free citizens –(even) the sons of widows– he puts loads (of building materials) on their backs. ‘Oh my neck, oh my back!’ they are lamenting. The ones who had mothers, (their mothers) brought food for them. The ones who had sisters, (their sisters) poured drink for them. After the dusk fell down, at the spot where he had laid down the ‘drum’, he drew a mark. He lifted his ‘drum’ before him and carried it to his house. At dawn, as he was again putting loads on their backs at the spot where he had drawn a mark, because of the oppression of widows, because of the outcry of young girls, his ‘drum’ and his ‘drumstick’ fell down to the bottom of the Netherworld. »

Indépendamment du fait que je ne vois pas sur quoi repose l’affirmation qu’il y aurait seulement « *one stick* » et que « the handling of the *pukku* and *mekkû* was done *exclusively* by Gilgameš » (cursives de l’auteur)², la traduction de Steinkeller, aussi séduisante soit-elle contextuellement, soulève de nombreuses difficultés philologiques. Je me contente de mentionner les principales d’entre elles :

— que *ella₂/pukku* désignent un instrument de musique (Steinkeller pp. 161-163 et 171 n. 52) est rendu assez peu probable par Volk 1998 : 200, l. 74 (commentaire pp. 243 sq.), où Innana dit faire rouler les têtes comme de lourds *ella₂/pukkû*.

— du₁₁-du₁₁-ge (ll. 151 sq.) ne peut pas être une forme verbale conjuguée imperfective (Steinkeller p. 172: “he makes” [151], “[h]e sounds” [152]).

— Aux ll. 151 sq., les deux textes de Nippur (N1 et N24) ont na-mu-un-e. Si e était une graphie non-standard de e₃ (Steinkeller p. 171, n. 53), on attendrait alors na-mu-un-e-de₃ (comp. na-mu-un-e₃-de₃ dans Ur3).

— Une lecture bun_x de IM n’est sinon pas attestée à l’ép. paléobab. Ici, N1 et N9 auraient bun_x pour bun₂ à la l. 152 (Steinkeller p. 171, n. 52).

— Il est difficilement crédible que ib_2 - ba u_5 -a (ll. 154 et 161) remonte à $*ib_2$ - bi -a i_3 - u_5 -a (Steinkeller p. 171, n. 54), entre autres raisons parce que N1 à i_1 - ib_2 - u_5 -a à l. 154 et ib_2 - u_5 -a à l. 161. Je ne connais par ailleurs aucune forme verbale du type i_3 - u_5 (-...) à Ur III ou à l'ép. paléobab., et l'on aurait de toute façon attendu une forme transitive.

— $\dot{s}u$ du_3 - du_3 pour $\dot{s}u$ du_8 - du_8 (Steinkeller pp. 171 sq., n. 55) serait attesté dans les sept duplicats (quatre de Nippur et trois d'Ur). Dans les textes littéraires paléobab., $\dot{s}u$ du_8 n'est sinon pas une graphie alternante de $\dot{s}u$ du_3 .

Dans ces conditions, l'interprétation traditionnelle, aussi obscure soit-elle dans le détail, me semble être clairement préférable.

Notes

1. V. par ex. Attinger 1993 :676 ; Afanasieva 1998 :21 sqq. ; Cooper 2002 :78 sq. ; Klein 2002 :194 ; Limet 2002 :102/104 ; George 2003 :899 sq. ; Rollinger 2008 :15-23 ; Gadotti 2014 :266-268 ; Attinger 2008-2009/2015 :14 sq. ; Attinger 2015 :245.

2. Dans Attinger 2008-2009/2015 :14 sq., je traduisais les ll. 151-156 (version de Nippur) ainsi : « Lui qui désirait depuis toujours une boule, joue à la boule dans les *larges* rues, lui toujours prêt à se vanter, se vante dans les *larges* rues. Comme lui, il chevauche la troupe (des) enfants des veuves, 'Oh, ma nuque, oh, mes hanches', se lamentent-ils. »

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Pascal ATTINGER (29-12-2018) <pascal.attinger@iaw.unibe.ch>

Rue de Tivoli 10, CH 2000 Neuchâtel

11) Un nouveau duplicat de la Lamentation sur Sumer et Ur — IB 472b, publié récemment par C. Wilcke¹⁾, n'est pas un fragment de lettre littéraire (ainsi Wilcke, op. cit. p. 58, avec hésitation), mais un duplicat de la *Lamentation sur Sumer et Ur* (ll. 313-318): (313) [...] ir [...] / (314) [...] ^{d13}nanna¹²-kam [...] / (315) [...]gen₇ gu₃ bi₂-ib-du₁₁-[...] / (316) [...]D]U⁷ ku₃-ga¹³(BI) si mu-un¹²-r_x¹-[...] / (317) [...]r_x¹ ^éna^éga₃ ^ée[š-...] / (318) [...]g]in₃ ^{d1}r₁nanna¹-kam [...]. Le texte composite du passage est:

313) kiri₁₃ maḥ-ba gud udu i₃-AK-e³⁾ ir nu-mu-un-u[r₅-ur₅]-e

314) bur-saḡ(-ta) a₂-siki_l ^dnanna-ka(m) za-pa-aḡ₂-bi ba-ra-[g]ul

315) e₂ gud-gen₇ gu₃ bi₂-ib(2)-du₁₁-ga-a-ri si-ga-bi ba-r_{du}¹²

316) mu(-un)-ku_x(DU) ku₃-ga si nu(-mu)-un-sa₂-e ḡar-ra-bi ba-su₃-r_{ud}¹

317) ^{NA4}ḪAR (^ées) naḡa₃ ḡeš-gana^{na} i₃-ku-ku lu₂ nu-um-ši-gurum-e

318) kar-za-gin₃-na^dnanna-ka a-e ba-da-la₂

« *Prépare-t-on (encore)*⁴ des boeufs et des moutons dans ses immenses fours? Ils ne dégagent plus d'odeurs alléchantes⁵. Dans le *bursaĝ*⁶, le remue-ménage des brasseurs de Nanna a pris fin. Le temple, qui avait mugé comme un boeuf, est envahi par le silence⁷. Les livraisons sacrées n'arrivent plus régulièrement⁸; après avoir été instaurées, elles ont été supprimées⁹. La meule, *le mortier* et le pilon gisent (inutilisés), personne ne se penche plus vers eux. Au Quai brillant de Nanna,...¹⁰ »

Notes

1. C. Wilcke (ed.), *Keilschrifttexte aus Isin – Išān Bahrīyāt. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft unter der Schirmherrschaft der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (AbhMünchen 143, 2018) 58 et 158, n° 59.

2. Peut-être ligne en retrait.

3. Ainsi la version de Nippur (X d'après P. Michalowski, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* [MC 1, 1989] 160, et peut-être Y et GG) // nu-AK-e (HH, Ur).

4. Ainsi la version de Nippur // « on ne prépare plus » (HH).

5. Envisageable serait aussi « On prépare des boeufs et des moutons dans ses immenses fours, mais ils ne dégagent plus d'odeurs alléchantes. »

6. Ainsi peut-être X (littéral ablatif à valeur locative); dans GG et HH, on a probabl. un *pendens*.

7. Littéral peut-être « a été planté sur le 'après qu'il est devenu silencieux' »; comp. *Lamentation sur Nippur* 85 et 193 et v. plus généralement S. Tinney, *The Nippur Lament: Royal Rhetoric and Divine Legitimation in the Reign of Išme-Dagan of Isin (1953-1935 B.C.)* (OPSNKF 16, 1996) 147 sq.

8. Littéral « On ne dirige plus les livraisons sacrées ici » v.s.

9. Pour une interprétation différente, cf. C. Wilcke, ASJ 22 (2000, paru en 2005) 283.

10. Pour a-e la₂, Comp. l. 196, où a-e la₂ (B) est parallèle à a-e BU (x 3). Le sens de l'expression m'échappe, -e faisant problème. Le PSD (A/I 6 s.v. a A 2.1), s'inspirant probabl. d'une suggestion de M. Yoshikawa (Or. 44 [1975] 449 sq.), propose « the water of the canal », mais attendu serait alors a eg₂-ga. M. Jaques (AOAT 332 [2006] 63 n. 135) essaye de tourner la difficulté en traduisant « il (= le bateau) est enlisé dans la vase(?) »; à la l. 196, il n'est toutefois pas question de bateau, et dans notre passage, seulement à la ligne suivante.

Pascal ATTINGER (29-12-2018) <pascal.attinger@iaw.unibe.ch>
Rue de Tivoli 10, CH 2000 Neuchâtel

12) The Reading of the Name of an Early Assyrian King — The name of the fourth king in the two exemplars (the Khorsabad King List and the Seventh Day Adventist Seminary King List, both copied in the 8th century B.C.E.) of the Assyrian King List (AKL) is written as “KID-la-(a)-mu” (JNES 13: 211-212). The reading of the first sign “KID” was not certain. It was read “Kitla/āmu” (JNES 13: 222; KZW: 4) at first. When publishing the tablet of “the Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty (GHD)” (BM 80328), Finkelstein proposed that the name “KID-la-(a)-mu” in the AKL might be identical with the latter part of “Ya-am-qú-uz-zu-ĥa-lam-ma” in the GHD (obv.3'), where two names were misconstrued by the scribe as one, and read the sign “KID” as “sa/u/iĥ” (JCS 20: 100). Accepting the proposal of Finkelstein, RIA read the name as “Suĥlāmu” (RIA 6: 102; RIA 13: 262).

However, Charpin and Durand demonstrated that the separation of the name “Ya-am-qú-uz-zu-ĥa-lam-ma” in the GHD was unnecessary, because it could be transcribed as “Yamqut-šum-ĤA.LAM.MA”, meaning “la ruine s'abattit sur lui” (RA 80: 160). The argument of Charpin and Durand is apparently more reasonable (Abr-N 35: 24). Therefore, the reading of “Suĥlāmu” based upon the similarities between the two names in the AKL and the GHD remains controversial.

The name “KID-la-(a)-mu” belongs to the seventeen royal names in the beginning part of the AKL, and except the last two of them mentioned by later Assyrian kings in the royal inscriptions (RIMA 1, A.0.77.1: 113'; RINAP 4, No.57: iii 17'), none of those names were attested by textual sources other than the AKL. So, no other source can be drawn to help read this name. Although most of those names seem to be Semitic (JNES 1: 252-253; SAHNI: 22), no general consensus has been reached as to whether or not they were “Akkadian or Akkadianized” (JCS 8: 109-110, n. 106; KZW: 4).

However, since the subscript of the AKL states that “in totality seventeen kings who lived in tents”, it would imply that those kings were most likely nomadic rulers from the late 3rd millennium B.C.E. (ARCANE 3: 31; CAH 1/2: 745), when they had probably not yet settled at Aššur. Those names preserved

in the AKL must have derived from an oral tradition (SAHNI: 22). On the other hand, the similarities between the two groups of names in the AKL and the GHD as observed by Finkelstein are dramatic, but as suggested by Hallo, the specific parallels between the two documents would show that the scribe of the AKL (cherishing the similar purpose as that of the scribe of the GHD) might have intended to “provide the founder of Assur’s independence with a genealogy linking him to the Amorite tribes that swept all over Mesopotamia upon the fall of Ur” (EI 14: 5). Accordingly, it is reasonable to assume that the seventeen names in the AKL might have been the Akkadian phonetic writings of the Amorite names coming down from the ancient times.

I would propose that we read the name “KID-la-(a)-mu” as “Lillāmu”. We know that the sign “KID” can be read “lil” and the writing of “^(lil)lil-lá” for “lilû” meaning “demon” (AOAT 305: 340) is well known, too. Two Amorite personal names written in Akkadian are attested in Old Babylonian documents (AS 21: 619, No.4364, No.4366): “li-la-mi-x-x” (YBC 11155 = JCS 14/1: No.82, obv.8’) and “li-li-im” (ARM 13: No.73, 5’). If “li-la-mi” stands for “Lilami” or “Lilamu”, then “Lillāmu” would be the same name. And if the name “li-li-im” stands for “Lilium” or “Lilum”, then “Lillāmu” seems to be a variant writing. Similarly, another name “Ḫarḫaru” in the group of the seventeen kings in the beginning part of the AKL was thought by Kraus (KZW: 6-7) to be probably related with “ḫa-ar-ḫa-ar” in an Old Babylonian tablet (VAT 1433). Furthermore, the personal name “Lil(l)um” is well attested throughout history (MAD 3: 161; PNA 2: 662): it was written as “li-li” in an Old Akkadian legal document (OAI: No.17, obv.4’) and a Sargonic text (MAD 1: No.163, iii 36’), “li-lum” in two Old Akkadian administrative documents (OAI: No.23, obv.1’; RTC, No.91, obv. iii 17’) and an envelope from Puzriš-Dagan of the Ur III period (PDTI: No.517), while “li-il-lum” (the name of a bearded courtier) in a Neo-Assyrian administrative document (SAA 11: No.164, rev.6’).

The meaning of the name “Lillāmu” might be not so clear by itself, but if we connect it with “Lil(l)um”, then the meanings of “lillum” as an Akkadian word might shed some light on this matter (CAD 9: 189-190): besides being used as a personal name, it also means “fool, moron” (“lil-lum” or “li-il-lum”), or it denotes “a qualification of horses”, or it refers to a demon or a god (“li-il₅-lu-u[m]” or “li-il₅-lum”).

Some abbreviations

Abr-N = *Abr-Nahrain, an Annual Published by the School of Fine Arts, Classical Studies and Archaeology.*

EI = *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies.*

KZW = F. R. Kraus, *Könige, die in Zelten wohnten: Betrachtungen über den Kern der assyrischen Königsliste*, Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1965.

OAI = I. G. Gelb, *Old Akkadian Inscriptions in Chicago Natural History Museum, Texts of Legal and Business Interest*, Chicago: Chicago Natural History Museum, 1955.

PDTI = M. Cığ, H. Kizilyay, A. Salonen, *Die Puzriš-Dagan-Texte der Istanbuler Archäologischen Museen I*, Helsinki: Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae B 92, 1954.

RTC = F. Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil de Tablettes Chaldéennes*, Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur, 1903.

SAA = *State Archives of Assyria.*

SAHNI = D. Oates, *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq*, London: The British Academy – Oxford University Press, 1968.

Fei CHEN <chenfei17@pku.edu.cn>

Peking University, No.5 Yiheyuan Road, 100871 Beijing

13) The second Practical Vocabulary from Kültepe — The recent publication of Kt. n/k 1697 by S. Çeçen and H. Erol in *Archivum Anatolicum* 12/2 (2018) sheds new light on scribal education in the Old Assyrian period. The tablet differs in many respects from the Practical Vocabulary (PVK) published by K. Hecker in *Nimet Özgüç AV* (Ankara 1993), which is known from two sources: A (Kt. 76+79), a coarsely written and partially preserved tablet, and B (k/- 129*), the lower half of the reverse of a carefully written tablet. PVK consists of six thematic sections: 1. a metrological sequence (weights); 2. metals and metal objects; 3. stones and stone objects; 4. animals; 5. oils and perfumes; 6. logograms for multiplication. Many of the entries (and also a special sign for ‘one-eighth’ in A I 6’) do not occur in standard Old Assyrian documents, a feature PVK has in common with other thematic school texts.

Also Kt. n/k 1697 contains a blend of practical and learned words and logograms. It does not contain a metrological section. Instead, nearly two-thirds of the text consist of calculations of exchange rates of metals and stones. Separated by a blank space follow sections on pottery (dug) and textiles (túg) and the text ends with hides (kuš) of various animals. The calculations followed by various sections remind one of the Ur III period Practical Vocabulary of Susa (V. Scheil, *RA* 18, 1921, 53), the preserved part of which contains two calculations of gold prices in 1'-3' and 4'-6' and a list of other metals in various quantities. (note 1)

The calculations in Kt. n/k 1697 deserve some comment. As Çeçen and Erol observed, errors in most of these calculations show this text to have served educational purposes. The first three commodities are varieties of gold: 'choice quality' (*liqtum*) at 15, usual quality (*si-sá*) at 3 1/3, and *zakium* gold at 5 1/2 shekels (= sh.) of silver per sh. All three are known with the same ratios from round tablets with a single simple mathematical exercise from Assur and Kültepe: 'choice gold' in Kt. 84/k 3; usual quality in Ass 13058f (wr. 'hu-sá', see below), and *zakium* gold in Assur 13058e and Kt. a/k 178. None of these three designations is attested in standard OA. According to H. Waetzoldt, huš-a is the best quality in Ur III. In OA, however, 'red' (*sāmum*/hu-sa) gold occurs in different qualities (see my remarks in *Babel und Bibel* 7, 357); this would explain hu-sá at only 3 1/3 in Ass. 13058f (unless a scribal error for si!-sá) and kù-gi hu-sa in CCT 4, 22b:19 (sig₅ diri) and KUG 25:10.

Quantities of bronze occur twice (6.8) at 1:11 in silver, bronze cups of 18 sh. (about 150 g) weight (13) at 51 sh. of copper each, and bronze cups of 20 sh. (about 166 g) weight (15) at 60 in copper. Bronze cups of 18 sh. weight recur in (17) at 45 in copper. The logogram for bronze cup (gal zabar) occurs in PVK A v 6' and is known from AKT 11a, 87:7.10 and KUG 25:11. New are the weight specifications.

Copper in the shape of *eliätum* (9-10) at 1:30 in silver; copper of unspecified quality (11) at 1:45 in silver. The *eliätum* (sg. urudu *e-li-t[um]* in PVK A v 9') seems to be scrap (see *The Old Assyrian Copper Trade in Anatolia*, 222-3). The round tablet Assur 13058k has *eliätum* copper at 1:35.

Line 19 has (probably bronze) *samālum*-cups (*sà-m[a*]-l[á*]-tu[m*]*) of 18 sh. each at 55 in copper. Two large *s.*-cups occur in AKT 6b, 521:1.

Tin (an-na) occurs in (21) at 10, in (22) at 2 1/2, and in (24) at 4 1/2 sh. of tin per sh. of silver.

The stones are carnelian (26; PVK A v 11': na₄-ZA-[GUL]) at 3 1/3 sh. of silver per sh., onyx (*hulālu*) (27; PVK A v 12': na₄-ZA-[MIR]!) at 2 5/6 sh. of silver per sh., lapis lazuli (28, wr. na₄-gìn-za; PVK A v 10': na₄-gìn-z[a]) at 1 sh. of silver per 2 3/4 sh., quartz (*dušû*) (30, wr. na₄-du₈-šû; PVK A v 13': na₄-du₈-[...]) at 7 2/3 sh. of silver per sh., 'amber' (na₄-*elmešum*, 32) at 15 sh. of silver per sh., followed by iron (*parzillum*, 34) at 20 sh. of silver per sh.

With prices in copper again, we find borax(?) (su₁₃-gan*, 36) at 1 1/2 sh. of copper per sh. Sukan (written sù-gan, su-gan in Old Akkadian and Ur III texts) is an unidentified substance that was added to bronze without causing a change in weight. E. Pernicka suggested that it was borax, which would prevent the oxidation of molten copper and the solidification of slag on blow pipes (*OA* 23, 18). The writing with BU instead of sù or su is further only attested in two Old Babylonian (mid 19th c.) texts from the Sîn-kāšid palace in Uruk (see K. Reiter, *Die Metalle im Alten Orient*, 332); the substance does not appear to occur in any later document. Sukan was more expensive than copper, see also H. Waetzoldt, *OA* 23, 17.

Lead is mentioned in line 37, where it is valued at 1 mina of copper per 1 2/3 minas and is written with the archaic logogram a-SIG₇ (reading with Çeçen and Erol, who however translate *yün?* 'wool'), for which see P. Attinger, *ZA* 85, 1995, 136 (^aagar_x). Next follow two entries with wool: goat hair (38, siki ud₅*) at 7 minas of copper per talent and wool (siki-tù or siki gen "ordinary wool", 40) at 7 2/3 minas. The sole verbal form in the text is *umtahher* (41) introducing the equivalent in copper. This form does not occur elsewhere but is reminiscent of the use of *mahārum* Gt in mathematical texts; it may be another denominative form derived from *mahārum* (see N.J.C. Kouwenberg, *Gemination in the Akkadian Verb*, 180). The subject is 1 sg or the implied word *mahārum*.

Calculations with tin figure again in (42) at 4 1/2 (but first given in copper!), in (45) at 4 1/2 in silver of good quality (sig₅), and in (46) at 4 1/2 sh. (but first given in copper; line 47: ma-na <<TA>>) of tin per sh. of silver. The ratio between copper and silver is about 1:30 (43) and 1:60 (47). The last calculations concern (bronze) *samrutum* of 12 sh. weight at 29 in copper and then in the copper's silver value (at 1:40).

The selected goods, quantities, and prices tell us about this text as a didactic tool. It includes the logograms for gold, silver, tin, bronze, and copper, but uses unfamiliar qualities of gold and some archaic sign forms as well as a few rare goods, preferably in phantastic quantities unlikely to have ever reached an OA merchant: 7 minas of *elmešum* (cf. CAD E 108: “no econ. text ever mentions the *e*.-stone”), or 8 minas of iron. The Practical Vocabulary of Susa lists these two items as well, but in realistic quantities, 10 sh. of iron (an) and 1 sh. of *elmešum* (su₁₃-ág). The quantities seem to be chosen for arithmetical purposes; the number 105 occurs four times and 155 once. Some of the prices are plausible and lapis lazuli at 1 sh. of silver per 2 ¾ sh. approaches 2 2/3 (ICK 2, 274) and the ratio in VS 26, 12:4-6, slightly less than 2 (purchase in Assur). On the other hand, the prices for tin (10, 4 ½, and 2 ½ sh. per sh. of silver) are too high to refer to prices in 19th c. Assur (ranging from 17-12), but could fit sale prices in Anatolia (ranging from 10-4); 2 ½ is unattested and makes it doubtful whether these tin prices reflect OA practice. The bronze objects are valued per piece and their weight is specified (possibly to confuse the pupil): *samrutum* of 12 sh. at 29 sh. of copper, *samalum*-cups of 18 sh. at 45, cups of 18 sh. at 45 and 51, cups of 20 sh. at 60. No evidence exists to compare these data with real prices. Note that the one entry in PVK giving the object’s weight concerns a (bronze) sickle (*ni-ga-lím ki-lá-be* 1/3 ma-n[a], B:3). All these features indicate that this part of the text was meant as an exercise in making calculations and writing (rare) logograms. The text may represent a scribal tradition developed during the late third millennium to which also the vocabulary from Susa belongs.

Note

1. The metal section in the Practical Vocabulary of Susa reads: I (1') [... kù]-gi (2') [...-ta]-àm (3') [kù-bi... ma]-na (4') ½ ma-na kù-gi (5') níg(? wr. 2/3)-ki-2-ta-àm (6') kù-bi 1 ma-na (7') 1 ma-na kù-babbar (8') ½ ma-na urudu (9') 5 ma-na an-na (10') [x] ma-na zabar (11') [x m]a-na hé-ág (12') x [...] x (13') 15 ma-na urudu-luh-ha (14') 10 ma-na [x] urudu (15') 1/3 ma-na níg-ne-ak (16') 1/3 ma-na níg-ne-[x] (17') 1/3 ma-na urudu-ti-l[a] (18') 10 gín an (19') 1 gín su₁₃-ág (rest of column lists textiles).

Note that Limet, *Le travail du métal*, 256 reads line 5' against the copy as: 2/3 kimin 2-ta-àm “à raison de 2 pour 2/3 du même”, which makes no sense.

Jan Gerrit DERCKSEN <j.g.dercksen@hum.leidenuniv.nl>

14) Addenda et corrigenda to G. Spada, “A new fragment of the ‘Laws About Rented Oxen’ and the Sumerian verb bu-us2”, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 91 (2018): 11–18 — The reader will find here some corrections to my article which appeared in the last issue of RSO.

P. 12: to the list of the attestations, is now to be added three provisions partially preserved in MS 4287 obv. ii 39–47. This is a large six-column tablet, containing a phrasebook of legal terminology and a doxology to Nisaba and Haya, whose preliminary transliteration and translation (provided anonymously) will appear in GEORGE–SPADA 2019, No. 64.

P. 13, Tab. B – Laws of Lipit-Ištar, §34: the injured part is only sa-sal and not sa-sal-KU and the verb is bi₂-in-kud instead of bi₂-in-sil.

P. 15, n. 6: the first provision, which belongs to the Laws of Ur-Namma and not the Laws of Lipit-Ištar as erroneously indicated in the article, should be corrected as follows:

tukum-[bi] gud ab₂ ur₃-ra lu₂ [in-ḥuḡ₂] mu 2-am₃ addi[r-bi] 8 še gur in-na-aḡ₂-aḡ₂-[e] gud-ab₂ saḡ-murub₄ addir-[bi] 6 še gur in-na-aḡ₂-aḡ₂-e, “if a man hires an ox for the rear of the team, he will pay 8 gur of barley for two years as its hire; if it is an ox for the front of the team he will pay 6 gur of barley (for two years) as its hire” (LU §B1; CIVIL 2011: 249 and 268).

P. 16, commentary to 5'–10': based on the new edition of the Laws of Lipit-Ištar that appeared in WILCKE 2014, the verbal form used in §34 (g45 in Wilcke’s edition, p. 598) is bi₂-in-kud and not bi₂-in-sil as suggested by ROTH 1980 and 1997.

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G. SPADA <gabriella.spada77@gmail.com>

15) A new reading to Old Babylonian Etana — According to CAD K, 18 s.v. *kaḫātu* 6 c, the expression *nīšam kubbutum* means to “respect an oath.” This expression rests on an attestation in the Old Babylonian *Etana Myth* (SEAL 1.1.6.2), namely the version from Susa (Sb 9469), line rev. 13'. Editors of the text (Kinnier Wilson 1985 and Haul 2000), however, read this line as follows: *a-du-ur-ma ri¹-iš-ka u₂-ka-ab-bi-it* (*ādur-ma rēška ukabbit*), “I respect and honor your head.” Neither J. V. Kinnier Wilson nor Michael Haul studied the original tablet. Kinnier Wilson based his hand copy on the copy published by Vincent Scheil in *RA* 24, 106 and notes that the tablet is missing since its first publication (1985: 21, note 34; Haul 2000: 104; *ebd.* 2004: 238, note 5). A photo of the tablet’s obverse housed at the Louvre appeared in Harper, Aruz, and Talon 1992: 274, no. 192; both sides were published as photograph later on in André-Salvini 2008: 320, no. 282.



Fig. 1. A fully preserved sign NI in line 12' of Sb 9469 and the damaged sign in the subsequent line

New photos (thankfully taken by Jaroslaw Maniaczyk from the Louvre) and a second attestation of this expression help to clarify the situation (Fig. 1). YBC 13521 is a small clay prism, which contains a rare example of an Akkadian court procedure that is probably not based on an historical case, but entered written lore (compare *CUSAS* 10, 17a–c published by George 2009). Line 27 of this text reads: *ni-iš-ka u₂-kab-bi-it*, “He respected the oath (sworn by) you.” (This text will be published by the author in a forthcoming article.)



Fig. 2. The damaged sign in line 12' of Sb 9469

The preceding line in the Old Babylonian version of *Etana* probably also allows for a new reading. Kinnier Wilson (1985: 110–111) read this line: *a-na e-ri-i <si>-im¹-ma-ni a-na-ku aš-ru-k[am₂]*, “To the eagle I gave my provisions”; Michael Haul (2000: 110–111) reads: *a-na e-ri-i šul¹-ma-ni a-na-ku aš-ru-u[k]*, “Dem Adler habe ich Wohlgehen (?) beschert!” The damaged sign (read *im* or *šul* in previous editions) could in fact also be *ra*: *ana erî ramānî anāku ašruk*. If this is correct, then the snake says to the sun god as follows:

Reverse

11') *at¹-ka-la-ak-ku-um-ma* ^dUTU¹ *qu₂-ra-(du)*

12') *a-na e-ri-i* *ra^{*1}-ma-ni a-na-ku aš-ru-uk¹*

13') *a-du-ur-ma* *ni^{*1}-iš-ka u₂-ka-ab-bi-it*

“I trusted in you, o warrior Šamaš,
I presented myself to the eagle,
(because) I was in fear and respected the oath sworn by you.”

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Klaus WAGENSONNER <klaus.wagensonner@yale.edu>

16) Bilingual Šuruppak — The Old Babylonian school lentil YBC 8934 (YPM BC 022993; CDLI no. P309732) was published by Bendt Alster in his *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer* (1997), p. 332 with a hand copy of the obverse on pl. 131. The two lines of Sumerian text repeated by a student on the reverse are, as noted by Alster, parallel to line 99 of the *Instructions of Šuruppak*: g a - r a - a b - š u m₂ - b e₂ / l u₂ - r a g a - n i - i n - u s₂, “Let me hold onto the man (who says) this: ‘Let me give it to you!’” (see Alster 2005: 75), analyzed as *g a - r a - a b . š u m . b e / l u - r a g a - n n . i - n . u s . The instructor’s model text is followed by two lines written into the blank space in a slightly smaller hand. Alster attempted to interpret these two lines as either a date or names. Personal names do occur on occasion as “colophons” on school lentils; see, for instance, the unpublished school lentil YBC 9924 with three personal names starting in the element n i n followed by the name Taribātum written in smaller script into the blank space below. The same name appears on the lentil YBC 9907 with entries from Division 3 of *Ura*; an individual named Išū-idīšu is attested on YBC 9917, another lentil with Nin-names.

Collation of the tablet YBC 8934, however, shows that these two additional lines contain in fact the Akkadian rendering of the Sumerian and are read as follows (Fig. 1):

[a-wi-la]m lu-di-ku-um-mi
lu-ur-x-di-šu

[awīla]m luddikkum-mi lurdīšu

“Let me follow the man who says ‘Let me give (it) to you!’”

The particle *-mi* that is used to flag direct speech (GAG § 123c) appears to render the possessive or deictic enclitic *-be₂* in the first Sumerian form. Usually Akkadian *-mi* is represented by the Sumerian suffix *-eše* (written *e-še*) that is quite common in proverbs, in particular (Thomsen 1987: 279) and compare to NBGT I, 461: *e-še : mi-i* KI.TA, “(Sumerian) /eše/ (is equivalent) to (Akkadian) *mi* used as enclitic” (see MSL 4, 147; read after AO 17602 [CDLI P493409] rev. iv,21). In this line enclitic *-be₂* appears to be deictic referring to the direct speech (g a - r a - a b - š u m₂) itself.

Still problematic is the third sign in the second line of the Akkadian translation: It seems unlikely that it is a malformed TA. Possibly the scribe forgot to erase a malformed sign DI before writing it properly.

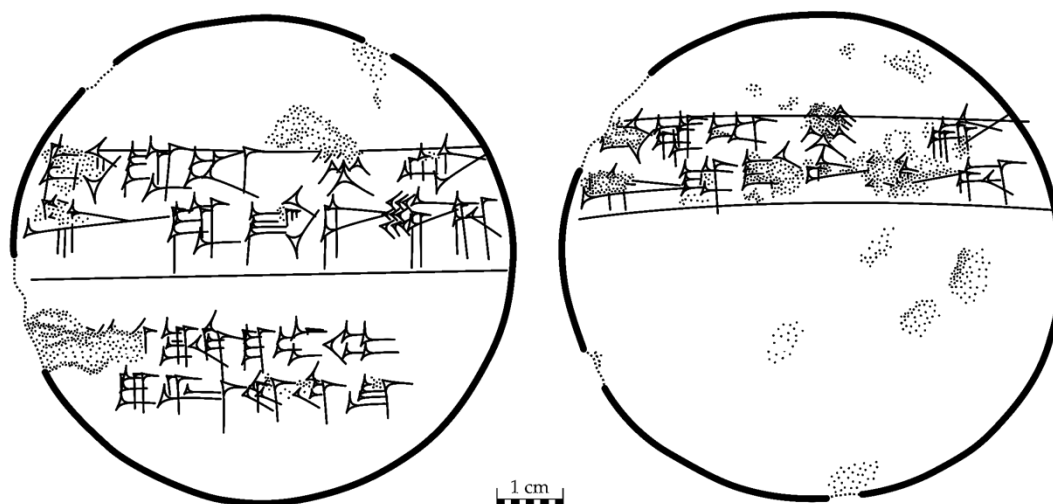


Fig. 1. YBC 8934 (Drawing by the author)

Although several Akkadian versions of *Instructions of Šuruppak* survive in the textual record and even a translation into Hurrian, this unprovenient school lentil is the only Sumerian-Akkadian manuscript known to date. Compare the list of manuscripts in Alster 2005: 47–53. Alster, however, did not include this lentil into his edition of the *Instructions of Šuruppak*. Unfortunately, none of the Akkadian versions preserve line 99 in order to serve as a point for comparison.

Akkadian renderings of Sumerian text on school lentils or Type IV-tablets are comparatively rare and are usually added as annotations or glosses (see, for instance, the proverbs on the lentil *UET 6*, 368). Similar examples are the unpublished lentil YBC 9882 with an extract of *Ana ittišu* or CUNES 51-07-109 with a short passage from *Ura* followed by pronunciation and Akkadian equivalent added into the blank space (this tablet will be published by A. Gadotti and A. Kleinerman).

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Klaus WAGENSONNER <klaus.wagensonner@yale.edu> Yale University, New Haven, USA

17) Ein Lahmu im Raum 132 des „Palais Royal“ zu Mari — Cette petite étude, écrite “sur commande” il y a presque 20 ans n’est jamais parue. Elle est redevenue actuelle dans les détours que j’ai faits pour mes recherches sur les couleurs de la carnation humaine en Mésopotamie. Je remercie Béatrice Muller qui, en acceptant d’écrire un article et en me pourvoyant en photos en couleurs, qui paraîtront dans la publication finale sur la polychromie des statues mésopotamiennes, a indirectement relancé le sujet.

Das hier studierte Wesen stammt aus einer fünfregistrigen, mindestens 3,35 m langen Wandmalerei, die im „Palais Royal“ von Mari im Raum 132 ausgegraben wurde (Abb. 1. Parrot 1958: 78-81, Tf. XVII, XX und E). Sie wird in die Zeit Hanun-Dagans um 2000 v. Chr. gesetzt. Das untere große Register schließt rechts mit einem Wesen ab, von dem nur der Oberkörper erhalten geblieben ist. Die Statue Cabane und der über Schuppen stehende schwarze Stier am anderen Registerende hatten Hamelin zur Rekonstruktion mit dem abgerundeten Berg als Unterkörper verleitet. Diesem rekonstruierten Bild fehlten damals und fehlen auch heute noch Parallelen. In der Endpublikation (Abb. 1-2) sehen wir ein rot umrandetes und schwarz ausgemaltes bärtige Wesen, das seine zwei Arme über eine schwarze mit weißen Punkten versehene Fläche ausbreitet. Ein dicker ockerbrauner Streifen und ein zweiter dünner roter Streifen setzen das Wesen mit

Kontrastfarben vom Hintergrund ab. Die punktierte schwarze Fläche ist wiederum von einer roten Linie eingegrenzt. Diese bildet gleichsam eine Grenze, die das Wesen hält oder „packt“. Der Hintergrund ist ockerbraun. Nicht völlig eindeutig ist die Verteilung der weißen Punkte über die schwarze Fläche. Auf dem Grabungsquadrat befinden sie sich rechts, auf der Rekonstruktion sind sie regelmäßig beiderseits des Wesens verteilt.



Abb. 1: Wandmalerei im Raum 132, Register 3-5 mit einer H. von 1,73 m. Parrot 1958, pl. E

Oben bricht das Fragment mit einem gewellten Streifen ab, der symbolisch Wasser wiedergibt. Links vom Wesen befand sich eine weitere Szene, von der außer wenigen qcm Hintergrund nichts erhalten ist. Ihr Grund ist wiederum schwarz, anders als bei dem anschließenden Bild mit hellbraunem Grund. Der Zusammenhang zwischen dem schwarzen Wesen und dem restlichen Register ist unklar.

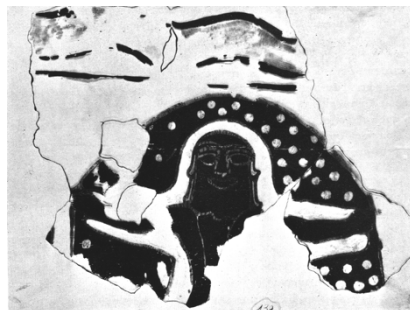


Abb. 2: Originalzeichnung des Lahmu, H. des 4. Registers: 65 cm. Parrot 1958, 79

Vom Wesen selbst ist der Kopf vollständig. Die Haare weisen in der Umzeichnung mindestens vier, auf dem Originalfoto vielleicht sogar sechs Locken auf. Man sieht keine Ohren. Das en face gezeichnete Gesicht zeigt eine breite Nase, große Augen und lächelnde Lippen. Das Wesen trägt weder Kleider, noch etwas auf dem Kopf, noch andere Elemente, wie etwa Flügel. All diese Elemente – sechs Locken, Bart, en face-Darstellung, Nacktheit – erlauben dieses „Monster“ als „sechslöckigen Helden“ zu betrachten (Abb. 3)¹⁾.

Die Gleichsetzung des „sechslöckigen Helden“ mit dem „haarigen“ „protective spirit“ Lahmu durch F. A. M. Wiggermann (1981-1982, 1992: 150, 166) ist weitgehend anerkannt (Rohn 2011, 17 Anm. 135). Eine vergleichbare Armhaltung ist dennoch selten²⁾. Häufig hingegen, erscheint auf altbabylonischen und altsyrischen Rollsiegeln der Lahmu mit nach oben gerichteten, mehr oder weniger abgeknickten Arme als nein tierbezwingender „Atlant“ und mit einem Wasserstrahl³⁾. Ganz andere Armhaltungen zeigen ihn vor allem als Tierbezwinger, im Kampf, mit einer Standarte und mit Wasser auf zeitgleichen Rollsiegeln und Tonplaketten⁴⁾.

In Anlehnung an den Lahmu mit ausgebreiteten Armen gibt es zwei Möglichkeiten, den Unterkörper des Wesens zu rekonstruieren: entweder stand er (Abb. 3a) oder er kniete (Abb. 3b). In der knienden Haltung könnte der Platz zwischen dem knienden Lahmu und der Registerhöhe mit einer Standfläche ausgefüllt sein.

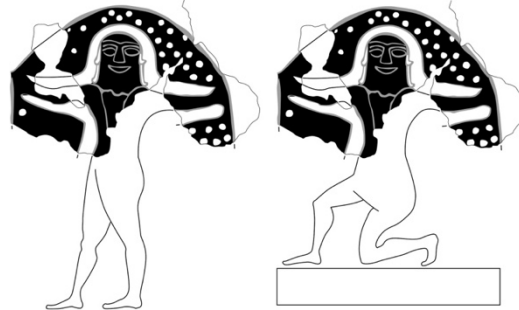


Abb. 3. Zeichnung von Manfred Lerchl, Institut für Vorderasiatische Archäologie, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

Nun hat die farbige Abbildung, die B. Muller dankenwerterweise zur Verfügung gestellt hat, einen Anstoß gegeben, sich noch einmal mit der Deutung dieses Bildes zu beschäftigen.

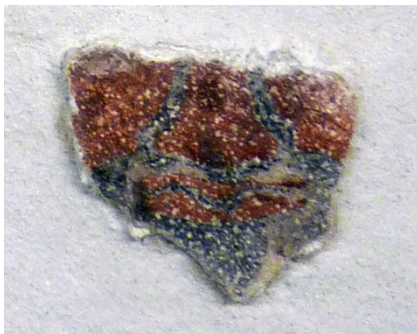


Abb. 4: Fragment Nr. 62. Westwand im Hof 106. H. 5 cm. Schwarz-weiß, Parrot 1958, 45, Fig. 37. © Mission archéologique de Mari, Foto S. Cluzan



Abb. 5: Fragment Nr. 9. Parrot 1958, 29 Fig. 24. Fundort: Südwand im Hof 106. H. 15 cm

Das leider sehr kleine Fragment Nr. 62 auf Abb. 4 stammt aus dem hoch angebrachten Register der südlichen Wand im Hof 106. Das en face dargestellte Gesicht zeigt, wie im Raum 132, eine breite Nase, dicke Lippen und einen Bart. Schließlich zeigt ein weiteres Fragment, auf Abb. 5 abgebildet, ein ebenfalls en face wiedergegebenes Gesicht, das trotz etwas breiteren Schnurrbarts vergleichbar ist. Wie Fragment Nr. 62, stammt es aus den hohen Registern im Hof 106, diesmal von der Südwand. Eine Einheit ergibt sich ebenfalls im Maß (Abb. 6).

Leider bieten Abb. 4 und 5 kaum einen sicheren Bildkontext. Polygonal angeordnete Striche befinden sich über dem Gesicht Abb. 5. Dieses Muster findet sich auf einigen Fragmenten, von denen wir dank der farbigen Abbildung sehen, dass dieses Muster rot-braun war (Parrot 1958: 33-34 Nr. 27 und Pl. C). Sie stammen aus der Ecke zwischen der Südwand und der Ostwand.

Als Yasmah-Addu (1792-1775) die hohen Register im Hof 106 bemalen ließ, gab es bereits die kaum ältere „Investiturszene“ an der Südwand. Zur Südwand gehören auch der königliche Opferzug („scène sacrificielle“), das Fragment Nr. 9 (Abb. 5), sowie Fragmente von neben Wasser und Erde laufenden Männern (Parrot 1958: 24 und 27 für Nr. 3, S. 31-33 für Nr. 26+35). Wenn man annimmt, dass das Fragment Nr. 27 auch dazu gehört, dann würde eine Interpretation des Musters als Erde gut passen. Zu all diesen Stücken gesellt sich die Abbildung einer ^dLama, die als einführende und schützende Göttin die Deutung des Gesichtsfragments als Lahmu ergänzt und unterstützt (<http://archeologie.culture.fr/mari/fr.Muller/Piver>: in Druck). Alles in allem, scheinen die Bilder an der Südwand, den politischen Aspekt und

damit verbunden, den religiösen und schutzbedürftigen Aspekt des Königs als Inhalt zu haben. Anders auf der Westwand (Abb. 4), auf der einige Fragmente eine Kriegsszene vermuten lassen, ohne jedoch ein eindeutiges Bild zu ermöglichen.



Abb. 6: Ausschnitt aus Abb. 1, Abb. 4 und 5, im gleichen Maßstab

Während diese zwei Gesichter das „Monster“ im Raum 132 nicht mehr als einzigartig erscheinen lassen, bleibt die Gesamtdeutung des Bildes jedoch weiterhin rätselhaft. Der schwarze Hintergrund mit den hellen Kreisen wird allgemein mangels besseren Wissens als „Sternenhimmel“ angesehen. Aus dieser Interpretation abgeleitet, hielt A. Parrot in einem ersten Aufsatz dieses schwarze Wesen für den von Marduk eingesetzten Himmelswächter (Parrot 1958: 78-79). In der Endpublikation neigte er dazu, den Sonnengott, der im Morgengrauen die Nacht erobert, zu sehen (Parrot 1958: 81). Auch als Laḫmu rekonstruiert, ließen sich seine kosmischen Funktionen ausreichend belegen (Wiggerman 1992: 156 und 1993-1997: 229-230). Im Göttertypentext „umklammert er den Himmel“ (Köcher 1953: 77, IV, 56). Der sechslockige Held ist ein häufiges Motiv in der altsyrischen und altbabylonischen Glyptik und erscheint dort vielfach in Verbindung mit Wasser (Otto 1990: 242-243). Diese Nähe wäre mit dem welligen Streifen und einer möglicherweise unweit stehenden Vase, aus der Wasser fließt, im Raum 132 vorhanden.

Das Bild bliebe auch rätselhaft, wenn man im „Sternenhimmel“ Berge sehen möchte. Berge werden oft durch Kreise wiedergegeben. Beispiele finden wir auf Rollsiegeln (Otto 1990: Nr. 331; Wiggermann 1993-1997: 246) oder viel später über einem männlichen Kopf auf einer glasierten Platte aus der Zeit Tukulti Ninurtas II. (Czichon, 1992: 166-167). Am anderen Registerende steht der Stier auf Bergen.

Jedoch, ob Sternenhimmel, Gebirge oder ein weiteres Element, Wesen wie der Laḫmu *bändig*en oder *halten fest* Wesen oder Gegenstände. Dieses Bändigende und Festhalten verliehen Laḫmu positive Kraft, die im Raum 132, einer Ištar-Kapelle mit der Abbildung des Königs, und auf den politisch-religiösen Wandmalereien im Hof 106 ganz besonders wichtig war.

Anmerkungen

1. Somit überlappen sich völlig unabhängig voneinander mein und F. A. M. Wiggermanns Ergebnis (1981-1982, 103).
2. Auf mittellassyrischen Siegeln des 14. Jhs., Matthews 1990, Nr. 287 und 290.
3. Blocher 1992, Nr. 217, 320; Colbow 1996, 44 Nr. 6 (allein); Nunn 1997, Tf. Nr. 1; Otto 2000, Nr. 81, 422.
4. Blocher 1992; Colbow 1996; Nunn 1997; Otto 2000; Matthews 1990, Nr. 286 (14. Jh.). Opificius 1961, 123-125, Nr. 426-434.

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Astrid NUNN <astrid.nunn@uni-wuerzburg.de>

18) En marge d'Archibab, 32 : du nouveau sur la famille royale de Larsa du temps de Rim-Sin I — Parmi les richesses des textes de TMH 10, on relève plusieurs documents qui complètent notre connaissance de la famille royale de Larsa du temps de Rim-Sin.

On notera d'abord deux nouvelles attestations d'une princesse qui était prêtresse du dieu Adad, aux n^{os} 174 : 2 (DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL seulement) et 175 : 2 (NIN.DINGIR ^dIŠKUR DUMU.MUNUS LUGAL)¹⁾. Les textes ne sont pas datés, mais leur rattachement aux archives de ce que A. Goddeeris a appelé « central redistributive household » permet de les situer dans la deuxième moitié du règne de Rim-Sin. Cette prêtresse reste jusqu'à présent anonyme.

Le n^o 101 nous apprend pour la première fois l'existence d'un fils de Rim-Sin nommé Kalum-Šamaš : deux individus vont trouver Kalum-Šamaš, le fils du roi (l. 2 et 6 : ^lka-lu-um-^dUTU DUMU LUGAL), pour se plaindre que Šilli-Ninurta fils de Šamaš-gamil s'est emparé de leur servante Ištar-ummi. Le texte date de l'an 57 de Rim-Sin. Il est intéressant de le comparer à VS 18 1, où un certain Nergal-rim-ili, également qualifié de « fils du roi » (l. 54 : ^ldNĒ.ERI₁₁.GAL-ri-im-ì-lí DUMU LUGAL), intervient dans une affaire liée à un divorce : ce texte est antérieur de deux ans à TMH 10 101, puisqu'il date de l'an 55 de Rim-Sin. Il est intéressant de voir que les deux fils de Rim-Sin qui nous sont connus portent des noms théophores de Šamaš et de Nergal, ce qui renvoie aux deux villes principales du royaume, Larsa et Maškan-šapir²⁾. On constate par ailleurs qu'à la fin de son règne, le vieux Rim-Sin se fit aider, non seulement par son frère Sin-muballit (qui résidait à Maškan-šapir comme nous l'ont appris ARM 26/2 362 et 385), mais également par ses fils : l'un d'eux intervint à Larsa (VS 18 1), l'autre à Nippur (TMH 10 101). Nous ignorons comment la succession de Rim-Sin avait éventuellement été préparée, mais la question ne se pose finalement pas, en raison de la victoire de Hammu-rabi³⁾.

Un autre texte de TMH 10 mérite de retenir l'attention. Il s'agit du n^o 126, daté de l'an 30 de Rim-Sin. Ce document appartient également au dossier de ce que A. Goddeeris a appelé « central redistributive household » ; deux individus y sont attribués en don A.RU.A. Tout d'abord, un certain Annum-pi-Sin est donné par le roi Rim-Sin (l. 2 : A.RU.A ^dri-im-^dEN.ZU / LUGAL). C'est ensuite un dénommé Ibbi-Enlil qui est donné par Simat-Ištar (l. 5 : A.RU.A si-ma-at-iš₈-tár). L'éditrice a indiqué : « Probably the same person as Šimat-Ištar in text n^o 171, l. 2 and 172, l. 6, written with an archaic orthography? » (t. 1, p. 220). Cette Šimat-Ištar reçoit dans ces deux textes du grain pour l'alimentation de bœufs. Dans TMH 10 126, Simat-Ištar était en réalité l'une des épouses de Rim-Sin ; elle était jusqu'à présent connue par deux dédicaces du temple de Belet-ekallim (RIME 4, p. 293 n^o 16 et p. 295 n^o 17). On connaît deux autres épouses de Rim-Sin : Rim-Sin-Šala-baštašu et Beltani (cf. OBO 160/4, p. 251). Le présent texte donne à penser que Simat-Ištar était l'épouse principale de Rim-Sin, au moins au moment où TMH 10 126 fut rédigé. Par ailleurs, la date de ce texte mérite qu'on s'y arrête : on est en effet l'année même de la prise d'Isin. Certes, Nippur n'avait pas attendu ce moment pour se rallier définitivement à Rim-Sin : ce fut fait dès l'année 21 du roi, au lendemain de la prise d'Uruk⁴⁾. Il me paraît cependant vraisemblable que ces dons A.RU.A sont liés à l'événement majeur que représente la chute d'Isin ; on sait en effet que les personnes offertes en A.RU.A sont souvent des prisonniers de guerre⁵⁾. Il est intéressant de voir qu'un temple, et peut-être deux, bénéficia des largesses du couple royal, comme s'il lui fallait se concilier les dieux de Nippur après que leur ville fut définitivement passée sous la coupe de Larsa⁶⁾.

Notes

1. A. Goddeeris a justement rapproché TMH 10 175 de CBS 7435, où figure « the allocation of 1 bariga of grain to Ishkur-eshtar, identified as lú nin-dingir ^diškur dumu-munus lugal » (J. ROBERTSON, CRRAI 35, 1992, p. 184 n. 26). Elle a en revanche eu tort de qualifier TMH 10 175 de « list of miscellaneous barley expenditures », traduisant l. 5 *i-di-in* par « he has given », alors qu'on a affaire à un mandement (*letter-order*), comportant avant la date l'impératif « donne ! ».

2. Voir déjà les remarques de M. Stol sur les noms Rim-Sin-Šamaš-lamassašu et Rim-Sin-Nergal-lamassašu dans *SEL* 8, 1991, p. 209 et n. 182. Comme me l'indique B. Fiette, la référence à Nergal-rim-ili est à ajouter aux considérations très justes de P. STEINKELLER, « A History of Mashkan-shapir and Its Role in the Kingdom of Larsa », dans E. C. STONE & P. ZIMANSKY (éd.), *The Anatomy of a Mesopotamian City: Survey and Soundings at Mashkan-shapir*, Winona Lake, 2004, p. 26-42, spéc. p. 32 n. 23.

3. Il me semble difficile de tirer des conclusions du sens des noms de ces deux princes pour tenter de déterminer qui serait l'aîné : Nergal-rim-ili (« Nergal est le taureau sauvage des dieux »), plutôt que Kalum-Šamaš (« Agneau de Šamaš »).

4. Cf. S. J. LIEBERMAN, « The Years of Damiqilishu, King of Isin », *RA* 76, 1982, p. 97-119, spéc. p. 110.

5. Pour le III^e millénaire, voir l'article classique de I. J. GELB, « The Arua Institution », *RA* 66, 1972, p. 1-32. Pour des prisonniers offerts par Zimri-Lim à des divinités ou des personnes (avec le terme *šûlûtum*), cf. D. CHARPIN, « Les inscriptions royales suméro-akkadiennes d'époque paléo-babylonienne », *RA* 100, 2006, p. 131-160, spéc. p. 151 n. 74.

6. Le bénéficiaire du don de Simat-Ištar figure l. 6 : la lecture É DAM[?] ^dEN.LÍL.LÁ.ŠÈ, traduite « the house of the wife (?) of Enlil » et commentée « The temple of Ninlil? » n'emporte guère la conviction. B. Fiette me suggère la lecture beaucoup plus plausible É.SIKIL, qui est une chapelle de l'Ékur de Nippur (cf. A. GEORGE, *House Most High. The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia*, MC 5, Winona Lake, 1993, p. 141 n° 988). J'ajoute qu'on retrouve la mention É.SIKIL ^dEN.LÍL.LÁ en TMH 10 197 : 9 et aussi, comme le signale A. Goddeeris, en CBS 7075 : 23 [VAN LERBERGHE, *Mél. Finet*, p. 179]. Le bénéficiaire du don de Rim-Sin figure l. 3 : É Ì.SUR.RA.ŠÈ, ce que l'éditrice comprend comme « the house of the oil-presser ». On attendrait plutôt un nom de temple (cf. é-an-ta-sur-ra ou é-ša-sur-ra) ; il ne semble pas encore connu, mais le parallèle avec é-sikil tend à confirmer l'idée que é-ì-sur-ra serait également un nom de chapelle.

Dominique CHARPIN

19) En marge d'ÉcritUr, 4* : Rim-Sin II, roi d'Ur ? — Le nom d'année « Rin-Sin II a » est ainsi formulé : MU ^dri-im-^dEN.ZU LUGAL / ŠEŠ.UNU^{ki}.MA É.MUD.KUR.RA.KE₄ / KI.EDIN.ŠÈ BÍ.IN.GAR.RA. Sa traduction et son interprétation ont été laborieuses et doivent être en partie corrigées.

C'est M. Stol qui a reconnu dans la séquence É.MUD.KUR.RA.KE₄ une des façons de désigner l'Ekišnugal. Il indiquait : « I do not understand this year name. Probably it says that Rīm-Sin II founded (gar) the temple Emudkurak to/as... (KI.EDEN). (...) The year name refers to some activity of the king in Ur or near Ur »¹⁾.

M. Van De Mierop a compris la séquence LUGAL ŠEŠ.UNU^{ki}.MA comme « king of Ur »²⁾. Au même moment D. Frayne est allé plus loin, en traduisant : « The year Rīm-Sîn, king of Ur, laid (the foundations) (ki...gar) of (the temple) E-mud-kura at Edina »³⁾. Il comprenait que Rim-Sin II avait construit un temple du dieu Sin dans la ville d'Edina, connue plus fréquemment sous la forme Udinim (EZENxSIG₇^{ki})⁴⁾. Le problème est que KI.EDIN.ŠÈ serait une façon très étrange de noter un toponyme. Par ailleurs, M. Van De Mierop et D. Frayne ont sans doute eu tort de considérer que Rim-Sin II se définissait comme « roi d'Ur »⁵⁾. « Roi d'Ur » devrait être noté avec une marque de génitif suivie d'un ergatif (LUGAL.ŠEŠ.UNU^{ki}.MA.KE₄). En outre, je ne connais pas d'exemple où le nom d'un souverain serait dans un nom d'année suivi par la mention « roi de » et le nom de sa capitale⁶⁾. Il s'agit donc plutôt d'un locatif : « à Ur ». Si l'on ajoute que cette formule ne se trouve que sur des textes découverts à Ur, il vaut mieux comprendre avec M. Stol que le nom d'année célèbre une activité de construction de Rim-Sin II dans l'Ekišnugal à Ur. Cependant, aucune inscription commémorative n'a jusqu'à présent été retrouvée sur place, qui permettrait de mieux comprendre de quoi il s'agit.

Notes

* Cette note a été rédigée dans le cadre du projet ANR « ÉcritUr ». Sa substance a été exposée au Collège de France lors de mon cours du 20 juin 2018 (<https://www.college-de-france.fr/site/dominique-charpin/course-2018-06-20-15h30.htm> [placer le curseur à 20']).

1. M. STOL, *Studies in Old Babylonian History*, PIHANS 40, Istanbul, 1976, p. 54-55.
2. M. VAN DE MIEROOP, *Society and Enterprise in Old Babylonian Ur*, BBVO 12, Berlin, 1992, p. 68.
3. D. R. FRAYNE, *The Early Dynastic List of Geographical Names*, AOS 74, New Haven, 1992, p. 33.
4. Noter ARM 27 161 : (33) L[Ú.ME]Š su-tu-ú ki-i 50 LÚ.MEŠ iš-tu ú-da-nim^{ki} (34) 3 bi-ri a-d[i] la-ar-sa^{ki} us-šú-nim-ma « Des Sutéens, au nombre d'environ 50 hommes, partaient d'Udânum et (parcouraient) 3 doubles-lieux jusqu'à Larsa ». M. Birot avait noté : « La ville d'Udânum ne m'est pas connue, mais est peut-être à rapprocher d'Udinum, qui pourrait être la lecture de EZENxSIG₇, localité citée dans plusieurs textes d'Ur : RGTC 2, 49 » (ARM 27, p. 272 note m).
5. Ils ont été suivis par D. CHARPIN (OBO 160/4, 204, p. 338 et n. 1762), R. PIENKA-HINZ (« Rîm-Sîn I und II », RIA 11, Berlin/New York, 2006-8, p. 367-371 [p. 371a]) et H. VEDELER (H. T. VEDELER, « The Ideology of Rim-Sin II of Larsa », *JANEH* 2, 2015, p. 1-18 [p. 7]).
6. Le seul exemple approchant est MU ^diš-bi-ir-ra LUGAL MA.DA.NA.KE₄ BÂD GAL i-ti-il-pá-šu-nu MU.DÛ « Année où Išbi-Irra, le roi de son pays, a bâti la grand muraille (nommée) Itil-pašunu » (M. SIGRIST, IAPAS 2, p. 14). On observe bien dans ce cas la séquence génitif + ergatif.

Dominique CHARPIN

20) En marge d'ÉcritUr, 5 : une tablette divinatoire au no 7 Quiet Street* — Dans son récent ouvrage sur *Le Devin historien en Mésopotamie*, J.-J. Glassner, faisant le point sur les textes divinatoires découverts dans divers sites d'époque paléo-babylonienne, indique : « À Ur, deux bibliothèques, sises respectivement au no 7, Quiet Street, et au no 1, Broad Street, contenaient des copies d'inscriptions royales des époques d'Akkadé, d'Ur, d'Isin et de Larsa, une liste de noms d'années, deux chroniques, des hymnes royaux, des fragments de correspondance et des textes littéraires à résonance historique comme la *Malédiction d'Akkadé*. Ce n'est que dans la seconde que se trouvait une tablette divinatoire isolée et consacrée à l'excroissance »¹⁾. Et il précise en note : « Ur : U. Jeyes, *OBE*, no 10 ; D. Charpin, *Le Clergé d'Ur au siècle d'Hammurabi*, Droz, Genève, 1986, p. 425-427, 450-459, qui ignore la présence de la tablette divinatoire » (p. 425 n. 5). Surpris d'un tel oubli, qui n'avait été à l'époque relevé par aucun recenseur, je m'aperçois alors que le livre d'U. Jeyes *OBE* a été publié en... 1989, soit trois ans après la parution du *Clergé d'Ur*. Soulagé par ce constat, je décide néanmoins d'y regarder de plus près. Le texte n° 10 du livre de U. Jeyes est ainsi présenté dans son recueil : « No. 10 U 443 (7752)+U 7759. Compendium *šibtum* », mais sans indication archéologique plus précise²⁾. Or ces numéros d'inventaire renvoient, non pas à la « seconde bibliothèque », celle du n° 1 Broad Street (site AH), comme l'indique J.-J. Glassner, mais à la maison n° 7 Quiet Street (site EM). Et l'on me permettra de relever qu'ils avaient été dûment enregistrés dans *Le Clergé d'Ur* p. 37 :

- « U.7752 La fiche de chantier indique : “Tablet, large fragment”. Actuellement introuvable au BM » ;
- « U.7759 Même fiche de chantier que U.7758, avec mention : “U.7759 perhaps belongs ? ? ” ».

Je suppose que si le fragment U.7752 était introuvable au British Museum lorsque je travaillais à mon livre, c'est sans doute qu'il avait été mis de côté à l'intention d'U. Jeyes, qui préparait alors le sien...

Quoi qu'il en soit, il est fort intéressant de noter que les *abriqqum* qui demeuraient au n° 7 Quiet Street conservaient chez eux également une tablette divinatoire : la copie d'un texte de ce genre faisait manifestement partie de la formation de futurs purificateurs, dans un monde où les spécialisations étaient moins étroites qu'on ne l'a parfois cru. U. Jeyes avait noté : « The Ur tablet, no. 10, displays an orthography which is typical of southern tradition. It is written in the younger cursive, mimation and the initial “w” are preserved and ideographic writings are rare. A dating to Hammurapi or earlier seems likely » (p. 6). La prise en compte du contexte archéologique permet de confirmer cette analyse : il est en effet vraisemblable que la tablette fut écrite pendant le règne de Rim-Sin I, comme vraisemblablement la majorité des textes « littéraires et religieux » découverts au n° 7 Quiet Street³⁾.

Notes

* Cette note a été rédigée dans le cadre du projet ANR « ÉcritUr ».

1. J.-J. GLASSNER, *Le Devin historien en Mésopotamie*, AMD 16, Leyde/Boston, 2019, p. 424.

2. U. JEYES, *Old Babylonian Extispicy. Omen Texts in the British Museum*, PIHANS 64, Leyde, 1989, p. 3. J'avoue ne pas comprendre l'indication « U 443 », car selon UrOnline, U.443 est un fragment de tablette de comptabilité découvert lors de la 1^{re} campagne dans le Ganunmah (http://www.ur-online.org/media_item/240624/).

L'indication « large fragment » pour U.7752 permet de comprendre que le petit fragment qui contient les lignes 1-6 est U.7759, qui a été raccordé au grand fragment U.7752. La date et l'auteur du joint n'ont pas été indiqués.

3. Pour cette question, voir *Le Clergé d'Ur*, p. 432-433 et en dernier lieu D. CHARPIN, « Se faire un nom : la louange du roi, la divinisation royale et la quête de l'immortalité en Mésopotamie », *RA* 102, 2008, p. 149-180 (p. 151).

Dominique CHARPIN

21) Updating the list of Late OB Babylonian fortresses — By the Late Old Babylonian period (i.e., post-Samsuiluna), the state's fortresses outnumbered its cities at least seven to one. In 2005, I identified at least 13 fortress communities which were staffed and in active use during the Late OB; by now, we can count at least 28, and perhaps as many as 43.

The 2005 list of 13 fortresses included Kullizu, Bāšum, “the Tigris fort,” Dūr-Šamaš, two forts named Dūr-Ammititana (one on the Silakkum canal, the other on the Me-Enlil canal), Dūr-Iškun-Marduk, Dūr-Amišaduqa, Ḥaradum, Ḥiritum, Dūr-Sumu-la-El, Dūr-Apil-Sîn, and Dūr-Sîn-muballit (see Richardson 2005: 286–87 for discussion). All 13 either bore the name of a fortification (*dūru*), or were called *birtu*, *dunnu*, or *dimtu* by some source –fortified farmsteads, towers, or fortresses of some kind– and for many of them there was corollary evidence for their staffing by soldiers in the Late OB specifically.

We can add to this list another four fortresses from evidence I previously overlooked. The first three are Dūr-Nabium from BE 6/1 83 (Ad 31), and Dūr-Hammurabi and Dūr-Maškan (probably to be identified with Maškan-šāpir; see CUSAS 29 p. 4) from OLA 21 8 (Ad 7). The fourth is Luḥaya, which was rebuilt or expanded by Abi-ešuḥ and celebrated in his year-name “v.” The place is better known as a royal residence from as early as the reign of Ḥammurabi (Horsnell 1999: 260 n. 92), but it was identified as a fortified town, Dūr-Luḥaya, in a text dated to Samsu-iluna's first year (YOS 12 26:38). The place was occupied at least into the reign of Ammititana (see Pientka 1998: 221).

We can now identify another 11 fortresses under the control of the Babylonian Crown and active in the 17th century BC from newly-published texts in CUSAS 8 and 29: two separate forts named Dūr-Abi-ešuḥ (see esp. CUSAS 29 27), Dūr-Sîn-iddinam (CUSAS 8 80), Dūr-ilim (CUSAS 8 7, 21, 52), Dūr-šarrim (CUSAS 29 67), Bagan(n)a (CUSAS 29 39), Nukar (CUSAS 29 40, 71), Dūr-Akšak-iddinam (CUSAS 29 35 and 189), Kār-Nabium (CUSAS 29 2), the “fortress of Nippur” (*birti en.lil^{ki}*, CUSAS 29 1), and the “Fortress of the Mount of Eana” (*birti du₆-é-an-na*, CUSAS 29 18). This brings the confirmed list of fortresses active in the Late OB to at least 28.

Another 15 places might also belong on the list, though it is not possible to prove on present evidence (again see Richardson 2005: 287). Six of these have clear links to military staff or activity, but are not identified anywhere to my knowledge as fortresses: Šupur-Šubula, Šarrum-laba, Dimat-Šarrim, Dunne-sā'idi, Iškun-Ištar (perhaps but not necessarily identical to the toponym Dūr-Iškun-Ištar), and Dimat-Enlil. Conversely, nine or more places clearly identified as fortresses of the earlier First Dynasty state cannot be identified as occupied or in use during 17th century BC, including Dūr-Samsuiluna, Širamah, Pada, Lagaba, Iabušum, Gulaba, Uši-ana-Erra, and “various fortresses of the land Warūm” (RIME 4 3.7.8:50–51: bād-didli-ma-da GN).

Against these 28 or more fortresses, the Babylonian state comprised only the four cities Babylon, Sippar, Dilbat, and Kiš –a smaller urban component than it had had since the 19th century. Although the staffing and/or settlement of the Babylonian fortresses probably entailed relatively few men, probably not much more than a hundred each at a time, the disparity of numbers only continues to suggest that at least the *modality* of fortress settlement, as way of life and demographic norm, may have affected the political character of the Babylonian state and its kingship in the 17th century BC.

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Seth RICHARDSON, University of Chicago <seth1@uchicago.edu>

22) The Kings of Mittani in Light of the New Evidence from Terqa — The archaeological investigation of the Late Bronze Age Middle Euphrates and Lower Habur regions around Terqa has yielded interesting information about the history of the area and of Mesopotamia as a whole (I follow Charpin in avoiding the use of any potentially misleading name for the local kingdom). While the record is incomplete and new findings have been reported usually in no more than summary fashion, enough information has appeared to demonstrate that the region was part of the hegemonic kingdom of Mittani during the 15th century BC, with the names of three Mittanian monarchs appearing in local documents. More specifically, the name of the local ruler Qīš-Addu is associated with those of Pa-ra-tar-na or Pa-ri-tar-na (TQ 12 T9, T10, T15, and T16), Sa-i-tar-na (TQ 12 T19), and Sa-u-sa-da-at-ra (TQ 12 T6 and T12) (ROUAULT 2004: 56-57, updating ROUAULT 1992; CHARPIN 2002: 78 n. 121). It is generally accepted that these names are renditions of the attested Mittanian royal names Parattarna, Šuttarna, and Sauštatar (ROUAULT 2004; de MARTINO 2004: 37; YAMADA 2011: 61; PODANY 2014: 53-54; von DASSOW 2014: 18-19 n. 22).

While the general inference is the contemporaneity of Qīš-Addu with three Mittanian kings, Amanda Podany has been able to infer something more, which allows us to arrive at even more definitive conclusions. Working with the published image of TQ12 T6 (GUALANDI 1998) and the testimony of the original discussion (ROUAULT 1992: 254), she determined that in this specific document Qīš-Addu is termed merely governor (*šakkanakku*), under his king (?) and father (?) Sinia; Qīš-Addu's apparent accession as king, as he is attested in the other documents, would have followed sometime later (PODANY 2014: 63-67). This fact is key, because it anchors Sausadatra (Sauštatar), also attested in TQ12 T6, as an earlier Mittanian contemporary of Qīš-Addu than Parattarna and Sa'itarna (Šuttarna?).

Although we cannot yet be certain of the relative order of Parattarna and Sa'itarna, the fact that Sauštatar preceded them allows us to compare and integrate this information into the known sequence of Mittanian monarchs. At its most basic and least controversial, this runs: Kirta–Šuttarna I–?Parattarna I–?Parsatatar–Sauštatar–?Artatama I–Šuttarna II–Artašumara and Tušratta (MAIDMAN 2017: 19-20). Circumstantial considerations have led some scholars to postulate an additional Parattarna II after Sauštatar (WILHELM 1976; STEIN 1989; FREU 2003: 45) and a Sauštatar I before Parsatatar, to be distinguished from the latter's son Sauštatar II (FREU 2003: 65-70), although these postulations are not universally accepted as fact (see the sober assessment of MAIDMAN 2017: 22 and 27 n. 23). But the Terqa evidence indicates that Sauštatar was succeeded (in whatever order) by Parattarna and Sa'itarna, still within the reign of Qīš-Addu (documents TQ12 T12, T9, T10, T15, T16, and T19). This and other considerations imply that they must have reigned between Sauštatar and Artatama I.

One result of this outcome is to confirm the already postulated existence of Parattarna II as a successor of Sauštatar. Hitherto this was based on the more or less contemporary attestations of the death of a king Parattarna and the use of the seal of "Sauštatar son of Parsatatar" (whether by Sauštatar or one of his successors) in documents from Nuzi, which seemed to preclude or problematize the possibility that such a short span of time could have included the death of Parattarna I, the unattested reign of Parsatatar, and the rule of Sauštatar or, even worse, of one of his heirs. As shown by Maidman, that reasoning did not absolutely necessitate the postulation of a Parattarna II. However, the evidence from Terqa does: Parattarna I was a contemporary of Idrimi of Alalah; Sauštatar was a contemporary of Idrimi's son Niqmepa and of governor, later king, Qīš-Addu; Parattarna II was a later contemporary of king Qīš-Addu. Thus, the Parattarna attested in the Terqa documents cannot be identified with Parattarna I (as suggested by YAMADA 2011: 61; it is also unnecessary to postulate two Sauštatars with FREU 2003 and YAMADA 2011).

Another result of the above conclusion is that a hitherto unknown additional king named Sa'itarna (either a new name or a rendition of the familiar name Šuttarna) also reigned between Sauštatar and Artatama I. Even if his name were a rendition of Šuttarna (possible but note the caution of de MARTINO 2014: 69 and MAIDMAN 2017: 16), Sa'itarna cannot be identified with any known king of that name. With Sauštatar clearly attested as a successor of Šuttarna I (whose seal he used on Alalah documents AT 13 and 14: WILHELM 1989: 28) and as the first Mittanian contemporary of Qīš-Addu, Sa'itarna cannot be identified with Šuttarna I (contra YAMADA 2011: 61). With Šuttarna II being the son of Artatama I and the father of Tušratta, Sa'itarna cannot be identified with Šuttarna II. Sa'itarna was therefore a distinct king. Since he

appears in only one Terqa text so far, unless we assume an ephemeral reign, we might tentatively place him near the end of Qiš-Addu's reign, i.e., as a successor of Parattarna II.

If the name Sa'itarna really is a rendition of Šuttarna, we might obtain a very neat papponymy sequence: Sa'itarna/Šuttarna-?Artatama I-Šuttarna II-?Artatama II-Šuttarna III. However, given the uncertainty in interpreting the name, it seems best to continue using the spelling from the Terqa document (TQ12 T19), rather than prematurely renumbering the later kings named Šuttarna. Whether Sa'itarna or Šuttarna, the name type is generally agreed to be of Indo-European origin, like Artatama (*rtádhāman*, “having law as his abode”), Artašumara (**rtásmāra*, “mindful of law”), and Tušratta (*tvešárattha*, “having a rushing chariot”) (HESS 1993: 38-39, 161-162; PARPOLA 2015: 88); note also the recent interpretations of Kirta (**krta*, “famed”), Parsatatar (**prasthātar*, “front-standing chariot warrior”), Sauštatar (**savyasthātar*, “left-standing chariot warrior”), and Šattiwaza (**sātavāja*, “handsome prize/strength”) (PARPOLA 2015: 88-89). Unfortunately, there is not yet any generally agreed specific etymology for names of the type Parattarna, Šuttarna (HESS 1993: 149-150), and the possibly distinct Sa'itarna. There might be possible connections between these names and Sanskrit elements like *para* (“excelling”), *bhāra* (“burden”), *su* (“good, well”), *śaya* (“sleeping”), *tarṇa/taruṇa* (“calf, youth”), *taraṇa* (“helping, carrying, crossing”), but these are simply educated guesses.

It would make sense to review the relative chronology of the resulting sequence of Mittanian monarchs, which is entirely dependent on chronological synchronisms with foreign rulers. The evidence from Terqa has been used somewhat precipitately in discussions on the absolute chronology of the Ancient Near East (e.g., GUALANDI 1998; YAMADA 2011; PODANY 2014). Given the probably incomplete state of the record, the best we can do here is simply check for approximate compatibility with a chronological arrangement that appears to be sensible. While my reconstruction does not depend precisely on any specific chronology, I am currently inclined toward a Lowered Middle Chronology for Mesopotamia (fall of Babylon 1587 BC: de JONG and FOERTMEYER 2010; MANNING et al. 2016 and 2017) and a version of the Low Chronology for Egypt (Thutmose III from 1479 BC; Rameses II from 1279 BC: von BECKERATH 1997; KRAUSS 2015). In the listing below the (accession) dates are very approximate and the symbol “~” indicates known synchronisms between monarchs. Cf. de MARTINO 2004: 40.

- c.1570 Kirta (unclear if he reigned)
- c.1550 Šuttarna I (son)
- c.1520 Parattarna I (son?) ~ Idrimi of Alalah ~ Pilliya of Kizzuwatna ~ Zidanta II of Ḫatti
- c.1485 Parsatatar (son?)
- c.1465 Sauštatar (son) ~ Sinia, Qiš-Addu at Terqa; Tudḫaliya I of Ḫatti; Niqmepa of Alalah ~ Sunaššura of Kizzuwatna
- c.1435 Parattarna II (son?) ~ Qiš-Addu at Terqa
- c.1425 Sa'itarna (brother?) ~ Qiš-Addu at Terqa
- c.1400 Artatama I (son?) ~ Thutmose IV of Egypt 1397–1387
- c.1380 Šuttarna II (son) ~ Amenhotpe III of Egypt in 1378 (Yr 10)
- c.1360 Artašumara (son)
- c.1358 Tušratta (brother) ~ Amenhotpe III in 1355 (Yr 33), Aḫenaten of Egypt in 1348 (Yr 2); Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti
- c.1335 Artatama II (brother?) ~ Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti; Aššur-uballiṭ I of Assyria 1355–1319
- c.1330 Šuttarna III (son) ~ Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti; Aššur-uballiṭ I of Assyria 1355–1319
- c.1330 Šattiwaza (son of Tušratta) ~ Šuppiluliuma I of Ḫatti
- c.1305 Šattuara I (son?) ~ Adad-nērārī I of Assyria 1297–1265
- c.1285 Wasašatta (son) ~ Adad-nērārī I of Assyria 1297–1265
- c.1265 Šattuara II (son?) ~ Salmānu-ašarēd I of Assyria 1265–1235

The listing above generally assumes generations of 20–30 years, adjusted to fit any known synchronisms. Parattarna II and Sa'itarna are assumed to have been part of the same generation to fit more easily as contemporaries of Qiš-Addu after Sauštatar. Sauštatar and especially Parattarna I are assumed to have had relatively long reigns (although it is not necessary to infer more than 37 years for Parattarna I based on the Idrimi inscription). All this, excepting the explicit synchronisms (and even there the chronology is debatable) is largely conjecture, and the dates above could easily be shifted by a decade or

more as needed before c. 1400 BC. Equally conjectural are many of the chronological parameters that have been applied to history of Mittani and its dependencies. There appears to have been no Mittani (at least none reaching the Euphrates) when the Hittites marched on Babylon and back, but that does not necessarily affect the date of Kirta (who may have reigned elsewhere or not reigned at all). It is not yet possible to identify the culprit for the expulsion of Idrimi from his home city of Aleppo (Hittites, Mittanians, Egyptians, or internal trouble have all been proposed). Nevertheless, it would be reasonable to conclude that an Ultra-Low Chronology (fall of Babylon 1499 BC) is impossible (cf. MAIDMAN 2017: 25), and a traditional Low Chronology (fall of Babylon 1531 BC) perhaps unlikely.

The correlation of Egyptian aggression in Syria and the fortunes of Mittani is also unclear and cannot settle the chronology. Its high tides were in Year 2 of Thutmose I (c. 1493 BC, if not a decade earlier), Year 33 of Thutmose III (c. 1447 BC), and Year 3 of Amenhotep II (c. 1425 BC). It has been argued that the apparently powerful kings Parattarna I and Sauštatar must be placed so as to avoid these periods of presumed setbacks (FREU 2003: 38 Parattarna I before Thutmose I; 50 Sauštatar “I” before Thutmose III; 63, 65-70). But none of the relevant Egyptian texts name the contemporary Mittanian rulers; while the campaigns likely impacted Mittanian vassals, it remains unclear whether there were direct clashes with Mittani. The application of the term Naḥarina (generally assumed to mean Mittani) to Upper Mesopotamia in these texts has been questioned, and it has been argued that the locations involved were in Israel, Lebanon, and southern Syria (VANDERSLEYEN 1995: 257-261, 294-307, 324-329, although he allows for a reference to Karkamiš –or some part of its territory– in a toponym list of Thutmose III). It has also been asserted that even at its height Mittani was so weak that we should not be surprised to find Egyptian incursions into its territory (WARBURTON 2001: 48-70).

Between the absence of evidence and the wide variation in interpretation, it does not seem realistic to insist upon a specific scenario in that early period, before c. 1400 BC. Suffice it to say that a power could assert itself between Zagros and the Mediterranean (Akkad, Assyria) without having to give up one end of its hegemony for another, a great king could have a bad day (Šamši-Adad I, Ḫammu-rāpi), or even lose his kingdom at the height of its power (Ibāl-pī-El II, Rīm-Sîn, Zimri-Līm, Croesus). If Egyptian and Hittite interventions in Syria did reach the Euphrates and overran the lands of Mittanian vassals, these were passing and probably fleeting occurrences, not necessitating a simplistic chronological implication to get suspected great kings like Parattarna I and Sauštatar out of harm’s way; but if they do, the chronological arrangement above is certainly general and approximate enough to allow it. Overall, we do not yet know enough about Mittani (or Terqa, or Alalah, or Nuzi) to settle the dilemmas of absolute chronology with precision. But what we do know appears to fit comfortably enough within an acceptable framework, even with the application of new evidence, like the present confirmation of a previously postulated king and the identification of a previously unknown one.

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Ian MLADJOV <imladjov@umich.edu>

23) Logographic writings of Hittite *šuppiyahḫ* — In *NABU* 2018/106, P. Taracha identified the correct reading of ZU-Uḫ-ḫi¹⁾ in KUB 58.5 obv. i 13' as KÛ-ah-ḫi. While the logographic writing of the verb *šuppiyahḫ*- is rare, it is not unique. KÛ-ah-ḫi also occurs in KUB 28.89 obv. i 11, a fragment of a festival pertaining to the cult of Nerik (see E. LAROCHE 1961: 43 and *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* 467 [3. *Ergänzungsheft*]). I was able to locate both of these attestations, including KUB 58.5, under KÛ in the lexical files of the *Hethitologie-Archiv* in Mainz. A further attestation of logographic *šuppiyahḫ*-, in the 3rd person plural present, might occur in another fragment pertaining to the cult of Nerik (either a festival or a cult inventory text),²⁾ KUB 53.21 rev. 8': URU³⁾ne-ri-ik-ka₄ li-la-an ku-wa-pí KÛ-an-zi “And (in) Nerik, whenever they purify the *lila*-.” Since *lilan* (possibly the name of a building or room)³⁾ is the accusative direct object, KÛ-an-zi can best be understood here as factitive *šuppiyahḫanzi*, although this is not entirely certain.⁴⁾ An additional alleged attestation of logographic *šuppiyahḫ*- in a fragment of the *ḫišuwa*- festival (VS NF 12.23 obv. 2')⁵⁾ should not be read as KÛ-ḫi, but must instead be emended to KÛ.SI₂₂⁶⁾.

The verbal substantive *šuppiyahḫuwar* is attested once in logographic writing in a cult inventory text, KBo 27.41: 4': [...]_x EZEN₄ KÛ-ah-ḫu- [...]. Although this line is quite fragmentary, it can most likely be restored as the name of a festival, since festival names commonly occur in the cult inventories. I thus propose a restoration as EZEN₄ **šuppiyahḫu*[waš ‘festival of purification’.⁷⁾ It is possible that the festival name also specified the object that was purified. Compare, for example, KUB 44.21 obv. ii 2-3: GI⁸⁾SAG.GAR.RA *šuppiyahḫuwaš* EZEN₄ ‘festival of purification of the altar’.

Three of the aforementioned texts (KUB 28.89+, KUB 53.21 and KBo 27.41) are paleographically dated as Late New Script,⁸⁾ while one text (KUB 58.5+) is a New Script copy of an older tablet (according to P. TARACHA 2018). Not surprisingly, this rare logographic writing of the verb *šuppiyahḫ*- is found precisely in later texts, two of which are cult inventories where one would particularly expect to find more efficient writing conventions.⁹⁾ Significantly, the usual conservative tendency that can be generally observed in copies of older festival texts was not followed by the scribe of KUB 58.5 when he chose the writing KÛ-ah-ḫi instead of syllabic *šu-up-pí-ia-ah-ḫi*.

Notes

1. Thus the reading by D. GRODDEK 2010: 96, where the small capitals of the transliteration indicate uncertainty as to whether the signs should be read logographically or phonetically. Contra M. WITT 2011: 178, who claimed that ZU Uḫ ḫi cannot be read as an Akkadogram, this exact string occurs in the erim.ḫuš lexical series (KBo 26.20 + KBo 13.1 obv. ii 33') in the Akkadian word *šú-uh-ḫu* ‘laughing’ (cf. CAD § 235) equivalent to Sumerian zu₉ and

Hittite *lahḫaršananza* (cf. HW² III H/1, 10 and T. SCHEUCHER 2012: 624–25). This reading, however, would not fit the context of KBo 54.134 obv. i 13’.

2. M. CAMMAROSANO 2013: 80–81, 89 claimed this text should be identified as a cult inventory.

3. This could refer to a building; cf. ^E*li-la-aš* (IBoT 2.23 rev. 3) attested in the fragmentary context of a festival description.

4. The Mainzer file card transliterates the verb as KÜ-*an-zi*. If, however, *lila-* is understood as ‘conciliation, pacification’, referring to a festival (a well-attested festival name in the cult inventory texts as pointed out to me by M. Cammarosano [personal communication]; cf. CHD L–N 57), then this would unlikely be the object of *šuppīyahḫanzi. Correspondingly, the verb would have to be emended either to (i)-*ia¹-an-zi* “they perform the conciliation (festival)” or possibly to SUM¹-*anzi* “they give²/provide for² a conciliation (festival)” (thus the alternative reading on a Mainzer file card for *lilan*).

5. I would like to thank Robert Marineau (personal communication) for bringing this text to my attention.

6. Thus D. GRODDEK et al. 2002: 45. This emendation corresponds to other attestations of gold or silver *lahanni*-vessels used in libation ceremonies (cf. CHD L–N 6), thus the sentence of VS NF 12.23 obv. 2’ ending with *šippanti* in obv. 3’, can be translated, “[...] with two *lahanni*- vessels of gold [...] (someone) libates beer-wine.”

7. Cf. SISKUR *šuppīyahḫuw[aš]* in Kp 15/07 lo. e. 2 (M. CAMMAROSANO 2018: 412–13) (pointed out to me by M. Cammarosano, personal communication).

8. KUB 28.89+, KUB 53.21 and KBo 27.41 are dated “sjh.” in S. Košak, *hethiter.net/:* *hetkonk* (v. 1.991).

9. On the orthographic peculiarities of cult inventory texts, see E. RIEKEN & M. CAMMAROSANO forthcoming, who established that—contrary to expectations—cult inventory texts do not always use the most economic orthographic conventions.

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Charles W. STEITLER <charles.steitler@adwmainz.de>
Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz

24) Stringing it all together — The various translations of the obscure Ugaritic word *rimt* (KTU 1.3 [RS 2.[014] +3.363 + 3.364] iii 4; KTU 1.7 [RS 5.180 + 5.198]:22; KTU 1.101 [RS 24.245]:17) include “coral(s)”, “beloved”, “instrument which accompanies singing”¹⁾ and even “Gegenstand der Liebe (Amulett)”²⁾. Instead of any of these, some years ago J. C. GREENFIELD (*apud* POPE 1977: 294) had “suggested (orally) that the word might be connected with *rim*, ‘bull’ or ‘buffalo,’ and compared Mesopotamian harps or lyres in the form of a bull’s head”³⁾. Later, WATSON (1983: 162) also translated “bull-headed harp” (cf. also WATSON 1994: 61) and WYATT (2002: 76 and n. 36) proposed “bull-shaped instrument”, both similarly referring to the form of the musical instrument, perhaps a harp (*// knr*, “lyre”), as in the famous Sumerian examples from Ur, on which see below⁴⁾. Support for this now comes from Akkadian, where *alû* means “bull of heaven” (CDA, 13b)⁵⁾ but can also mean “(small) lyre, harp”. KILMER (1995-1997: 465) had noted that “Some terms, like *alû* (á-lá) and *balaggu* (balag), seem to represent both stringed instruments and percussion instruments; we have tried to find a way round this confusion by understanding that the sound boxes of a *balaggu* “harp” or the *alû* instrument could have been drumable resonators and stringed instruments at the same time, and that eventually their names were associated with

the percussion instruments alone”. MIRELMAN (2007)⁶⁾ has also discussed the wider semantic field of Sumerian á-lá = Akkadian *alû*, but that discussion is really complementary to the present enquiry, since it dealt primarily with the use of the term to denote a kind of drum. As noted by SHEHATA (2017: 74): “der Terminus *alû(m)* scheint nicht ausschließlich die große Rahmentrommel bezeichnet zu haben. So lassen Belege aus Emesal-Texten vermuten, dass derselbe Terminus auch ein kleines, von einer Person zu tragendes Instrument meint”. She added: “Ausgehend von seiner Einordnung und Beschreibung [in the lexical lists] muss es sich bei diesem *alû(m)* um eine kleine Leier oder Harfe handeln” (*ibid.*, 74). The Ugaritic pair *rûm* and *rîmt* suggests an analogous formation as in Akkadian of *alû(m)*, “lyre” from *alû*, “bull”. This leaves us with the following comparative table (Table 1):

Mesopotamia	meaning	Ugarit
<i>alû</i>	bull	<i>rûm</i>
<i>alû(m)</i>	(bull-headed) lyre	<i>rîmt</i>

Table 1.

If the etymological link indicated here is tenable, we may reasonably ask why such a link should be made. What is significant about the relationship between the bull (originally specifically the aurochs) and the musical instrument? Was it a mere assonantal equivalence, or perhaps something more culturally significant? We shall suggest reasons here why the latter is the more likely answer.

Firstly, the material remains and iconographical references should be noted. Several stringed instruments (classified by various authorities as harps or lyres⁷⁾) were found in the excavations at Ur and other sites (see Table 2).

British Museum	British Museum	Iraq Museum	Penn State Museum
“Queen’s Lyre”	“Silver lyre” “Cow Lyre”	“Golden Lyre”, “Bull’s Lyre”	“Great Lyre”
WOOLLEY “harp” U 10412 (2nd frag in PG/1130) WOOLLEY plates 109-110	WOOLLEY “lyre” U 12354 WOOLLEY plate 111	WOOLLEY “lyre” U 12353 WOOLLEY plates 113-115, 117	WOOLLEY “lyre” U 10556
Tomb of Qn Shub-ad (now read Puabi)	Death pit of Tomb PG/1237	Death pit of Tomb PG/1237	Tomb of King
BM 121198, a	BM 121199	U 12353	BM 17694B/C
Other lyres:			
– Additional silver lyre: Puabi’s Tomb chamber B17065 (U 10916)			
– “Plaster Lyre” U 12351, Tomb PG/1151			
– “Boat Lyre” (with antlered stag) U 12355, Tomb PG/1237, WOOLLEY plate 112			
– “Copper Lyre” (bull’s head) U 12435 (Penn Mus.), PG/1332, WOOLLEY plates 116-117, 119			
– Vorderasiatische Mus. Berlin, V 3142 (unknown provenance)			
– Louvre, Paris AO 2676, from Telloh			
– Eski Şark Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul, EŞEM 1576, from Telloh			
– Example from Khafajeh (location?). FRANKFORT 1939 §184			

Table 2. Aurochs-Head Instruments from Ur (WOOLLEY 1934)

As Table 2 indicates, there was a remarkable concentration of instruments in the royal necropolis at Ur. Several examples survive of instruments with an elaborate aurochs head attached to the sounding box. The Pennsylvania example also has an inlaid panel below the bull’s head, showing among other things a donkey playing a bull-headed lyre, which is supported by what appears to be a bear. In addition, such instruments are illustrated twice on the Royal Standard from Ur (BM 121201).

Bull-lyres are also illustrated on the Gudea stela, and on a number of cylinder seals from scattered sites (e.g. RICE 1998: 95 fig. 8.3: a man with bull’s head plays an instrument on which the sounding box is an entire aurochs, Susa, ca 2700 [AMIET 1966: 161 fig. 115], 1980, §1765). See also the seal from Failaka Island, Bahrain (RICE 1994: 166, fig. 7.9, Kuwait Nat. Mus. 881 UK). VAN DIJK listed a number of further examples⁸⁾: from Fara (MARTIN 1988 catalogue numbers 529-531, VA 8629, VA 6665, VA 6598 and VA 6639; and AMIET 1980 §1201). From Nippur she noted AMIET 1980, §1704; from Khafaje, AMIET 1980,

§1200; and from Uruk, AMIET 1980, §1198. A seal impression from Ur depicts a harp being played by an equid on a seal impression found at Ur, see ZETTLER – HORNE (1998: 57). For a general survey see LAWERGEN 1997.

It is surely significant that all the Ur examples noted above come from funerary deposits. An online note on the Great Lyre from the Penn State Museum draws on this fact, observing that “The imagery used in the lyre represent significant parts of Early Mesopotamian funerary rituals. The bearded bull on the front represents the sun god Shamash, depicted in cuneiform texts as the golden bull with lapis lazuli beard. Shamash is the divine judge who shines light on all things. Only Shamash can descend into the underworld and emerge again at sunrise.”⁹⁾ And VAN DIJK interpreted the lower lapis lazuli scenes on the Great Lyre as showing a funerary feast. This reinforces the broader argument, as it not only chimes well with the concentration of all the Ur material in a funerary context, but also corresponds to the later well-known function of the Ugaritian goddess Shapsh as psychopomp: she descends into the underworld with the corpse of the deceased Niqmaddu IV in KTU 1.161:18-19, as well as cooperating with Anat in the recovery of Baal’s cadaver from the underworld and his later burial (KTU 1.6 i 14-18). However, we should not conclude that this was the exclusive context, since reference of the seals remains imponderable, and the *rîmt* instrument mentioned in the *Baal Cycle* (KTU 1.3 iii 4, cited in 1.7 R 22, and also occurring in 1.101:18) is not linked to a specifically funerary context, unless the pacification rite described, setting concord in the earth etc.¹⁰⁾ (KTU 1.1 i-ii [-1 to 4], ii 19-21, 1.3 iii 15-17, 1.3 iv 8-10, 22-25, {27-31}), be taken as broadly modelled on burial rites. But the emphasis on a chthonian dimension echoes the much older evidence of bull-symbolism, which D. LEWIS-WILLIAMS, in his analysis of Upper Palaeolithic religiosity, examined in the context of the imagery of the European parietal art, to be seen as reflecting shamanic practices and beliefs¹¹⁾.

A further possible symbolic dimension to the bull imagery noted here is suggested by the study of Palaeolithic and other early musical instruments. It has been suggested that instruments made from the remains of certain animals could harness the symbolic power of the animal in question, such as a vulture, a mammoth or an aurochs, and enable the instrument-player to identify in some mystical way with the animal and exercise *its* power¹²⁾. The same principle explains the widespread use of animal parts as clothing (particularly by cultic personnel such as shamans) for instance leopard, lion or tiger skins, deer antlers, bear claws and so on. The masks worn by Assyrian priests in the cult of the sacred tree (sc. of royal ancestors) are a good ancient Near Eastern example of the symbolic transfer believed to be operative.

Notes

1. WATSON 1996: 78.
2. For details see DUL, 712-713 and the survey in SMITH – PITARD 2009: 218-219.
3. For descriptions of such lyres see VAN DIJK 2013.
4. See also PARDEE 1988: 125, 151 and n.179. Rather more prosaically and surprisingly, KOITABASHI (1998: 374, 383) translated “cow-instrument”, where “cow” would refer to the sound box of the lyre.
5. On Hitt. *alu*, “sky bull”, see DARDANO 2018: 354. On bull-vocabulary and symbolism in general in the ancient Near East see WATANABE 2002: 57-68; WYATT – WYATT 2013.
6. Kindly brought to our attention by Nele Ziegler.
7. The feminine form *rîmt* ($\sqrt{rûm}$) denotes a stringed musical instrument, indicated by the parallelism in KTU 1.101:17 to be a *knr*, “lyre” (noted by WYATT 2019 in press).
8. VAN DIJK 2013: 10-11.
9. https://www.penn.museum/sites/iraq/?page_id=58.
10. See WATSON 2017a: 6.
11. LEWIS-WILLIAMS 2002: 132-135; discussed WYATT – WYATT 2013: 420.
12. S. WYATT 2016, *passim* (following VIVEIRO DE CASTRO 1998); WYATT – WYATT 2013: 423 n. 31. The practice may even have involved human remains, harnessing ancestral powers: S. WYATT 2009: 15-16.

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Wilfred G. E. WATSON <wge.watson@gmail.com>

Nicolas WYATT <niqmad3@gmail.com>

25) Wrapping up Ug. *prtł* — In a recent contribution to this bulletin (*NABU* 2018/105) it was proposed that Ug. *prtł* means “turban” or the like. In response (e-mail 14.03.2019), Professor Manfred Dietrich suggested an etymology for this word, namely Common Semitic **PTL/PTL*, “to wrap”, where in all the Semitic languages except for Ugaritic, the /t/ has been de-emphasised as /t/, probably due to the presence of //l¹⁾. This applies to Akk. *patālu(m)*, *petēlu(m)*, “drehen, wickeln” (AHw, 847a; cf. CDA, 270a; CAD P, 270-271); Aram. *ptl*, “to twist” (DSA II, 717b); Harari (*a*)*fätäla*, “(to) spin” (EDH, 65b); Jibb. *ftl*, “to roll a wick” (JH, 64), Arab. *fatala*, “he twisted it” (AEL, 2333) as well as Heb. *ptl*, “drehen, wickeln”, Heb. *pätıl*, “verschnürt; Faden” and Heb. *p^etaltol*, “verdreht, verschroben” (KAHAL, 466b). Cf. also Syr. *ptl*, “to twist” (DDVS, 26b; SL, 1268) and Mand. *ptula*, “wreath” (MD, 384b; cf. *PTL, ibid.* 385a). For *PTL* to be

the underlying root of Ug. *prtł*, the middle doubled consonant of the root (*tt*), probably as **/puṭṭulul/*, must have been dissimilated by an */r/*²). In fact, as an example of this very change, in the section on “Dissimilation von Geminaten” of his *Grundriss* (p. 245, §90 hh. A.f. ζ), BROCKELMANN mentioned Neo-Syriac *partel*, “drehen”, which (apart from the de-emphasis of */t/*) corresponds closely to Ug. *prtł*.

Notes

1. Another example is Ug. *pl̄t*, “to be safe”; D: “to save, rescue” (DUL, 662), Heb. *pl̄t*, “to escape”, pi. “to save” (HALOT, 930-931), Old Aram. *pl̄t*, pa. “to deliver, save” (DNWSI, 915), Syr. *pl̄t*, “to escape, flee”; pa. “to allow to escape” (SL, 1198-1199) but Arab. *falata*, *ʾaflata*, “to escape, get away” (AEL, 2435-2436), with non-emphatic */t/*; for the */p/ - /b/* interchange (Ug. *prtł* / Aram. *br̄tł*) see also Akk. *balātu*, “to live; D: bring back to life, revive etc.” (CDA, 36-37). For the interchange between */t/* and */l/* in Ugaritic personal names cf. TROPPEL UG, 98 §2.134 b. Anm. and *ibid.*, 97 §32.133.

2. As Manfred Dietrich proposed. Dissimilation by means of */r/* in long (geminated) consonants is well-known in Semitic; cf. LIPINSKI 2001, 183 §23.9 and for an example in Ugaritic cf. TROPPEL UG, 151 §33.122.2.

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Wilfred G. E. WATSON <w.g.e.watson@gmail.com>

26) The impression of an inscribed Middle Assyrian cylinder seal on a Late Babylonian cuneiform tablet — The cuneiform tablet TCL 13 182 (AO 6919) is a rental contract in dialogue form, dated 13/IV/2 Darius I = 13 July 520 BCE¹). The tablet measures 10.5 cm wide by 7.0 cm high. It was issued and sealed by Bēl-iddina *šatam E-ana*, son of Sîn-ēreš, and by two of his deputies, Nergal-šar-ušur *qīpu* and Bērīk-ʾEl *ša-rēš šarri, bēl-piqitti E-ana*. The tablet’s three seal impressions— Bēl-iddina’s on the upper edge, the remaining two on the lower, each captioned in cuneiform NA₄.KIŠIB PN— were first published by DELAPORTE 1923, p. 175; pl. 121, 1a–1b (A. 795). The two impressions on the lower edge were left by contemporary stamp seals (see now, EHRENBERG 1999, nos. 53 and 74) and need detain us no further. Bēl-iddina’s impression (Fig. 1), on the other hand, appears to have been produced by an heirloom, a centuries-old cuneiform-inscribed and figured cylinder seal. The seal, some 4.3 cm in circumference (*diam. 1.4 cm), was rolled through one-and-a-half rotations, more or less centered on the inscription. The impression is preserved to perhaps half its original height at 1.6 cm, with neither its upper nor lower edges evident. DELAPORTE (1923, p. 175), who did not remark on the seal’s antiquity, described it simply as depicting “[u]n archer diadémé bande son arc et s’apprête à tirer sur un bouquetin dressé, dont il est séparé par un arbre chargé de fruits”. The cuneiform seal inscription (Fig. 2), consisting of a personal name and patronym inscribed so as to be read in the impression in three horizontal, ever-briefer lines inserted in the space between the backs of the hunter and his prey, does not, however, name its user, Bēl-iddina, rather, it reads (following Delaporte, for the moment, in modern notation) ^dUTU-ŠEŠ-SUM-na A ^dPA-DA, “Šamaš-aḥa-iddina son of Nabû-lē’i” (*ibid.*).



Fig. 1. AUWE 18 no. 217 (author’s composite, 2:1).

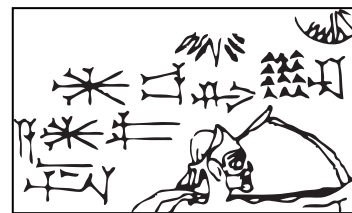


Fig. 2. Cuneiform hand copy (E. Ehrenberg).

MATTHEWS 1990, in his computer-aided comprehensive examination of Middle Assyrian seal styles, included a life-size line drawing of this impression (no. 312), identifying it as an example of the “Adad-nirari I style” of the ca. early thirteenth century BCE. He observed that a scene featuring a tree with a twisted trunk (and globular crown) on a hill marked by a scale pattern (here, not preserved) and a kneeling archer aiming at an animal (lower half of neither preserved) on the other side of the tree is one of the most characteristic scenes of this period (ibid., p. 95; cf. nos. 311, 313–14).

EHRENBERG 1999, as part of her study of the seal impressions on E-ana tablets in the Yale Babylonian Collection (AUWE 18), published a more detailed photograph and line-drawing revealing new iconographic details (pl. 28, no. 217). She particularly noted the “superb, highly modeled quality of the seal” (ibid., p. 39), citing by their publication sigla the same three examples for comparanda as had MATTHEWS (1990, p. 102): MOORTGAT 1942, figs. 16 and 17 from Aššur, the latter with the remains of two similar rayed field fillers as seen partially impressed here above the inscription, and fig. 18 (de Clercq no. 311). Not noted by previous commentators is the treatment of the hair held in place by a diadem, which is wider above the forehead, narrower above the ears, and tied in a knot behind the head with the loose ends pointing downward toward the drawn right hand. These features are closely paralleled by the (standing) archer on the cylinder seal BN 367 (= MATTHEWS 1990, no. 308), also in the “Adad-nirari I style”; in both cases the bowstring and arrow-shaft pass impossibly out of sight behind the hunter’s head while the hand drawing the bow is placed to the left of his head and above the right shoulder, conventions regularly seen in comparable contemporary Egyptian New Kingdom representations. Perhaps an idealized image of Adad-nīrārī I, himself, (r. ca. 1305–ca. 1274 BCE²⁾) was intended to be seen here.

EHRENBERG (1999, p. 39) further observed that at the presumed time of the carving of the original intaglio, Uruk would have been subject to Kassite control, thus it is likely that the seal made its way to Uruk only later. She also suggested (ibid., p. 102) that the present seal inscription was a later addition; nevertheless, the script of the inscription, despite two slightly oddly carved signs (SUM, NA), which may be nothing more than an illiterate seal cutter’s infelicities, is still within the range of Middle Assyrian lapidary sign forms.

Today, in light of the seal impression’s signature motif and style and the currently accepted conventions for normalizing Middle Assyrian personal names, the three signs comprising Šamaš-aḫa-iddina’s patronym, first read ^dPA-DA = Nabû-lē’i by Delaporte (followed by Ehrenberg), would now be typically read DINGIR-*pa/ḫad-da* = Ilī-(i)pa(d)dâ/-(i)ḫaddâ, or the like³⁾. A like-named historical figure, son of Aššur-iddin, grandson of Qībi-Aššur, great-grandson of Ibašši-ilī, and a great-great-grand-son of king Adad-nīrārī I, is known from several sources dated to the later Middle Assyrian period (WIGGERMANN 2006). In a Neo-Assyrian copy of a Middle Babylonian letter (K. 1109+K. 3045), the contemporary Babylonian king Adad-šuma-ušur addressed his derisive missive to both the *de jure* king Aššur-nīrārī III (as per his place in the Assyrian King List) and to Ilī-ḫaddâ, calling them together “kings of Assyria” (ll. 1–2)⁴⁾. Ilī-ḫaddâ was in fact *sukkallu rabiu* “grand vizier” and *šar Hanigalbat* “king of Hanigalbat”⁵⁾, as were his father and grandfather (SZUCHMAN 2007, p. 213); he was also the father of Assyrian king Ninurta-apil-Ekur (r. ca. 1191–ca. 1179 BCE), the progenitor of the remainder of the main line of Middle Assyrian kings reigning beginning shortly after Tukulti-Ninurta I’s murder, ca. 1207 BCE⁶⁾.

Šamaš-aḫa-iddina, should he be accepted as the son of Ilī-ḫaddâ, son of Aššur-iddin, would be reunited with his other brothers, the king Ninurta-apil-Ekur and the *līmu*-official Mardukīya *šakin Qutmuḫi*⁷⁾. Further, it would appear that the seal in question, perhaps one of the finest examples of ca. early 13th c. BCE Middle Assyrian cylinder seals depicting a royal hunting scene, somehow came, a century later, into the hands of Šamaš-aḫa-iddina who then had it inscribed for himself. How and when this seal then reached the hands of Bēl-iddina in E-ana in Uruk some six centuries later also remains to be determined⁸⁾.

Notes

1. For an edition of the text, see MOORE 1935, pp. 186–89, CNB 182; cf. JANOVIĆ 2013, p. 239 and n. 878.
2. All Middle Assyrian regnal dates cited herein follow BRINKMAN 1977, without prejudice.
3. E.g., UNGNAD 1938, p. 448, “kaum ^dPA-DA = Nabû-le’i”; also note the variant ¹DINGIR-*i-ḫad/pa-da* in two exemplars (B, C) of the Assyrian King List (GRAYSON 1980–83, p. 111), suggesting here a case of crasis wherein in

pronunciation and spelling the $-t$ of the preceding pronominal suffix was assimilated to the following i - prefix of the predicate yielding the form * $\text{I}i\text{hadd}\dot{a}$, or the like; cf. III R 4 no. 5 (K. 3045): 5 DINGIR- had-da a [...].

4. cdli.ucla.edu/P393862; for a modern edition, and lists of previous editions, translations, and discussions, see FRAZER 2015, pp. 208–25. Contrast HARPER 1909, no. 924, where the unmarked restorations of the signs at the ends of ll. 1 (-d[a-a-ni]) and 5 (-[a-ni]) (cf. WATERMAN 1930, p. 142, no. 924) are not supported by earlier copies, e.g., III R 4 no. 5, ROST 1897 245 no. 5 (courtesy Mary Frazer, personal communication).

5. The impression of $\text{I}i\text{-i}\text{hadd}\dot{a}$'s cylinder seal on a clay envelope from Tell Sabi Abyad (T93-36) is also known; it depicts, presumably, $\text{I}i\text{-i}\text{hadd}\dot{a}$ himself seated on a horse facing left, half-rearing on its hind legs, in front of a city-gate-like structure to the right (WIGGERMANN 2006).

6. Cf. Eponym List C^o (KAV 19), l. 6: DINGIR-pa-da DUMU SAG [...], whose broken patronym is irreconcilable with the patronym (Aššur-iddin) of the grand vizier; UNGNAD (1938, p. 437) stated categorically that most of the names in List C^o, including the name in question, are not eponyms.

7. ANDRAE 1913, p. 85, no. 129; cf. UNGNAD 1938, p. 438, II 129; SZUCHMAN 2007, p. 213, fig. 4.

8. Also note AUWE 18 no. 216, another incompletely rolled, ca. thirteenth century BCE figured Middle Assyrian cylinder seal impression, this one depicting, from the left, a beardless figure, forearms raised as in adoration, and a bearded mountain goat both profile left, their backs to a few leaf-tipped branches of a tree; it is the only seal impression on NCBT 551 rev., an unpublished, undated, Late Babylonian E-ana archive tablet fragment in the Yale Babylonian Collection, listing nine individuals by name and the [quantity] of silver each received (courtesy of Elizabeth E. Payne, personal communication).

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Ronald WALLENFELS, New York University <rw35@nyu.edu>

27) Slave Buying His Own Freedom in Assyria — The cuneiform document KMM A 46 nr. A-2716-4 located at the University of Tartu Art Museum was published for the first time in 1989 in the first issue of the Russian scientific journal *Vestnik Drevney Istorii* (Journal of Ancient History) by N. Jankovskaya (1989, 82–85). This text was also later translated into Estonian and published in 2010 by V. Sazonov and P. Espak in the history journal *Tuna* (Espak, Sazonov 2010). The photo of the cuneiform tablet was first published in 1982 in the volume *Alma Mater Tartuensis* (Ilomets, Palamets 1982, 150) and in 2006 in a book dedicated to the 200th anniversary of the University of Tartu Art Museum (Sahk 2006, 32–33). Here,

we present a new transliteration and English translation of this important text, which describes a slave buying his freedom from his owner.

This cuneiform tablet was donated to the University of Tartu Art Museum by the Estonian General Johan Laidoner (1884-1953) who, from October to December 1925, stayed in Mosul as chairman of the committee of the League of Nations resolving border disputes between Iraq and Turkey. During his stay in Iraq, he bought several artefacts of Mesopotamian origin from Mosul's antiquities market, including the cuneiform tablet presented here. Laidoner mentions these facts in a letter which he sent to his wife Maria on the 5th of November, 1925. When he returned to Estonia in 1926, he donated different Ancient Mesopotamian artefacts acquired from Iraq to the University of Tartu (Erelt 2006).

The tablet was written in the Middle-Assyrian dialect of the Akkadian language and probably originates from the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I (1115-1076) (Jankovskaya 1989, 83). We do not have any information about the place of origin of the tablet. The text does not belong to the Urad-Šērū'a (son of Melisah) archive edited by Postgate (1988), since the patronym of our Urad-Šērū'a is different.

The cuneiform tablet and its envelope are made of unbaked clay. It measures 5.9 x 4.4 x 1.9 cm, and the measurements of the cover are 6.5 x 4.9 x 2.5 cm. The tablet is a typical juridical document from the Middle-Assyrian period. First the participants of the contract are specified, then the nature and value of the transaction. In this text six witnesses are mentioned, which is certainly more than usual. The month and year of the transaction (containing a previously unknown year eponym) are inscribed at the end of the text along with the scribe's name and seal impressions. The tablet was sealed in a clay envelope on which the nature of the document and its date were written.

This legal document is quite unique because it describes how a slave (Šamaš-taklāku) bought himself out of slavery. Information about such procedures from Ancient Assyria and the entire Ancient Near East is rare and our text offers new unique perspectives in interpreting the nature of slavery in the ancient world. Although the nature and causes of Šamaš-taklāku's "slavery" is unknown, we can conclude that at least in certain circumstances a slave could own private property and use this property to buy himself out from his lower social position. In that sense the "slavery" of Šamaš-taklaku is possibly comparable to the "financial imprisonment" of today's bankrupted individuals unable to pay back their debts and therefore obliged to fulfil certain conditions to regain their economic, financial and personal freedom. In that sense the document indicates that ancient "slavery" and "personal liberty" were in practice a much more complex issue than commonly thought.

Transliteration (slashes indicate continuation of the line over right edge to the reverse of the tablet)

- Obv. 1. ^mUTU-ta-ak-la-ku / ÌR
 2. ša ^mÌR-^dŠe-ru-a / DUMU DUMU-[^dIM]
 3. a-na pa-tá-ar ra-/mi-ni-šu
 4. i-na É be-li-šu
 5. a-na ra-mi-ni-šu ú-/lu-li
 6. 1 5/6 MA.NA 5 GÍN / KÙ.BABBAR
 7. i-dí-in-ma ra-ma-/an-šu
 8. ip-tú-ur iš-tu / UD-mi
 9. an-ni-e šu-ú-tu / ù DUMU.MEŠ-/šu ša
 10. ÌR-^dŠe-ru-<a> DUMU DUMU-^dIM be-li-šu a-na ^dUTU-ta-ak-/la-ku
 11. ù DUMU.MEŠ-šu la i-/tu-ru-/ma
 12. la i-ra-gu-mu
- Edge 13. tu-a-ru
 14. ù da-ba-bu
- Rev. 15. la-a-aš-šu
 blank space of three lines with ends of obv. 9-11
16. IGI Pu-ḫu-nu DUMU Ta-ri-ba-ti
 17. IGI A-bu-ia-e DUMU ^dAG-SIG₅
 18. IGI Su-ti-ú DUMU T[a]-ia-e
 19. IGI A-pil-ku-bi DUMU [A-bi]-ri-iš
 20. IGI ^mÌR-Še-ru-a

21. DUMU *Zu-zu-a* LÚ.ŠU.I
 22. IGI *A-da-lal*
 U.E. 23. ITU.NIN-É.GAL [*li-mu*]
 24. ^{md}BE-LUGAL-DINGIR.MEŠ
 L.E. 25. ^m*Pa-ku-a*

Text on the envelope

1. DUB *i-ip-ti₄-ri*
 2. *ša* ^dUTU-*ta-ak-la-ku*
 (cylinder seal impression)
 3. IT[U.N]IN-É.GAL *li-/mu*
 4. ^{md}BE-LUGAL-DINGIR.MEŠ
 (cylinder seal impression)
 (Espak, Sazonov 2010, 83-88; Jankovskaya 1989, 82-85).

Translation

- ¹ Šamaš-taklāku, ² a slave of Urad-Šērū'a son of Mār-Adad,
³ to release himself (and) free himself from the household of his master ⁶ has paid 1 5/6 mina and 5 shekels of silver,
⁷ and has released himself.
⁸ From this day on he and his sons, ¹⁰ (namely) those of Urad-Šērū'a son of Mār-Adad, his master, ¹¹ shall not revoke
 or raise a claim against Šamaš-taklāku and his sons.
¹³ There shall be no revocation and litigation.
¹⁶ Before Pūhūnu son of Tarībātu. ¹⁷ Before Abuyāu son of Nabû-damiq. ¹⁸ Before Sūti'u son of Tāyāu. ¹⁹ Before
 Apil-Kūbi son of Abī-ēriš. ²⁰ Before Urad-Šērū'a son of Zūzū'a, the barber. ²² Before Adallal.
²³ Month of Bēlat-ēkalli, [eponymate of] Illil-šarr-ilī.
 (Seal and signature of the scribe are located on the left side) Pakua.

Text on the envelope

- ¹ Tablet of (the price paid for) the release of Šamaš-taklāku.
³ Month of Bēlat-ēkalli, eponymate of Illil-šarr-ilī.

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Vladimir SAZONOV, PhD, Senior Research Fellow in Ancient Near Eastern Studies,
 Institute of Cultural Research, University of Tartu, <vladimir.sazonov@ut.ee>
 Peter ESPAK, PhD, Senior Research Fellow of Centre for Oriental Studies,
 Institute of Cultural Research, University of Tartu, <peeter.espak@ut.ee>

28) A duck-weight from the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta II (890-884 BC) — This duck-weight in the British Museum, numbered BM 91439 (= 1848-11-04.167), was brought from Layard's first season of excavations in Assyria (1845-1847), and is registered as coming from Nimrud. No more detailed

provenance seems available. It is made of fine-grained whitish stone, and has the conventional shape of a goose or duck with the head turned to rest on the back. It is 7.1 cm long, 4.1 cm wide, and 4.1 cm high; its mass is c. 178 grams. On the neck there are eight horizontal strokes, with the upper two separate from the lower six, and there are six lines of cuneiform inscription on the left side. Although illustrations of this weight have been published (photographs: Kwasman and Parpola 1991: xxxi, fig. 6b, right; Curtis and Reade 1995, 194 no. 205; drawing with partial copy of cuneiform: Al-Rawi 2008, 130, no. 15-l, reprinted by Peyronnel 2015: 107, no. 37, Fig. 11), much of the text has remained enigmatic. This is because, while the object is virtually complete, the inscribed surface is so scratched and abraded that it is difficult to distinguish many of the signs. The following incomplete transliteration is the result of prolonged and repeated study in different lights.

1. DINGIR-*ba-ni* NAM ZAG ^mKU-MAŠ SANGA AŠ 20 ŠÚ 20 KUR AŠ.KI

2. *a-šar*² x x x x *šá* KUR KUR *lu-ub-da*

3. *a-na maḥ*² x x (x)-*a*²-*ma*² *i-su-ra*² x x

4. *ú-piš-ma*¹(?)

5. *6-su*

1. Ilu-bani, border governor of Tukulti-Ninurta, *sangû* of Assur, king of the universe, king of Assyria,

2. ...of the mountain of the land of Lubda

3. for the... did I assuredly

4. make (this)!

5. One sixth

Note

1. Reading NAM ZAG as *pīḫat pāti*.

Discussion

Ilu-bani had this weight made out of stone from Lubda, just as c. 808 BC the *turtanu* Nergal-ilaya had a weight made out of Median stone (George 1979: 134). Lubda lay south-east of Ashur near Babylonian territory (Kessler 1987), and was somehow associated with Suhi, since the governors of Lubda and Suhi jointly presented Ashurnasirpal II with five elephants (Grayson 1991: 291). Suhi was south-west of Ashur on the Euphrates, also near Babylonian territory. A pro-Assyrian governor of Suhi under Tukulti-Ninurta II and Ashurnasirpal II was named in Assyrian royal documents as Ilu-ibni (Brinkman 1968: 183-184; Baker 2000: 528). We take Ilu-bani and Ilu-ibni to be the same person, with Ilu-bani as the preferable form since it is the one given on his own weight.



The term *6-su* indicates that this weight is one sixth of a heavy mina of c. 1070g. Reade (2018: 159) has proposed that 1070g was the traditional mass of the mina in northern Assyria (e.g. Nineveh), later standardized as 1010g so that it was exactly double the traditional 505g mina used in southern Assyria (e.g.

Ashur) and Babylonia. These traditions would account for the concurrent existence of both heavy and light minas in the Neo-Assyrian period.

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I. L. FINKEL, The British Museum

J. E. READE, University of Copenhagen <julianreade@gmail.com>

29) The Neo-Assyrian word *muškinnu* — The unusual noun *muškinnu* is attested exclusively in two lexical texts – both found in Nineveh and dating to the Neo-Assyrian period – as *muš-kin₃-nu* (K 04400+: r i 23') and *muš-tin-nu* (K 08285+: i' 1'). This word is doubtfully suggested to mean 'belt' (see, e.g., AHw. or CDA *s.u.*; more cautiously CAD 'part of a *hindu*-bag') because both lexical texts list clothing, garments, bands, belts, bags, etc. Morphologically, *muškinnu* is a derivative with *-inn(um)*, an affix usually attached to foreign words (see von Soden 1952[1995], 90 § 58 b, with references). Consequently, *muškinnu* may derive from *mušku*. Then, it is difficult not to consider *muškinnu* as derived from the demonym *Mušku*, reused in Neo-Assyrian times for the Phrygians (see Radner 2013; likely also in Hieroglyphic Luwian *Muska-*, KARKAMIŠ A6 §6). If this identification is right, *muškinnu* very likely means 'fibula' rather than 'belt'. Indeed, the Phrygians were the firsts to produce bronze fibulae in Anatolia in the second half of the 8th century BC and it is clear that this Phrygian product spread beyond the Phrygian lands: in the West, "Phrygian fibulae were copied by East Greeks and apparently by Lydians" (Muscarella 1967, 58) and, in the East, Warpalawas, the king of Tabal, is depicted as wearing one of these fibulae in the İvriz relief (Mellink 1979, 252; see also van Dongen 2014, 702). Note also that another Neo-Assyrian tablet from Nineveh attests *Muški* (scil. Phrygian) products related to clothing in Assyria: 2 TÚG.KI.TA-*hal-lu-pat mu-us-ki* | ^m*ab-di-mil-ki* LÚ-GAL-*ka-sir* '2 *Muški* reinforced lower garments – Abdi-milki, the chief tailor' (SAA 07 126, 4-5).

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Bartomeu OBRADOR-CURSACH, <bobrador@ub.edu>

Institut del Pròxim Orient Antic, Universitat de Barcelona

30) An Unusual Arc and the Eclipsed Moon with Colour of *elměšu* — It is known that an auroral oval extends to mid- to low-latitude areas during large geomagnetic storms such as occurred in September 1859 and November 1882 (Cliver and Dietrich 2013; Hayakawa, Ebihara, Hand, et al. 2018; Love 2018), as shown in Figure 1. The earliest datable auroral records are thought to trace back to Babylonian observations. During the night on the 12th/13th March -566, a Babylonian observer recorded that a “red glow (*akukātu*) flared up in the west” in Babylon (Stephenson, Willis, and Hallinan 2004; Hayakawa et al. 2016). The Astronomical Diaries from Babylonia (ADB) record eight additional auroral candidates, four of which are considered likely to be aurora (Hayakawa et al. 2016).

Record #8 of Hayakawa et al. (2016, 4) is the case of a coloured night rainbow, depicted with a relative clause *šá MÚŠ^{mes}-šú SUD*. This type of coloured night rainbow is consistent with the description of the arc structure of an auroral display, as shown in Figure 1 (e.g. Neumeyer 1864, 242; Capron 1883; see also, Chamberlain 1961, 116-124). Upon this interpretation, Hayakawa et al. (2016, 4) translate the relative clause as “whose (the rainbow’s) shine was red”, following the translation by Sachs and Hunger (1996, 291). However, in this paper, we would like to propose another possible interpretation of this clause. The transcription of record #8 and our new translation are as follows:

ADB -122A 'Obv.' 11'
 [x x] 'ú⁷ ŠÚ šá *sin* ^dTIR.AN.NA *šá zīmūšu*(MÚŠ^{mes}-šú) *elměšū*(SUD) TA SI ana Á ULÙ [GIB...]
 [...] and (?) setting of the moon, a rainbow **whose glows were (like) *elměšū*** [stretched] from the north to the south side
 [...]

This entry reports an unusual rainbow observed after the setting of the moon during the night of the 28th/29th or 29th/30th April -122 (the normalized lunar ages on these days are 0.210 and 0.244, respectively. See Hayakawa et al. 2016, 4). The single sign SUD is difficult to be transcribed in this context. However, the SUD sign is used as the complement of *sūmu*, or “redness”, of the moon in the eclipses recorded in ADB (-108B Obv.' 8) and in three observational reports of individual eclipses (Hunger, Sachs, and Steele 2001, No. 20 'Obv. 8', No. 21 Obv. 9, No. 22 Rev. 1-2) (see also Hunger, Sachs, and Steele 2001, 38). This indicates that the SUD sign is used to describe a colour of the part of the moon that entered the Earth’s umbra. This sign, as the complement of *sūmu*, was translated as “red brown” by Sachs and Hunger (1996, 355), and by Hunger, Sachs, and Steele (2001, 63, 65, 67). The SUD sign in ADB -122A may also be a complement to describe the colour of the “glows” of an unusual rainbow.

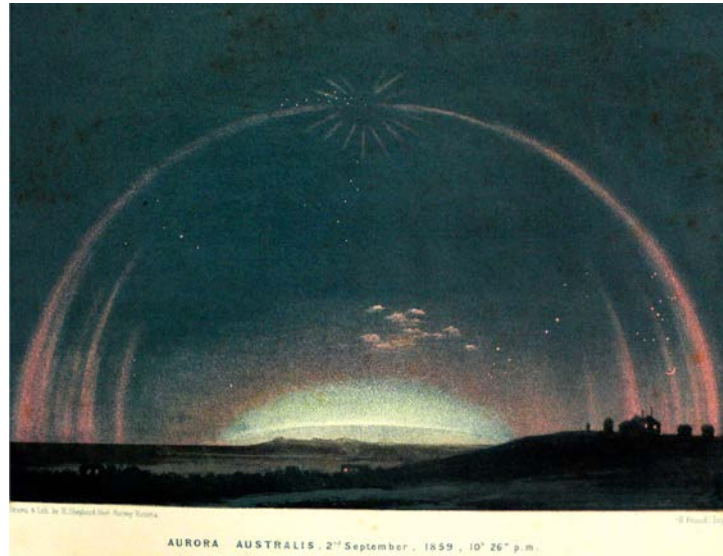
This reminds us of the compound Sumerogram SUD.ÁG, which represents the Akkadian word *elměšu* or *elmešu*, and may mean “amber”. The word *elměšu* seems to be the cognate of the Hebrew *hašmal*, which appears in Ezekiel 1:4, 27; 8:2 and is translated as *ēlektron*, or “amber”, in Septuagint (for identification, see Landsberger 1967, 190-198). Although this identification is uncertain, the word certainly refers to “a precious stone of characteristic sparkle and brilliancy” and “a characteristic color” (Oppenheim 1958, 107-108). Such a word is suitable for describing the colour of the “glow” of a rainbow.

The compound Sumerogram SUD.ÁG can be abbreviated as SUD in ADB. The scholars who wrote ADB frequently use such abbreviations. For example, ^dTIR.AN(NA), or “rainbow”, is abbreviated as TIR at -651 Col. iv 20'; A.AN (= ŠĒG), or “rain”, is abbreviated as AN (ADB -122A 'Obv.' 10', 11'; -122B 'Obv.' 4'; *et passim*); IM.DIR, or “clouds”, is shortened to DIR (ADB -122A 'Obv.' 10', 18', 20'; *et passim*); and NIM.GÍR, “lightning”, is abbreviated as GÍR (ADB -124B 'Obv.' 23'; -120 'Rev.' 17'; -119B₁ 'Obv.' 2'; *et passim*). TIR represents the Akkadian word *manzât*, AN *zunnu*, DIR *erpetu*, and GÍR *birqu*.

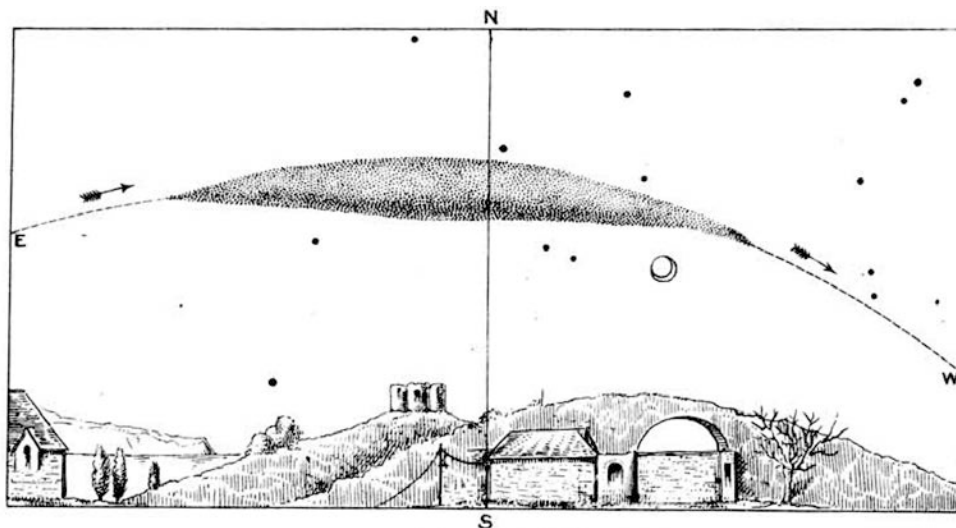
If the sign SUD represents SUD.ÁG (*elměšu*), and the word means “amber”, observers might have recognized an amber-like orange colour of the unusual rainbow (aurora) of ADB -122A, and the eclipsed moon during the lunar eclipses recorded in ADB -108B and by Hunger, Sachs, and Steele (2001, Nos. 20, 21, and 22). The eclipse of No. 22 was nearly a total one and the special colour of the eclipsed moon could be easily observed in such a case. If the eclipsed moon in these cases was “red brown”, as interpreted in previous studies, such eclipses can be graded as L= 3 on the Danjon Scale (Danjon 1921, 262). However, if the moon was “amber” or orange, they may be graded as L= 4.

The amber-like colour of the unusual rainbow (aurora) of ADB -122A reminds us of a record of an aurora on the 4th February 1872. This aurora was globally visible (Silverman 2008; Hayakawa, Ebihara, Willis, et al. 2018) and was reported even in Alexandria (Earwaker 1872, 323; Donati 1874). T. W. Webb

at Hardwick Vicarage in England (near the border with Wales) also reported “a view of the magnificent aurora” on this occasion. He recognized the aurora when he “found the western horizon glowing with amber light, in which was no trace of the expected ruddiness” of the reflection of a crimson sunset (Webb 1872).



(a)



Passage of Auroral beam, 17th Nov^r 1882. as seen
from Guildown Observatory Lat 51° 13' 39" N Long 0° 28' 47" W.

(b)

Figure 1. Drawings of auroral arcs: (a) “a beautiful red arc of light” in Melbourne during the great magnetic storm on 1st/2nd September 1859 in Neumeyer (1864, 242) and (b) an “auroral beam” observed by Capron (1883, 243), a spectroscopist at Guildown in England, during the magnetic storm on 17th November 1882. For the latter, Capron used his spectroscope and detected the “principal citron auroral line (W.L. 5569)” in this arc. Note that W.L. indicates “wave length” here.

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Yasuyuki MITSUMA <licomesoleil@gmail.com>
University of Tokyo

Hisashi HAYAKAWA <hisashi.hayakawa@stfc.ac.uk>
Rutherford Appleton Laboratory - Osaka University

31) An alternative reading of *Lugale's* stone passage¹⁾ — In the last issue of NABU, M. Ramez published a note on the passage dealing with stones in *Lugale*.²⁾ The aim of this communication is to review the explanations presented by the author with regard to the number and judgement of stones, and to offer some alternative views.³⁾ In this respect, the first question that emerges is if the selection of stones was influenced by some kind of numerical logic. The answer given to this question in the said note seems to be positive: the author postulated a literary game, in which 49 stone names are given in advance, and one has to find the 50th that is hidden in the text. The last stone name is either ^{na}z a l a g occurring outside of the stone passage, where the fate of the defeated daemon Asag is described (*Lugale* 328), or the form *na₄-g u g - b u r u₃-d a translated in connection with the 'plant-stone' (^{na}u₂) as "la pierre qui perce la cornaline" (*Lugale* 434). The number 50 plays a central role in this reconstruction because of its close connection to the god Ningirsu, whose temple is called e₂-n i n n u ('the house of fifty'). While it is indeed possible that on some level numerical considerations had an impact on *Lugale's* stone passage, the idea of a literary game, as described in the note under discussion here, is hindered by difficulties. It is important to notice, for instance, that no such game has ever been identified in the corpus of the Sumerian literary texts;⁴⁾ and even if other examples were known, there are issues with the interpretation of the Sumerian text, which need to be addressed, because it is mainly due to the incorrect rendering of some Sumerian terms that the total number of stone names occurring in *Lugale* can be put at 50. One such problem concerns the non-existent form *na₄-g u g - b u r u₃-d a. There is a certain ^{na}g u g - b u r u₃-d a attested in lexical lists,⁵⁾ but this form is rather an attributive construction, with the non-finite verb b u r u₃-d a referring to the drilled state of carnelian. Also, in the case of *Lugale* there is no need to turn the determinative n a₄ into a logogram,

since the context clearly suggests the meaning ‘drilled carnelian’.⁶⁾ On the other hand, it should also be noted that strictly speaking not 49, but only 47 names occur in the stone passage. In the list provided by Ramez, the form ^{na}z i - u m m u d (no. 27) is also included despite the fact that no manuscript of *Lugale* has this form with the determinative n a₄.⁷⁾ From the missing determinative it clearly follows that not a stone name is meant here. *Lugale* uses the form in its literal sense “at the opening/mouth (of) the leather pouch”,⁸⁾ in order to allude to a technological aspect, namely, that recently finished precious stone beads were kept in wet leather bags, until they regained their lustrous appearance.⁹⁾ Interestingly, this reference can be found in the introductory unit preceding the description of the actual judgement. A closer look at the stone passage reveals other similar references, one of which introduces the last judgement rendered to the stones ^{na}k u r - g a - r a - n u - u m and n a₄ b a l. The form š i m - b i s i g₇ - s i g₇, which is present in this context, has already been understood by van Dijk as an independent stone name. The idea was adapted later by Ramez, who included š i m - b i s i g₇ - s i g₇ in her list as the 49th name. However, the use of the demonstrative /be/ seems to render this form an umbrella term referring back to the two stones previously listed. The introductory unit can thus be translated as follows: “The hero turns to the k u r - g a - r a - n u - u m -stone. He calls out to the b a l -stone. The lord for these yellow/green cosmetics, Ninurta, the son of Enlil, fixes their destinies”.¹⁰⁾

While discussing the numerical logic behind the stone passage, Ramez also revisited van Dijk’s idea about the canonical number of stones.¹¹⁾ This idea is based on the Late Babylonian text CT 51 88, which gives the sum total of 30 as the number of blessed stones in *Lugale*.¹²⁾ It is hardly possible that such a late text reflects some kind of primeval version of the stone passage, with an initial number of stones that had been expanded by the time the first manuscripts of *Lugale* appeared in the Sumerian literary corpus. Rather than considering the probability of such a theory, it is worth having a closer look at the textual tradition itself, from which it becomes evident that the clear differentiation between blessed and cursed stones is an invention introduced in the bilingual tradition by replacing the verb n a m t a r, originally of neutral connotation (i.e., ‘to decide the fate’),¹³⁾ with a š₂ s a r (‘to curse’) whenever a negative judgement is made. As for the stones with a positive fate, the verb n a m t a r remains in place and thereby acquires the secondary meaning ‘to bless’. That this latter verb has a neutral meaning in the monolingual recension of *Lugale* is clear from its usage in connection with both negative and positive judgements; the other verb, a š₂ s a r, is attested only twice in this recension.¹⁴⁾ Turning now back to CT 51 88, this Late Babylonian text seems to be in direct relation with the bilingual textual tradition. It lists only the blessed stones and excludes the ones with a negative fate, which is exactly what is to be expected in the obviously apotropaic context of this text.

On the basis of this demonstration, it seems reasonable to say that the main source of influence for creating *Lugale*’s stone passage was hardly some kind of numerical logic. Even if it played a role in the process, the selection of suitable stones may have had a different dynamic created by the requirements of contemporary scientific thinking. It has already been demonstrated that the main goal of texts dealing with certain aspects of the material world was not to describe in great detail the relevant natural phenomena, but to present the corresponding Sumerian terminology in a narrative framework. The highest form of science was of this nature, manifesting itself, first and foremost, in the knowledge of the Sumerian language and writing, while also conforming to the principle: the more archaic the Sumerian expression, the higher its scientific value.¹⁵⁾ *Lugale* is indeed a multi-layered composition with important symbolical and religious connotations, but in its core the same holds true for the stone passage, where quite archaic and rare stone names are presented most of the time.¹⁶⁾

Finally, there is the organisation of judgements within the stone passage, which needs to be treated briefly. In this respect, Ramez presented a diagram showing a schematic representation of what she called “le caractère cyclique de cette alternance, révélant un rythme certain dans ce classement particulier des pierres qui était vraisemblablement basé sur une symbolique particulière envisagée par l’auteur”.¹⁷⁾ The idea of the cyclical or rhythmic alternation between negative and positive judgements is hindered by difficulties, such as the question if a clear differentiation was made between blessed and cursed stones in the monolingual recension. As demonstrated above, such a sharp differentiation appears to be an invention in the bilingual textual tradition, where the verb a š₂ s a r is used consistently whenever a negative

judgement is made. In the case of the monolingual recension this pattern cannot be recognized with certainty. Since the verb *n a m t a r* has a neutral meaning here, the alternation is only secondarily present in the text. In other words, one has to look at the actual judgement to find whether the stone under discussion is cursed or blessed. Even if we limit the scope of the investigation to the bilingual text, there are specific patterns to be discerned, which can be explained by the characteristics of each and every stone, rather than by some kind of poetic consideration about an overarching rhythm of alternation between the blessed and cursed types. For instance, the fate of the ‘plant-stone’ is decided first, because it is placed as king above all the other stones at the beginning of *Lugale*.¹⁸⁾ That the precious stones occur right in the middle of the stone passage accords well with their being the most important materials: they stand in the focal point of the text. Another interesting pattern emerges in the case of three consecutive judgements rendered to the stones *e s i* (statue), *n a* (stele) and *e - l e - e l* (podium³⁾). On the basis of their function, these stones appear to be discussed in close connection to each other, because they represent different aspects of what one might call large-scale sculpture.¹⁹⁾

Notes

1. The work on this communication was supported by the “ÚNKP-18-3 New National Excellence Program” of the Ministry of Human Capacities of Hungary. I would like to thank Gabriella Juhász for correcting my English.

2. M. RAMEZ: Le nombre de pierres et leur classement dans le *Lugal-e* : nouvelles perspectives. *NABU* 2018/110, p. 170-174.

3. The stone passage of *Lugale* is the topic of the unpublished doctoral dissertation K. SIMKÓ: *Die Steine und ihre Aitiologie in dem Epos von Ninurta. Eine philologische Untersuchung mit Fallstudien zu dem Steinkapitel des sumerischen Epos Lugale*. Budapest, 2018. The manuscript is now being prepared for publication.

4. That such games exist in Ancient Greek literature (RAMEZ, *NABU* 2018/110, p. 174, n. 14) is of lesser importance. One should rather look for numerical considerations in Sumerian compositions which are similar to the stone passage of *Lugale* in that their main topic comprises a certain aspect of the natural world, such as birds (*Nanše C*), fish (*Home of the Fish*) and, to a lesser extent, plants (*Enki and Ninhursag* 190-219).

5. *Ur₅-ra XVI 136* (MSL 10 p. 8). See also the late Old Babylonian forerunner from Sippar I. 62 (MSL 10 p. 52) and the Old Babylonian forerunner from Nippur I. 49 (MSL 10 p. 56).

6. The formulation is as follows: “after the ‘plant-stone’ touches it, it is the drilled carnelian (or: the carnelian is drilled)” (*na₄u₂ u b - t a g na₄g u g b u r u₃ - d a*).

7. Instead, the forms that occur in the passage listing the precious stones (*Lugale* 528-533) are *z i kuš^su m m u d* and *K A kuš^su m m u d*. There is a single attestation of the stone name *na₄z i - kuš^su m m u d* in the Old Babylonian forerunner of *Ur₅-ra XVI* from Nippur I. 170 (MSL 10 p. 60), which might explain the reading postulated by van Dijk first and accepted later on by RAMEZ. Note, however, that *na₄z i - kuš^su m m u d* is not listed among the precious stones in this text.

8. For *z i / K A kuš^su m m u d* having the literal meaning “at the opening/mouth (of) the leather pouch”, see already M. GELLER: Notes on *Lugale*. *BSOAS* 48 (1985) 219. Similar translations can be found in Th. JACOBSEN: *The Harps that Once... Sumerian Poetry in Translation*. New Haven/London, 1987. P. 262 and W. HEIMPEL/E. SALGUES: *Lugale oder wie Ninurta dem Tigris mehr Wasser schuf*. In: K. VOLK (ed.), *Erzählungen aus dem Land Sumer*. Wiesbaden, 2015. P. 59.

9. For this idea, see K. SIMKÓ: Überlegungen zu den symbolischen Rollen der Steine in Mesopotamien. *AoF* 41 (2014) 118 n. 26.

10. *ur - s a g na₄k u r - g a - r a - n u - u m - e b a - g u b / n a₄ b a l - e g u₃ b a - d e₂ - e / e n - e š i m - b i s i g₇ - s i g₇ - g a - b e₂ / d n i n - u r t a d u m u d e n - l i l₂ - l a₂ - k e₄ n a m a m₃ - m i - i b - t a r - r e* (*Lugale* 634-637). For similar understandings of the passage, see Jacobsen, *Harps that Once...*, p. 268 and HEIMPEL/SALGUES, *Erzählungen*, p. 63.

11. J. VAN DIJK: *LUGAL UD ME-LÁM-bi NIR-ĜÁL. Le récit épique et didactique des Travaux de Ninurta, du Déluge et de la Nouvelle Création*. Tome I : *Introduction, texte composite, traduction*. Leiden, 1983. Pp. 39-41.

12. Contrary to what RAMEZ suggests, CT 51 88 is not a Neo-Assyrian text. For its edition, see A. SCHUSTER-BRANDIS: *Steine als Schutz- und Heilmittel. Untersuchung zu ihrer Verwendung in der Beschwörungskunst Mesopotamiens im 1. Jt. v. Chr.* AOAT 46. Münster, 2008. Pp. 333-340.

13. For *n a m t a r* having a neutral meaning in the monolingual recension of *Lugale*, see especially G. SELZ: Nur ein Stein. In: T. RICHTER (ed.), *Kulturgeschichten. Altorientalische Studien für Volkert Haas zum 65. Geburtstag*. Saarbrücken, 2001. Pp. 384-385.

14. *Lugale* 524 and 545. In addition, there are two other instances where *a š₂ s a r* occurs as a variant besides *n a m t a r*. A manuscript of *Lugale* 418 from Ur (UET 6/1 4), which has much in common with the bilingual tradition, contains *a š₂ s a r* instead of the better attested *n a m t a r*. On the other hand, both verbs are known from one manuscript each in the case of *Lugale* 481. An Ur manuscript (UET 6/1 5) contains the verb *n a m t a r*, while

aš₂ sar occurs in another manuscript from Nippur (BE 29/1 6). Note, furthermore, that in the monolingual version the phrase ka la m - ma i b₂ - ba du g₄ (“to speak in the land in anger”) might imply the negative outcome of the judgement.

15. For the ideas presented here, see especially the chapter on scholarship in N. VELDHUIS: *Religion, Literature, and Scholarship: The Sumerian Composition “Nanše and the Birds”*. CM 22. Leiden/Boston, 2004.

16. Note, for instance, that a number of stone names is attested only in the Old Babylonian forerunners of Ur₅-ra XVI (e.g., ^{na₄}sa g - ga r, ^{na₄}gu l - gu l and ^{na₄}ša - ga - ra). The reason why they have not survived the process of canonisation might lie in the fact that they were too obscure even by the time the Old Babylonian manuscripts of Ur₅-ra were created. Another interesting example is the stone called *sû* in Akkadian. This stone name occurs first in the *Early Dynastic Practical Vocabulary A* l. 97 where it is equated with the Sumerian phrase u d . n i s i m u g (“stone of the smith”). Some precious stones (^{na₄}za - gi n₃, ^{na₄}pi ri g - gu n₃, etc.) are also known from this text; see the edition in M. CIVIL: *The Early Dynastic Practical Vocabulary A (Archaic HAR-ra A)*. ARES 4. Roma, 2008.

17. RAMEZ, *NABU* 2018/110, p. 173.

18. *Lugale* 34-36. After Asag creates the stone army, the ‘plant-stone’ is named king. For a discussion of this passage with earlier literature, see SIMKÓ, *AoF* 41, 114-115.

19. Note that e s i and n a are also depicted in the inscriptions of Gudea as two separate stones, which complement each other on both material and functional levels.

Krisztián SIMKÓ <krisimko@gmail.com>

32) BM 45792 (1881-07-06, 209), Maqlû VII 79a–93 and 143–161 — The vast majority of sources for the magical series Maqlû comes from Nineveh, which makes the identification of new sources from Babylonia always a welcome addition. One more fragment from the collection of Babylonian tablets of the British Museum can be added to tablet VII of this series: BM 45792, a middle part fragment with the right edge partly preserved. According to its registration number (1881-07-06, 209) this fragment comes from Babylon itself. Large so-called ‘firing-holes’ can be seen on its reverse. Judging from the curve of both the obverse and the reverse this fragment belongs to a tablet with two columns on each side. Thus parts of columns ii and iii are preserved. Since the standard Nineveh version of Maqlû VII has altogether 178 lines and the text on the reverse of this fragment breaks at l. 161, the scribe must have added some extra text to his tablet, perhaps the beginning of tablet VIII. Sometimes the scribe wrote two lines of the Nineveh edition into the same line, and the text displays mistakes and minor variations. The horizontal lines separating each incantation are hardly visible.

In his critical edition of *The Magical Ceremony Maqlû* (AMD 10; 2015), Tzvi Abusch presented only two fragments from Sippar and one from Babylon (BM 41198, source ee) next to thirteen sources from Assyria for this tablet (transliteration on pp. 167–191; transcription and translation on pp. 349–360). The source from Babylon, BM 41198 (1881-04-28, 745), is a fragment from the left edge and since the text of both fragments overlaps in one line (l. 161) both come from different tablets. Still, the appearance and the way the scribe distributed the lines of the Nineveh recension on his tablet are similar.

I publish BM 45792 by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. Since the variants to the standard Nineveh version are minor, only a transliteration will be presented here, including the corresponding lines numbers in the edition of Abusch added. BM 45792 measures 65⁺ × 60⁺ × 38 mm.

Obverse

79a [?]	ii 1'	[_____] x[_____]
80	ii 2'	[ÉN ba-‘i-ir-tú šá ba-‘]i-r[a-a-ti]
81-82	ii 3'	[MUNUS.UŠ ₁₁ .ZU šá MUNUS.UŠ ₁₁ .ZU.MEŠ šá ina SILA.ME]Š na-da-a-tú [še-es-sa]
83	ii 4'	[ina ri-bit URU it-ta-na-al-la-k]a IGI.II-[šá]
84-85	ii 5'	[GURUŠ.MEŠ URU ub-ta-na-a-‘ K]I GURUŠ.MEŠ URU ub-ta-na-‘[a-an-ni ia-a-ši]
86-87	ii 6'	[KI.SIKIL.MEŠ URU is-sa-na-ḥur-a]n-ni KI KI.SIKIL.MEŠ URU is-[sa-na-ḥur-an-ni ia-ši]
88	ii 7'	[a-na-ku ú-ba-‘a(ak)-kim-ma (LÚ.)kur-ga]r-re-e LÚ.eš-še-bé-e K[EŠDA-ki a-ḥe-ep-pe]
89	ii 8'	[LÚ.UŠ ₁₁ .ZU.MEŠ li-pu-šu-k]i KEŠDA-ki a-ḥe-[ep-pe]
90	ii 9'	[MUNUS.UŠ ₁₁ .ZU.MEŠ li-pu-ša-k]i KEŠDA-ki a-ḥe-[ep-pe]
91-92	ii 10'	[(LÚ.)kur-gar-re-e li-pu-šu-k]i KEŠDA-ki a-ḥe-ep-pe L[Ú.eš-še-bu-ú KI [?] .MIN [?]]
93	ii 11'	[LÚ.nar-šin-du-ú li-pu-šu-k]i KEŠDA-ki [a-ḥe-ep-pe]
	ii	(breaks off)

Reverse

143	iii 1'	[šá MUNUS.UŠ ₁₁ .ZU i-pu]- ^r šá'(SA) ¹ -an- ^r ni eš ¹ -[še-bu u-sa-li-i'-an-ni]
144	iii 2'	[^d UTU pi-šir-ta li]- ^r i ¹ -bil-la-am-ma ^r KI ¹ .TIM ^r lim ¹ -h[ur-an-ni (TE.ÉN)]
<hr/>		
145	iii 3'	[ÉN it-tam-ra še-e-r]u pu-ut-ta-àm GIŠ.IG.[MEŠ]
146	iii 4'	[a-lik ur-hi i]t-ta-ši ^r KÁ ¹ .GA[L]
147	iii 5'	[mār-šipri ²] iš-ša-bat hār- ^r ra ¹ -n[a]
148, 148	iii 6'	[e-piš-tu ₄ e te-pu-š]i-in-ni ¹ (NU) e-piš-tu ₄ e te- ^r pu-ši-in-ni ¹ (NU) ¹
149-150	iii 7'	[ra-hi-tu e t]u-re-hi-i[n]-ni ¹ (NU) ú-tal-lil ina na-pa-hu ^d UTU-[š]i
151-152	iii 8'	[ip-ši te-pu-ši] ^r ù ¹ tu-še-pi-šu is- ^r sa ¹ h ¹ -ha-ru-ma i-šab-ba-tu-[k]a
152	iii 9'	[0] ka-a-šú TE.ÉN
<hr/>		
153-154	iii 10'	[ÉN še-ru-um-ma š]e-e-ru an-nu-ú šá LÚ.UŠ ₁₁ .ZU.MU
155	iii 11'	[it-b]u-nim-ma GIM DUM[U]. ^r MEŠ ¹ LÚ. ^r NAR ¹ ú-lap-pa-tú ^r ni ¹ -[‘a-šú-nu]
157-158	iii 12'	[i-n]a SAG GIŠ.NÁ.MU GUB-za ^d LUGAL. ^r EDIN.NA ¹ [a-šap-pa-rak-kim-ma]
158-159	iii 13'	[šá K]Á.MU ^d IGI.DU šá SAG GIŠ. ^r NÁ.MU ^d LUG[AL.EDIN.NA]
161 ²	iii 14'	[ú-tar kiš-pi-ki r]u ² - ^r he ² -e ² -ki ² ¹ k[a-a-ši TE.ÉN]
	iii	(breaks off)

Comments

- 88, 91 The scribe writes LÚ.KUR.GAR.RA.MEŠ syllabically.
 92 Since the scribe combines ll. 91 and 92, he might have abbreviated the second line with KI.MIN.
 143 The scribe follows the same tradition as KAR 268, a Babylonian tablet from Assur, which is source h of the edition, which should have been correctly written *i-pu-šá-an-ni*.
 144 Note the plene writing of the precative *libil*.
 148 Here the scribe repeated the original line.
 152 Instead of the precative forms of the Nineveh recension (*lišhurū-ma lišbatū-ki*), the scribe apparently prefers an indicative.
 154 The scribe might have skipped to write *u* MUNUS.UŠ₁₁.ZU.MU at the end of that line.

Jeanette C. FINCKE <jeanette.fincke@ori.uni-heidelberg.de>

Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, The Netherlands

33) Excavated Assyrian Column Bases — Tiglath-pileser III (744-727 BCE) and later Assyrian kings of the eighth and seventh centuries record the building of a *bit hilani* for their royal pleasure. This type of structure, noted for its columned portico (Frankfort 1952; Reade 2008), derived from northern Syria, a region that came under Assyrian dominance with the successful military campaigns of Tiglath-pileser III. Pictorial evidence for columns in Assyrian architecture comes from several illustrations depicted on Neo-Assyrian wall reliefs. There is also archaeological evidence for the use of columns in Assyria after the middle of the 8th century; however, except for the stone bases, no column shafts presumably of wood have been recovered. Column bases were excavated at several sites in Assyria. They have convex sides and have been described as ‘cushion-shaped’. In some instances, the bases rested on a rectangular stone. As a unit, the two stone works represent early versions of the torus and plinth, respectively. Additionally, column bases showing a similarity to the Assyrian style were discovered in northern Syria, and they are datable to the late 8th or 7th centuries BCE.

The Assyrian and North Syrian column bases that are recorded in the excavation reports oftentimes survive in drawings or photographs, and several are extant. Both the Assyrian and North Syrian groups merit study as artifacts related to the early history of columned architecture in the ancient Near East. This paper gives to that study by providing a list of column bases discovered in Assyria proper, which is arranged in chronological sequence of discovery. It is followed by a list of similar style column bases from North Syria sites. All these finds come from excavation reports dated to the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Assyrian sites

1. Nineveh. In his book published in 1853, Austen Henry Layard describes the finding of four circular pedestals (column bases) to the north of the ruins at the site. He writes that “they appear to form part of a double line of similar objects... and may have supported a wooden column of a covered way.” He provides the following measurements: “distance between the pedestals facing each other was 9 feet 3 inches, the second pair was about 84 feet from the first. Their diameter, 11 ½ inches in the narrowest, and 2 feet 7 inches in the broadest part.” A drawing of one column base accompanied the description (Layard 1853: 589-590).

2. Khorsabad (ancient Dur-Sharrukin). Victor Place expanded the exploration of Khorsabad in 1853. His volume of plates published in 1867 includes precise line drawings of the plan and elevation of a limestone column base identified as a capital (“chapiteau”). The addition in his drawing of part of a shaft extending from the base is likely conjectural. Place states that the stone object was found in Court XVIII of the Dépendances, which he thought served as a stable for horses and equipment (Place 1867: IV, 95, pl. 35). See fig. 1, top right.

3. Nineveh, North Palace. At the ruined entrance to the North Palace, George Smith found two column bases. The pedestals were 14 inches x 10 inches x 3 inches high. The circular work was 8 ½ inches in diameter with a flat circle to receive the column. The total height of the torus was 8 inches. Smith also found a small model in “yellowstone” (limestone) of a winged cow-bull with a human head - a female sphinx. On top of the wings stands the base of the column (Smith 1875: 431; Curtis and Reade 1995: 100 pl. 44). One of Smith’s column bases and the model of the winged sphinx are presently housed in the British Museum; the second column base is in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (Barnett 1976: 35, pl. I). See fig. 1, middle left and middle right.

4. Assur. A 1909 excavation report by Walter Andrae mentions the discovery of two limestone column bases. They were found in and under the pavement of a Late Assyrian house. One torus rested on a rectangular plinth and was cushion-shaped. The second column base consisted of a large roundel and at the top, in the flat round groove, was the lower section of the stone shaft. Still visible around the shaft and torus were vertical flat stripes. Both finds were photographed (Andrae: 1909: 40-41, pls. 11, 12).

5. Khorsabad. Renewed excavations at the site were undertaken in late 1929 and early 1930s. A wall relief discovered in Room 7 of the palace showed a landscape scene that included a columned portico (fig. 1, top left). In Residence K three basalt column bases were found stacked against the wall of a vestibule. They are of approximately the same size and measure 0.20 m high x 0.35 m diameter, with a depression at the top. They were removed to the Oriental Institute of Chicago. Elsewhere at the site, a columned portico was exposed in Palace F. Two huge basalt column bases resting on stone plinths were found still in place. Each torus measured 1.80 m x 2.40 m (Loud 1936: figs. 83, 89; Loud and Altman 1938: 31, pls. 32B, 38, 41B-C). See fig. 1, bottom.

Northern Syrian sites

1. Zincirli (ancient Sam'al). A column base was exposed *in situ*, in the northwest building of the upper palace at the site. It had a high torus and rested on a rectangular plinth. It was carefully worked in hard stone and its upper flat surface measured 0.71 m in diameter (Koldewey 1898: 93, 142, 199, pl. 22, figs. 47, 48).

2. Carchemish. Two small column bases of white limestone were found in position, in a structure described as a ‘hilani’. They were thought to be of “later date of the Iron Age”. A basalt column base was found in the ‘hilani’ and its lower diameter, 0.95 m, matched the circular depression on the pavement of the inner entrance to the building. The published photograph of a decorated basalt cushion-shape column base is probably the find from the ‘hilani’. Also illustrated is a decorated column base with a cushion shape from the nearby site of Zamaghara (Woolley 1921: 150-51, fig. 61; Woolley and Barnett 1978: 177-180, pl. 39a).

3. Arslan Tash (ancient Hadatu). In the center of the entranceway of a building, labeled “building with ivories”, was found a basalt column base *in situ*. It rested on a rectangular basalt plinth. The total

height measured about 43 cm. The upper surface of the column base had a shallow recess. A photograph showing the object was published (Thureau-Dangin 1931: 46, pl. V, no.2).

4. Tell Tayinat (ancient Kunulua). In the course of the 1935-1938 excavations, a limestone column base with curved sides was found on the floor in the courtyard of building 1, west central building complex. It was thought out of context. The base was made up of a rectangular plinth and a decorated torus 68.50 cm in diameter and 32 cm in height. A depression at the top of the base could take a column about 49 cm wide. A photograph showing the findspot and two drawings of the torus were published (Haines 1971: 40-41, pls. 78C, 117B).



Fig. 1. Detail of wall relief. Oriental Institute Museum A 11255.

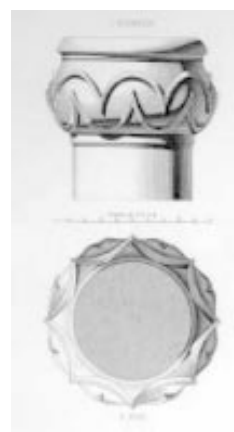


Fig. 2. After Place 1867: pl. 35.

Commentary

According to the excavated evidence, the Assyrian style of the basalt column bases recovered from the royal residential areas in Khorsabad and Nineveh was fashioned in the mid-8th century and continued in the 7th century. One may surmise that the column bases from the two Assyrian sites were crafted in the royal workshops. The relief decoration on these bases, consisting of two double-bands of arches encircling the body, was likewise standardized. Of related interest, the nearly identical decorated motif on the finds from Nineveh show them to be contemporary and datable to the reign of Ashurbanipal (668-627), for whom the North Palace was constructed. On the other hand, the two limestone column bases excavated at Assur were certainly produced outside the Assyrian royal workshops and are perhaps datable to the end of the 7th century. It may be mentioned that the large roundel shape of one column base from Assur can be compared with the individual column bases excavated at the Median site of Tepe Nush-I Jan in modern day Iran and described as a “circular surround” (Stronach and Roaf 1978: 6, pls. III b, c). One may surmise that the introduction of stone for the shaft of the column, as shown on the Assur example, led to the need for a structural modification and eventually a roundel, which generally formed the lower section of columns of later date, replaced the cushion-shape base.

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Fig. 3. British Museum 90954.
© Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 4. British Museum 91989.
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Fig. 5. Oriental Institute Museum A017558. © Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Pauline ALBENDA <palbenda@msn.com>

34) The Complexity of Understanding: from a Neo-Assyrian Cylinder Seal – BM WA 132257 – to Sargon II’s Throne Room, to Bavian Sculpture and to the ‘god at the entrance of his temple’ – The Neo-Assyrian Cylinder Seal WA 132257, today in the British Museum and attributed to the 8th century,¹⁾ can perhaps find a precise date. Two elements support this assumption: the inscription of property mentioning Ahu-lamur and the iconography. The name Ahu-lamur is a common one in Neo-Assyrian sources (Radner 1998: 80-82), used so frequently under different kings that alone it can’t help for a better

date. On the other hand, the iconography is quite rare: beside a classical ‘adoration’ scene, showing a worshipper in front of a god, the insertion of the god in a temple and the protection of the temple’s entrance by four non-human figures are quite rare subjects. The gate is protected by two pseudo-Gilgamesh (figures with 6 curls hair symmetrical disposed, identified with Gilgamesh since Bachmann 1927: 14) standing on winged human-headed bulls. The choice of the pseudo-Gilgamesh is strongly significant: since the Akkadian period in the glyptic and then in the terracotta the representation of a god at the entrance of his temple is an important topic to stress his full and strongest power (Battini 2017). The seal WA 132257 innovates in the association of the pseudo-Gilgamesh to the winged bull. A similar association is attested for the first time in the palace of Sargon II (cfr Battini 2014; what Albenda defines ‘Grand Royal Emblem’), so the cylinder could not date before 722 and even later, the construction of the new capital having lasted 17 years. It is worth mentioning that 3 people named Ahu-lamur cited by official texts lived under Sargon: a military official, a dispatch rider and a third man with different charges. Also Sennacherib’s Bavian sculpture employs the association of the pseudo-Gilgamesh with the winged bull. And we know 4 people named Ahu-lamur living under Sennacherib’s reign, one of whom is a priest of Assur.

But the Bavian composition is quite different both from WA 132257 and from the Palace of Sargon II. Here the motif is used for one entrance, as in the seal, and it is not by hazard that it’s the entrance of the throne room. The seal is an explicit allusion to the palace, clearly for the royal court, and it can be dated between 715 and 705 BCE. Its owner can be more likely the military officer who can easier have access to the royal palace.

Through the seal, the significance of Sargon II’s throne room becomes more evident: until now it was clear that the figures of pseudo-Gilgamesh were used for protecting the space in which the king shows himself to his subjects and to associate him with the millenary subject of the master of animals (Albenda 1986: 101-102). Now, considering the long history of the topic of the ‘god at the entrance of his temple’ (Battini 2017), it is possible to understand the sophisticated allusion of Sargon II to his godlike nature even in the architectural and decorative realizations of his palace. That this allusion is made through the recovery of Akkadian topics is not surprising from a king whose name is already an obvious manifesto.

In the light of these considerations, the meaning of the Bavian sculpture seems to be even more enriched with a new nuance: with the association of a pseudo-Gilgamesh and a winged bull Sennacherib makes a direct and clear allusion to his ‘beloved and hated’ father²⁾ and through this to his own divine nature. But he overcomes Sargon II in taking the place that in the classic scheme of the ‘god at the entrance’ would have been that of the god.

Notes

1. Collon 2001: 142-3, no. 277, pl. 23, 40, 43; Watanabe 1993a: 119 and pl. 5 no.7.6; Watanabe 1993b: 306, no. 3.4.4, pl. 117: 13. Chalcedony, h.= 3.04 cm; diam= 1.04 cm.

2. The complex relations between Sennacherib and Sargon (cf. “psychohistory” of E. Frahm 2014) are also explicit in the name of his palace: ‘Palace without Rivals’ (ÉGAL ZAGDINU TUKUA) is another allusion to the ‘Palace without equal’ (ÉGAL GABARINU TUKUA) of Sargon II... The opposition of the two kings is more programmatic than real, and other considerations let more plausibly think that Sennacherib could never forget the impression of the paternal figure.

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Laura BATTINI UMR 7192, CNRS Paris <laura.battini@college-de-france.fr>

35) A Greek substitute *šatammu* (temple dean) in Babylon in 125 BC — The constitution of Babylon in the Hellenistic and Parthian periods has been subject of debate since several decades. Cuneiform sources and in particular astronomical diaries and chronicles increasingly gave new input to the discussion. In his dissertation, Van der Spek (1986: 68-78; summarized in 1987) defended the idea of Antiochus' IV installation of a Greek community in Babylon with its own institutions next to the traditional Babylonian government structures. The Greeks were indicated as *puliṭē* or *puliṭānu*, probably representing the Greek word *polītai*, “citizens”, and they were first attested in the Astronomical Diaries under the reign of Antiochus IV (169 BC). Afterwards, more evidence concerning the *polītai* appeared. Tom Boiy (2004: 208) observed that one diary from the time of Antiochus III may mention the *polītai* in a break already in 187 BC. One Babylonian chronicle, BCHP 14, even expressly says that a king Antiochus settled “Greek” *puliṭānu*, in Babylon. Apparently these *polītai* were considered an ethnic group, though it might well be that some of these *polītai* were Hellenized Babylonians, who thus assumed a multiple identity (Van der Spek 2005 and 2009). These citizens had their meetings (assemblies) in the theatre (Van der Spek 2001). In important matters the king communicated with both communities. Letters were sent both to the *šatammu* and the *kiništu* and to the *pahātu* (‘governor’, Greek *epistatēs*) and the *polītai*.

However, as was observed by Roberto Sciandra (2012), we see that these citizens, headed by a governor, gradually became the main addressees of royal messages at the expense of the traditional Babylonian local authorities. So it seems that gradually the *epistatēs* and the *polītai* were considered the main authorities in Babylon. The temple was thus robbed of its political function. This idea was further elaborated by Philippe Clancier (2012), who rightly criticized the use of the term “apartheid” by Van der Spek, as Hellenized Babylonians might belong to the group of “citizens”.

Clancier called this community (or the entire city – in this he is not always consistent) *polis*. This is a term used by classicists to define the Greek independent city-state and as such it is established in the classical discourse. I have always found this confusing as a cursory reading of ancient Greek authors like Herodotus, Xenophon, Aristotle and Polybius shows that they used the word *polis* indiscriminately for all kinds of city: dependent, independent, Greek, Phoenician, Mesopotamian, with every conceivable constitution.¹⁾ Another objection is that it suggests that the Seleucid administration recognized “city status” of certain cities. This is a Medieval concept, not applicable to the Hellenistic kingdoms.²⁾ What the kings did in some cases is grant a new *politeia*, “citizenship; constitution”, with registered citizens, but these constitutions could differ widely and sometimes were hardly Greek, as is exemplified by Jerusalem, where the main authority remained with the high priest and the temple board (*gerousia*, *sanhedrin*), and by Babylon where the new citizens might be of Greek descent, but probably also comprised Hellenized Babylonians, where the council had a Macedonian name (*peliganes* – see BCHP 18B: 3') and where Esagila remained the city's main sanctuary. The foundation of a new Greek temple is not recorded, neither in excavations, nor in texts, and that is probably not accidental. The temple may indeed have been used by both *polītai* and indigenous Babylonians, esp. after 125 BC, when a Greek was appointed substitute *šatammu* of Esagila (Sachs & Hunger 1996: 270-1, No. -124A rev. 21).

We propose a new edition of the relevant passage in the diary:

-124A Abu (V) = August 12th – September 10th, 125 BC

- r18' ...ITU BI U₄ X^{kam} (?)¹ lú^{mu}-ma²-ir² KUR² URI^{2ki?} r_x¹ [... ..]
- r19' [... .. 1-en x x x-a-a] r_{šá}²¹ ú-še-pe-e-š¹⁰ GAL.ERÍN^{meš} KUR URI^{ki} šá É 4 lú¹⁰ GAL.ERÍN^{meš}
TA^{uru} [S]_e-[lu-ke]-'a-'a¹ [šá ana muh-hi^{id} IDIGNA ana E^{ki} KU₄-ub lú¹⁰ ŠA.TAM É.SAG.GÍL]
- r20' [u^{luEki}.MEŠ¹⁰ UKKIN šá É.SAG.GÍL 1-en GU₄ ù X (UDU.NITÁ) SISKÚR ma²]-ru-ú²-tú² ana
NIDBA ana tar-ša KÁ.^dLAMA-ra-bi r_{GUB}-zu-niš-šú¹ ana^{dEN} dGAŠAN-ia^d DINGIR^{meš} GAL^{meš?}
[ana bul-ṭu šá LUGAL ù a-na bul-ṭi-šú GAR-an // DÚ-uš (uš-kin-nu)]
- r21' [ITU BI U₄ X^{kuš}SAR.MEŠ šá LUGAL ina É IGI.DUH.A] šá-su-ú šá mun-nu-ú šá 1-en
i-a'-man-ma-na-a³) ina lú¹⁰ ŠA.TAM.MEŠ É.SAG.GÍL ku-um^{1U?} I[GI[?] ...]
- r22' [...U₄ BI^{kuš}SAR^{meš} šá LUGAL ina a-šar] MU-a-ti šá-su-ú um-ma ITU BAR[?] U₄²¹
25^{kam uru} Am-ma-ri-da^{ki} un[?] [...]
- r23' [... r_x¹ ha-an-ṭiš ina UGU² la ta x x x r_{KA} x^{meš} ù GIG^{meš} r_x¹ [...]
- r24' [ITU BI U₄ X^{kam} T]A^{uru} Se-lu-ke-'a-a šá ana muh-hi^{id} IDIGNA ana URU^{meš} šá
KUR Ma-da-a-a r_x¹ [...]

Translation

- r18' That month, /on the Xth day\ the satrap of Babylonia² [...]
- r19' [...a certain X-aya (or: PN)] who represented⁴⁾ the general (*stratēgos*) of Babylonia of the province of⁵⁾ the four generals, from Seleucia [which is on the Tigris entered Babylon. The *šatammu* of Esagila]
- r20' [and the Babylonians (of) the Assembly of Esagila] provided [1 bull and X] fattened³ [sacrificial sheep] for him opposite the Gate of Lamassu-rabi [and he performed offerings] to Bēl, Bēltia and the great gods, [for the life of the king and for his (*own*) life (and prostrated himself).]
- r21' [That month, on day X, a parchment message of the king in the theatre⁶⁾] was read about the appointment of a certain Greek to the office of *šatammu* of Esagila as substitute of /Bēl-lumur\ [*the šatammu*...]
- r22' [*That month, that day* a parchment message of the king] in this place (i.e. the theatre) was read as follows: “In the month Nisannu (I), on the 25th [day] (= May 10), the city Ammarida [...]
- r23' [...] quickly on [...] and sick⁷ [...]
- r24' [In that month, on the Xth day, *the satrap (or general) of Babylonia*] from Seleucia which is on the Tigris to the province⁷⁾ of Media x x [went out...]

At first sight it seems that the *šatammu* was replaced by the Greek person, but that is not the case. He took over duties of the *šatammu*, while the latter remained in office. We happen to know the name of this *šatammu*: Bēl-lumur. He is mentioned as *šatammu* in the famous Hyspaosines text (BOR 4, 132: 7, Schuol 2000: 31-34 [^mdEN.IGI]) dated to 127 BC and in Astronomical Diary concerning 120 BC (ADART No. -119B₁: 11 [^mU.IGI]).⁸⁾ Our document is dated in between, so it must concern Bēl-lumur and the traces indeed allow a reading ^mU.IGI. Substitutes of *šatammus* are attested on other occasions as well. *Šatammu* Bēl-bullissu was represented at times by his brother Bēl-tabtan-bullit in the 80s BC.⁹⁾ A well-known example from the time of Antiochus IV (169 BC) is a Babylonian jeweller, who was the substitute of his brother in the office of *šatammu*, and was appointed *zazakku* by order of the king (cf. n. 4).

In our case it is not a brother, but “a Greek”, apparently one of the *polittai*, probably of Greek descent indeed (why else would the diarist stress this?), possibly one of the Hellenized Babylonians. One might speculate that it was his duty to see to it that *polittai* could use the temple as their sanctuary. Whether they did offerings “in the Greek fashion” (as is mentioned on occasion in cuneiform sources since Antiochus I¹⁰⁾) is difficult to say. A similar phenomenon is attested in Greek cities and villages in the Fayyum oasis and other places in Egypt, where Greeks and Egyptians alike worshipped indigenous Egyptian gods (Bowman 1986: 166-90).

Notes

1. Elaborately discussed in Van der Spek 1986: 45-54; summarily in 1987: 57-9 and 2012.
2. In the Roman period it is perhaps viable, as it is the Greek equivalent of the *municipium* or *civitas*. The Romans liked juridical distinctions between cities.
3. Suggestion Roberto Scandra, collated and so confirmed by Caroline Waerzeggers november 2008.
4. Same person mentioned in a diary of a year earlier: ADART -126B r2' [...^lu x]-' ?-a-a šá ú-še-piš 4 ^l GAL ERÍN.[MEŠ...]. For the construction šá ú-še-piš ku-um, ‘who acted as representative/substitute of’: ADART -141C: 11', -107C r16'; CT 49, 160: 2; Kessler 2000: 223, No. 17:4 (read ku-um instead of dul-lu in the break); a brother of the šatammu šá ana ku-um-mi-šu ^lŠA.TAM-ú-tu 'ú^l-[še-piš], ADART -168A r13'.
5. Lit.: ‘the general of Babylonia of the house (É, *bītu*) of the four generals’. For the meaning “area, region, province” see CAD B 292-3, s.v. *bītu* 5. However, the function occurs more often and in nearly all other cases the function is written: ^lGAL.ERÍN^{meš} KUR URI^{ki} šá ina muh-hi 4 ^lGAL.ERÍN^{meš}, ‘the general of Babylonia who is in charge of the four generals’. The construction with É occurs once more: ADART -229B obv. 9'. Mitsuma (2007) assumes that he was the supervisor of Upper Satrapies. This seems to be contradicted by AD -140A, r8: [...m]uh-hi 4 ^lGAL ú-qu-tu šá KUR URI^{ki}, ‘in charge of the four generals of Akkad’. Whatever the case, the expressions are apparently synonymous.
6. For the theatre in Babylon see Van der Spek 2001.
7. For this translation consult Van der Spek 2016.
8. More information on the names of the *šatammus*: Van der Spek 2000.
9. CT 49, 160: 1-2; Kessler 2000: 223 No. 17: 4; Van der Spek 2000: 440 (cf. n. 4 above). The interpretation of the name, written ^mdEN-tab-tan-TIN-it, is controversial. In van der Spek 2000 I read Bēl-tabtan-uballit, but the better reading is: Bēl-tabtani-bullit (‘Bēl, keep alive (whom) you have created’ - so an imperative (rather than *uballit*) for TIN is necessary; cf. CAD B 88, s.v. *banû* 3a-3'). The reading of AHw, Bēl-taptan(u)-bulli (from a supposed *taptānu*, derived from *patānu*, ‘to make strong’; AHw 1323a), is less convincing. Jursa writes the similar name ^mdBE-tab-tan-TIN-it, as Ea-tabtanâ-bullit (Jursa 2006: 145 (CT 49, 126:2) *et passim*). Whatever the case: final vowels were not

pronounced anymore in Late Babylonian; the scribes consistently write *tab-tan*, so to avoid problems I follow the scribes: Bēl-tabtan-bullit.

10. BCHP 6; other references mentioned in the commentary.

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Roberto SCIANDRA <roberto.sciandra@gmail.com>

R. J. VAN DER SPEK <robartus.vanderspek@gmail.com>

36) Notes on the Ibn al-Nadīm’s *Kitāb al-Fihrist*: some Evidence of the Mesopotamian Writing Tradition — Abu’l-Faraj Moḥammad bin Abī Ya’qūb Eṣḥāq al-Warrāq al-Nadīm was the author of *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, an “index” of the Arabic books available in Baghdad in the 10th century. Known as Ibn al-Nadīm, he probably was born in Baghdad around 932 (320 AH) and died there in 990 (380 AH). His exact origin is not known. However, there has been some debate on his possible Persian origin. The Persian title of his book, i.e., *pehrest/fehrest/fehres/fahrasat* is noteworthy in this regard. Ibn al-Nadīm gathered a booklist in Arabic in which covers different writing systems and the works of numerous writers who were known at his time. It is not only a valuable source “for the culture of Medieval Islam and the literary men who represented it, but it also gives valuable information about the heritage of antiquity available to the Muslims at the time” (Sellheim & Zakeri 1999).

Kitāb al-Fihrist has ten discourses (*maqālāt*), each divided into several sections. A part of its first discourse “on the revealed Scriptures of Muslims, Jews and Christians, with an emphasis on the Koran and Koranic sciences” contains some remarks on the kinds of scripts known to Ibn al-Nadīm (Ibid). In this discourse, he also discussed the shape of the scripts and their origins.

There are two notable items in the first section of the first discourse:

1. Under the “Remarks on Arabic Writing”:

“Ka’b¹⁾ said, and before Allāh I am not responsible for his statement, that the first to originate the Arabic and Persian scripts and other forms of writing was Adam, for whom be peace. Three hundred years before his death he wrote on clay which he baked so that it kept safe even when the Flood overflowed the earth. Then each people found its script and wrote with it” (Dodge, 1970, p. 7).

2. Under the “Remarks about Types of Paper”:

“It is said that first of all Adam wrote on clay. Then for a period after that, the people wrote on copper and stone for the sake of durability. This was before the Flood” (Ibid, p. 39).

The following issues in Ibn al-Nadīm’s accounts of different types of writings and writing materials would be noteworthy:

1. The source of the first paragraph as he mentioned was Ka’b al-Aḥbār. The same quotation of Ka’b al-Aḥbār could also be observed in *Kitāb al-Wuzara wal-Kottāb* (p. 8)²⁾ about fifty years before the compilation of *Kitāb al-Fihrist*. *Kitāb al-Wuzara wal-Kottāb* was written by al-Jahešyārī/al-Jahšiyārī (died 943, Baghdad), one of the secretaries at the court of Abbasids. It is noteworthy that he was also mentioned in Ibn al-Nadīm’s work five times (Dodge, 1970, pp. 23, 278, 366, 381, 714). What remains of the book of al-Jahešyārī, begins with the history of scripts and the history of administration in Iran before the Islamic period and continues with the scribes of the early Islamic period and so on (Bahramian, 2012, p. 68). Several attestations of al-Jahešyārī in *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, as well as the similarities in quoting from *Ka’b al-Aḥbār*, may suggest that Ibn al-Nadīm might have used either al-Jahešyārī’s work or the same source as that of *Kitāb al-Wuzara wal-Kottāb*.

2. Ka’b al-Aḥbār was the famous Jewish scholar at the court of Mu’āwiyah I, the first Umayyad Caliph (born c. 602, Mecca – died 680, Damascus). There are several hundred critical remarks in early Islamic books attributed to him. “He is considered to have possessed a profound knowledge of the Bible and southern Arabian tradition, as well as personal wisdom. Numerous statements are attributed to him without any argument because he inspired so much confidence” (Schmitz, 1990, pp. 316-317). It is worth investigating whether the source for both Ibn al-Nadīm’s and al-Jahešyārī’s works was Ka’b al-Aḥbār, since he, as mentioned above, could have been aware of probable Hebrew or Biblical accounts of writing on clay tablets in Mesopotamia. Therefore, it is necessary to consider whether there are such accounts in Hebrew and Biblical sources, something that needs an overall investigation within such sources.

3. The author of *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, under “the Remarks about Types of Paper,” shows at least his awareness of the existence of a writing tradition on clay tablets and other materials. It has been generally accepted that the last types of cuneiform tablets ever found in any archaeological excavations were written in Mesopotamia in the first century AD. There also have been some arguments on the survival of cuneiform culture up to the second century and even into the third, when many old traditions were finally extinguished by the religious reforms of the Sasanians, who had put an end to the Parthian rule in Mesopotamia by 224 (George, 2007, pp. 63-64). However, it is notable that at the time of the compilation of *Kitāb al-Fihrist* in the 10th century (about nine centuries after the last cuneiform tablet written in Mesopotamia), the tradition of writing on clay tablets was still known to the author of *Kitāb al-Wuzara wal-Kottāb* and also to the author of *Kitāb al-Fihrist*. Ibn al-Nadīm’s statement on writing on clay tablets might have come from two different sources, i.e., either from some written sources (as we observed in *Kitāb al-Wuzara wal-Kottāb*) or from oral traditions³⁾ in Mesopotamia. In other words, some people in Mesopotamia in the 10th century might still have had some information about the tradition of writing on clay via oral traditions. Although there is some doubt about his professional occupation and we do not know for certain if he was a bookseller or not, however we can ascertain that his father Abu Ya’qūb Ešhāq al-Warrāq al-Nadīm was a bookseller or bookbinder.⁴⁾ His interest in gathering information about the books, types of scripts, and so forth, might have been a family tradition derived from his father’s practice of bookbinding and bookselling. A similar condition can be observed in the life of al-Jahešyārī. As noted before, he was among the secretaries at the court of the Abbasids, and it is highly probable that he too followed the traditional professional occupation of his family. Therefore, there could be another possibility of the transmission of a long tradition of writing

on clay in Mesopotamia to such secretaries through oral traditions as a hereditary practice of their families and their careers.

Notes

1. Ka'b al-Aḥbār, a Yemenite Jew who became a convert to Islam, probably in 638 and is considered the oldest authority on Judaeo-Islamic traditions (Schmitz, 1990, p. 316).
2. The author is grateful to Parsa Daneshmand for calling his attention on this part of *Ketāb al-Vozarā' val-Kottāb*.
3. Note that in the second text (Under the "Remarks about Types of Paper") *Ibn al-Nadīm* narrated his statement with "It is said that...", This could be an indication that this part of his remarks on different material of writing may come from oral traditions.
4. *Warrāq* means "paper manufacturer", "papermaker", "wastepaper dealer", "copyist (of manuscripts)" and so forth.

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Soheil DELSHAD, Institut für Iranistik, Freie Universität Berlin
<soheil@zedat.fu-berlin.de>

VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

37) Pour les 10 ans d'ARCHIBAB : plus de 1.100 textes supplémentaires — Nous souhaitons attirer l'attention de nos collègues sur la quantité de nouveautés contenues dans la dernière mise à jour du site www.archibab.fr. Le travail rétrospectif a permis d'inclure 1.110 textes supplémentaires : 341 proviennent d'Ur (projet *EcritUr*), 337 de Larsa (archives de Šamaš-hazir, en complément du livre de B. Fiette, *ARCHIBAB 3*), 432 d'autres sites (Mari, Nippur, Sippar...).

Comme il a été indiqué dans la *RA 112*, les 3408 textes publiés dans les 10 premières années du programme ARCHIBAB (2008-2017) sont désormais accessibles en totalité sur la base (cf. D. Charpin, « À l'occasion des dix ans du projet ARCHIBAB », *RA 112*, 2018, p. 177-208, article disponible sur http://www.archibab.fr/PDF/chronique_10_ans_ARCHIBAB.pdf).

Le bilan de l'année 2018 s'établit à 392 textes nouveaux intégralement publiés : George CUSAS 36 (220), Chambon FM 15 (74), Reculeau FM 16 (57), Fiette Archibab 3 (16), De Graef AOAT 440 (14), Crisostomo RA 112 (8), Durand Ebla and Beyond (1), Durand & Chambon *Semitica* 60 (1), Földi ANEMS 3 (1). Les textes de Mari représentent (comme souvent) un tiers du total (133/392).

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Dominique CHARPIN & Antoine JACQUET

38) Parution nouvelle : D. Charpin, « Tu es de mon sang ». Les alliances dans le Proche-Orient ancien — Dans la Collection *Docet Omnia* des éditions *Collège de France – Les Belles Lettres* est paru en février dernier l'ouvrage de D. Charpin intitulé « Tu es de mon sang » *Les alliances dans le Proche-Orient ancien*. Sur 267 pages, accompagnées de 50 pages de sources et études, D. Charpin présente une synthèse sur les échanges diplomatiques et notamment la conclusion des alliances durant les trois millénaires de l'histoire mésopotamienne. Il met en lumière le développement des pratiques à travers les époques et tente de changer la perspective de la recherche centrée sur les archives d'El Amarna.

Le livre peut être commandé à l'adresse <https://www.lesbelleslettres.com/contributeur/dominique-charpin>.

Nele ZIEGLER

39) Réorganisation de la Rédaction de NABU — En 1987, c'est à l'initiative de Jean-Marie Durand que *NABU* a pris naissance. Depuis de nombreuses années, c'est sur ses épaules qu'a reposé la charge du contact avec les auteurs et de la mise au point de chaque numéro ; une nouvelle formule a désormais été trouvée, qui le décharge de ce lourd fardeau, grâce à la collaboration de Jean-Michel Roynard, IE à l'UMS 2409. Désormais, il faut adresser vos contributions à : nabu@sepoa.fr.

Au nom de toute l'assyriologie, nous souhaitons remercier Jean-Marie Durand pour son engagement sans faille en faveur d'un journal dont l'utilité a été amplement démontrée et dont le succès est largement dû à ses efforts.

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