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### NOTES BRÈVES

**84) Observations of the planet Venus in archaic Uruk: the problem and researches** — It is well known that the three heavenly bodies – the Moon, the Sun and the Venus – were worshiped as the deities Nanna, Utu and Inanna in Ancient Mesopotamia of the III<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC. Their symbols on seals were, respectively, a crescent, a disc and the eight-pointed star. Encountering an image of crescent on a seal we can therefore assume that the scene depicted on it has to do with the lunar deity Nanna; and the presence of entry <sup>d</sup>Nanna in a text suggests that in epoch of this draft the moon was already worshiped as a deity in Ancient Mesopotamia.

Such statements, undoubtedly, are true for the second half of the III<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC and later on as there exist some text confirmations <sup>1)</sup>. But what can be said about earlier times? It is not known exactly whether Nanna, Utu and Inanna were originally astral deities. Thus it is natural to ask, whether Nanna, Utu and Inanna were always identified as luminaries in Ancient Mesopotamia, and if not always, then when did they acquire the astral meaning? Answering this question unambiguously now is not possible, yet we can make some assumptions.

First we see, that of the three pictographic signs in proto-Sumerian texts which stand for Nanna, Utu and Inanna two, namely ŠEŠ.KI (= Nanna) and MUŠ<sub>3</sub> (= Inanna), do not suggest astral meaning visually: they do not look as luminaries designated <sup>2)</sup>. Perhaps, initially these signs were not introduced to refer to the Moon and Venus, and only later did they acquire the astral meaning <sup>3)</sup>. This evidence, however, can only be seen as an indirect, as pictograms in proto-Sumerian texts do not always resemble the subjects referred to.

It would seem that the sign UD (= u<sub>4</sub>, babbar), adopted to a deity Utu, had an astronomical meaning, though it also had other close interpretations: “day” <sup>4)</sup>, “morning” <sup>5)</sup>. In the early pictographic version it had probably represented the solar disk at the moment of its appearance over the east horizon between the two mountains <sup>6)</sup>.

An important problem related to our theme is the use of determinatives in the proto-Sumerian texts. It is assumed that the names of some gods were recorded with determinative <sup>d</sup> already in archaic Uruk <sup>7)</sup>. However, it does not apply to all gods. So the name of Nanna, for example, is seen with a determinative for the first time only in Fara and Abu Salabikh <sup>8)</sup> but earlier in archaic Uruk, Jemdet Nasr and Ur it is written without a determinative <sup>9)</sup>. The same goes to the name of the sun god Utu <sup>10)</sup>.

In regards to the goddess Inanna the situation is more complex. In the texts of Uruk a combination of signs AN MUŠ<sub>3</sub>, presumably meaning <sup>d</sup>Inanna <sup>11</sup>), is encountered repeatedly. The texts in which AN MUŠ<sub>3</sub> is connected with U<sub>4</sub> “morning” or SIG “evening”, as well as EZEN “festival”, are of particular interest, since these signs allow an astronomical interpretation.

Various researchers translate these texts in a different manner. According to A. FALKENSTEIN (1935), a combination of three signs (AN MUŠ<sub>3</sub> U<sub>4</sub>) = “(zum) Aufgang der Venus”, (AN MUŠ<sub>3</sub> SIG) = “«(zum) Untergang der Venus” <sup>12</sup>). According to M. GREEN (1980): SIG-EZEN-<sup>d</sup>INANNA = “evening festival (or evening of the festival) of Inanna” and UD-(EZEN)-<sup>d</sup>INANNA = “daytime/morning (of the festival of Inanna” <sup>13</sup>). According to R. ENGLUND (1988), AN MUŠ<sub>3</sub> U<sub>4</sub>/SIG = “(offerings) for the morning and evening Venus (star)”, and a combination of the four signs EZEN <sup>d</sup>INANA.SIG/U<sub>4</sub> is translated as “...for the festival (?) of the evening/morning Venus” at the same paper <sup>14</sup>). According to a version of K. SZARZYŃSKA (1993): <sup>d</sup>Inana-ud/hud<sub>2</sub> = “Morning Inanna”, <sup>d</sup>Inana-sig = “Evening Inanna” <sup>15</sup>). The publication of 1998 by R. Englund translates the text as follows: EZEN U<sub>4</sub>/SIG AN MUŠ<sub>3</sub> = “festival of the morning/evening Inanna” <sup>16</sup>). A. A. Vayman (1998) interprets the signs muš<sub>3</sub>-an as nin<sub>2</sub>-an, lit. “Lady of Heaven” <sup>17</sup>); K. WILCKE (1976) considers it possible to treat an-muš<sub>3</sub> as An-Inana “(deities) An (and) Inanna” <sup>18</sup>).

The cited translations can be divided into two main groups: in the first the researchers – A. FALKENSTEIN (1935), R. ENGLUND (1988), A. A. VAYMAN (1998), etc. – suppose that the goddess Inanna was already associated with the Venus as the morning and evening star in archaic Uruk, and so translate the text, in the second – M. GREEN (1980), R. ENGLUND (1998), etc. – it is only *the morning or evening festivals of Inanna* and the planet Venus is not mentioned in translations explicitly. Of the two approaches at present time undoubtedly dominates the first one <sup>19</sup>).

Almost all cited translations treat the sign AN standing alongside MUŠ<sub>3</sub> as <sup>d</sup> – a determinative in front of the name of Inanna. However, if AN is a determinative, you have to conclude that the texts themselves do not have direct evidence that Inanna is an astral goddess. Carrying out of the festivals in the mornings and evenings can not serve as a proof of her being astral. Assuming linkage of Inanna with the planet Venus for the epoch of archaic Uruk we rely not on the text data, but on the evidences of a much later period, where such a connection is reliably attested.

A somewhat different approach is based on rethinking of meaning of the sign AN in the texts under consideration. Already A. FALKENSTEIN noted that the eight-pointed star placed alongside the Inanna symbol in the Uruk texts may have some other meaning than “the goddess Inanna” <sup>20</sup>). In fact, it is not clear what made scribes put a determinative in front of the name of Inanna if the names of the other astral gods (Nanna, Utu) at the same period were written without a determinative. Might it be AN had some other meaning?

The answer may be found in NISSEN, DAMEROW, ENGLUND 1990, 81; *ibid.* 1993, 34, Fig. 32, Text a, where a combination of the three signs AN MUŠ<sub>3</sub> SIG is translated as “(Fest des) Abendsterns (der Göttin) Inanna”, i.e. “(Festival of) evening star (of goddess) Inanna”. Very close interpretation, namely: UD-(EZEN)-MUL<sub>0</sub>-INANA = “morning (festival of) Inanna, (when there is seen) the star” and SIG-(EZEN)-MUL<sub>0</sub>-INANA = “evening (festival of) Inanna, (when there is seen) the star” is given in KURTIK 1999, 507; *ibid.* 2008 40. It is assumed in it that the sign AN, standing alongside MUŠ<sub>3</sub> in the texts from Uruk, is not a determinative <sup>d</sup>, as viewed in many modern studies, but the sign MUL<sub>0</sub> “star”, as follows from its outline, i.e. AN-MUŠ<sub>3</sub> = MUL<sub>0</sub>-INANA, lit. “star of Inanna” <sup>21</sup>).

The eight-pointed star (AN) placed alongside the Inanna symbol (MUŠ<sub>3</sub>) may have originally been introduced in order to indicate the specifics during the worships associated with Inanna, namely the presence of it in the evening or morning skies, to distinguish them from the worships when the star was not observed <sup>22</sup>). The linkage “Inanna–Venus” was, apparently, already set in this period, and the evening and morning stars were considered as a single luminary. Viewing this in the course of the history of astronomy, this is a great achievement, no matter which way it was obtained. Later, the initial identity AN = MUL<sub>0</sub> was expelled with no trace by the meaning AN = diĝir. The identity AN = mul in later texts, as far as we know, was almost not used <sup>23</sup>).

It is clear, that the notion of “star” and the idea of “god” have been closely related in archaic Uruk.

The decisive evidence in favor of assuming of the evening and morning star observations in Uruk and their connection with Inanna is presented by a cylinder seal from the collection of Erlenmeyer (№ 1). It shows in the immediate vicinity the symbol of Inanna (MUŠ<sub>3</sub>), signs UD “morning”, SIG “evening” and the eight-pointed star (AN<sup>2</sup>). We also see a figure of standing bull, in front of him a sign EZEN<sup>3</sup> “festival”, shown in a nonstandard manner (it resembles, rather, a drum) and three eight-pointed stars (MUL<sup>3</sup>) above him<sup>24</sup>). Exact meaning of this image on a seal remains unknown<sup>25</sup>). However, it is obvious that the symbol of Inanna is surrounded on it by pictures that may have or undoubtedly have astral significance, which makes it very likely that the sign MUŠ<sub>3</sub> has astronomical meaning as well.

It may seem surprising, but very little is known of textual evidence about the evening and morning Inanna in Mesopotamia of the III<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC., that derived not from Uruk<sup>26</sup>). Epithets, containing explicit references to the observations of Inanna as the morning and evening star (= Venus), appear only in Neo-Sumerian period.

Thus, we see that almost all modern interpretations of the proto-Sumerian texts from Uruk, carrying a combination of signs AN-MUŠ<sub>3</sub>-U<sub>4</sub>/SIG, presume the astronomical observations of Inanna as the morning and evening star in archaic Uruk. Although this interpretation is more plausible, however, it seems, we can not state that it is definitely proved.

1) This proof may be, for example, the names and epithets of the Nanna, Utu and Inanna as astral deities, which first appeared in the Old Akkadian period and later. With respect to the Venus, see, for example, KURTIK, 2008: 41–43.

2) LABAT 1976, no. 103, 331; GREEN, NISSEN 1987, no. 374, 388.

3) The possible nonastronomical significance of MUŠ<sub>3</sub> in pictographic texts and on seals of Uruk see: STEINKELLER 1998, 89, note 17.

4) LABAT 1976, no. 381; ePSD, ud.

5) The meaning of U<sub>4</sub> = “morning” and SIG = “evening” in the texts of Uruk, see: ENGLUND 1988, 166–167; *ibid.* 1998, 127; SZARZYŃKA 1993, 8, n. 1.

6) LABAT 1976, no. 174. An anthropomorphic figure of the sun god Utu/Shamash rising between two mountains is a standard theme on the Old Akkadian seals: AMIET 1961, № 1486–1488; BOEHMER 1965, Abb. 392–438.

7) For example, <sup>d</sup>ašgi, <sup>d</sup>irḫan, <sup>d</sup>nanše, <sup>d</sup>sud<sub>3</sub> *et al.*: GREEN, NISSEN 1987, 175, no. 31.

8) The reconstructions of the god lists from Fara and Abu Salabikh see: KREBERNIK 1986; MANDER 1986.

9) For example, in the administrative texts from Uruk, the form en-nanna, lit. “Lord Nanna” occurs seven times without a determinative: GREEN, NISSEN 1987, no. 388.

10) GREEN, NISSEN 1987; ENGLUND, GRÉGOIRE 1991; BURROWS 1935.

11) In the administrative texts from Uruk MUŠ<sub>3</sub> occurs 134 times in total; in the period of Uruk IV – 55 times, including 10 times with a determinative; in the period of Uruk III – 79 times, and 48 times with a determinative, GREEN, NISSEN, 1987, 248, no. 374.

12) FALKENSTEIN 1936, 48.

13) GREEN 1980 8, n. 34.

14) ENGLUND 1988, 167, n. 39.

15) SZARZYŃKA 1993, 9, n. 4; she comes to the conclusion that the goddess Inanna was already identified with the morning and evening Venus in archaic Uruk. The view of K. Szarzyńska was also adopted in SELZ 2000, 30, 39, n. 5.

16) ENGLUND 1998, 127.

17) VAYMAN 1998, 13–14.

18) WILCKE 1976, 74–75, § 1.1.

19) See, for example, a clear statement by P.-A. Beaulieu: “The appearance of the two deities Inanna-hú and Inanna-sig in such early texts is quite significant. They must obviously be interpreted as the two manifestations of Inanna as the planet Venus, the morning and evening star. This clearly indicates that the astral identity of Inanna was not the result of late, learned speculations, but indeed a very old and fundamental aspect of the goddess, with roots going back to prehistoric times.” BEAULIEU 2003, 104. See also COOLEY 2013, 165.

20) FALKENSTEIN 1936, 35.

21) In a subsequent publications of the texts from Uruk, appropriate combinations of signs are written as AN MUŠ<sub>3</sub> SIG and AN MUŠ<sub>3</sub> U<sub>4</sub>, i.e. they do not explicitly assume that AN is a determinative, ENGLUND, GRÉGOIRE 1991, 89; ENGLUND 1994 141–142.

22) In most Uruk texts MUŠ<sub>3</sub> is used in contexts which do not prescribe its astral importance. A symbol of Inanna on seals for the most part also do not contain any astral indications. There it shows agricultural role of Inanna as a fertility goddess, see: AMIET 1961, no. 621, 623, 625, 636–639, 643–644, and others.

23) The only example known to us, the identity of AN = *kak-ka-bu* in the comments to *En.el.*, is of the later origin, CAD K 46a.

24) The impression of seal, see: NISSEN, DAMEROW, ENGLUND 1990, 45, Abb. 5a1; *ibid.* 1993, 18, Fig. 18 and P274834 in CDLI ([http://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/tn\\_photo/P274834\\_d.jpg](http://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/tn_photo/P274834_d.jpg)); the drawing of seal, see: VAYMAN 1998, 14, fig. 1.

25) H. Nissen interprets these pictures as ideograms and offers the following translation of the text: “Festival of the evening/morning Inanna (= Venus)”, NISSEN, DAMEROW, ENGLUND 1993, 17.

26) They come from Fara and Abu Salabikh, see: SZARZYŃSKA 1993, 8, n. 1; ALSTER 1976, 21, l. 10.

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Gennady KURTIK <kurtik@bk.ru>

Institute for the History of Science and Technology, Russian Academy of Science, Moscow

**85) The fragmentary tablet L. 9376** — This text, possibly post-Sargonic, may be a later clay copy in modernized script of an otherwise unknown inscription of Eannatum I (or II?) of Lagash. If this proposal

proves to be correct, this would be a striking instance of a pre-Sargonic Sumerian inscription in a student copy.

i

- 1') [É-an]-na-tum
- 2') [PA.T]E.SI
- 3') [Lagaš]<sup>ki</sup>-ke<sub>4</sub>
- 4') [ensí]-gal
- 5') [ ]-si
- 6') [ <sup>d</sup>E]n-líl?  
(space?)
- 7') [ ]-ke<sub>4</sub>

ii

- 1') NIM [ ]
- 2') zag-an-na [ ]
- 3') [ ] INANNA?
- 4') šu-nir urudu
- 5') mu-na-z[i]
- 6') É-an-na-túm
- 7') mu-pà-[da]
- 8') <sup>d</sup>Nin-gír-[su ]
- 9') NIM<sup>ki</sup>-t[a]
- 10') šu-nir [urudu]  
(rev.)

iii

- 1') É-a[n-na-túm ]
- 2') mu-[ ]

iv

- 1') x [ ]
- 2') [ ]-ni
- 3') [ ] x

Benjamin R. FOSTER <Benjamin.Foster@yale.edu>  
Yale University, USA

**86) *Orientalia* 85** — In his recent article "Egypt or Iran in the Ebla Texts?", *Orientalia* 85, (2016), pp. 1-49, A. Archi omitted to quote the main article I wrote (with A. Roccati) on this topic, "Tra Egitto e Siria nel III millennio a.C.", *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche* 144, (2012), pp. 17-42. In this article I quoted several texts in translations, with detailed discussion of the texts, proposing to locate Dugurasu west of Ebla, possibly in Egypt. The article is available on my page in Academia.edu.

Maria-Giovanna BIGA <vanna.big@gmail.com>  
La Sapienza, ROMA

**87) The Pregnant Woman in the Archaic Hymn to Shamash of Sippar** — In his translation of the *Archaic Hymn to Šamaš of Sippar* found at Abu Salabikh and Ebla (IAS 326+342 // ARET V 6), Ben Foster stops at line 25, commenting: "remainder of text mostly untranslatable" (FOSTER 2005:51). Indeed, the first part of this text seems more understandable than the very difficult central part, in spite of the efforts of the three scholars to whom we owe a full treatment of the long hymn (see LAMBERT 1989 and 1992; KREBERNIK 1992; YUHONG 2007). I read the portion of the text immediately after Foster's line 25 as follows:

[a] = Foster's l. 25

IAS 326+342 obv. III:10f. húl <sup>d</sup>en-líl / kù-babbar <sup>za</sup>gìn gar<sub>5</sub>-gar<sub>5</sub> ab-si

ARET V 6 obv. V:2f. [...] / ki[sal en]-na-rí a-gar<sub>5</sub> kù-sig<sub>17</sub> <sup>za</sup>gìn u<sub>9</sub>-ša<sub>10</sub>-lí

[b]

IAS 326+342 obv. III:12f. 'dagal' kisal nìgin / 'tu'-da gizza<sub>x</sub>(NU<sub>11</sub>.AN)<sup>zal</sup>

ARET V 6 obv. V:4 ra-pá-šum kisal en-na-rí peš<sub>x</sub>(ŠAG<sub>4</sub>×GAL<sub>4</sub>)<sup>munus</sup> tá<sub>l</sub>-<sup>r</sup>geštug<sup>1</sup>

[c]

IAS 326+342 obv. III:14f. <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU ur-sag-sù / geštug pàd

ARET V 6 obv. V:5 <sup>d</sup>EN.ZU qur-da šu<sub>11</sub>-a-ti<sub>9</sub> geštug nídba

[d]

IAS 326+342 obv. III:16f. giš-ba-tuku níg-DU-zu<sub>5</sub> / gígri-di

ARET V 6 obv. V:6 mu-ZI-ir inim-gar sig<sup>1</sup>-sig<sup>1</sup>

[e]

IAS 326+342 obv. III:18 - IV:1 [...] kalam / a-ni NUNUS.GIG

ARET V 6 obv. V:6 a-bù TIM-TIM PI(-)AD

These are the available translations (their deep divergencies are due to very different readings and syntactical analyses):

"... In the courtyard of Enna-URU he presented 'lead', gold and lapis lazuli. The large court of Enna-URU ... Sin his heroism ...", LAMBERT 1989:33 (followed by MATTHIAE 2008:252).

"The courtyard of the NÌGIN (// Enlil was in joy or: the joy of Enlil), he filled with lead, gold (// silver), and lapislazuli, the large courtyard of the NÌGIN." (with fn. 6: "probably KI[SAL en]-na-rí ... belongs to the preceding sentence (in the gap), and the object of u<sub>9</sub>-sa-li 'he filled' is ra-ba-šum(!) KISAL en-na-rí [of ARET V 6 obv. V:4]"); "The pregnant woman, full of understanding (?), called Su'en, the famous hero (!?). 'I have heard your words(?)' ... the father of the land, the father of the NUNUZ.GIG" (with f. 7: "perhaps, the passage alludes to the myth of the 'cow of Sin'"), KREBERNIK 1992:83.

"The joy of Enlil, the great courtyard, he fills with copper, gold, silver, lapis, the wide courtyard (of his temple).", FOSTER 2005:51.

"In the yard of Enlil, he sent / filled up the silver and the lead (copper) and lapis lazuli. In the spacious yard of Enlil, the wisdom was born (Ebla: in the womb of woman is wisdom). Sin, his warrior, wise one (Ebla: father), heard of the offerings and came down to his fiesta (Ebla: to eat). He is the father of the nation and the father of intelligence", YUHONG 2007:81f.

In the two manuscripts of the hymn, the "pregnant woman", tu-da // peš<sub>x</sub><sup>munus</sup> (at Ebla = *harītum* according to VE 594, peš<sub>x</sub>(ŠAG<sub>4</sub>×GAL<sub>4</sub>) = 'à-rí-tum, see PETTINATO 1981:68, CONTI 1990:166, and KREBERNIK 1992:142), is not mentioned again. Thus, in my view she is unlikely to be one of the real protagonists in the frequently obscure mythical actions referred to in the text. I prefer therefore to think that the "pregnant woman" occurs as a proverbial element of a simile. Also note that a woman occurs in a proverb in an Ebla chancery text, see ARET XIII 19 rev. V:9-12, Ib-la<sup>ki</sup> a:dè dam ba-ru<sub>12</sub>-a, "Ebla è menzognera fino a (quanto può esserlo) una donna" according to its editor (FRONZAROLI 2003:194f. and 199), "Ebla finché (è tua) moglie (ti) starà (sempre) a riempire di ignobili menzogne!" according to my own interpretation (BONECHI 2014:102-105).

Moreover, in my opinion dagal kisal of Abu Salabikh // ra-pá-šum kisal of Ebla is unlikely to mean "large court(yard)", "wide courtyard", "spacious yard". I prefer to read rapšum kisal kummim, thinking that there is a wordplay in [b] in which forms of the verb rapšum are used twice: rapšum is used of the courtyard of Šamaš' kummum, while another form of the verb is used of the ear of the pregnant woman, with reference to the notion of intelligence, wisdom: tá<sub>l</sub>-geštug, which syntactically is a qualification of the pregnant woman, may hide an idiom corresponding to later Akk. rapša uzni, "vast in intelligence, wise". If there is a simile in [b], kisal kummim, "courtyard of (Šamaš') night chamber", may correspond to harītum, "pregnant woman", in a chiasmic construction: rapšū kisal kummim harītum rapšat 'úznim.

Therefore, for [a-b] of the Archaic Hymn to Šamaš of Sippar I suggest the following translation:

“For the joy of Enlil, (Šamaš) cause to fill (by the travelling merchants) the courtyard of (his own) night chamber (here, in the É-babbar of Sippar) with gold / silver, lead, and lapis lazuli! Wide is the courtyard of (Šamaš) night chamber, (just as wide is the womb of) a wise pregnant woman!”.

In a previous part of the *Archaic Hymn to Šamaš of Sippar*, travelling merchants, typically protected by Šamaš (see NAKATA 1970-1971), are mentioned. The passage IAS 326+342 obv. II:8-III:5 // *ARET* V 6 obv. III:2-IV:5 has been translated as follows (see also CIVIL – RUBIO 1999, p. 256 fn. 9; CATAGNOTI 2016:30 and fn. 8).

“The order of Ea, the sergeant of the lands, occurred. Foreign trade he gave to the traders. The lands yielded lapis and silver, sissou wood, cedar, cypress, juniper ... perfumed oil, vegetable oil, honey, ..., the property of traders.... of the gods ... (various aromatics) he loaded(?) on his boats.” (LAMBERT 1989:33);

“He raised ‘soldiers of the foreign lands’, to the merchants he gave goods. The foreign lands yielded lapislazuli and silver, the cedar forest yielded (pure) wood, boxwood and cypress, exquisite emblems(?). With ZÉ // SAL.X, the proud one adorns the house. Aromatic oil, vegetable oil and honey, the goods of the merchants, (and the smoke(?) of the gods, (which is) juniper, almond and NI.SI.GÚR.GÚR, the products of the foreign land, he caused to be brought by his boats/rafts.” (KREBERNIK 1992:67, 74, and 82 with fn. 5: “‘Soldiers of the foreign lands’: soldiers who escort the traders?”);

“Under the advice/help of Enki, this guard confirmed (order of) the lands. He granted traders the (safe) trade travel. Foreign nations deliver lapis lazuli and silver (to Sumer). Forests deliver cedars, {holy timbers}, also boxwoods and cypresses, the selected sacred timbers, which is suitable for his honour. He makes perfumes, sesame oil and honey, the wealth of traders, with the godly incense, licorice, various spices, various precious stones, the supplies/heaps from foreign lands in his cargo ship (IAS: the wood raft) to be dragged back” (YUHONG 2007:80f.);

“He (i.e., Šamaš) established soldiers in the foreign lands; he gave (those lands) to the traveling merchants; the traveling merchants brought lapis lazuli and silver from the foreign lands; they brought cedar from the (cedar) forest; one decorated the spires of the temples with standards (urin) of box-wood, cedar, and cypress” (STEINKELLER 2013:149 and fn. 72).

My translation of this passage, largely based on Steinkeller’s understanding, follows (see also BONECHI forthcoming, fn. 16):

“(Once) the high-ranking soldiers (thanks to Šamaš and Hadda) are established in foreign countries, he (Šamaš) gives a (safe) trade route to the travelling merchants. (As consequence) from the foreign countries (the travelling merchants) bring (to us, here, in the É-babbar of Sippar) lapis lazuli and silver; from the Forest- / Garden-of-the-Cedar they bring (to us, here) (pure) wood, i.e. (wood of) boxwood and cypress, for the standards fit for adorning the (Sippar) Temple, (for) the proud one (i.e. Šamaš); (and also they bring to us, here) perfumed oil, vegetable oil and honey, goods of the merchants; (and also they bring to us, here, what is needed for) the censer of the gods; (and also they bring to us, here, wood of) juniper and various other precious goods: (these are the precious goods that Šamaš) causes to be towed by their (i.e. the travelling merchants’ – Ebla source) / his! (Abu Salabikh source) boats”.

It seems probable that the goods mentioned in [a] are part of this rich trade established and patronised by Šamaš.

The temporal setting of [a-b] could be dusk and the beginning of the darkness within the Sippar temple by now filled with goods, if, as I suggest, gígri-di // sig<sup>1</sup>-sig<sup>1</sup> of [d] refers to the time when the public activity of the Sun-god and of the travelling merchants end. This latter point could find confirmation if the heroism evoked by ur-sag // *qur-da* of [d] (KREBERNIK 1992:145) refers to the divine hero per antonomasia, i.e. Šamaš, and not to his father, Suyinum: Šamaš is “hero” since he survives the very dangerous night-time journey into the netherworld (see ALAURA – BONECHI 2012:23 and fn. 99). Another temporal setting could be found above, in IAS 326+342 obv. III:6-9 // *ARET* V 6 obv. IV:6-V:1 (see the lexical discussion in KREBERNIK 1992:134, s.v. PA.È(.AK)). If so, these temporal notations could refer firstly to the working day, from dawn to dusk, and then to the evening rest that follows, from sunset to night.

If the pregnant woman belongs to a simile – the richness of the temple Ebabbar of Šamaš at Sippar is becoming wider every day just as her womb becomes wider every day – then it is worth noting the association between material welfare, pregnancy and wisdom.

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Marco BONECHI,  
Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico (ISMA), CNR, Roma.

**88) Joints pour ARET XI 1 v** — Lors de la préparation de l’édition de ARET XIII (Roma 2003), j’ai pu identifier quelques petits fragments et éclats appartenant aux deux textes majeurs du *Rituel royal* publiés dans ARET XI (Roma 1993). Il s’agit dans presque tous les cas de mots ou fragments de mots qui confirment les restaurations proposées dans l’édition mais il y en a aussi quelques-uns qui apportent des graphies intéressantes. La publication d’une photo du verso de la tablette TM.75.G.1823+ (= ARET XI 1) dans le catalogue d’une exposition en cours à Rome (F. Rutelli – P. Matthiae (éds.), *Rinascere dalle distruzioni. Ebla, Nimrud, Palmira*, Roma 2016, p. 37) me donne l’occasion de communiquer le contenu des joints qui s’y réfèrent (tous les autres seront publiés dans un article prochain) :

- [1] wa-a / i-sa-ma (TM.75.G.17834Z)
- [2] mi-in / ṽaḫ-ḫé-ri (IM.75.G.18246Q)
- [3] 2 [ ] (TM.75.G.18345W<sup>2</sup>)
- [4] nu-ba-du / ḫKU-ra / ḫBa-ra-ma (TM.75.G.18345W)

Les fragments [2, 4] et l’éclat [3] correspondent entièrement aux restaurations proposées respectivement dans ARET XI 1 v. XIII 5-6 ; v. XIII 1-4 ; v. XII 1.

Le fragment [1], qui restitue deux cases de la lacune après v. VI 11, témoigne d’une forme nouvelle du verbe \*nš « lever » : /yiššamma/ de \*yišši’-am-ma, prétérit + ventif + particule d’emphase (pour l’élision de /l/ et la contraction qui en dérive, cf. A. Catagnoti, *La grammatica della lingua di Ebla*, Firenze 2012, p. 151-152).

Pelio FRONZAROLI <<pelio.fronzaroli@unifi.it>



**89) On the ghost word *tasniqtu* “verification” and the stone called “beginning” in Hh. XVI, 189 —**

The entries *tasniqtu* “checking” in CAD T, p. 283 and AHW p. 1337 “Überprüfung” should be removed from the dictionaries. A nominal form *tasniqtu* which, if it existed, were derived from *sanāqu* “to check, control” (or better from its D-stem as the form is *taprist*), is nowhere attested in the entire corpus of Akkadian texts. The dictionary entries refer to line 189 of the lexical list UR<sub>5</sub>.RA = *hubullu* XVI, where allegedly a stone called *aban tasniqti* “stone of verification” is mentioned. However, at a closer look it turns out that none of the two manuscripts of UR<sub>5</sub>.RA = *hubullu* that contain this (Akkadian) entry display a corresponding spelling. The main source for entry 189 in MSL 10, p. 9 is a Neo-Babylonian school copy from Ur, published as UET 6, 406. MSL 10 (p. 9) transliterates the pertinent line as NA<sub>4</sub>.BAL = *aban tas-niq-ti* but already the commentary on page 22, which reads *ab-nu tas-<sup>+</sup>hul-t[i]*, shows that the reading was emended. The + obviously indicates that the editors considered *hul* (IGI.UR) to be a scribal error for the very similar *niq* (SAL.UR). A photo of the tablet has been published on CDLI ([http://cdli.ucla.edu/search\\_results.php?SearchMode=Text&ObjectID=P247834](http://cdli.ucla.edu/search_results.php?SearchMode=Text&ObjectID=P247834), retrieved on 7/11/2016). The pertinent line is line 5 on the reverse. Instead of NA<sub>4</sub>.BALA = *ab-nu tas-niq<sup>1</sup>* (HUL)-t[i] I suggest to read NA<sub>4</sub>.BALA = *ab-nu ta-<sup>\*</sup>ši-<sup>\*</sup>ri-<sup>\*</sup>tu<sub>4</sub>*. The final sign of the line is better preserved than the copy UET 6, 406 indicates, and its front part fits to TUM, not to TI. The sign read HUL should be separated into *ši* and *ri*. The RI-sign is not perfect as the lower impression of the Winkelhaken runs indeed parallel to the horizontal, and can thus easily be mistaken for a horizontal wedge. But it does not look like the UR which the copy shows; there is no visible wedge-head as expected if a second horizontal was intended.

The reading *ab-nu ta-ši-ri-tu<sub>4</sub>* harmonizes the Ur school text with the manuscript from Emar published by D. Arnaud (*Recherches aux pays d’Aštata. Emar VI: Textes sumériens et accadiens*. Paris 1985, copy in vol. 2, p. 495, text 741990; transliteration vol. 4, p. 127, no. 553, Annexe IV). The latter displays [NA<sub>4</sub>.BA]LA = NA<sub>4</sub> *ta-aš-ri- [ti]*. The stone was thus called *tašrītu(m)* “beginning” in Akkadian. Its Sumerian equivalent BALA “turn, rotation” (also of time periods) belongs to the same underlying concept map. A. Schuster-Brandis (*Steine als Schutz- und Heilmittel* (AOAT 46), Münster 2008, p. 82 and 404-405) cautiously identified the BALA-stone as schist.

The reading in MSL 10 has led to the postulation that the Babylonians used a touchstone called *aban tasniqti* “stone of verification” to test the fineness of gold (Schuster-Brandis 2008, 405 with previous literature in fn. 661). So far there is no hard proof that the touchstone technique was known in the second millennium BC. In the sixth century BC however, Babylonians (and other peoples) did use the touchstone method. It was called *pidānu* in Babylonia. *Pidānu*, which appears for the first time in the sixth century, is a loanword from Arabic *fm* “to test, probe, scrutinize, examine”; *fatn* is the touchstone. So far, Babylonian texts do not disclose their word for the stone itself but only for the procedure of testing. The evidence is discussed in further detail in Kleber, *Arabian Gold in Babylonia* (forthcoming in *Kaskal* 13).

Thus, though touchstones were most likely known at the time when the manuscript of Hh. XVI from Ur was written, the lexical list does not show an innovation here. The BALA-stone was called *tašrītu* “beginning” in Akkadian, not touchstone.

Kristin KLEBER, <k.kleber@vu.nl>  
Vrije Universiteit AMSTERDAM

**90) The use of DAH in an Old Babylonian account text —**

D.I. Owen published CUNES 55-01-008 as Text 1 in the Van Lerberghe AV (OLA 220), pp. 446-50. This document contains a remarkable phrase in the section dealing with barley: (21) 130 gú siki gen (22) 1 gú-šè 17 še-gur-ta (23) še-bi 2210 gur (24) 1200 še-gur ki-ba gar-ra pá-ši-mi<sup>ki</sup> (25) dah! 60\* gur-àm 10 gur-ta (26) še-bi 200 gur / 3610 gur guru<sub>7</sub>-šè. The total of 3610 gur of barley entering the granary consists of 2210 gur (line 23), 1200 gur (Owen: “replacement” of Pašime), and 200 gur (line 25-26). We accept Owen’s reading of the first sign in line 25 as dah!, which he rendered “the addition”. The amount of 200 shows that this “addition” consists of 10 gur for each 60 gur. What does this calculation mean? The addition per 60 gur might be related to transport by boats of nominally 60 gur each. However, the capacity of the measure used for the shipment on behalf of Pašime was one-sixth larger than that of the receiving institution, probably by using a bariga

of 70 sila instead of 60. As a result, the 1200 gur of Pašime was in fact 1400 gur at the place of accounting. Such assessed differences were discussed by K.R. Veenhof in his article in *Mél. Birot* (1985), but the logogram DAH does not occur in the evidence he was able to collect at the time. DAH obviously represents a word derived from the verb *wašābum* "to add", possibly the OB word *ušubbû* identified by M. Stol in OLZ 108 (2013) 91a.

The sign DIŠ preceding GUR is easily misinterpreted as "1", cf. line 25 in the edition of this tablet (other collations from the photos: end line 1: + gibil\*, 8: gín\*-ta, 19: <sup>d</sup>utu-illat-ta\*, 23: no še before gur). M. Stol wishes to seize this opportunity to ask the readers of N.A.B.U. to kindly change "5" into "300" (5x60) in AbB 9, 94:5 (and see Archibab s.v. for further corrections in some other volumes of AbB).

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

**91) Les serments de A.2052<sup>+</sup>** — Depuis quelques années, ma recherche doctorale centrée sur le serment à l'époque paléo-babylonienne a produit plusieurs réflexions concernant l'interprétation de ces formules, parfois trompeuses dans leur libellé. La lettre A.2052<sup>+</sup>, analysée par J-M. Durand dans son article « Le commerce entre Imâr et Mari sur l'Euphrate. Un nouvel exemple du début du règne de Zimrî-Lîm » paru dans la RA 105<sup>1)</sup>, comporte, entre autres, un serment au discours direct que Yatar-Kabkab, haut dignitaire en fonction pendant le règne de Zimrî-Lîm<sup>2)</sup>, adressa aux habitants de la ville d'Imar au cours d'un séjour (forcé) pour rassembler le grain exigé par le roi, avant son départ pour Alep.

Le dignitaire se trouvait dans une situation délicate face aux représentants de la ville qui se plaignent des taxes, des exactions et des problèmes de pertes subies par des ressortissants de la ville d'Imar. C'est donc pour calmer les esprits qu'il prononça son discours et le serment en question :

LÚ.MEŠ ŠU.GI ša i-ma-ar<sup>o</sup> ú-pa-hi-ir-ma ki-a-am  
 18 ad-bu-ub-šu-nu-ši-im um-ma a-na-ku-ma be-lí ki-a-am  
 iš-pu-ra-an-ni um-ma-a-mi mi-nu-um ša ta-da-bu-ba  
 20 um-ma at-tu-nu-ma hi-ib-la-tu-ni-mì ma-da-tum  
 ù DUMU i-ma-ar<sup>o</sup> ha-ab-tu-tum-mì it-ti  
 22 (I)zi-im-ri-li-im i-ba-aš-šu-mì  
 du-ba hi-ib-la-ti-ku-nu lu-di-na-ku-nu-ši-im  
 24 <sup>r</sup>ù<sup>1</sup> šum-ma UGULA be-lí-ia hi-<sup>r</sup>ib<sup>1</sup>-[l]a-ti-ku-nu  
 T. [l]a wu-šu-ra-am TUR<sup>o</sup> an-hi-ma LÚ.MÁ.DU.DU  
 26 [ša] i-na ší-im-la-lim ha-ab-tu-ma  
 {ha ab tu ma} ù ia-si-DINGIR i-ša-mu-<sup>r</sup>šu<sup>1</sup>  
 28 be-lí la ú-wa-ša:aš-[r]a-am  
 R. ù a-na mi-ti-im ša <sup>r</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>-tú sa-am-me-tar  
 30 ù aq-ba-a-hu-um ni-iš DINGIR-lim la i-za-ka-ru  
 an-né-tim ad-bu-ub-šu-nu-ši-{<sup>r</sup>IM<sup>1</sup> <sup>r</sup>Ú<sup>1</sup>}-im

(17-18) J'ai rassemblé les Anciens d'Imar et je leur ai tenu ce discours : « Mon seigneur (19-20) m'a envoyé vous dire : "Que signifient ces plaintes de vous : 'Nombreuses sont les exactions à notre rencontre ! (21-22) En outre, il y a des citoyens d'Imar lésés chez (ou de la part de?) Zimri-Lim.' (23) Dites-(le) que je vous (re)donne ce qui vous a été extorqué !" (24-28) Hé bien, je vous jure que c'est un chef de service de mon seigneur qui restituera ce qui vous avez injustement perdu, que c'est mon seigneur qui relâchera le serviteur d'Anhum, le batelier, qui a été lésé pour le cumin et que Yassi-El lui a acheté; qu'en outre, pour le manque à gagner qui a pu se produire, Sammetar et (H)aqba-ahum prononceront un serment par les dieux! »

(31) Voilà ce que je leur ai dit.

La traduction que je propose des lignes 24-28 concernant le serment de Yatar-Kabkab se concentre sur deux points distincts : la formulation *šumma... lâ ... lâ* employée pour exprimer l'engagement et l'interprétation du verbe *wašārum*.

J-M. Durand traduisait la structure *šumma... lâ ... lâ* avec deux périphrases qui gardent intacte la valeur de la négation : « Hé bien, je vous jure que ce n'est pas un chef de service de mon seigneur qui se trouve faire le problème qui vous cause du tort, que ce n'est pas mon seigneur qui fait un problème pour le serviteur d'Anhum, le batelier, qui a été lésé pour le cumin que Yassi-El a acheté ». En même temps, dans la note d) il renvoie à LAPO 16 p. 510 où à la note f) on peut lire : « *Šumma...lâ* exprime un serment

positif très fort [...]”. En effet, la formulation du serment avec une construction conditionnelle introduite par *šumma* est une construction courante au I<sup>er</sup> mill. déjà employée à la période paléo-babylonienne, notamment à Mari. Il s’agit tout simplement de la protase d’une construction conditionnelle, sans l’apodose explicitée (“puisse-(je) être maudit si..”) ; on a donc littéralement : « (Puisse-je être maudit) si ce n’est pas un chef de service de mon seigneur qui restituera vos biens, si ce n’est pas mon seigneur qui relâchera le serviteur d’Anhum ... »

Ce genre de construction conditionnelle a été couramment traduit par une inversion du sens de la phrase (du négatif au positif et vice versa). Si cela facilite la compréhension du texte, le sens d’auto-malédiction propre à ce serment est perdu. Il faut donc choisir sur quel aspect du serment on veut insister : sur l’engagement personnel avec une traduction au positif “(je jure que) ... restituera” ou sur l’auto-malédiction implicite dans la formulation, avec une traduction au négatif “(puisse-(je) être maudit si)...ne restituera pas...”.

Deuxièmement, l’interprétation du verbe pose problème : *wašārum* (II) à cette période revêt le sens de “to release, to set free”. Une lettre de Mari offre un parallèle de *wašārum* employé avec *hibiltum* (ARM 26/2 410 l. 14’-17’ : [...] ù at-ta / ma-ah-ri-šu di-na-am ni-de-en-ma hi-ib-la-ti-ka / [š]a i-na bi-lanu-um ú-ka-al-lu lu-ú-wa-še-ra-kum / ù at-ta hi-ib-la-ti-ia wa-še-ra-am : « et nous plaiderons notre procès devant lui, en sorte que je te restitue les biens t’appartenant dont tu es privé et que je garde malgré moi ; et toi, restitue les biens qui m’appartiennent dont je suis privé »).

Le verbe *habālum* « oppress, wrong (a person), to ravage, take away (...) » et le substantif dérivé *hibiltum* « damage, loss caused by an unlawful action, evil deeds » (CAD/H p. 3 s. et 179 s.) ont un champ sémantique bien spécifique si bien que le CAD lui dédie une note conclusive à l’entrée du verbe. Il s’agit donc des biens détournés de façon frauduleuse peut-être par des membres de l’administration étant donné l’engagement royal de dédommager les citoyens lésés. Les événements enregistrés dans la lettre se situent au tout début du règne de Zimri-Lim, période dans laquelle Yatar-Kabkab exerçait encore un rôle important au sein de l’administration royale. Le roi, qui a besoin du grain bloqué à Imar, fait déclarer à son fonctionnaire par devant les Anciens de la ville « Dites-(les) que je vous (re)donne ce qui vous a été extorqué ! ». C’est donc en conséquence directe de cette affirmation que Yatar-Kabkab formule son serment. Le roi accepte d’intervenir concernant des problèmes extraordinaires liés aux biens (frauduleusement ?) extorqués et une dispute qui engendre la détention d’un homme ; son fonctionnaire doit donc calmer la ville grâce à la volonté du roi afin de débloquent le grain. La problématique passe ensuite sur le vrai point du “blocage”, la taxe *miksum*.

J’estime que l’interprétation de la première partie de la lettre est désormais à abandonner. Il ne s’agit pas ici d’une déclaration de “non culpabilité ou non responsabilité” du Palais envers les Imariotes, mais au contraire, Zimri-Lim rassure les citoyens à travers son fonctionnaire en assurant qu’il prendra en charge la résolution de leurs malversations et ennuis.

Dans la même optique il faut comprendre la dernière phrase du discours de Yatar-Kabkab concernant le serment à prononcer par Sammêtar et (H)aqba-ahum<sup>3</sup> : les deux personnages doivent prêter serment envers la communauté et les personnes concernées à propos de la perte des profits. L’engagement solennel, quel que soit son contenu, vise encore une fois à apaiser la colère des Anciens à l’égard du roi.

1) J.-M. Durand, « Le commerce entre Imâr et Mari sur l’Euphrate. Un nouvel exemple du début du règne de Zimrî-Lîm », RA 105 p. 181-192, Paris (2011).

2) *Ibid.* surtout p. 187-188.

3) Pour la “paire” formée par Sammetar et (H)aqba-ahum voir : ARM 24 n°123 :4’-5’, 125 :9-10 ; M. 6106 :8-9 ; M. 7196 :7-8.

Francesca NEBIOLO <kastalia.fn@gmail.com>

**92) Ea and Damkina, the gods of Malgium in diaspora** — The goal of this contribution is to signal the scattered references to Ea and his consort Damkina as gods of the Old Babylonian Malgium diaspora. The main gods of the small state of Malgium have been known for some time thanks to the Codex Hammurabi and two royal inscriptions of the Malgium kings Ipiq-Ištar and Muttakil-ilissu (ARNAUD 2007, FRAYNE 1990, KUTSCHER & WILCKE 1978). The site of Malgium is still unknown and its

history has to be pieced together from texts found elsewhere. It is clear that Malgium (with Dêr) played an important role as a frontier kingdom between Mesopotamia and Elam. Malgium and its king Ipiq-Ištar were conquered by Hammurabi in 1761 BCE (CHARPIN 2004:330 and VAN KOPPEN 2005). The city also participated in the wars fought between Samsu-iluna's 8th and 14th year (SERI 2013, CHARPIN 2014). In the wake of these two events we see people from Malgium settled in the province of Yaḥrūrūm šaplūm as soldiers, and other Malgium natives living in Kiš. Perhaps some of them even moved to Isin, because a brick inscription of Muttakil-ilissu was found there (IB 2015, KUTSCHER & WILCKE 1978). During my studies of Old Babylonian Malgium (see bibliography) I sometimes encountered the main gods of Malgium, Ea and Damkina, in texts written by Malgium people living in diaspora. Apparently these people did not give up their special devotion to their city gods. This is most clearly seen in oaths that were sworn in the name of Ea and Damkina by people originating from Malgium. Oaths sworn in the name of the original city gods by migrants is no exception, an example concerning OB Urukeans is found in the text edited by WILCKE 1997.

1) *Ea and Damkina in oaths*: the adoption of Malgūm-libluṭ in *Ki* 607/618 (DONBAZ & YOFFEE 1986:45-56). In this contract a boy with the diasporic name Malgūm-libluṭ (“May Malgium live!”) is adopted from his natural parents Ḫuttupum and Bikkulum by the couple Gimillum and Ištar-ibbi. Donbaz and Yoffee believed that Malgūm-libluṭ was a slave who was also manumitted in this contract. I find no evidence of this in the contract, but I can also not exclude that a manumission clause was present in the broken part of the contract. The same contract makes clear that Ištar-ibbi is also a daughter of Bikkulum (*Ki* 607:8’). We can assume that the older sister adopted her younger brother and at the same time married Gimillum. Gimillum is paying two shekels of silver to Ḫuttupum and Bikkulum for Malgūm-libluṭ and ten shekels of silver as the bride price of Ištar-ibbi. In addition to the usual adoption clauses, the contract further stipulates that Gimillum and Ištar-ibbi must support Ḫuttupum and Bikkulum for as long as they live. The contract ends with an oath. Donbaz and Yoffee read (1.42’-43’, p.47): [mu<sup>d</sup>E]N.‘ZU’<sup>d</sup>NIN.‘GAL<sup>(?)</sup>’, [ù<sup>d</sup>EN].‘ZU-mu’-[ba-lī]-‘iṭ’. Instead, based on the copy of *Ki* 607, I propose to read: [MU<sup>d</sup>E]N.KI<sup>d</sup>DAM.KI.‘NA’, [ù] ‘sa-am-su-i-lu-na LUGAL’. The oath by Ea (here: Enki) and Damkina makes sense for Ḫuttupum and Bikkulum who must have been natives of Malgium, also given the fact that they gave their son a diasporic name. The dating to Samsu-iluna instead of Sîn-muballiṭ also makes more sense than Sîn-muballiṭ given the fact that under Sîn-muballiṭ no diaspora population of Malgium is known.

2) *Ea and Damkina in oaths*: the text Veenhof Los Angeles County Museum (published as an appendix to DE BOER 2016b). This very interesting text deals with a conflict between soldiers from Malgium and one of their leaders concerning the payment of taxes. The administrative document is indirectly addressed to “our lord” (line 27: [b]e-el-ni la uš-ta-ḥa “our lord should not be negligent about this”). The wronged men state that they are willing to swear an oath by Ea and Damkina to substantiate their claims, line 17-19: šum-ma i-na-ki-ra-ni-a-ti ma-har é-a ù<sup>d</sup>DAM.KI.NA nu-ba-ar “If he contradicts us, we will confirm it before Ea and Damkina”. At the end of the text we see a similar assertion in lines 20-26: PN1-4 ù ma-du-tum ma-har é-a ù<sup>d</sup>DAM.KI.NA ú-ba-ru-šu “PN1-4 and “the Many” (i.e. other Malgium gardeners) will confirm (it) before Ea and Damkina.”

3) *The usage of Ea and Damkina in greeting formulae of letters*. As a rule Old Babylonian letters contain at least Šamaš in their greeting formulae. Oftentimes Marduk is added and/or gods with whom the sender or addressee had a special relationship. In the case of people from Malgium, Ea and Damkina. One example is YBC 7018 (unpublished), a heavily damaged letter sent by a native of Malgium (Sîn-šamuḥ SANDANA) to another man from Malgium (Habil-kīnum). The greeting formula in line 5 reads: <sup>d</sup>UTU é-a ù <<sup>d</sup>>DAM.KI.NA’, ‘li-ba-al-li’-‘[ú-ka]: “May Šamaš, Ea and Damkina keep you well!” The same Habil-kīnum wrote AbB 14 141 to “my father and lord” (probably also Sîn-šamuḥ as stated by Veenhof in AbB 14:131 note a), and he uses in his greeting formula no less than four gods: Šamaš, Marduk, Ea and Damkina.

4) *Ea and Damkina as divine witnesses*: HE 221 (date: Si.28/VI/1, published in BOYER 1928 pl. XXII) is a labor contract in which Damiq-Marduk is hired by the Malgium chief gardener Ibbi-Ilabrat from Damiq-Marduk’s brother Šamaš-nāšir. The contract is furthermore interesting because payment for

the labor of Damiq-Marduk has to be done in Pt-kasî (line 8: ŠÀ <sup>umu</sup> pi-ka-si<sup>ki</sup>). This town (modern Tell Abu Antiq) is in fact the origin of most of the texts detailing the Malgium diaspora (the whole archive is known as “Yaḥrūrūm šaplūm”: DE BOER 2016a and 2016b). The contract HE 221 has uniquely Ea and Damkina as its only witnesses.

5) *Ea and Damkina in Malgium personal names*. It is difficult to spot the Malgium natives through their personal names. We would expect a sizeable number of names composed with the gods Ea or Damkina (as for example with Uraš for Dilbat inhabitants). Whereas Ea is a common theophoric element throughout Mesopotamia in the OB period (and thus an unreliable indicator for Malgium natives), Damkina is not. The files of Yaḥrūrūm šaplūm only contain two men with Damkina in their names: the well-known Malgium chief gardener (SANDANA) Šilli-Damkina, son of Mār-eršetim (his seal is studied by Colbow as an appendix to DE BOER 2016a), but also one Mannum-balum-Damkina, son of Itti-Ea-balāti (Witness in TJAUB pl. 5, FM 10:15-16, from the file of Lipit-Ea).

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Rients DE BOER, <rientsdeboer1981@gmail.com>  
Free University of Amsterdam

**93) Trois lettres écrites à Hammurabi dans les archives de Sin-iddinam** — Trois lettres écrites par des habitants de la province de Larsa à Hammurabi<sup>1)</sup> (« à mon/notre seigneur-bêlum »), ce qu’il est possible de déterminer à partir d’éléments prosopographiques et toponymiques, nous sont parvenues : *AbB* 2 147, *AbB* 13 4 et 6. Elles sont conservées au British Museum. La question se pose de savoir pourquoi nous sommes en possession de ces lettres alors que nous nous attendrions à ce qu’elles aient été conservées dans les archives du palais de Hammurabi à Babylone, qui n’a jamais pu être fouillé.

La clé du problème réside dans le parallèle entre *AbB* 13 4 et *AbB* 2 28, qui relatent exactement la même affaire à propos du champ alimentaire et de la récolte d’un militaire<sup>2)</sup> nommé Ibni-Amurrum. *AbB* 13 4 a été écrite par Ibni-Amurrum, tandis que *AbB* 2 28 est adressée par Hammurabi à Sin-iddinam, le gouverneur babylonien de la province de Larsa<sup>3)</sup>. Ces lettres révèlent le circuit complexe de communication entre les différents protagonistes, qu’on peut reconstituer en cinq phases.

1) À son retour dans le Yamutbalum<sup>4)</sup> après une campagne militaire, Ibni-Amurru a exposé une première plainte au roi, dont il fait le rappel au début de *AbB* 13 4. Etel-pi-Marduk, qui est connu pour être un gouverneur local subalterne de Sin-iddinam<sup>5)</sup>, avait pris son champ en exploitation par la force et il n'a eu de cesse d'accaparer toute sa récolte, sans donner sa part-*miksum* à Ibni-Amurru. Ce dernier a demandé à Hammurabi d'intervenir auprès des dignitaires de Larsa.

2) Hammurabi a interrogé Sin-iddinam et Šamaš-hazir sur le statut de ce champ, et ils avaient établi qu'il s'agissait bien de la terre de service d'Ibni-Amurru. Sin-iddinam avait alors la charge de collecter sa part de grain auprès d'Etel-pi-Marduk. Ces éléments sont rapportés dans *AbB* 13 4:3'-8'.

3) Sin-iddinam a rencontré Etel-pi-Marduk dont les propos sont cités dans *AbB* 2 28:7-13. Etel-pi-Marduk avait alors déclaré avoir engrangé la part-*miksum* d'Ibni-Amurru avec une autre récolte avant de proposer d'évaluer par l'arme divine le volume de grain qui revenait à Ibni-Amurru. Le serviteur d'Ibni-Amurru avait refusé d'effectuer cette évaluation en l'absence de son maître, son propos étant aussi rapporté dans *AbB* 2 28:14-17. Puis Sin-iddinam envoya son rapport à Hammurabi, que ce dernier est en mesure de citer dans *AbB* 2 28.

4) Ibni-Amurru se plaint une deuxième fois au roi, à travers *AbB* 13 4. Après avoir rappelé comment sa requête a été traitée de manière insatisfaisante pour lui, il demande à nouveau à Hammurabi d'intervenir auprès de Sin-iddinam, tout en l'apitoyant sur son sort.

5) Hammurabi écrit *AbB* 2 28 à Sin-iddinam afin de restituer son grain à Ibni-Amurru, selon la procédure proposée par Etel-pi-Marduk (l. 24-30).

Ainsi, cette dispute à propos du champ et de la récolte d'Ibni-Amurru est relatée à travers deux lettres et deux points de vue différents, mais qui concordent exactement sur les faits. Comment expliquer que la lettre *AbB* 13 4 écrite par Ibni-Amurru à Hammurabi nous soit parvenue ? Manifestement, il ne peut s'agir d'une lettre qui n'a jamais été expédiée, puisque *AbB* 2 28 prouve que le roi a eu connaissance de son contenu. On ne peut non plus envisager d'avoir affaire au brouillon ou à la copie de la véritable missive, qui aurait été conservé(e) dans les archives d'Ibni-Amurru, inconnues par ailleurs. La seule solution logique est de considérer que Hammurabi a bien reçu *AbB* 13 4, puis l'a jointe à son envoi de *AbB* 2 28 à destination de Sin-iddinam, afin que son gouverneur ait pleinement connaissance du propos du plaignant.

À partir de cette comparaison entre *AbB* 13 4 et *AbB* 2 28, il est dès lors possible d'attribuer *AbB* 2 147 et *AbB* 13 6 aux archives épistolaires de Sin-iddinam pour les mêmes motifs. Dans *AbB* 2 147, Awil-ilim relate une opération de creusement du canal Ningirsu-hegal qui doit se trouver dans la région de Lagaš et de Girsu d'après son nom. *AbB* 13 6 est une lettre de [...]ilum et Marduk[...] chargés du transport du grain par cargos-*elep našpakim* (MÁ Î.DUB), manifestement à destination de Babylone. L'un d'eux a coulé il y a maintenant un an (l. 29-40).

En plus de leur destinataire, *AbB* 2 147 et *AbB* 13 6 ont deux points communs avec *AbB* 13 4. Premièrement, leurs auteurs impliquent Sin-iddinam dans leurs plaintes – le désignant à chaque fois comme « serviteur de mon/notre seigneur » (*AbB* 2 147:17,20 ; *AbB* 13 6:31) : dans *AbB* 2 147, Awil-ilim déclare avoir demandé la permission à Sin-iddinam d'obtenir des ouvriers supplémentaires pour le creusement du canal, mais il la lui a refusée ; dans *AbB* 13 6, Sin-iddinam avait chargé un soldat de remplacer le navire qui a coulé, mais ce dernier n'est toujours pas entré en action, le plaignant leur reproche de procrastiner. Secondement, les auteurs concluent toujours leur lettre en demandant à Hammurabi d'intervenir en leur faveur auprès de Sin-iddinam. Il y a donc tout lieu de penser que Hammurabi ait envoyé ces lettres à Sin-iddinam en les joignant à ses propres instructions, qui, elles, ne nous sont pas connues.

Enfin, des indices muséographiques permettent de s'assurer du rattachement de ces trois lettres aux archives de Sin-iddinam. D'une part, *AbB* 13 4 et 6 appartiennent à la collection 1901-5-11 du British Museum, qui abrite notamment les tablettes BM 93749-93790 (= *AbB* 13 4-45)<sup>6)</sup> qui sont toutes des lettres issues des archives épistolaires de Sin-iddinam<sup>7)</sup>. D'autre part, et bien que sa copie ait été publiée dans *CT* 29 pl. 17, *AbB* 2 147 porte le numéro de musée BM 12819 ; or de nombreuses lettres de Hammurabi à Sin-iddinam copiées par L. W. King dans *LIIH* 1<sup>8)</sup> et publiées dans *AbB* 2 parmi les n° 1-44

appartiennent à la collection 1896-3-26 et portent des numéros de musée compris entre BM 12812 et BM 12868.

Ainsi, ces lettres écrites à Hammurabi et retrouvées chez Sin-iddinam ont connu une circulation complexe puisqu'elles ont voyagé deux fois. Cela montre aux épigraphistes soucieux de la reconstitution des archives épistolaires que les adresses de destination des lettres ne permettent pas systématiquement de désigner leur lieu de découverte.

1) Les archives royales de Mari possèdent elles aussi des lettres écrites à Hammurabi de Babylone : ARM 5 14 (= LAPO 18 916) par Yasmah-Addu ; ARM 28 2, 11 (= LAPO 16 250), 12 (= LAPO 17 567, ARM 2 68), 13 (= LAPO 17 575, ARM 2 67) par Zimri-Lim. Il devait s'agir de copies ou bien de courriers non expédiés ; cf. J.-M. Durand, LAPO 16 p. 386 et J.-R. Kupper, ARM 28 p. 2.

2) W. H. van Soldt (AbB 13, p. 7 n. 4b) propose d'identifier Ibni-Amurum avec le responsable du service des cuisiniers (*wakil nuhatimmî*) du Yamutbalum attesté à travers les archives épistolaires de Sin-iddinam et de Šamaš-hazir : AbB 2 1:4, AbB 4 24:7 et 88:4. Néanmoins, plusieurs éléments d'AbB 13 4 montrent qu'il s'agit d'un militaire : il est affecté à une troupe-šābum d'Isin (l. 4), il a participé à une campagne militaire (l. 9), enfin il compare sa situation avec celles d'autres soldats (l. 12'-13').

3) Voir D. Charpin, « La carrière de Sin-iddinam et la mainmise babylonienne sur Larsa », NABU 2003/1, p. 1 et M. Stol, "Sin-iddinam", *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 12/7-8, 2011, p. 517-518.

4) Sur le Yamutbalum désignant le royaume puis la province de Larsa : M. Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History*, PIHANS 40, Leyde, 1976 ; spéc. p. 63-72.

5) Sur les gouverneurs-šāpirum de la province de Larsa, subalternes de Sin-iddinam, consulter le premier chapitre de mon livre *Le Palais, la terre et les hommes. La gestion du domaine royal de Larsa d'après les archives de Šamaš-hazir*, à paraître dans la série ARCHIBAB des Mémoires de N.A.B.U. en 2017.

6) Voir la préface, la table des concordances et l'introduction de AbB 13 par W. H. van Soldt.

7) Parmi elles, AbB 13 37 est adressée par un militaire nommé Zababa-našir à Sin-iddinam en le désignant comme son supérieur hiérarchique « ana šāpiriya » ; *idem* pour AbB 13 119 écrite par Nanna-tum et mentionnant Nabium-malik, qui sont deux gouverneurs locaux d'Ur et de Larsa. L'adresse de AbB 13 34 est lacunaire, mais son auteur désigne son interlocuteur en lui donnant du šāpirum. Enfin, le contenu de AbB 13 45, dont l'adresse est aussi manquante, montre que son expéditeur est un subalterne de Sin-iddinam : il y est question d'intendants agricoles *iššakkum* sous sa responsabilité, pour lesquels on sait qu'ils sont au service des gouverneurs-šāpirum (pour tous ces éléments, voir à nouveau le premier chapitre de mon livre). Ces références sont à ajouter à celles réunies dans M. Stol, "Sin-iddinam", *RIA* 12 7-8, p. 517-518.

8) Voir la table de concordance des textes de AbB 2 par R. Frankena, p. vi-vii.

Baptiste FIETTE <baptiste.fiette@gmail.com>  
Ingénieur de recherches - Collège de France

**94) Exit dame Elmešum, šandabakkum à Sippar ?** — Le dossier des femmes capables de lire et d'écrire à Sippar à l'époque paléo-babylonienne a été régulièrement augmenté ces dernières années, mais il me semble plus prudent d'en retirer le cas d'Elmešum, qui serait une femme attestée avec le titre de *šandabakkum* sous le règne d'Ammi-šaduqa. Son existence a été signalée par S. Richardson dans sa dissertation (*The Collapse of a Complex State...*, New York, 2002, vol. II, p. 481-482). Il s'agit d'un texte enregistrant la fourniture de travailleurs par diverses personnes (BM 80964, daté d'Aš 18). On trouve à la l. 1 : 2 <sup>MUNUS</sup> *el-me-šum* 'GÁ.DUB<sup>1</sup>[...]' (cf. également la contribution de S. Richardson aux *Mél. Foster*, 2010, p. 332 et 336, où le titre est donné sans indiquer l'incertitude de sa lecture). L'existence de cette Elmešum qui serait attestée avec le titre de *šandabakkum* a été commentée par B. Lion, « Deux femmes scribes de plus à Sippar », NABU 2013/81.

S. Richardson a eu raison de souligner que le nom Elmešum est ambigu. On connaît des femmes nommées Elmeštum, notamment l'épouse d'Alammuš-našir, un haut dignitaire de Damrum à l'époque de Samsu-iluna<sup>1)</sup>. Il est vrai cependant qu'il ne faudrait pas croire qu'en raison du nom de femme Elmeštum, Elmešum serait exclusivement un nom d'homme. Elmešum est en effet aussi attesté comme nom de femme : cf. par ex. l'épouse d'Ibni-Sin en MHET 1/1 64 : r. 15' ; l'épouse d'Ili-ippalsam en OECT 8 21 : 2, 10, 13, 20 ; l'épouse d'Ilišu-ibni en MHET 1/1 64 : ii 14 ou encore une *nadītum* de Šamaš en TCL 1 229 (Aš 13), ou une *ugbaltum* de Zababa en YOS 13 325 : 24 (Ad 5).

Cependant, si Elmešum était bien une femme dans BM 80964, on s'attendrait à voir son titre féminisé, comme c'est le cas pour MUNUS.DUB.SAR vs. DUB.SAR, ou MUNUS.AGRIG vs. AGRIG,

ou encore MUNUS.DUMU.É.DUB.BA.A vs DUMU.É.DUB.BA.A ; or tel n'est pas le cas. Il existe par ailleurs au moins une autre référence à un *šandabakkum* nommé Elmešum, où son nom n'est pas précédé par le déterminatif féminin: <sup>1</sup>*el-me-šum* GÁ.DUB.BA dans BM 96998 (K. R. Veenhof, *Mél. Wilcke*, 2003) : 8 (Ad 29). Jusqu'à plus ample informé, il me semble donc plus sage de ne pas compter le *šandabakkum* Elmešum au nombre des femmes de Sippar maîtrisant l'art de lire et d'écrire et de considérer qu'on a affaire à un homme<sup>2</sup>).

1) AbB 9 117 et 144. Voir provisoirement D. Charpin, « Histoire de la Mésopotamie : les archives d'Alammush-nasir », *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Etudes (EPHE), Section des Sciences Historiques et Philologiques* 139, 2006-07, p. 17-19 (<http://ashp.revues.org/index147.html>) Pour d'autres femmes nommées Elmešum, voir par ex. l'épouse de [...] en MHET 1/1 63 : 71 et la fille de Šumu[...] en MHET 1/1 63 : 77.

2) La lecture de la l. 1 de BM 80964 reste à établir : il peut s'agir soit du déterminatif <sup>munus</sup>, soit des traces du titre 'GÁ.DUB<sup>1</sup>.[BA]. La publication de JCSSS 2 a montré de grands changements entre les transcriptions préliminaires de la dissertation de S. Richardson et l'édition des textes retenus pour son livre (cf. RA 109, 2015, p. 159-172).

D. CHARPIN <dominique.charpin@college-de-france.fr>

**95) Die „1225 Jahre der Assyrer“ und die Regierungslängen Tukultī-Ninurtas I und Ninurta-tukultī-Aššurs** — In der deutschen Übersetzung der armenischen Version des Eusebius findet sich der kryptisch anmutende Satz „Phua, seit dem 1225. Jahr der Assyrer an“ (KARST 1911, 145). In meinem jüngsten Beitrag (JANSSEN 2016) konnte u.a. gezeigt werden, dass diese Zeitspanne sich auf den Datenbestand der Khors./SDAS-Listen bezieht und vom 1. Jahr des Erišum I bis zum 15. Jahr des Tiglath-pileser III läuft. Im 16. Jahr wurde Tiglath-pileser III König von Babylon (729) und dieses Ereignis ist der Anlass für den Satz bei Eusebius, der sicherlich auf Berossos zurückgeht. Da Berossos eine unbeschädigte (!) Rezension vom Typ Khors./SDAS verwendet haben dürfte, ist die Zahl 1225 zwar aufgrund des Fehlers in der Regierungslänge des Ninurta-apil-Ekur immer noch um 10 Jahre zu kurz, doch erlaubt sie eine ganze Reihe chronologischer Fragen in neuem Licht zu betrachten. Aufgrund der neuen Lösung des altassyrischen Problems (Šamšī-Adad I 1798-1766) in besagtem Artikel kann ich an dieser Stelle vorwegschicken: es gewinnen die 199 altassyrischen Eponymen, die lange mittelassyrische Chronologie und die solaren Herrschaftsjahre. Hier möchte ich mich mit zwei anderen Problemen auseinandersetzen.

Beginnen wir mit dem *tuppišu*-Problem. Anhand der Zahl 1225 kann man ablesen, wie Berossos den für uns seit Jahrzehnten problematischen Ausdruck aufgefasst hat. Die Zahl besteht offensichtlich aus den 720 Jahren, die Tukultī-Ninurta I in seiner Distanzangabe angibt sowie weiteren 505 Jahren. Die erste Zahl läuft von Anfang Erišum I bis zum Tode Salmanassars I (incl.). Die 505 Jahre findet man in Khors./SDAS wieder als Spanne von Anfang Tukultī-Ninurta I bis zum 15. Jahr (incl.) des Tiglath-pileser III. Daraus ergibt sich automatisch, dass Berossos die Regierungen von Ninurta-tukultī-Aššur und Mutakkil-Nusku mit jeweils einem Jahr angesetzt hat. Es ist davon auszugehen, dass er als gebildeter Marduk-Priester genau wusste, wie das Wort *tuppišu* aufzufassen ist.

Gegner dieses Beweises könnten darauf hinweisen, dass bei der eben gegebenen Berechnung die 1225 Jahre exakt ein Jahr vor der Akzession des Tiglath-pileser III in Babylon enden, die Formulierung bei Eusebius jedoch die Möglichkeit erlaubt, dass das 1225. Jahr identisch ist mit dem Jahr der Akzession. Ich beschränke mich hier auf den Hinweis, dass in diesem Fall Berossos den beiden *tuppišu*-Königen insgesamt 1 Jahr hätte zuweisen müssen. Der Ausdruck *tuppišu* kann aber nicht gleichzeitig 1 und 0 bedeuten.

Man könnte dann weiter versuchen, dieses eine zusätzliche Jahr damit zu erklären, dass es nicht zu den *tuppišu*-Königen gehört (also beide folglich 0 Jahre regierten) Es ist jedoch nicht möglich, es woanders unterzubringen. Wie JANSSEN (2016) zeigt, datieren die Distanzangaben Šamšī-Adads erstes volles Regierungsjahr in Aššur auf 1798. Aus dieser Zahl folgt, dass die 1225 Jahre 10 Jahre zu kurz sind. Gleichzeitig erweist das Datum 1798, dass RKL tatsächlich um 2 Jahre zu kurz und die Teileklipse von 1838 BC die in der MEC genannte ist.

Der von BAKER (2010) gemachte Vorschlag bezüglich *tuppišu* findet somit Bestätigung. Der neue Versuch von FREYDANK (2016, 33, 38-42), die Belege zugunsten seiner eigenen Konzeption



(FREYDANK 2007) zu interpretieren, sind damit hinfällig. Das von FREYDANK (2016, 41) herangezogene Abstandsdatum von 50 Jahren bezüglich des Auftretens der Muški hat keinen Beweiswert, denn mittlerweile ist klar geworden, dass Tiglath-pileser I auch die Distanzangabe von 60 Jahren bezüglich des Anu-Adad-Tempels tatsächlich abgerundet hat und dieser König überhaupt gerne runde Zahlen verwendet (JANSSEN 2016, 89, Fn. 55 mit Verweis auf De Odorico).

Die von mir in der genannten Fußnote 55 gemachten Überlegungen zu den bis dahin bekannten 3 Eponymen des Ninurta-tukultī-Aššur sind seit FREYDANK (2016, 38-42) hinfällig, da es nun 5-7 Eponymen sind. Freydank weist diese alle der Aššur-dān-Zeit zu und entschärft sie damit, da Ninurta-tukultī-Aššur dann immer noch ein Jahr selbstständig geherrscht haben kann. Freydank konnte nie nachweisen, dass der Sturz des Regenten zu Lebzeiten des Vaters stattfand. Es ist daher wahrscheinlich – und durch Berossos erhärtet – dass auf die Koregentschaft noch eine sehr kurze selbständige Herrschaft folgte. Die Parallele zu dem etwas länger regierenden Išme-Dagān I drängt sich förmlich auf.

Dass die von Berossos verwendete AKL exakt 10 Jahre zu kurz war (wegen des Fehlers bei Ninurta-apil-Ekur), hat jedoch auch Konsequenzen für die Regierungslängen des Tukultī-Ninurta I und des Aššur-nādin-apli.

FREYDANK (2016, 10, 15f.) setzt, wie viele andere Gelehrte auch, 37 Jahre für Tukultī-Ninurta I und 4 Jahre für Aššur-nādin-apli an (41 Jahre gesamt). Bereits in JANSSEN (2009, 78f.) hatte ich darauf hingewiesen, dass Tiglath-pileser I offenbar nur 40 Jahre für diese beiden Könige in seiner Distanzangabe angesetzt hatte, so wie auch Khors./SDAS (37 und 3). Ich hatte daher geschlussfolgert, dass in der Nassouhi-Liste wohl 3[6] und 4 Jahre verzeichnet gewesen sind. Da die 1225 Jahre exakt 10 Jahre zu kurz sind, sehen wir jetzt, dass für ein 41. Jahr gar kein Platz ist. Da man offenbar generell von 4 Jahren des Aššur-nādin-apli ausgeht (BLOCH 2010, 39f.; FREYDANK 2016, 15f. mit Berufung auf Wiggermann), folgt daraus, dass die 37 und 3 Jahre ein Summenausgleich sind und Tukultī-Ninurta I nur 36 Jahre regierte.

Als *advocatus diaboli* weise ich darauf hin, dass die 4 Jahre des Aššur-nādin-apli in Nass. nicht notwendigerweise etwas mit 4 Eponymen zu tun haben müssen. Es könnte es sich bei den 3[6] und 4 Jahren um den erwähnten Summenausgleich handeln und einer der von unseren Spezialisten zusammengestellten 4 Eponymen könnte ein Nachfolgeponym sein. Zumindest wissen wir nun aber, dass die Kombination von 37 und 4 Jahren falsch ist.

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Thomas JANSSEN, nabonid@aol.com

**96) Zum hieroglyphen-luwischen Zeichen CAELUM (\*182) —** YAKUBOVICH 2010: 146 geht davon aus, dass die Bedeutung ‚Schale‘ für das hier.-luw. Wort *tipas-* nicht belegt ist. Dies wurde jedoch von Teffeteller 2011: 457 und Hawkins 2013: 16 bestritten, die beide auf den Ausdruck „*za* CAELUM-*pi*“ in zwei Motivinschriften hingewiesen haben, die auf der KINIK-Schale und auf der ANKARA-Silberschale belegt sind. In beiden Fällen geht aus dem Kontext hervor, dass die Bedeutung ‚diese Schale‘ (Akk.) ist.<sup>1</sup> Das Argument von Teffeteller und Hawkins kann nur so verstanden werden, dass sie annehmen, *tipas-* sei die phonetische Lesung von CAELUM-*pi* (für eine frühere Lesung von Hawkins s. unten). Dies ist aufgrund des *s*-Stammes von *tipas-* nur dann möglich, wenn das Zeichen <pi> kein phonetisches Komplement, sondern nur einen phonetischen Indikator darstellt, d.h. CAELUM.PI (zu dieser

Interpretation s. schon Bolatti Guzzo – Marazzi 2010: 21, die weder von Teffeteller noch von Hawkins zitiert wurden).<sup>2</sup> Trifft diese Interpretation von <pi> zu, wird die in dem ebenfalls weder von Teffeteller noch von Hawkins zitiertem Aufsatz Simon 2009: 248 Anm. 5 formulierte Kritik gegen die Gleichsetzung von *tipas-* mit CAELUM-*pi* hinfällig. Übrig bleibt allerdings das Problem, das der Vokalismus des <pi>-Zeichens mit dem von *tipas-* nicht zu vereinbaren ist, weshalb *tipas-* und CAELUM-*pi* / CAELUM.PI nicht identisch sein können.<sup>3</sup> Das Wort *tipas-* mit der Bedeutung ‚Schale‘ ist also bisher in der Tat nicht belegt.

Allerdings ist die Existenz von luw. \**tipas-* ‚Schale‘ aus folgenden Gründen dennoch wahrscheinlich: Erstens, das hier.-luwische Zeichen \*182 wird allgemein als CAELUM umgeschrieben, obwohl es eine Schale zeigt. Diese Umschrift steht daher der Regel der Benennung der Logogramme gegenüber, die normalerweise nach ihrem Bild genannt werden (soweit es überhaupt möglich ist, das zu erkennen). So sollte \*182 vielmehr mit der Bezeichnung der Schale z.B. als SCUTRA umgeschrieben werden (Bolatti Guzzo – Marazzi 2010: 22 schlagen vor, die Zeichenkombination CAELUM-*pi* wegen ihrer Bedeutung mit CRATER umzuschreiben).

Desweiteren wird CAELUM / SCUTRA oft auch logographisch (mit oder ohne phonetische Komplemente) in der Bedeutung ‚Himmel‘ benutzt (für die Belege s. ACLT s.v. *tippas-*). Dies ist allerdings nur dann möglich, wenn die Lesung des Zeichens mit dem Wort *tipas-* identisch ist. Das Zeichen zeigt aber eine Schale, keinen Himmel, weshalb man annehmen muss, dass es auch ein homonymes Wort, nämlich \**tipas-* ‚Schale‘ gab (dies erklärt auch, warum dieses Zeichen auch als Determinativ für das Wort ‚Himmel‘ verwendet werden konnte).<sup>4</sup>

Die Verwendung von identischen Logogrammen für Wörter mit verschiedenen Bedeutungen, die jedoch gleich oder ähnlich lauten, ist im hier.-luw. Schrifttum gut belegt und wurde von Neumann 1992: 30 als *connexio homophonica* bezeichnet, s. die folgenden Beispiele (Zusammenstellung nach Simon demnächst, s. dort für Literatur zu den einzelnen Beispielen; vgl. auch Payne 2015: 24-25):

AQUILA: ‚Zeit‘ (luw. *ārali-*) (KULULU 4 §3), vgl. heth. *aramnant-* ‚ein Orakelvogel‘;

LEPUS: ‚regieren‘ (luw. *tapariya-*), vgl. luw. ±\**tapa-* ‚Hase‘;

SPHINX: ‚kommen‘ (luw. *awi-*) (KARKAMIŠ A4b §2), vgl. heth. *awiti-* ‚Sphinx‘;

AVIS: ‚Kupapa-‘ (POTOROO Facet 2a), vgl. luw. *kukula-* ‚ein Vogel, Kuckuck‘<sup>5</sup>;

Mit anderen Worten entspricht die korrekte Beschreibung des Zeichens \*182 dem dargestellten Schema der *connexio homophonica*:

SCUTRA: ‚Himmel‘ (luw. *tipas-*), vgl. luw. \**tipas-* ‚Schale‘

Was die Lesung von CAELUM-*pi* betrifft, handelt es sich vermutlich um eine auf °*pi*-auslautende Gefäßbezeichnung, die zumindest im Hethitischen zahlreich sind (vgl. schon Simon 2009: 248 Anm. 5, s. z. B. *huppa/i-*, *huruppi-* [HW<sup>2</sup> III 728, 775]; *kappi-* [Puhvel 1997: 63], *tahakappi-*, *telupi-*, *tilupi-* [Ünal 2007: 662, 712, 717; Tischler 2008: 180, 196, 199]).<sup>5</sup>

Zusammenfassend kann man feststellen, dass man drei luwische Wörter unterscheiden muss: *tipas-* ‚Himmel‘, das gleichlautende \**tipas-* ‚Schale‘, und einen weiteren Gefäßnamen, CAELUM-*pi-*, dessen Lesung noch unbekannt ist.

\*Diese Notiz ist im Rahmen des durch die DFG finanzierten Forschungsprojekts „Digitales philologisch-etymologisches Wörterbuch der altanatolischen Kleinkorpusssprachen“ zustande gekommen.

1) HAWKINS 2013: 16 spricht über „two ANKARA-bowls“, womit wahrscheinlich die zwei Inschriften der ANKARA-Silberschale gemeint sind, die beide diesen Ausdruck aufweisen.

2) Ähnlich GIUSFREDI 2013: 666 Anm. 1., der in CAELUM-*pi* allerdings keinen phonetischen Indikator, sondern eine Art „rebus-rendering“ sieht.

3) Falls sich das enklitische Pronomen 3. Sg. Akk. c. *-an* in §3 der ersten Inschrift der Ankara-Silberschale auf CAELUM-*pi* bezieht, wie allgemein angenommen ist (HAWKINS 1997: 9 = 2005: 196; FREU 2010-2011: 186-187; YAKUBOVICH 2008: 14-15; DURNFORD 2010: 56; GIUSFREDI 2013: 666 mit Anm. 1; GANDER 2015: 470 Anm. 121), schließt auch dies die Gleichsetzung mit *tipas-* aus, weil es ein Neutrum ist. Es ist allerdings möglich, dass sich *-an* nicht auf das Gefäß bezieht, s. die Überlegungen in SIMON 2009: 248 und DURNFORD 2010: 56.

4) Auch in der früheren Forschung war die Ansicht vertreten, dass das Zeichen CAELUM auch über die Bedeutung ‚Schale‘ verfügt, dies beruhte allerdings auf falscher Begründung, vgl. MARAZZI 1990: 160 mit Lit. (diese

Auffassung wurde noch von KATZ 2001: 219 Anm. 41 zitiert, obwohl die Inschriften mit CAELUM-*pi* schon 1993 bzw. 1997 veröffentlicht wurden).

5) Anhand von heth. <sup>(DU<sup>G</sup>)</sup>*tāpišalena-* vermutet HAWKINS 1993: 716, 1997: 9 = 2005: 196 mit Lit., dass CAELUM-*pi* als *\*tapi-* zu lesen ist, was allerdings nur auf der Annahme beruht, dass das heth. Wort als *tāpi-šalena-* segmentiert werden kann. Diese angenommene Segmentierung ist jedoch unwahrscheinlich, weil die weiteren Formen *tapiša-* und *tapišant-* auf ein Grundwort *\*tapis(a)-* hinweisen und die Existenz des Hinterglieds zumindest problematisch ist, vgl. BROSC 2010: 292-293 (s. auch KATZ 2001: 219 Anm. 41, der die Beziehung mit <sup>(DU<sup>G</sup>)</sup>*tāpišalena-* für unklar hält). Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre, CAELUM-*pi* als CAELUM.PI aufzufassen (vgl. oben), was die Anknüpfung mit verschiedenen Gefäßbezeichnungen erlauben würde, in denen <pi> vorkommt (einschließlich <sup>(DU<sup>G</sup>)</sup>*tāpišalena-*, so auch Giusfredi 2013: 666 Anm. 1). Da aber auch Gefäßnamen belegt sind, die auf *-pi* auslauten, erscheint es naheliegender, die Lösung in dieser Gruppe zu suchen. Auch MELCHERT 2002: 299-300 nimmt an, dass CAELUM-*pi* als <tapi-> zu lesen ist, allerdings als ein „rebus-spelling, based on the associations between the notion of ‚bowl‘ and the hieroglyphic sign for ‚heaven, sky““. Das Problem, dass eine Lesung <tapi-> wegen des unterschiedlichen Vokalismus nicht auf *tipas-* beruhen kann, erklärt er mit der Annahme, „it is likely that HLuvian had several words transparently related to ‚heaven‘ that began *\*tap<sup>o</sup>*“ mit Hinweis auf luw. *tapāl-* ‚Nebel‘. Abgesehen davon, dass ein Zeichen, dessen Lesung *tip<sup>o</sup>* anlautet, nicht für *tap<sup>o</sup>* anlautende Wörter verwendet werden kann, muss man beachten, dass das Zeichen keinen Himmel, sondern eine Schale darstellt, weshalb man keine Assoziation mit dem Himmel bzw. kein „rebus-spelling“ braucht, sondern nur phonetische Komplemente bzw. Indikatoren.

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Zsolt SIMON <zsltsimon@gmail.com>

Institut für Assyriologie und Hethitologie, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (München)

**97) Zum hieroglyphen-luwischen Zeichen \*501** — Das hieroglyphen-luwische Zeichen \*501 ist bisher nur in einem einzigen Verb (*ARHA* \*501+*RA/I-ha-*) und zwar in insgesamt drei Stellen belegt (*KARATEPE* 1 § 13 [*ARHA* \*501-*ha-há* (Ho.), *ARHA* l\*501'-[...] -*há* (Hu.)]; *TELL TAYINAT* 2 Frag. 6 [*ARHA* (PES<sub>2</sub>)\*501+*RA/I-ha-*]; *JISR EL HADID* Frag. 3. Z. 3 [*ARHA* l\*501-*ha*]; vgl. Hawkins 2000: 24, 60, 372, 380). Nichtsdestotrotz konnte seine Bedeutung dank des eindeutigen Kontexts von *KARATEPE* 1 § 13 (vgl. auch das Präverb *ARHA* ‚weg‘) ohne Probleme als ‚vertreiben‘ bestimmt werden (s. schon Meriggi 1951: 72, 1962: 235, vgl. jetzt Hawkins 2000: 50, 370, 379; Payne 2012: 39; Melchert 2016: 205; ACLT s.v. *parha-*).

Aufgrund der identischen Bedeutung und des identischen Stammaslauts (°rh-) hat jetzt Melchert 2016: 205-206 zu Recht dieses luwische Verb mit dem hethitischen Verb *arha parh-* ‚vertreiben‘ in Verbindung gebracht und seine Lautung als /parh-/ bestimmt (auch ACLT bucht dieses Verb s.v. *parha-* ‚to drive‘).

Hier kann man allerdings noch einen Schritt weitergehen und auch die Lesung des Zeichens \*501 bestimmen. \*501 kann theoretisch sowohl ein Logogramm als auch ein Silbenzeichen (ggf. beide) darstellen. Entscheidend für die Identifizierung ist in unserem Falle die Form des Zeichens: im Gegensatz zu den oben zitierten gängigen Umschriften handelt es sich nämlich bei dem Zeichen vor <ha> in allen drei Fällen um das gleiche Zeichen. Aus seinem „Rücken“ ragt jeweils ein Dorn (d.h. das Zeichen <ra/i>) hervor. Deshalb muss das erste Zeichen in allen drei Belegstellen entweder als \*501- oder als \*501+*ra/i-* transliteriert werden. Diese Ligatur lässt sich mit einer gut bekannten Zeichengruppe des hieroglyphen-luwischen Schriftsystems in Verbindung bringen, in der der Dorn einen Teil des Zeichens bildet und deren Lesung dementsprechend die allgemeine Struktur <KVra/i-> aufweist (K= Konsonant, V= Vokal, ausführlich zu dieser Zeichengruppe s. jetzt Payne 2015: 35-36). Somit kann \*501 als <para/i> umgeschrieben werden, genauer gesagt als <para/i<sub>2</sub>>, da dieser Lautwert schon beim Zeichen \*14 belegt ist.

\*Diese Notiz ist im Rahmen des durch die DFG finanzierten Forschungsprojekts „Digitales philologisch-etymologisches Wörterbuch der altanatolischen Kleinkorpussprachen“ zustande gekommen.

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Zsolt SIMON (zsltsimon@gmail.com)

Institut für Assyriologie und Hethitologie, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

**98) The Two Dialects of the Jerusalem Scribes of the Amarna Letters** — To judge by spelling practices and their grammatical implications, the Amarna-type letter fragment from the Ophel region of

Jerusalem (MAZAR, HOROWITZ, OSHIMA & GOREN 2010) cannot plausibly have been written by the scribe who wrote any of the other contemporary Jerusalem letters. This is because the one clearly recognizable verb in the Jerusalem fragment is in a different dialect from that of the existing Jerusalem letters from Amarna. If this form is any guide, the scribe of the new fragment had significantly different speech and/or schooling from the scribe of the previously known letters.

The new discovery is too fragmentary to reveal much about the language and culture of its writer. But one telling, grammatical point has not yet been made clear. In his thorough study of the script and language of the Jerusalem letters, William Moran, the old master of Amarna studies, pointed out a remarkable contrast in the grammar of the Jerusalem letters with the other letters from the region of Syria-Palestine:

“Certainly the most striking feature of the Jerusalem scribe’s language, though so far it has not been recognized, is its large Assyrian component.” (2003:265)

He goes on to note sporadic Assyrianisms that appear in other Amarna letters in the formation of nouns and pronouns — but not verbs, concluding that “those of the Jerusalem letters are unique.” Of these striking Assyrianisms, those in the verbal system are especially widespread and “Verbs primae aleph3-5 are consistently (13x) treated as in Assyrian.”\* (267) In the case of the infinitive, in both cases where we would expect the Standard Babylonian form with e-vowels in both syllables, we instead find: *erāba* (EA 286:43, for Bab. *erēba*) and *ezābi* (EA 287:62, for Bab. *ezēbi*). Because the pattern occurs with no exceptions in all 13 cases, with every I-e verbal root being treated this way, it is far stronger than if we had only these two infinitives.

Now, it so happens that there is only one completely preserved verbal form in the Jerusalem fragment. The editors, reading a set of three very clear signs, read:

4' *i-pé-ša* x [ ... to do . [ ...

If this were from the writer of any of the known Jerusalem letters, the form would have been *epāša*, not *ipēša*.<sup>1)</sup> Instead of the expected Assyrian second vowel *a*, we see the standard Babylonian *e*. And in the first syllable what we find instead is an example of a phenomenon analyzed in detail by IZRE'EL (1987) in which the initial *e-* of verbs switches to *i-*. Since the phenomenon is most widespread in the variety known as Amurru Akkadian, which does not always show Canaanite influence, we cannot say this is a local phenomenon—although it does also appear sporadically in the letters written in Canaan.<sup>2)</sup>

If this one verb is actually representative of the writer’s language, what does it tell us? What it says is that the fragment could have been written a century before the Amarna letters, or even at the same time, but it was not by the writer of the letters we know. And so it broadens, incrementally but significantly, our picture of written culture at Jerusalem: we now know there was more than one Babylonian dialect being written here during the Late Bronze Age.

1) I am thankful to John Huehnergard, Shlomo Izre'el, and Dennis Pardee for confirming the plausibility of this explanation and to Wilfred van Soldt for reminding me that in the wider cuneiform world a different reading, of Middle Babylonian/late Old Babylonian first- or third-person singular durative plus ventive *ippeša* is at least possible. But it seems that this was not the form people used for the I-e durative in the Late Bronze Age Levant; at least in the Amarna corpus the pattern is striking. KNUDTZON (1915:II 1402) registers about 45 examples of the G durative of *epēšu*. Of these, 37 have a theme-vowel -u-, 8 show a (presumably) Assyrian-influenced -a- vowel, and none have -e-. This means that, while such a form would be well in place in a normal OB text, it is unlikely in this place and time and an infinitive remains the only likely reading.

COCHAVEY-RAINEY & RAINEY’s important article (2007) does argue for one exception to Moran’s pattern of Assyrian vocalization for *epēšu*: the form *e-pu-uš* in EA 286:14, where the writing is ambiguously preterite (as Moran interprets it, fitting his pattern) or durative (as Cochavey-Rainey and Rainey argue). I am not certain about the syntax, but for forms with past/punctual reference after interrogatives in the Jerusalem corpus see the suffix form in 289:10 *am-mi-nim* LUGAL-ri *la-a ša-al-šu* “why has the king not questioned him” (as COCHAVEY-RAINEY & RAINEY 2007:51 render it) and more proximately the parallel to our verb at the beginning of 286:5 *ma-an-na ep-ša-ti a-na* LUGAL EN-ia “what have I done to my lord the king”? So Abdi-Heba begins his discourse on this topic with a parallel construction referring to a single past criminal act, and it is then at least possible to render 286:14 as “why would I have committed a crime against my lord the king?” While we cannot rule out this one exception as possible, it would leave us with no certain counterexamples to the pattern of Assyrian vocalization of I-e verbs.

2) To the editors’ examples of this form in Hazor 10:19, perhaps from the Lebanon, and in EA 79:24 and

129:27 in letters from Rib-Hadda of Byblos, add the example Taanach 2:11, from a century earlier: “if the bow is finished being made (*ipēšam*)” (HOROWITZ, OSHIMA and SANDERS 2006:133), as noted by RAINEY 1996 I 37.

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Seth SANDERS <prof.seth.sanders@gmail.com>

**99) SB Gilgamesh XI 149–50** — In *NABU* 2016/23 Jared N. Wolfe and Lance B. Allred propose to derive the difficult *i-pi-ra-am-ma* in SB Gilg. XI 149 (and 152) from *ebēru* “to cross over”, reading *i-bi<sub>3</sub>-ra-am-ma*. They find no difficulty in two Kuyunjik mss. (CW) spelling the syllable /bi/ with the sign *pi*, noting that “this exact interchange is seen in line 150 in the spelling of the verb *bašū* as *i-pa-aš<sub>2</sub>-[ši]m-ma*.” They do not adduce other spellings of *ibašši-ma* with *pa* and *šim*. While they are preceded in this analysis of *i-pa-aš-šim-ma* by Delitzsch (*Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* 188), knowledge of Akkadian has improved since 1896, and there is nothing in their note to persuade me that the verb so spelled is other than *īpaššimma* from (w)*apū* “to be(come) visible” (*īpi* + ventive + 3 f.sg. dat. pronoun + enclitic). This parsing is commended by all modern authorities (e.g. BAUER, *AL* II 43; BORGER, *BAL<sup>2</sup>* I 146; *CAD* A/2 202; *AHw* 1459). Accordingly, Wolfe and Allred’s parsing of *i-pi-ra-am-ma* as *tbiramma* is left without the proposed support. The value *bì* (*bi<sub>3</sub>*) of the sign PI does not occur in Kuyunjik copies of Gilgamesh, nor in seventh-century spellings of parts of *ebēru* generally, and the derivation of the verb spelled *i-pi-ra-am-ma* remains elusive.

A. R. GEORGE <ag5@soas.ac.uk>

SOAS University of London, Thornhaugh St, LONDON WC1H 0XG

**100) Enlightenment on Išum** — In *NABU* 2016/30 JoAnn Scurlock defends her proposition that the divine night watchman Išum was a god of the hearth and so a household deity, first made in her study of “Ancient Mesopotamian house gods”, *JANER* 3 (2003) 103–6. She reminds us that her assertion is supported by a “text that seeks to protect a household under demonic attack from a *katarru* fungus by making offerings to a number of divinities at specific locations in the household”. On this account they “are household gods ... permanently resident in the house”. These deities are “Gula, Ištar, and the Pleiades as well as Išum”. She goes on to state that “Išum’s name is in the text, and his offering is buried in the midst of the house, obviously, given his association with fire, at the hearth”.

The text in question is a collection of apotropaic rituals for use when mildew or other fungus was observed in a house, K 157<sup>+</sup> and duplicates. It has been edited by R. Caplice, *Or* N.S. 40 (1971) 140–47, as Text 48 A, and by S. M. Maul, *Zukunftsbewältigung* (1994) 354–66, as “Die *katarru*-Namburbis”, using four manuscripts. The various ritual procedures therein prescribe the sacrifice of ovids to deities, sometimes specifying the places where the offering took place and where the bodyparts were disposed of. The ritual passage relating to Išum (ll. 28–38) is preserved only on K 157<sup>+</sup> (obv. 23’–33’).

The only public records of the cuneiform text of K 157<sup>+</sup> are the black-and-white photographs published by Caplice (pls. 3–4) and low-resolution digital images now online (cdli.ucla.edu/P237792). It is a shame that such a fine example of seventh-century Babylonian writing has never been presented in a line drawing, all the more so because a good hand-copy would have assisted a more accurate transliteration. First-hand study of the tablet in the British Museum reveals several mistakes in Caplice’s edition. Most of them were corrected by Maul but, in the vital passage relating to Išum, further improved readings are achieved by collation:

beginning of l. 34 = K 157+ obv. 29’

Caplice [i-n]a UD šu-a-tu<sub>4</sub> UDU.NITÁ SA<sub>5</sub> : SIG<sub>7</sub> “red (variant: yellow)”

Maul [i-n]a U<sub>4</sub> šu-a-tum UDU.NÍTA SA<sub>5</sub> : SIG<sub>7</sub> “rotbraunes : gelbes”

coll. [ina Š]À\* UD šu-a-tu<sub>4</sub> UDU.NITÁ SA<sub>5</sub> : GÙN (or SU<sub>4</sub>)\* “brown (var. piebald or red)”

beginning of l. 35 = K 157+ obv. 30’

Caplice [be]-lu šá<sup>2</sup> bi-ti “the [lo]rd of the house”

Maul [i]-[na] ŠÀ<sup>1</sup> šá bi-ti “[i]n mitten des Hauses”

coll. [ina Š]À\* ri\*-bi-ti “[in the] middle of the street”

middle of l. 36 = K 157+ obv. 31’

Caplice ina KAŠ GAR-an ina <KÁ.AŠ>.ÀM “in beer . . . at the outer gate”

Maul ina KAŠ GAR-an ina <KÁ>.AŠ.ÀM “in Bier. Im Außentor”

coll. ina KÁ\*.AN.AŠ.ÀM “at the outermost doorway”

\* These collations are supported by a close-up photograph of the tablet (Fig. 1a). Slight damage to the left of the sign *ri* in obv. 30’ has hindered its accurate identification heretofore. Other examples of the sign on the same tablet are given for comparison (Fig. 1b–c).

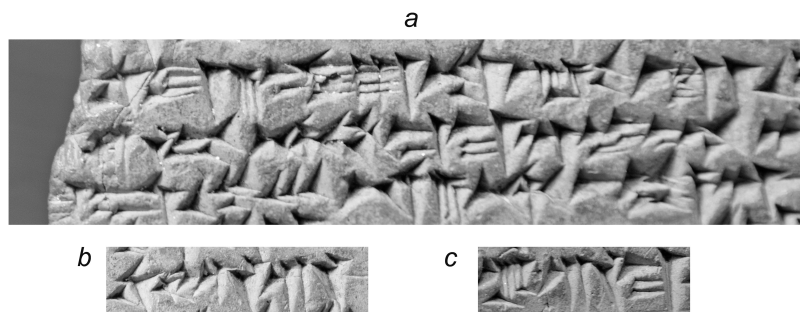


Fig. 1. K 157+, details. (a) obv. 29’–31’ left part; (b–c) other examples of the sign *ri* on K 157+, (left) in rev. 20 *mu-úh-ri*, (right) in rev. 35 *mu-uh-ri-ma*. Author’s images, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

These collations give new knowledge about the colour of Išum’s sheep (l. 34) and the places of its slaughter (35) and the disposal of its bodyparts (36). Scurlock (*JANER* 3: 101) followed Maul in the matter of colour and place of slaughter, and in the misreading of KÁ as KAŠ GAR, but proposed that AŠ.ÀM should be translated “individually” (the logogram for *ištēnā* “singly” is elsewhere DIŠ.TA.ÀM). Following autopsy of the tablet the passage of the ritual now reads: [ina libb]i ūmi šu’ātu immera sāma (var. *burruma* or *pelā*) ana pān Išum [ina libb]i ribīti tanakkisma “Išum annā limḥur” taliqabbīma qaqqada u kursinnāti ina bābi kamī tetemmerma [amēla] šu’ātu ina muḥḥi tušzāz “on that same day you slaughter a brown (var. piebald or red) ram before Išum in the middle of the street and you say (or he says) ‘May Išum receive!’, then you bury the head and fetlocks at the outermost doorway (of the house) and have the [man] stand on top.”

For present purposes — the issue of whether Išum was ever a house god — the key point is that the ritual locates him not inside the house, but outside. The sacrifice to him took place in the street and the victim’s remains were interred at the place of entry from there to the house. The street outside the house is well known as Išum’s typical place of work, which he patrolled as night watchman (*JNES* 74 (2015) 1–8). Sacrificing there would leave a mark to remind him in passing to show especial attention to the protection of the adjacent household, just as the prayers on amulet-type tablets asked him to do (e.g. *CUSAS* 32 (2016) 155).

The essential data presented by the text of K 157+ and duplicates as a whole can be tabulated as follows:

<i>Lines</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Offering</i>	<i>Deity</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Disposal of bodyparts</i>
22	“on that day”	yellow goat	Gula	not stated	not stated
34–36	“on that day”	brown/piebald ram	Išum	street	buried at outermost door
49–52	not stated	goat, white patch	Ištar	doorjamb of house	buried at threshold
62–70	not stated	brindle goat	Pleiades	not stated	released in river
91	[. . .]	yellow goat	Gula	not stated	not stated

The only uncertainty is the lacuna in l. 91, which seems not to hide the temporal phrase “on that day” (see Maul, p. 361 n. 42; read perhaps [*ba-ra-ri*]-*ta* “at dusk”?). Maul’s emended reading of l. 35 = obv. 30’ as *ina libbi ša bīti* “inmitten des Hauses” was the only piece of evidence that might lead a commentator to write that this text recommends “offerings to a number of divinities at specific locations in the household” (my italics). As we have seen, that reading is now discarded. Apart from undermining Scurlock’s location of Išum “in the midst of the house ... at the hearth”, the table also reveals as false her identification of the locations where animals were sacrificed to Gula and the Pleiades as “specific locations in the household”.

In these rituals to counter the portent of mildew observed on the outside wall of a house, all locations are suitably liminal: the street, the house’s outermost doorway, a doorjamb and threshold. Offerings and interments at the house boundary clearly function to prevent the ingress of evil from the outside. As barriers at the house’s limits, such offerings are not necessarily made to gods resident inside the house and do not unequivocally argue for the identification of their recipients as house gods.

This note does not object to a notion that the night watchman Išum, as a fire god, was present in the fire on a domestic hearth. But the evidence is too slender to characterize him as a house god, especially when the ancient sources are so insistent on situating his place of effective agency outside, in the street.

A. R. GEORGE <ag5@soas.ac.uk>

**101) The BM object 1883-1-18, 752: a scrap of cuneiform about beads for keeping the baby-snatcher at bay, duplicating Farber, *Lamaštu*, ms. “FsL” (BM 42612+)** — The British Museum fragment with registration number 1883-1-18, 752 is a mere flake of clay representing the middle part of the upper half of the reverse of a small excerpt tablet.<sup>1)</sup> A year ago the present author identified what scanty text has been preserved in it as a duplicate to BM 42612+, ll. 10-16, which itself is an extract tablet, too, inscribed with a ritual involving amuletic beads that derives from canonical *Lamaštu* III, 49-63.<sup>2)</sup> The two excerpts would appear to have the same format and they also share their graphic typicalities, with the signs leaning to the left.

BM 42612<sup>+</sup> was first edited by I. Finkel<sup>3)</sup>, dubbed “Stones for right and left,” and has recently been re-edited under the siglum “FsL” by Farber, *Lamaštu*, pp. 52 — there put in the list of “Non-canonical rituals against *Lamaštu* not containing specific *Lamaštu* incantations” —, 276 (transliteration), 306-307 (bound text and translation), and 333-334 (commentary).

It was Farber who established the true nature of BM 42612<sup>+</sup>, renaming it “A school tablet with a ritual related to ‘Lam. III’ 49-63” (*Lamaštu*, p. 276). Unlike this duplicate, 1883-1-18, 752 not only



employs no subdividing rulings, but it has blurred the lines between sections to the point of starting a new one halfway down a line (observably so in l. 5).

Although the artefact has ended up in the basically Ninevite batch of the Museum's 1883-01-18 consignment of tablets rather than its Babylonian AH 1883-01-18 counterpart, the evidence enshrined in the duplicate as well as its writing characteristics firmly point to a post-Assyrian date and a Babylonian provenance.<sup>4)</sup> Despite the absence of any further information it may safely be assumed that our fragment dates to Neo-Babylonian/Persian times and its likely place of origin is either Sippar, Babylon or Borsippa.

Transliteration; restorations based on "FsL".

Obv.

About ten lines missing

Rev.

- 1 [tara-kás NA<sub>4</sub>ZÚ] 'GI<sub>6</sub>' ina DUR<sup>a</sup> SÍG GI<sub>6</sub> 'È'-[ak SÍG GI<sub>6</sub>]  
 2 [tála-pap 4 <sup>b</sup>NA<sub>4</sub>.I]GI.MEŠ<sup>b</sup> 4<sup>c</sup> NA<sub>4</sub> pa-re-e ina Š[U GÙB-šú]  
 3 [tara-kás NA<sub>4</sub> ka-p]a-ša<sup>d</sup> ina DUR<sup>a</sup> SÍG<sup>e</sup> SA<sub>5</sub> È-[ak]  
 4 [SÍG SA<sub>5</sub> tála]-pap 4 <sup>b</sup>NA<sub>4</sub>.IGI.MEŠ<sup>b</sup> 4<sup>f</sup> NA<sub>4</sub> p[a-re-e]  
 5 [ina ĜÌR 15-šú tara]-kás' NA<sub>4</sub> AN.BAR 'ina' D[UR<sup>a</sup> SÍG.ZA.GÌN.NA]

Four to five lines missing

Notes

<sup>a</sup> "FsL": GU.

<sup>b</sup> "FsL": IGI<sup>II</sup>.MEŠ.

<sup>c</sup> Four verticals in a row; did the scribe intend to correct a wrongly copied 3?

<sup>d</sup> "FsL": -ši.

<sup>e</sup> "FSL" (l. 13) accordingly to be restored 'SÍG', confirming Farber, *Lamaštu*, p. 276.

<sup>f</sup> "FsL": '4'<sup>1</sup>, pace Farber, *Lamaštu*, p. 333f., remark ad l.1.

Translation of reconstructed text

- <sup>1</sup> ... you tie. You string a bead of obsidian on a thread of black wool (and) wind it in black wool.  
<sup>2</sup> You tie four eye-beads (and) four beads of *parû*-stone to his left hand <sup>3</sup> You string a bead of *kapāšu*-stone on a thread of red wool (and) wind it <sup>4</sup> in red wool. You tie four eye-beads (and) four beads of *parû*-stone <sup>5</sup> to his right foot. You string a bead of iron (ore) on a thread of blue wool...

1) On view at <http://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P452756.jpg>.

2) As edited by W. Farber, *Lamaštu: An Edition of the Canonical Series of Lamaštu Incantations and Rituals and Related Texts from the Second and First Millennia B.C.*, Winona Lake 2014.

3) As Text 53 (pp. 210-211) in his study "On Late Babylonian Medical Training," in A. George and I. Finkel (eds.), *Wisdom, Gods and Literature - Studies in Assyriology in Honour of W.G. Lambert*, Winona Lake 2000, pp. 137-223.

4) For essentials of this bipartite collection see J. Reade, "Introduction" (apud E. Leichty, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, VI (Sippar 1), London 1986), p. xxxiv; C. Walker, "Introduction" (apud E. Leichty, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, VIII (Sippar 3), London 1988), p. xii-xiii. It is common knowledge that from the onset cataloguers have been keenly aware that the 1883-1-18 and like 'Kuyunjik' collections had got contaminated with objects of Babylonian provenance [and that conversely Kuyunjik objects had accidentally gone astray in Babylonian collections, e.g.: Walker, "Introduction," p. xiib (bottom)]. C. Bezold, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum*, IV (London 1896), p. 1952, lists 1883-1-18, 752 under the heading "(...) inscribed fragments and tablets which were not found at Kouyunjik; and miscellaneous objects found at Kouyunjik and at other sites in Mesopotamia."

Henry STADHOUDERS <h.stadhouders@uu.nl>

**102) ākīlu, a pest, lit. "eater, devourer", in omen apodoses and other texts\*** — CAD A1 267a translates *ākīlu* sub meaning 1. as a pest, quoting the omen apodosis from ACh Šamaš 10:94 and ACh Supp. 2 Šamaš 36:7, KA *u a-ki-lum ina māti ibaššû*, without any translation.<sup>1)</sup> The literal meaning of the term, which is the active participle of *akālu*, "to eat", is "eater, devourer". Despite its apparently general

meaning, *ākīlu* is not a general term for pests or species of pests, but is specifically identified in different positions in lists of pests and linked with other insects in lexical lists (see below).

In a treaty, a potentially perjured partner is threatened with “may *erbū* (“locust”), *kalmutu* (“lice”), *mūnu* (“caterpillar”) and *ākīlu* ravage your cities, country (and) provinces” (Wiseman, *The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon*, 1958, 73-74 col. viii 599-600, see also K. Watanabe, *Die adē-Vereidigungen anlässlich der Thronfolgeregelung Asarhaddons*, BaM Beih. 3, 1987, 131 [score transliteration] and 170-71 [transcription and translation] of § 85). Other omen apodoses link *ākīlu* with *mūnu* (“caterpillar”) (e.g., *mu-nu u a-ki-lu(m) ina KUR GÁL*, ACh Šamaš 2:30 and ACh Suppl. 2 Šamaš 32:58, see van Soldt, *Solar omens of enuma anu enlil*, PIHANS 73, 1995, 34 line III 53). A prediction of agricultural land being infested with *ākīlu* and *dīmānu* (an insect) must have been considered very bad (*a-ki-lum u di-ma-nu ina A.ŠĀ KUR GÁL*, ACh Sin 34:39, see F. Rochberg-Halton, *AfO* Beih. 22, 1988, 259 § VIII 1), since another omen apodosis states the damage *ākīlu* would cause to the crop: *a-ki-lu še-am* GU<sub>7</sub>, “*ākīlu* will devour the barley” (CT 20, 33 line 89 [extispicy]). Special (*namburbi*-)rituals were performed to protect the fields against *ākīlu* and other pests: STT 243 obv. 8’-9’ and rev. 1-2 list among the parasites of the field (rev. 2: *kalmat eqli*): *mūnu*, *āki[lu, mubattiru]*, *šāširu* (“cricket”) and *sāmānu*”; the *namburbi*-incantation of K. 8072 line 12’ names in this context: *[āk]īlu*, *mūnu*, *mubattiru* and *arrabu* (“dormouse ?”) (see CAD A 1 267a and M 2 159a with more duplicates).

In most texts *ākīlu* is linked with *mūnu*; text commentaries even gloss the one with the other (Hg. B III iv 26-27, see MSL 8/2, 47; 2R 47 ii 40 [K. 4387]) or associate *ākīlu* with *mubattiru* (an insect, a field pest) (Hg. B III iv 25). The same logogram is used for “*ākīlu* of the field” and *kuzāzu* (a biting insect), *sā[su]* (“moth”) and *kazazakku* (a destructive insect): *mu-ul 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶*, (CT 12 20a [BM 38173] ii 4’-6’ [Aa = nāqu V/2 lines 84-87, see MSL XIV 417]).

The fact that the name *ākīlu* is closely connected with agriculture (more precisely with barley) indicates that this pest was known to devour plants on large scale. None of the texts, however, associates *ākīlu* with *erbu*, “locust”, which is usually identified as the cause of such damage. Since it is most often associated with a caterpillar (*mūnu*), the *ākīlu* could be a type of caterpillar<sup>2)</sup> or a slug or a snail<sup>3)</sup>. A snail may easily have been perceived as a caterpillar with a shell, damaging plants as an ‘eater’ in the leaves, though this remains speculative.

A syllabic writing of the omen apodosis mentioned at the beginning of this article confirms that it is apposite to retain the literal meaning of *ākīlu* in the discussion.

K. 3609 (ACh Šamaš 8 [composite]) rev. 21’: ... *ši-in-nu u a-ki-[lu(m) ina KUR GÁL]*  
 “There will be a ‘tooth’ and a ‘devou[rer]’ in the country[.]”

This shows that the sign KA in the logographic writing (see above) is to be read ZÚ, *šinnu*, “tooth”, showing that the prediction refers to those pests that bite of parts off a plant with their teeth (*šinnu*) and those that devour plants completely, if not the same pest is responsible for partially and completely damaging the plants.<sup>4)</sup>

1) The tablets on which Virolleaud based the ‘composite cuneiform texts’ show two different writings of *ākīlu*: with mimation (*a-ki-lum*: K. 2236+2891 rev. 13b [AAT 28 = ACh Šamaš 10]) and K. 2686+268[AAT 29 = ACh Šamaš 10]+K. 11084+Sm. 1916 rev. 4’, see also HMA 9-1789 obv. 14’ [Lutz, UCP 9/9, 391-395, pl. 9-10]); and without mimation (*a-ki-lu*: K. 2706 line 7’ [ACh Suppl. 2 Šamaš 36]).

2) Compare, e.g., the larvae of *Pelopidas thrax* that is known today as a cereal pest in the Near East (including Iraq) and in the Far East.

3) The 𐎶𐎠𐎶-*ra* = *hubullu* tablet on fauna, tablet XIV, lists *lummû* (CAD L 246) or *muldamû* (CAD M 2 188b) written with the logogram MUL.DA.MUL and MUL.DA.MU (𐎶𐎠𐎶 XIV 340a-341), which has been interpreted as either a spider or a snail. MUL.DA.MUL is also equated with *hammû* (𐎶𐎠𐎶 XIV 342), which is explained by CAD 𐎶 69a as “(an aquatic animal)” (AHw 318a: “3) ein Wassertier (Qualle ?)”, although 𐎶𐎠𐎶 XIV sets a *hammu* (344a: [MU]L.DA = *ha-am-mu*) apart from an aquatic “*hammu* of water” (345: MUL.DA.A = *ha-am-me me-e*).

4) Compare also the entry in Kagal D Sect. 6 lines 13’: ‘zú.x.x<sup>1</sup> = *ši-in-’ni<sup>1</sup> tu-ul-ti*, “teeth of a worm”, see MSL XIII 246.

**103) Die Etablierung der indirekten assyrischen Herrschaft über das Land Elam im Jahre 653 v.Chr.** — Im Jahre 653 v.Chr. entschied sich Aššurbanipal, gegen Teumman, den König des Landes Elam zu marschieren, weil Teumman seine Botschafter Umbadarâ und Nabû-de'iq jeden Monat mit Provokationen zu ihm geschickt hatte, um die Auslieferung der vorher nach Assyrien geflohenen Söhne des Urtaku, des vorherigen Königs von Elam, sowie der Söhne des Ummanaldāše, des Bruders von Urtaku zu fordern. Aššurbanipal bringt dem Land Elam eine Niederlage bei, indem er den Teumman tötet. Nach dem Sieg gegen Teumman setzte Aššurbanipal den Ummanigaš, den Sohn des Urtaku, auf den elamischen Königsthron ein und übergab Tammaritu, dem dritten Bruder des Ummanigaš, die Königsherrschaft in der Stadt Hīdalu (BORGER 1996, 97-105, 224-226 Prisma B iv 87-vi 16, Prisma C v 93-vii 9; 37-38, 226 Prisma F ii 55-71, Prisma A iii 29-49; 192, 226 Prisma H3 iii' 1-5). Die Beziehung zwischen Assyrien und Elam nach diesem Ereignis ist in Teilen unklar. Hinsichtlich der Situation des Landes Elam nach der Eroberung im Jahre 653 v. Chr. folgert R. Mattila aufgrund des Nomens *pāhatūtu* "Statthalterstellung" in einem von Nabû-bēl-šumāti an Aššurbanipal gerichteten Brief (ABL 839, Rs. 14-15), in dem er dem König rät, einen elamischen Prinzen (*mār šarri*) in die Statthalterstellung (*pāhatūtu*) in Elam einzusetzen, dass das Land Elam im Jahre 653 v.Chr. ins assyrische Reich annektiert wurde.<sup>1</sup> Damit kritisiert Mattila das von Carter und Stolper vorgeschlagene Annexionsjahr des Landes Elam, nämlich 646 v.Chr. (MATTILA 1987, 30). Aber hier ist darauf hinzuweisen, dass Mattila die Ergebnisse von Carter und Stolper nicht korrekt wiedergibt: Obwohl Mattila die Annexion des Landes Elam ins assyrische Reich im Jahre 646 v.Chr. auf Carter und Stolper zurückführt, sprechen diese gerade nicht von einer Annexion von Elam. Hier der Originaltext von Carter und Stolper: "*Although lowland Elam was perhaps not reduced to an Assyrian province, it was effectively dismantled as a state and left without a viable political center*" – hier sprechen sie über das Jahr 646 v.Chr. (CARTER & STOLPER 1984, 53). Daher ist es schwer, Mattilas Standpunkt zu übernehmen, auch wenn der elamische Prinz in die Statthalterstellung (*pāhatūtu*) eingesetzt wurde, weil die durch Asarhaddon eingesetzten ägyptischen Könige bei der Einrichtung von Vasallenverhältnissen mit einer Apposition als Könige, Statthalter (*šarrāni pāhāti*) bezeichnet wurden. Die Verwendung des Begriffs *pāhātu* "Statthalter" interpretiere ich so, dass Aššurbanipal ihnen die gleiche Stellung wie den assyrischen Statthaltern gab, um ihnen damit eine Identität als Teil der assyrischen Eliten zu vermitteln (SANO 2016). Man sollte nicht übersehen, dass Ummanigaš und Tammaritu am assyrischen Hof ausgebildet wurden (BORGER 1996, 96-97 Prisma B iv 72-86, Prisma C v 78-92). Zudem könnte vermutlich auch ein in ABL 1007 Rs. 22 (Waterman 1930, 200) erwähnter Statthalter, der über Indaru eingesetzt wurde, einer der Brüder des Ummanigaš sein. Denn möglicherweise könnte man den in einem administrativen Dokument (SAA/7, Nr. 5 Rs. i 11) erwähnten elamischen Statthalter ([...]-gi *šaknu elamāja*) mit dem Statthalter von Indaru identifizieren (WATERS 2000, 58 Anm. 13). Zwar war es Aššurbanipals Wunsch, dass sie die Rolle eines assyrischen Statthalters spielen sollten, aber sie waren vor Ort wahrscheinlich Könige, somit kann man die Verwendung von *pāhatūtu* in ABL 839, Rs. 15 nicht direkt auf eine Annexion beziehen.

1) M.W. Waters Überlegung zu ABL 839 Rs.14-16 – in der Zeile 16 wird auch die Einsetzung des Statthalters über das Meerland erwähnt – lautet wie folgt: It is possible that this direction (Einsetzung der Statthalter über die Länder Elam und Meerland) merely reflects the writer's confidence in Ashurbanipal's future success, but it is reasonable to assume that the letter reflects the political reality. Vgl. WATERS 2000, 58.

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Katsuji SANO, <ksassur@hotmail.co.jp>

**104) Briques néo-babyloniennes de la collection Cohen** — Une collection parisienne a acquis trois fragments de briques néo-babyloniennes que nous portons à la connaissance des spécialistes. Elles sont toutes datées du règne de Nabuchodonosor II et comportent sa titulature standard.

<b>n°1+2 :</b>	[ <sup>d</sup> na <sub>3</sub> -ku <sup>2</sup> -dúr <sup>2</sup> -ri- <sup>r</sup> uri <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> lugal k[ <sub>a</sub> <sub>2</sub> -diĝir-ra <sup>ki</sup> ]
2	[za-ni-in] [ <sup>r</sup> e <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> -saĝ-il <sub>2</sub> ù e <sub>2</sub> -zi-[da dumu-nita <sub>2</sub> saĝ-kal]
	[ša] [ <sup>r</sup> d <sup>1</sup> na <sub>3</sub> -dumu-nita <sub>2</sub> -uri <sub>3</sub> luga[l ka <sub>2</sub> -diĝir-ra <sup>ki</sup> ]
<b>n°3 :</b>	[ <sup>d</sup> na <sub>3</sub> -ku-dú]r-ri-ur[ <sub>i</sub> <sub>3</sub> ]
2	[lugal ba-b]i-lu <sup>ki</sup> [ <sub>i</sub> ] <sup>1</sup>
	[za-ni-in e <sub>2</sub> -sa]ĝ <sup>2</sup> - <sup>r</sup> il <sub>2</sub> <sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup>
	(...)
<b>n°4</b>	[ <sup>d</sup> na <sub>3</sub> -ku-dúr-ri-uri <sub>3</sub> ]
2	[lugal ka <sub>2</sub> -diĝir]-ra[ <sup>ki</sup> ]
	[u <sub>2</sub> -a e <sub>2</sub> -s]aĝ-il <sub>2</sub>
4	[ù e <sub>2</sub> ]-zi-da
	[dumu-nita a-ša]-re- <sup>r</sup> du <sup>1</sup>
6	[ša <sup>d</sup> na <sub>3</sub> -dumu-nita <sub>2</sub> -uri <sub>3</sub> ]
	[lugal ka <sub>2</sub> -diĝir-ra <sup>ki</sup> ]

« Nabuchodonosor, roi de Babylone, pourvoyeur de l'Esagil et de l'Ezida, fils aîné de Nabopolassar, roi de Babylone. »



Michael GUICHARD <guichard.assyriologue@gmail.com>

**105) Prophétie dynastique v 6-19 : nouvelle interprétation** — Le texte appelé « prophétie dynastique » s'ouvre sur une invocation aux dieux exprimée à la première personne et qui annonce, apparemment, le

projet de l'auteur. Les durées des règnes y sont scrupuleusement consignées. On y découvre, dans un certain désordre, une succession de règnes positifs ou négatifs, l'auteur qualifiant de rebelles les rois qu'il juge illégitimes. Il est possible, toutefois, d'identifier l'essentiel des événements rapportés ainsi que les principaux protagonistes. Un passage, toutefois, semble avoir été mal compris, les lignes 6 à 19 de la colonne V (on suit l'édition de R.J. van der Spek, Darius III, Alexander The Great and Babylonian Scholarship, in W. Henkelman et A. Kuhrt, édés, *A Persian Perspective, Essays in Memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg*, NINO, Leyde, 2003, 312-318) :

ʿa<sup>1</sup>-a-um-ma LÚ.NUN-ʿú<sup>1</sup> [ha-am-ma-ʿu]  
 ʿZI<sup>1</sup>-am-ma AŠ.[TE i-šab-bat]  
 5 MU.AN.NA.MEŠ LUGAL-[ú-tu DÙ-uš]  
 LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ KUR ha-ni-i x[...]  
 10 ZI.MEŠ x [...] x x x [...]  
 ʿLÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-šú [LUGAL ŠÚ ú-kaš-šar-ma (?)]  
 [h]u-bu-ut-su i-hab-ba-t[ú šil-lat-su]  
 i-šal-la-lu ár-ka-nu LÚ.E[RÍN.MEŠ-šú [LÚ.GAL.UNKIN(?)]  
 ú-kaš-šar-ma GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-šú Í[L (...)]  
 15 <sup>d</sup>en-líl <sup>d</sup>utu u <sup>d</sup>[amar.utu]  
 DA LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ-šú GIN.[MEŠ-ma]  
 su-kup-tu LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ ha-ni-i ʿi<sup>1</sup>-[šak-kan]  
 šil-lat-su ka-bit-tum i-šal-l[a-al-ma]  
 a-na É.GAL-šú ú-[še-reb ...]

« Un prince rebelle se lèvera et s'emparera du trône. Il règnera pendant cinq ans.

Les troupes du pays des Hanéens (...) se lèveront (...). *Le roi de la totalité rassemblera* (?) ses troupes et elles lui feront des prisonniers. Elles emporteront son butin.

Plus tard, *le satrape* (?) rassemblera ses troupes et lèvera ses armes. Enlil, Šamaš et Marduk marcheront aux côtés de son armée et il accomplira la défaite de l'armée des Hanéens. Il emportera son important butin et le fera entrer dans son palais. »

- col. v 6-8 : évocation du règne de Darius III, qualifié de rebelle.

- col. v 9-13 : allusion au règne d'Alexandre le Grand, à sa victoire à Gaugamèles (1<sup>er</sup> octobre 331 ; Cicéron, *De Divinatione* I, 121, une éclipse de Lune survenue peu avant le lever du soleil aurait annoncé sa victoire et la mort de Darius. Il doit s'agir de l'éclipse du 20 septembre 331 ; elle est documentée par un agenda : AD I, No -330). Comme en informe Arrien, *Anabase* III, 15, 5, c'est à la suite de cette bataille qu'il s'empara du trésor royal abandonné par Darius dans sa fuite : « il y trouva le trésor du Grand Roi, tout son bagage et une nouvelle fois le char de Darius fut pris, et une nouvelle fois l'on s'empara de son bouclier, de son arc et de ses flèches ». Le même Arrien de préciser (III, 15, 6) qu'il y eut « beaucoup plus de prisonniers que de tués ». Telles sont, précisément, les remarques que fait l'auteur de la « prophétie dynastique » à propos de cet événement.

- col. v 13-19 : Il s'agit difficilement d'une défaite d'Alexandre devant Darius III, comme il est souvent admis : M. Neujahr, « When Darius defeated Alexander : composition and redaction in the dynastic prophecy », *JNES* 64, 2005, pp. 101-106 ; R.J. van der Spek, *AV Sancisi-Weerdenburg*, 328-332, avec bibliographie antérieure. On relève, en effet, la présence du mot *arkānu*, « plus tard », en début de phrase, qui indique que l'on passe à un épisode nouveau (comparer *ár-kát u<sub>4</sub>-mi* en i 7', EGIR-*sú* en ii 9').

L'armée des Hanéens était celle des Macédoniens commandée par Antigone le Borgne, qui en était alors le général en chef, et les événements évoqués étaient ceux qui se déroulèrent à Babylone et opposèrent Séleucos, le satrape de Babylone (c'est peut-être ce titre, LÚ.GAL UNKIN KUR.URI.KI, qu'il faut restituer à la fin de la ligne 13), à Antigone, après le partage de Triparadeisos (automne 321). Ils sont rapportés avec plus de détails dans la *Chronique des Diadoques*.

Cette interprétation est déjà admise par M. Stolper, *Mesopotamia, 482-330 BC*, CAH 4/2, Cambridge UP, 1988 ; S. Sherwin-White, *Seleucid Babylonia : a case study for the installation and*

development of Greek rule, in A. Kuhrt et S. Sherwin-White, éd., *Hellenism in the East*, Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1987, 15 ; M. Geller, *Babylonian Astronomical Diaries and Corrections of Diodorus*, BSOAS 53, 1990, 1-7.

Jean-Jacques GLASSNER <jglassner@wanadoo.fr>

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