

# N.A.B.U.

## *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*

2015

N°3 (septembre)

### NOTES BRÈVES

**57) Indirect reflexive in Sumerian and the conflict between Enmetena and II** — In NABU 2015/27 Ceccarelli criticized my translation of Ent. 28 iv 30-32 = 29 v 17-19: an-ta-sur-ra-ta / é-dimgal-abzu-ka-šè / ní ba-ni-è-dè “Ich werde von Antasura zum Edingalabzu für mich selbst ableiten!” (KEETMAN 2011, 296) since “the reflexive pronoun does not usually serve as an indirect reflexive, the identity of the agent and beneficiary is normally expressed by the middle-marker {ba}”. That was just my point. The prefix ba- fulfils, beside other functions, the role of a dative of the none person class and the role of an indirect reflexive. Obvious this is the same function, if we keep in mind that ní “self” is none person class. Thus the indirect reflexive can be understand as ba- with ní + e which is normally dropped.<sup>1)</sup>

In Sumerian ní with or without a possessive suffix can be used to describe a reflexive situation: For example *Curse of Akkade* 240: kar-ke<sub>4</sub>-zu ká éš-dam-ma-na-ka ní ḥa-ba-ni-ib-lá-e “may your prostitute hang herself at the entrance to her brothel”. As well in ní gíd “stretch oneself” = “to relax”; “to grow up (plants)”: mušen-e á u<sub>4</sub>-zal-le-da-ka ní un-gíd “Wenn der Vogel sich bei Tagesanbruch streckte” *Lugalbande* II 44 (after WILCKE 1969); lugal-ḡu<sub>10</sub> ní nu-te ní nu-gíd-i “My king should neither be afraid nor relax” RCU 19, 31.<sup>2)</sup> See as well ní búr “to make one’s own self important” PSD B 197 (most cases without suffix) and ní buluḡ<sub>5</sub> PSD B 79f. roughly the same meaning, often without suffix.

The historical derivation of a function can be assumed without an extant example. We may assume that ba- as indirect reflexive was derived from ní (+ suffix) + e ba- without pointing to the indeed difficult text Ent. 28/29. But there is also a less difficult example: SAT 3, 2186, 31: gudu<sub>4</sub>-e diri-šè ní-bé ba-ab-dab<sub>5</sub> “The gudu-priests took it as extra for themselves” cited by Ceccarelli. It differs from Ent. 28/29. but as we have seen, a change between ní and ní + suffix can’t be excluded. Compare ní silim(-šè) du<sub>11</sub>/e “to praise oneself” (ATTINGER 1993, § 755). silim du<sub>11</sub>/e is used with the dative for persons and with ní we should expect ní in the directive.

After a careful investigation of other translations, Ceccarelli reads ní-ba ni-è-dè and translates: “I will (let go out =) extend them (together =) both [i. e. the boundary embankments of Ningirsu and Našše]”.<sup>3)</sup> The translation “together” for ní-ba goes back to HEIMPEL 1968, 152-55 who compares German “miteinander”. Heimpel cites contexts like OECT 1, 2 ii 5-6 + dupl. (after Heimpel): gu<sub>4</sub> lugal-bé-er ús-a sè-ga / ní-bé-šè ur<sub>5</sub> ša<sub>4</sub> téš-bé-šè ad gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub> “(Das Haus Enki’s ...) ein Ochse, der fuer seinen Herrn in die Spur gesetzt ist: (Sie – der Ochse und sein Herr -) rufen einander zu, pflügen miteinander

Rat.” Here and in many other cases we could also translate ní-bé-šè/-a with “in their different kinds” and reserve “together” for téš-bé(-šè), ur<sub>5</sub>-bé. This more literal understanding comes closer to the Akkadian translation *ina ramānīšu*, fits excellent many contexts and comprises the aspect of plurality. This may as well explain why ní-ba is not rendered by *ištēniš* “together”, *miḥāriš* “each one”, “in a group” etc. Some examples do better fit with “by themselves” or “in their fear” (HEIMPEL 1968, nr. 58.5). It is doubtful, if ní-ba could have just the simple meaning “both”. For “both” tab and min-na-bé are used.<sup>4)</sup>

What II has done depends on the interpretation of a-e in 28 iv 10 (29 iv 38). In Old Sumerian the directive is not written after a vowel.<sup>5)</sup> See as well CECCARELLI 2015 n. 4. Compare VAT 12597 (SF 54) viii 1-3: a-sùr / sùr e-sì-gen<sub>7</sub> / a-e <e> e-sì-gen<sub>7</sub> “Wie Wassergraben-Wasser das den Wassergraben füllt, wie Kanal-Wasser, das den Kanal füllt” (after KREBERNIK 1984, 47). So we may understand our text: “he opened the dike/ditch of ... and (such) the ‘water(course running in a) ditch’” with a compound a-e like a-sùr. It becomes clear that II is indeed interested in the water. We can assume that II either changed the course of the canal from the beginning or took water from it by opening holes in the dike on several points along its course, filling his own ditches. Perhaps it started this time not in a dramatic way, with no further destructions mentioned and Enmetena still sending messengers. So it is reasonable to assume, that II just started taking water or more water than he deserved from the boundary ditch.

As Ceccarelli rightly observes a causative from an intransitive verb should not be formed with –ni- (we expect -n/b-, in this time normally not written). In Ent. 28 ii 1-3 = 29 ii 12-14: e-bé i<sub>7</sub>-nun-ta / gú-edin-na-šè / íb-ta-ni-è Ceccarelli assumes a locative –ni-. The present author has difficulties with accepting such a free locative. Perhaps the verb is made first transitive and then causative by a second morpheme? But locative or not it does not help our understanding. The water is guided or the dams are built from A to B.

The sentence under discussion is about the same ditch, there are an ablative and a terminative, but with different names. The verb has in our reading again the difficult –ni-, but no –ta- and ba- and IM are added. I would suppose, that dropping –ta- means that the action is done along the line described by X-ta Y-šè. This may be taking water at several points. That other endpoints are mentioned is in good harmony with the hypothesis that not a general act of aggression is in the focus but a very specific misdeed.

1) For the dropping of a once decisive word in the course of grammaticalization compare French: je ne vais (un pas) “I don’t go (a step)” > je ne vais pas “I don’t go”; je ne sais pas “I don’t know” > je sais pas “I don’t know”, now often used in spoken French.

2) For further references see SJÖBERG 2002, 243.

3) With ni- he follows JAGERSMA 2010.

4) See CAD K 353f. (s. v. kilallān) and tab “to double” CAD E 345f. (s. v. ešēpu) and for example u<sub>4</sub> ... nam-en / nam-lugal-da / e-na-da-tab-ba-a / unug<sup>ki</sup>-ga / nam-en / mu-ak-ke<sub>4</sub> / ur<sup>ki</sup>-m[a] / nam-lugal / mu-ak-ke<sub>4</sub> “As (Enlil) ... double for him lordship with kingship (and) he exercised lordship in Uruk and kingship in Ur” Lukin. 2, 4-14.

5) JAGERSMA 2010, 165f.

## Bibliography

ATTINGER, P. 1993: *Éléments de linguistique sumérienne. La construction de du<sub>11</sub>/e/di “dire”*, OBO Sonderband Fribourg/Göttingen.

CECCARELLI, M. 2015: Again on Ent. 28 iv 30-33 // 29 v 17-20 (= RIME 1.9.5.1), NABU 2015/27.

HEIMPEL, W. 1968: *Tierbilder in der sumerischen Literatur*, Rome.

JAGERSMA, B. 2010: *A Descriptive Grammar of Sumerian*, Faculty of Humanities Leiden University, Leiden.

KEETMAN, J. 2011: Lokativ, Lokativ-Terminativ und “Antidativ” beim sumerischen Verbum und der Einfluss des “Antidativs” auf den akkadischen N-Stamm, WZKM 101, 285-304.

KREBERNIK, M. 1984: *Die Beschwörungen aus Fara und Ebla*, Hildesheim.

SJÖBERG, Å. 2002: In the Beginning, in: T. Abusch (ed.): *Riches Hidden in Secret Places*, Fs. Th. Jacobsen, Winona Lake.

WILCKE, C. 1969: *Das Lugalbandaepos*, Wiesbaden.

Jan KEETMAN, jkeet@aol.com

**58) The Sumerian Ventive short and a statistic of Gudea Cyl. A** — This note contains a statistic concerning the alleged relation of some verbal prefixes with voice, together with a dense sketch of an article about the ventive which the author has recently published in German.<sup>1)</sup>

I follow and defend the theory of Foxvog. Of course I have learned as well much from Gragg and more recent studies by Krecher, Attinger, Jagersma, Schulze and others. For references and detailed discussions I refer to my article. In my view im- and mu- have the same function and mu- isn't an element to mark or stress transitivity. For a different approach I refer to Christopher Woods: *The Grammar of Perspective, The Sumerian Conjugation Prefixes as a System of Voice*, CM 32, 2008.

The form of the ventive depends only on the form of a following pronominal element. Does it not exist (∅) or is it –b- (none person) the ventive marker is im- (the b is dropped or assimilated). In all other cases and that means if the element hints to a person, the form is mu- (and ma- from \*mu-a- or as part from ma-ra-, me- from mu-e-). There is one exception, directly before the prefix of the locative –ni-, which has no agreement with the class of the locative (only none person), the ventive has mu- or mi-.

The change between im- and mu- can be interpreted according to the nominal hierarchy. If the pronominal element behind the ventive points to a low position in the nominal hierarchy the ventive has im-, if it points to a higher position the ventive has mu-. But in spite of the fact that the nominal hierarchy can be related to the probability of transitivity the change between im- and mu- doesn't mark transitivity. With mu- the higher ranking pronominal element is clearer marked, but the participant to whom this element belongs is not always the agent of the sentence.

If a verb is in *hamtu* and the only possible reference is to the ergative, im- stands with the intransitive form and with a none person ergative, while mu- always stands with transitive verbs with a person as ergative agent. That means in this case the relation between mu- and transitivity works with an exception. But if the verb has other references in its chain, the change has no relation to the transitivity of the verb.

All verbal forms with a reference to the dative have mu-. Verbs in which the reference to the ablative –ta- comes first have normally im-, but if the dative is expressed as well have again mu-. If the locative –ni- comes behind the ventive the form is again mu- (or mi-). But if an ablative is expressed as well the ventive has im-. If the comitative or the terminative comes first it depends on the class of the participant. Since in *marû* the ergative is not expressed in front of the root, the class of the direct object (if expressed) must be considered. These rules have nothing to do with voice.

The prefixes im- and mu- are complementary distributed, have the same place and with the verbs of motion, where we understand the Sumerian ventive best, they express the same function: “hither”. Out of these reasons we have to assume that they express the same function throughout. While there are many clearly intransitive constructions with mu-, im- is the regular ventive before intransitive verbs without further prefixes (not regarding preformatives). Marking or stressing of transitivity can't be a function of im- and so not for mu- (there are more arguments for this not mentioned here).

But even if we don't believe that mu- and im- are only two realisations of one functional element, mu- can't be seen as a marker for transitivity or as an element for expressing some sort of voice since voice is connected with the agent and the direct object. An intransitive sentence can't be changed into a transitive sentence by adding a dative which causes the change from im- to mu-.

From the whole picture it seems very likely that im-ma- comes from im + ba- and im-mi- from im + bí, but there are two problems with this: There exists am-mi/ma- but not \*a-bí/ba- and im-mi-ni- but not \*bí-ni-. One way to solve or ignore the problem is, to think of irregular Old Babylonian forms like im-mu-. I feel not sure with this way of explanation especially regarding im-mi-ni-. But is it not possible that adding the ventive changes the rules for forming the chain of prefixes? A possible parallel is ھا- < ھé + a- (beside ھا- < ھé- caused by vowel harmony). Nor \*a-bí- nor \*a-ni- is attested but ھا-bí- and ھا-ni-. A solution is, that ھé + a- can stand where a- alone can't stand or is too rare for being attested. The “Grundform” of the preformative is a matter of discussion, but there are overwhelming arguments for ھé- while only ھا-bí/ni- favour ھا-.

A problem not mentioned in my article is that there are a few cases of am<sub>6</sub>-, àm- in older texts but no \*a-mu- and only Old Babylonian àm-mu- which may be a late misinterpretation like im-mu-. But

we should remember that nearly all these problems evolve around combinations with a-/al- and that the form and use of this element is still difficult to understand. For example: Why is it not attested in front of locative –ni- but before the shortened locative –n-? Why is it well attested with the dative and the ablative but never with ba- and bí-? Perhaps because of its static meaning it was not excluded but far less frequently used with verbs of motion, transitive forms, person agent, multiple participant sentences what all could help to explain the data. Of course more detailed research is needed, but it should be kept in mind that many attestations come from northern ED III and sargonic texts where few forms are repeated again and again.

Delnero made a statistic from the texts of the so called Decade, which shows clearly that the probability that mu- stands with a transitive verb is not exceptional high.<sup>2)</sup>

prefix	mu-	im-ma-	im-mi-	ba-	bí-
transitive	81.2 %	68.3 %	100 %	63.9 %	100 %

The rules for the use of bí- and its variants –b- and –ni- are responsible for the use of bí- only with transitive verbs. The same is the case with im-mi- which is most probably nothing else than im + bí-.

I made a statistic from Gudea Cyl. A. In this im- is included and mu- (+ ma-, ma-ra-) and mi- (ni) are separated in spite of the fact, that most probably mi-ni- and mu-ni- are the same. A transitive verb has a direct object and in Sumerian an ergative. The passive can be regarded as a transformation of a transitive verb in which the focus has shifted to the direct object. In some languages the agent might be expressed with the designation of a local component, but is not expressed at the verb (that's why ergative is not passive + marked agent<sup>3)</sup>). Each passive sentence can easily be changed into an active/transitive sentence, while an intransitive sentence has no transitive or passive correspondence. "He goes" has no transitive or passive formulation, but compare "he brings (it)", "it is brought (by him)".<sup>4)</sup> Not to confuse intransitive and passive, the statistic has a category passive and the other transitive cases (including reflexive and causative use) are called "active".

prefix	active	intransitive	passive
mu-	165	39	5
mi-	17	0	2
im-	24	16	0
im-ma-	33	6	5
im-mi-	24	0	0
ba-	32	10	2
bí-	42	0	0

prefix	active	intransitiv	passive
mu-	79.0 %	18.6 %	2.4 %
mi-	89.5 %	0	10.5 %
im-	60.0 %	40.0 %	0
im-ma-	75.0 %	13.6 %	11.4 %
im-mi-	100 %	0	0
ba-	72.7 %	22.7 %	4.5 %
bí-	100 %	0	0

All in all 486 finite verbal forms are listed, from which three (ix 23; xx 6; xxi 17) were not clear enough for me to make a decision. From the remaining we get:

prefix	active	intransitiv	passive
any	378	88	17
any	78.3 %	18.2 %	3.5 %



noch im dem Akkadischen besonders nahestehenden Eblaitischen vorkam, bleibt unklar, weil wir dort nur logographisch geschriebenes  $lu_2$  vorfinden. Es gibt keine etablierte Etymologie von *awē/īlum*, jedoch sind einige Vergleiche vorgeschlagen worden: mit akkad. *ummulum* “zitternd, nervös” (Ungnad 1925: 100, nach ihm im Sinne von “der Funkelnde, Strahlende”); mit arab. *’āl* “Familie, Sippe” und einer zweifelhaften hebräischen Wurzel *\*√’wl* “stark sein” (CHRISTIAN 1925); mit arab. *awwal* “erster” (DRIVER & MILES 1952: 86 Anm. 2; bei von Soden AHW I 90 mit Fragezeichen übernommen); mit hebr. *’ēwīl* “töricht, Dummkopf” (Rendsburg 2013: 159). All diese Etymologien sind aber schon lautlich unwahrscheinlich, weil sie den babylonischen *ē*-Vokal nicht erklären.

Wenn für ein akkadisches Wort eine offensichtliche semitische Etymologie fehlt, ist als nächstes zu prüfen, ob ein sumerisches Lehnwort vorliegt. Das im Sumerischen semantisch entsprechende Wort ist  $lu_2$  “Mann, Mensch” (zur Bedeutung vgl. JACOBSEN 1993 und EDZARD 1983: 129f. Anm. 6). Dessen Aussprache ist durch die lexikalischen Listen als *lu* dokumentiert, die Emesal-Form lautet *mu-lu* (Nachweise CAD A/II, 48). Die Aussprache *lu* würde auch durch einen unorthographischen Text aus Ebla bestätigt, falls dieser von KREBERNIK 1984: 219 korrekt gedeutet ist. Ebenso wie das akkadische Pendant gehört  $lu_2$  im Sumerischen zum Elementarwortschatz und hat hier ein sogar noch etwas weiteres Bedeutungsspektrum. Noch häufiger als *awē/īlum* kann  $lu_2$  in der Bedeutung “jemand” eintreten und dann einem akkadischen *mamman* entsprechen (FALKENSTEIN 1956/7, III: 133; BEHRENS & STEIBLE 1983: 217); dasselbe ist für die Emesal-Variante *mu-lu* bezeugt (CAD M/I 198). Des weiteren gebraucht man  $lu_2$  häufig zur Einleitung von Relativsätzen, wo akkadisch eher *šu / ša* stehen würde (vgl. KARAHASHI 2010); auch dies ist wiederum für emesal *mu-lu* belegbar (KRECHER 1966: 98).

Was können wir mit den beiden Aussprachetraditionen *lu* und *mu-lu* anfangen? Wie ich meine, muss man die Ausspracheüberlieferungen des sogenannten Hauptdialekts und der Emesal-Variante als im Prinzip gleichwertige Zeugnisse für die sumerische Aussprache ernst nehmen, auch wenn wir zufällig viel mehr Hauptdialekt- als Emesal-Glossen kennen. Hierin folge ich etwa WHITTAKER 1998: 118f., der auf der Basis beider Varietäten Urformen eines “Proto-Sumerian” zu rekonstruieren versucht. Da es sich bei den Lautformen der beiden angeblichen “Dialekte” ja in Wirklichkeit weitgehend nur um Ausspracheglossen aus nachsumerischer Zeit handelt, glaube ich, dass die daraus rekonstruierbare gemeinsame Vorform nichts anderes ist als das historische Sumerisch selbst, die Sprache des dritten Jahrtausends. Die beiden Überlieferungen vergleiche ich mit den verschiedenen Aussprachetraditionen des Hebräischen (wie der sephardischen und der aschkenasischen Tradition), die alle aus ein und derselben historischen althebräischen Sprache hervorgegangen sind und sich erst in nachalthebräischer Zeit auseinander entwickelt haben, wobei mal diese, mal jene Tradition die ursprüngliche Substanz besser bewahrt hat.

In unserem Fall dürfte es das Wahrscheinlichste sein, dass die längere Form, also das *mu-lu* der Emesal-Überlieferung, der sumerischen Urform am nächsten kommt und die Variante *lu* daraus verkürzt wurde. Da *mu-lu* nach spätkakkadischen Konventionen zu lesen ist, kommt neben */mulu/* ebenso eine Aussprache */wulu/* in Betracht; ja diese ist sogar wahrscheinlicher, weil sich damit die Verkürzung zu *lu* leichter erklärt (etwa */wulu/ > /ulu/ > /lu/*).

Eine Bestätigung für diese Aussprache sehe ich in dem Ausdruck (in der Form des Hauptdialekts)  $lu_2-u_1u_3 \sim lu_2-u_{18}-lu$  “Menschen, Menschheit” (dazu LIMET 1982), in dem ich die Wiedergabe eines reduplizierten */(wu)lu-(w)ulu/* vermute. Es handelt sich offenbar um einen weiteren Beleg für die durch Reduplikation gebildeten Plurale, ein aus dem Sumerischen wohlbekanntes Bildungsmuster (zu diesem siehe JAGERSMA 2010: §6.4).

Die ursprüngliche Lautform des sumerischen Substantivs für “Mann, Mensch” rekonstruiere ich also als (annähernd) */wulu/*. Damit kommen wir dem akkadischen *awē/īlum* schon so nahe, dass eine etymologische Verbindung beider wahrscheinlich wird. Ich schlage also vor, dass *awē/īlum* entweder direkt aus dem Sumerischen stammt oder aber vielleicht beide aus einer dritten Quelle entlehnt wurden. Dass die Entlehnung dieses semantischen Konzepts problemlos möglich ist, zeigt das lateinische Wort *persona*, welches in zahlreiche europäische Sprachen eingegangen ist (*persona* soll übrigens seinerseits auf das Etruskischen zurückgehen).

Man muss hier annehmen, dass das auslautende *-u* beim Übergang in das Akkadische als Teil

der Kasusendung reinterpretiert wurde. Zwar führt sumerisches *-u* bei Entlehnung ins Akkadische normalerweise eher zu *-û(m)* wie bei sum. *i<sub>3</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>* “Türhüter” > akkad. *atû(m)*, doch finden wir immerhin eine konsequente Pleneschreibung im Plural *awē/īlû*, was in der akkadischen Morphologie eine Auffälligkeit darstellt (dazu HUEHNERGARD 1987).

Eine Bestätigung für die etymologische Verbindung von *awē/īlum* und *lu<sub>2</sub>* sehe ich schließlich noch in der einmal belegten Graphie *a-we-lu<sub>2</sub>-um* (CT VIII Tf. 31c Zeile 13 = KOHLER & UNGNAD 1909: Nr. 258, altbabylonisch), die ein als Syllabogramm normalerweise nicht übliches *lu<sub>2</sub>* beinhaltet. Sie zeigt uns, dass auch der antike Schreiber eine Verbindung zwischen dem akkadischen und dem sumerischen Wort empfunden hat.

#### Bibliographie

- H. BEHRENS & H. STEIBLE 1983: *Glossar zu den altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften* (FAOS 6), Wiesbaden
- G. BUCCELLATI 1996: *A structural grammar of Babylonian*, Wiesbaden
- V. CHRISTIAN 1925: “Zur Etymologie von *awīlu*”, *ZA* 36: 315f.
- F. DELITZSCH 1889: *Assyrische Grammatik*, Berlin
- G.R. DRIVER & J.C. MILES 1952: *The Babylonian laws, vol. I: Legal commentary*, Oxford
- D.O. EDZARD 1983: Rezension zu G. van Driel (Hrsg.): *Zikir šumim*, in *ZA* 73: 126-132
- A. FALKENSTEIN 1956/7: *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden*, 3 Bde., München
- J. HUEHNERGARD 1987: “Three notes on Akkadian morphology”, in D.M. Golomb (Hrsg.): ‘Working with no data’. *Studies in Semitic Languages*, Winona Lake, 181-193
- T. JACOBSEN 1993: “Notes on the word *lû*”, in A.F. Rainey (Hrsg.): *kinattûtu ša dārâti. Raphael Kutscher memorial volume*, Tel Aviv, 69-79
- A.H. JAGERSMA 2010: *A descriptive grammar of Sumerian*, Diss. Leiden
- F. KARAHASHI 2010: “Relative clauses in Sumerian revisited: an interpretation of *lu<sub>2</sub>* and *niĝ<sub>2</sub>* from a syntactic point of view”, in H.D. Baker et al. (Hrsg.): *Your praise is sweet. A memorial volume for Jeremy Black*, London, 165-171
- J. KOHLER & A. UNGNAD 1909: *Hammurabi's Gesetz, Band III: Übersetzte Urkunden, Erläuterungen*, Leipzig
- M. KREBERNIK 1984: *Die Beschwörungen aus Fara und Ebla*, Hildesheim
- J. KRECHER 1966: *Sumerische Kultlyrik*, Wiesbaden
- W. LESLAU 1978: “Spirantization in the Ethiopian languages”, in P. Fronzaroli (Hrsg.): *Atti del secondo congresso internazionale di linguistica camito-semitica*, Firenze, 175-199
- H. LIMET 1982: “«Peuple» et «humanité» chez les sumériens”, in G. van Driel et al. (Hrsg.): *Zikir šumim. Assyriological studies presented to F.R. Kraus*, Leiden, 258-267
- G.A. RENDSBURG 2013: Rezension zu S. Weninger et al. (Hrsg.), *The Semitic languages*, *BiOr* 70: 154-171
- A. UNGNAD 1925: “Urkunden aus der Zeit des Reiches von Larsa und der Hammurapi-Dynastie”, *ZA* 36: 89-100
- A. WESTENHOLZ 2007: “The graeco-babyloniaca once again”, *ZA* 97: 262-313
- G. WHITTAKER 1998: “Traces of an Early Indo-European Language in Southern Mesopotamia”, *Göttinger Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft* 1: 111-147

Carsten PEUST, <cpeust@gmx.de>  
Konstanz, Allemagne

**60) Éblaïte *za-ni-tum*, « prostituée »** — Dans les textes administratifs d'Ébla on trouve plusieurs passages se référant à une cérémonie d'offrandes (*nídba*), grande (*maḥ*) ou petite (*tur*), mise en relation avec <sup>d</sup>en<sup>(ki)</sup>, le « lieu du repos des rois défunts » ou bien le dieu qui protégeait cet endroit, c'est-à-dire <sup>d</sup>ra-sa-ab, dont on connaît, en effet, une hypostase qualifiée par <sup>d</sup>en<sup>(ki)</sup>.<sup>1)</sup> Ces passages sont très importants pour comprendre un des aspects principaux de la vie religieuse éblaïte, le culte des ancêtres, mais leur interprétation demeure malheureusement toujours difficile.

Dans l'extrait suivant, *ARET* XV 38 (40-47),

1 zara<sub>6</sub>-túg 1 bu-di 1 siki na<sub>4</sub> gú-bù-rúm / sag / ti-a-da-mu / 1 túg-NI.NI 2 bu-di 10 zabar / dam / šu-mu-taka<sub>4</sub> / <sup>d</sup>utu / 1 sal-túg / 1 íb+III-túg gùn / guruš / šu-mu-taka<sub>4</sub> / <sup>d</sup>utu / 1 kin siki / tuš / <sup>d</sup>utu / 1 gu-zi-mug-túg / ùz-sal / 2 túg-NI.NI / za-ga-rí-iš / ká / SA-ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup> / 1 túg-NI.NI 1 íb+IV-túg gùn / ba-lu-zú / 21 na<sub>4</sub> siki / ir<sub>11</sub>-ir<sub>11</sub> / <sup>d</sup>en<sup>ki</sup> / 1 túg-NI.NI dumu-mí / za-NI-tum / in u<sub>4</sub> / u<sub>9</sub>-zú / ig-rí-iš-ḫa-lab<sub>x</sub> / du-da-ù,

provenant d'un texte qui remonte à la période la plus ancienne des archives, quand *ar-ru*<sub>11</sub>-LUM était encore le ministre de la ville, on cite la livraison d'un tissu *túg-NI.NI* à un personnage féminin anonyme que l'on identifie comme *dumu-mí / za-NI-tum*. La raison de cette livraison ainsi que des autres qui la précèdent est indiquée par la phrase *in u<sub>4</sub> / u<sub>9</sub>-zú / ig-rí-iš-ḫa-lab<sub>x</sub> / du-da-ù*, qu'on peut traduire: « dans le jour où l'on accomplit (le rite de) la vaticination / on connaît (le verdict de) l'oracle d'*ig-rí-iš-ḫa-lab<sub>x</sub>* ». Pour tout cela, on peut voir PASQUALI 2009b et 2013: 44, où l'on explique la forme verbale *du-da-ù* comme /*tudda<sup>c</sup>-ū*/, en la considérant toutefois comme un subjonctif présent de la troisième personne féminin singulier du sém. \**wd<sup>c</sup>*, «connaître». Maintenant je préfère penser, néanmoins, à un subjonctif présent de la troisième personne masculin pluriel avec valeur d'impersonnel.<sup>2)</sup> Comme nous le verrons plus loin, il semble que ce ne soit pas, en effet, la *dumu-mí / za-NI-tum* qui a la tâche d'interroger le roi défunt *ig-rí-iš-ḫa-lab<sub>x</sub>*.<sup>3)</sup>

La graphie *za-NI-tum* a été jusqu'à présent interprétée comme un nom de personne.<sup>4)</sup> Tout particulièrement Archi a proposé très récemment d'y voir le nom de la « pythonisse » la plus ancienne, mère de *daš-zi*, la prêtresse bien connue grâce aux textes de la période la plus récente, qui était encore jeune et peu connue à l'époque du ministre *ar-ru*<sub>11</sub>-LUM, auquel remonte *ARET XV 38*, et était donc nommée simplement « the daughter of Zanitum » (*dumu-mí / za-NI-tum*).<sup>5)</sup> À mon avis, au contraire, *za-NI-tum* n'est pas un nom de personne, mais un terme du lexique et c'est un passage de la période la plus récente, concernant toujours les offrandes pour la cérémonie du *nídba<sup>d</sup>en<sup>ki</sup>*, qui nous aide à mieux comprendre sa signification. Il s'agit de :

TM.75.G.2372 f. II:18 - V:22:<sup>6)</sup> 1 *zara<sub>6</sub>-túg* 1 *gíd-túg* 1 *dib* 18 *kù-sig<sub>17</sub>* 8 *geštu<sub>x</sub>-lá* 18 *kù-sig<sub>17</sub>* 1 *šu-dub* 4 *kù-sig<sub>17</sub>* 2 *bu-di* 20 *kù:babbar* 2 *sag-SÛ* *kù-sig<sub>17</sub>* 1 *bu-di* 2 *zabar* 2 *sag-SÛ* (anep.) *daš-zi* 2 *u<sub>9</sub>-za* 2 *bu-di* 18 *zabar* 2 *na<sub>4</sub>* *siki babbar* *al<sub>6</sub>-tuš<sup>du</sup>en<sup>ki</sup>* 2 *túg-NI.NI* *zi-ga-rí-iš* 2 *ká en uru-bar* 1 ***túg-NI.NI géme-kar-kid*** 1 *túg-NI.NI* 1 *dam* 1 *sal-túg* 1 *íb+III-túg* 1 *guruš nídba* 1 *íb+III-túg* 1 *guruš gaba-ru<sup>d</sup>en<sup>ki</sup>* 1 *gu-mug-túg* *ùz-sal* 1 '*à-da-um-túg* 1 *aktum-túg* 1 *íb+III-túg* *a-ku<sup>d</sup>en<sup>ki</sup>* *pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš<sup>d</sup>en<sup>ki</sup>* *in ud nídba<sup>d</sup>en<sup>ki</sup>* *wa<sup>d</sup>zi-la-šu* 1 '*à-da-um-túg* 1 *aktum-túg* 1 *íb+III-túg* *a-ku<sup>d</sup>en<sup>ki</sup>* *sá-du<sub>11</sub>-ga-SÛ* (2+2+2 tissus) *a-ku<sup>d</sup>en<sup>ki</sup>* *pa<sub>4</sub>-šeš<sup>d</sup>en<sup>ki</sup>* *giš-<du<sup>g</sup>\*->DU en wa ma-lik-tum* 20 *na<sub>4</sub>* *siki* 16 *dumu-nita* 6 *dam* *NE-di* 2 *giš-bal* *siki babbar* 2 *giš-bal* *siki* *gi<sub>6</sub>* *LAK-390-LAK-390* 2 *na<sub>4</sub>* *siki babbar* *šu-kešda-šu-kešda ti-ba-lu<sup>d</sup>en<sup>ki</sup>* *ma-na* *túg-nu-tag* 1 *na- siki* 2 *du-rúm* 2 *u<sub>9</sub>-za* *nídba<sup>d</sup>en<sup>ki</sup>* *maḫ lú a:tu<sub>22</sub>*.

L'extrait dans son ensemble est assez compliqué, mais on remarque néanmoins la livraison d'un tissu *túg-NI.NI* à une *gême-kar-kid*, « prostituée ». Or, en lisant *za-ni-tum* la graphie de *ARET XV 38*, on peut expliquer le terme comme /*zāniytum*/, « prostituée », d'après le sém. occ. \**zny/w*, « commettre l'adultère, forniquer ».<sup>7)</sup> Donc dans les deux passages cités ci-dessus il y a sortie de la même étoffe précieuse en faveur d'une prostituée (culturelle?) qui a pris part à la cérémonie liée à l'*en<sup>d</sup>en<sup>ki</sup>*. Comme d'habitude à Ébla, le scribe du texte le plus ancien utilise le mot sémitique alors que celui du texte le plus récent préfère le sumérogramme. Il ne s'agit donc pas de la prêtresse *daš-zi* laquelle ne reçoit jamais un tissu *túg-NI.NI*, mais un tissu *zara<sub>6</sub>-túg*, des bijoux en métal précieux et surtout le « péplum/étole » (*du-rúm*).<sup>8)</sup>

On note tout d'abord que les deux passages enregistrent la sortie de laine pour des rites qui avaient lieu à proximité des portes de la ville : *zi-ga-rí-iš* *ká SA-ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>* et *za-ga-rí-iš* *ká en uru-bar*. On peut interpréter le terme *za-ga-rí-iš* comme une forme du datif-directif du sém. occ. \**sgr*, « fermer » (la variante graphique *zi-ga-rí-iš* indique le passage *a* → *i* en syllabe atone).<sup>9)</sup> La fermeture de la porte est peut-être nécessaire afin que le bouc émissaire, c'est-à-dire la chèvre vêtue d'un tissu en laine (1 *gu-zi-mug-túg* *ùz-sal*; 1 *gu-mug-túg* *ùz-sal*)<sup>10)</sup> ne puisse pas entrer avec son impureté. Un pareil rite, selon les textes rituels de *ARET XI* (1 [52-54] ; 2 [55-57]), a lieu auprès du Mausolée des rois défunts (é *ma-tim*, \**bayt mawt-im*, littéralement, la « maison du mort » ou « de la mort ») à *NE-na-ás<sup>ki</sup>*, et tout cela nous rappelle l'épisode célèbre du *Lévitique* 16, 21-22. Dans les rituels de la royauté la chèvre qui sert de bouc émissaire ne porte pas un tissu en laine, mais un bracelet en argent (*gú-li-lum* *kù:babbar*). On l'envoie vers la steppe ou on l'y enferme (GÁ×GÉME-gi<sub>4</sub>).<sup>11)</sup> Ce rite de purification est nécessaire car il y a eu un contact entre les vivants et les morts auprès du Mausolée de *NE-na-ás<sup>ki</sup>* ainsi que pendant la cérémonie liée à l'*en<sup>d</sup>en<sup>ki</sup>*. Dans les deux cas, on utilise le sumérien *a:tu<sub>22</sub>* (sém. \**hll*) pour indiquer cet acte de purification, comme on l'apprend par le passage de TM.75.G.2372 cité ci-dessus qui se termine par la phrase *nídba<sup>d</sup>en<sup>ki</sup>* *maḫ lú a:tu<sub>22</sub>*, ou par *MEE 7 34 r. VII:6-11: 1 gín-DILMUN* *kù:babbar* / 1 *gú-li-lum* /



ùzxsal / a:tu<sub>22</sub> / é ma-tim / NE-na-ás<sup>ki</sup>. À mon avis, ce n'est pas un hasard si les rites liés à l'<sup>d</sup>en<sup>ki</sup> se déroulaient au soleil couchant (1 kin siki tuš<sup>d</sup>utu; 2 na<sub>4</sub> siki babbar al<sub>6</sub>-tuš<sup>d</sup>utu<sup>d</sup>en<sup>ki</sup>): la déesse solaire est invoquée ici en qualité de psychopompe. C'est elle qui a la tâche de guider les défunts vers leur séjour dans l'au-delà et d'emporter leurs messages aux vivants.<sup>12)</sup>

Mais comment peut-on expliquer la présence d'une prostituée à une cérémonie qui se déroulait en communion avec les ancêtres royaux défunts ? On peut penser qu'il s'agit d'un « rito di recupero » selon la définition introduite par LANTERNARI 1953/54. Chez les « peuples primitifs » on vainquait la douleur due au deuil et la peur de la mort en recourant aussi à la prostitution et aux rites orgiastiques. Les Adonies de Byblos sont un exemple très fameux de ces pratiques rituelles.<sup>13)</sup> On n'oubliera pas, en outre, que dans la Bible il y a parfois un lien entre la prostitution et les cultes qui se déroulaient à proximité des portes puisque c'était là l'endroit où les prostituées exerçaient leur profession.<sup>14)</sup>

1) Pour cette interprétation, PASQUALI 2009a ; 2009b. Presque tous les passages ont été recueillis par ARCHI 2010 qui explique en revanche la séquence des signes AN.EN(KI) comme le nom du dieu sumérien <sup>d</sup>en<sup>ki</sup>. Dans la liste d'Archi on ne trouve pas *ARET* XV 12 (54-58): 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-túg 1 gid:túg 1 bu-di zabar / 1 na<sub>4</sub> siki / ti-a-da-mu / 1 túg-NI.NI 1 fb+III gùn / ba-lu-zú / 1 sal-túg guruš / gaba-ru / ba-lu-zú / 1 túg-NI.NI dam / gaba-ru / dingir / 1 gu-zí-mug-túg / ùz / 2 bal<sup>1</sup>(MEGIDA) siki babbar / 2 bal<sup>1</sup>(MEGIDA) siki gi<sub>6</sub> / 1 LAK-390 / 1 kin siki / tuš / <sup>d</sup>utu / 6 kin siki / 6 sal-túg / 7 nídba maḥ. Archi ne prend pas en considération ce passage évidemment à cause de l'absence de la graphie <sup>d</sup>en<sup>ki</sup>, mais malgré cela il est clair que le contexte se réfère à la même cérémonie (voir PASQUALI 2009b).

2) Pour le passage à *tu-* du préfixe de conjugaison *ti-* avec les verbes dont la première consonne est /w/, voir CATAGNOTI 2012: 126.

3) On peut expliquer *u<sub>9</sub>-zú* par le sém. occ. \**hzy*, « vaticiner; être voyant ou médium » (avec contraction de /y/ entre deux voyelles) et donc interpréter ce terme par « vaticination ; verdict d'un oracle » en rapport au roi défunt (PASQUALI 1997: 230 et n. 63 ; 2009b ; 2013: 44).

4) POMPONIO 2008: 420 ; ARCHI 2010: 19. Mais voir mes doutes à ce propos, PASQUALI 2013: 44, n. 10.

5) ARCHI 2015: 514.

6) Cité par ARCHI 2010: 21.

7) En général, pour cette racine, cf. *DRS* 8, 760-761. La liste lexicale bilingue éblaïte, selon l'édition de *MEE* IV, donne en *VE* 1412a pour le sumérien géme-kar-kid les traductions sémitiques suivantes: *ša-ma-ag-tum*, /*tammāktum*/, « prostituée » (voir KREBERNIK 1983: 45 ; CIVIL 1984: 88s. ; POMPONIO 1986 ; SJÖBERG 1999: 545 ; BONECHI 2006: 88 ; COOPER 2006: 13), et *za-NE-tum* qui a été interprété, lui aussi, comme *za-ne-tum*, /*zāniy<sup>1</sup>tum*/, « prostituée », d'après le sém. occ. \**zny/w*, « commettre l'adultère, forniquer » (Viganò *apud* CIVIL 1984: 89, n. 18 ; POMPONIO 1986 ; COOPER 2006: 13 ; les doutes de SJÖBERG 1999: 545 à ce propos ne sont pas justifiés, étant donné qu'il s'agit d'un participe avec schéma *Iā2i3t-*), ou bien comme *za-bí-tum*, en proposant une comparaison avec l'akk. *sābi'tum*, « aubergiste ; tenancière » (KREBERNIK 1982: 45 ; 1983: 206 ; CIVIL 1984: 88-89 ; SJÖBERG 1999: 545). Ce dernier mot glose aussi le sumérien géme-gār-ra en *VE* 1412b (KREBERNIK 1982: 45 ; 1983: 206 ; CIVIL 1984: 88-89 ; SJÖBERG 1999: 545 ; BONECHI 2006: 84 ; pour le rapport entre les prostituées et les aubergistes, voir ASSANTE 1998: 65ss.). BONECHI 2006: 88 supprime la traduction *za-NE-tum* de géme-kar-kid.

8) Pour une analyse des ensembles vestimentaires donnés à *taš-zi*, voir PASQUALI 2009b.

9) PASQUALI 2009b. ARCHI 2010 : 24, 28 et n. 34, en revanche, traduit « invocation », d'après l'akk. *zakāru*, « to declare; to invoke », et *zikru*, « utterance; invocation ».

10) PASQUALI 2009b. ARCHI 2010: 27-28, interprète « cloth made with the wool of a she-goat », mais cette traduction n'explique pas le contexte. Je reviendrai sur l'argumentation dans un prochain article.

11) Voir XELLA 1996: 683, avec bibliographie.

12) Pour Ugarit, voir par exemple TSUMURA 1993: 54-55.

13) Voir, par exemple, DE MARTINO 1975: 179-181, 192-194, 223-225 ; GROTANELLI 1983.

14) BLOMQUIST 1999: 178-181.

## Bibliographie

ARCHI, A., 2015, « From Parents to Children: Ebla », dans A. Archi (éd.), *Tradition and Innovation in the Ancient Near East*. Proceedings of the 57<sup>th</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Rome 4-8 July 2011, Winona Lake, 511-516.

*Id.*, 2010, « The God Hay(y)a (Ea/Enki) at Ebla », dans S. C. Melville & A. L. Slotsky (éd.), *Opening the Tablet Box. Near Eastern Studies in Honor Of Benjamin R. Foster*, Leiden - Boston, 15-36.

ASSANTE, J., 1998, « The kar.kid / ḥarimtu, Prostitute or Single Woman? A Reconsideration of the Evidence », *UF* 30, 5-96.

BLOMQUIST, T. H., 1999, *Gates and Gods. Cults in the City Gates of Iron Age Palestine. An Investigation of the Archaeological and Biblical Sources*, Stockholm.

BONECHI, M., 2006, « Nomi di professione semitici nelle liste lessicali di Ebla », *QDLF* 16, 79-98.

- CATAGNOTI, A., 2012, *La grammatica della lingua di Ebla*, QuSem 29, Firenze.
- CIVIL, M., 1984, « Bilingualism in Logographically Written Languages : Sumerian in Ebla », dans L. Cagni (éd.), *Il bilinguismo a Ebla*, Napoli, 75-97.
- COOPER, J., 2006, « Prostitution », *RIA* 11, 12-21.
- DE MARTINO, F., 1975, *Morte e pianto rituale*, Torino.
- GROTTANELLI, C., 1983, « Le donne di Biblo e le figlie di Agrippa I: un rito regale siriano e le Adonie gublite », *RSO* 57, 53-60.
- KREBERNIK, M., 1982, « Zur Syllabar und Orthographie der lexicalischen Texte aus Ebla. Teil 1 », *ZA* 72, 178-236.
- Id.*, 1983, « Zur Syllabar und Orthographie der lexicalischen Texte aus Ebla. Teil 2 (Glossar) », *ZA* 73, 1-74.
- LANTERNARI, V., 1953/54, « Orgia sessuale e riti di recupero nel culto dei morti », *SMSR* 24/25, 163-188.
- PASQUALI, J., 1997, « La terminologia semitica dei tessili nei testi di Ebla », dans P. Fronzaroli (éd.), *Miscellanea Eblaitica* 4, Firenze, 217-270.
- Id.*, 2009a, « AN.EN.(KI) en tant que lieu de sépultures à Ébla », *NABU* 2009/24.
- Id.*, 2009b, « La graphie *u<sub>9</sub>-zu, u<sub>9</sub>-zú* et l'exercice de la nécromancie dans la documentation éblaïte », *NABU* 2009/62.
- Id.*, 2013, « Symbolique de mort et de renaissance dans les cultes et les rites éblaïtes: <sup>d</sup>*ga-na-na*, les ancêtres et la royauté », *RA* 107, 43-70.
- POMPONIO, F., 1986, « géme-kar-kid, the Sumerian Word for Prostitute », *Oikumene* 5, 63-66.
- Id.*, F., 2008, *Testi amministrativi: assegnazioni mensili di tessuti. Periodo di Arrugum*, *ARET* XV/1, Roma.
- SJÖBERG, A. W., 1999, « Notes on Selected Entries from the Ebla Vocabulary eš<sub>3</sub>-bar-kin<sub>5</sub> (II) », dans B. Böck, E. Cancik-Kirschbaum & Th. Richter (éd.), *Minuscula Mesopotamica. Festschrift für Johannes Renger*, AOAT 267, Münster.
- TSUMURA, D. T., 1993, « The interpretation of the Ugaritic Funerary Text KTU 1.161 », dans E. Matsushima (éd.), *Official Cult and Popular Religion in the Ancient Near East*, Heidelberg, 40-55.
- XELLA, P., 1996, « Il "capro espiatorio" a Ebla. Sulle origini storiche di un antico mito mediterraneo », *SMSR* 62, 677-684.

Jacopo PASQUALI, <pasquali.jacopo@tin.it>  
Via degli Alfani, 77, 50121 Firenze. Italie.

**61) A Group of Girsu/Lagaš Texts Dealing with Irrigation** — There survives a unique group of six documents from Girsu/Lagaš, dating to the Ur III period, which record an identical sworn declaration made by six different high officials in charge of local fields. See ITT 3 5395; MVN 10 152; TCTI 2 4225; ITT 3 4847; ITT 2 2730; Fs Owen 167 L.6005. All of these documents are identical, save for the name of the official. The individuals in question were (1) Ba-ad-da-ri<sub>2</sub>, the colonel of the conscripts (nu-banda<sub>3</sub> dumu-dab<sub>5</sub>-ba), son of Gu-lum (ITT 3 5395); (2) Lu<sub>2</sub>-Lagaš<sup>ki</sup>, a scribe, son of Ka<sub>5</sub><sup>a</sup>-mu, the temple administrator (sanga) of <sup>d</sup>Giš-bar-e<sub>3</sub> (MVN 10 152); (3) Ur-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga, the temple administrator (sanga) of <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi (in his seal identified as a field recorder [sag-du<sub>5</sub>] of <sup>d</sup>Dumu-zi, son of E<sub>2</sub>-ne-bi, a field recorder) (TCTI 2 4225); (4) Ur-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga, the temple administrator (sanga) of Ba-gara<sub>3</sub> (in his seal identified as a scribe, son of Ur-gu-la (ITT 3 4847); (5) Ur-<sup>d</sup>Ba-u<sub>2</sub>, the temple administrator (sanga) of <sup>d</sup>Nin-sumun<sub>2</sub> (ITT 2 2730<sup>1</sup>); and (6) Ur-<sup>d</sup>En-gal-DU.DU, a scribe, son of Ur-<sup>d</sup>Ba-[u<sub>2</sub>] (FS Owen 167 L.6005). Each of these men (or his representative) also sealed the respective tablets. Although the precise date of this group of documents is unknown, the fact that ITT 3 5395 bears a seal dedicated to Amar-Suen shows that they belong to the reign of Amar-Suen or later.

In brief, the six officials are instructed, by an unnamed agency, to stop draining the flooded fields under their care. In each case the text reads as follows:

- 1) PN
- 2) zi lugal
- 3) a-šag<sub>4</sub> a de<sub>2</sub>-a-ni
- 4) a ba-da-lah-lah<sup>la</sup>
- 5) sukkal-mah-da nu-me-a
- 6) a ba-ra-ab-ga<sub>2</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>
- 7) u<sub>3</sub> tukum-bi
- 8) ba-da-lah-lah<sup>la</sup>
- 9) i<sub>3</sub>-gaz<sup>2</sup>) bi<sub>2</sub>-dug<sub>4</sub>

Most recently, these documents were studied by M. Civil<sup>3)</sup> and B. Lafont.<sup>4)</sup> Here are their respective translations:

Civil: “PN declared under oath that, after his flooded field dries up, he will not irrigate it without the *sukkalmah*’s permission, but if it (the field) dries up (for want of proper irrigation), he will be executed”;

Lafont: “[PN] a déclaré (sous serment) par la vie du roi que, après qu’il aura laissé s’assécher ses champs inondés, il ne procédera à aucun apport d’eau (supplémentaire) sans la permission du *sukkal-mah*, mais que si il les laisse s’assécher (complètement), il sera exécuté.”

The interpretation of this text is free of difficulties, except for the meaning of line 6. Both Civil and Lafont interpreted a *ba-ra-ab-ga<sub>2</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>* as a prohibitive: “he should not irrigate (the fields).” However, such an interpretation does not fit the context of the text. Since the purpose of the injunction was to insure that the fields do not dry up, a prohibition against another application of irrigation water obviously does not make sense in this context, since such an action might have been the only option left to the officials to keep the fields from drying out completely, as they had been instructed. In other words, the officials must have been *expected* to apply another irrigation, should it have been deemed necessary.

An obvious solution that suggests itself is to assume that a *ba-ra-ab-ga<sub>2</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>* represents a \**ba-ta-ab-ga<sub>2</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>*, “he removes/drains water.”<sup>5)</sup> The sense “to remove” of the verb *gar*, when the latter appears in conjunction with the ablative infix *-ta-*<sup>6)</sup> and the ablative suffix *-ta*, is well documented. See the following examples:

*en<sub>3</sub>-du KA-keš<sub>2</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-mu mu-mu u<sub>3</sub>-ta-gar mu-ni ba-ga<sub>2</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>*, “after he removes my name from the hymn I composed, and then he places his own name there” (“Gudea Statue B” viii 22-23);

*mu-ni e<sub>2</sub> dingir-ra-na-ta dub-ta he<sub>2</sub>-em-ta-gar*, “may his name be removed from the temple of his personal god, from the tablet (displayed there)” (“Gudea Statue B” ix 15-16);

*giš u<sub>3</sub>-ma-ta-gar*, “after you remove timber (from your storehouse)” (“Gudea Cylinder A” vi 16);

*giš im-ma-ta-gar*, “he removed timber (from his storehouse)” (“Gudea Cylinder A” vii 14);

*ah dug<sub>4</sub>-ga gir<sub>2</sub>-ta im-ta-gar*, “he removed ‘lousy/bad behavior’ from the path” (“Gudea Cylinder A” viii 5);

*tukum-bi en<sub>3</sub>-du-mu mu-mu [a]-ba-ta-ga<sub>2</sub>-ar mu-ni la-ba-ru-gu?*, “if, having removed my name from my hymn, he does not ... his name” (“Šulgi E” line 75);

*men kug me-te inim silim-ma sag-zu-a um-ta-ga<sub>2</sub>-ar kur-še<sub>3</sub> ed<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>*, “having removed from your head the holy crown, which is befitting words of hailing, descend to the Netherworld” (“Dumuzi and Geštinana” line 8);

*e<sub>2</sub>-ta gir<sub>3</sub>-bi-a ba-ra-gar-ra-ta*, “after they (i.e., the gods) left (lit.: removed their feet) from the temple” (“Enki’s Journey to Nippur” line 115);

*dub-la<sub>2</sub> la-ha-ma su<sub>8</sub>-su<sub>8</sub>-ga-bi guruš mah geštin nag-a-gim ki-še<sub>3</sub> he<sub>2</sub>-em-ta-ga<sub>2</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>*, “may the *la-ha-ma* figures standing at the (temple’s) pilasters come down to the ground like big men drunk on wine” (“Curse of Akkade” lines 229-230);

*1 2/3 gin<sub>2</sub> kug-babbar ṛalan<sup>1</sup>-ta ga<sub>2</sub>-ra*, “1 2/3 shekels of silver, removed from a statue” (CST 546:1-2);

*giš ma<sub>2</sub>-a gar-ra u<sub>3</sub> giš ma<sub>2</sub>-ta gar-ra*, “timber loaded on a boat and removed from a boat” (BPOA 7 2196:8-9);

various items *ma<sub>2</sub>-ta gar-ra*, “removed from the boat” (AUCT1 320:19);

various items *ma<sub>2</sub> ensi<sub>2</sub>-ka-ta gar-a*, “removed from the governor’s boat” (Nisaba 11 40:13);

*sig<sub>4</sub>-al-ur<sub>1</sub>(BAHAR<sub>2</sub>)-ra / sig<sub>4</sub>-al-la-la-ra a-gu<sub>3</sub> gir<sub>4</sub>-ta ga<sub>2</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>*, “to remove baked bricks from the kiln” (CUSAS 3 145:38, 148:17’).

Especially pertinent for our purposes is the occurrence of *ta-gar* in the debate poem “Winter and Summer” lines 43-44, where it describes a draining operation, exactly as in the Girsu/Lagaš documents in question:

*E<sub>2</sub>-me-eš dumu ur-sag ḏEn-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> a-gar<sub>3</sub> gal-gal-la-ta ṛa<sup>1</sup> nam-ta-an-ṛgar<sup>1</sup>*, “Emeš (i.e., Summer), the heroic son of Enlil, indeed drained/removed water from the great arable tracks.”

In conclusion, I propose to translate the text as follows:

“PN has declared under oath that his flooded fields are drying up [a *ba-da-ø-lah-lah-ø*]; he is draining/removing water from them [a *ba-ta-b-ga<sub>2</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>-e*] without the chancellor’s permission (literally: without the chancellor being present). If they continue to dry out [a *ba-da-ø-lah-lah-ø*], he will be killed.”

I take it that the case described here involved a controlled flooding of fields prior to seeding, called a *de<sub>2</sub>-a*, which was customarily done in the late summer.<sup>7)</sup> When the field dried up sufficiently,<sup>8)</sup> but still retained some moisture, the plowing and seeding operation would then immediately begin. It was, apparently, at this late stage of the draining of the fields that the officials in question were ordered to stop the draining operation. The reason for this injunction was the absence of the chancellor, without

whose permission, one presumes, the plowing and seeding could not begin. Hence the decision to keep the fields moist, until the chancellor returns (or sends the necessary authorization). Since this group of texts belongs to the reign of Amar-Suen of later (see above), the chancellor in question was Aradmu (aka Arad-Nanna), who also held the position of the governor of Girsu/Lagaš. In the latter capacity, Aradmu was of course ultimately responsible for the management of the Girsu/Lagaš agriculture.

1) The tablet is sealed with a seal of the scribe Ur-ba-gara<sub>2</sub>, son of <sup>d</sup>Utu-mu, the field recorder (sag-du<sub>5</sub>) of Urub<sup>ki</sup>, who must have been Ur-Bau's subordinate.

2) i<sub>3</sub>-gaz-da in FS Owen 167 L.6005.

3) *The Farmer's Instructions: A Sumerian Agricultural Manual*, Aula Orientalis-Supplementa 5 (Barcelona, 1994), 69.

4) FS Owen, 167-168.

5) The phonetic/graphic alteration between -ra- and -ta-, usually following the verbal prefix ba-, is well attested, especially in Ur III Sumerian. See G. B. Gragg, *Sumerian Dimensional Infixes* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1973), 92-98; M.-L. Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language* (Copenhagen, 1984), 232. The classic example here is the variant spellings ba-ta-zal / ba-ra-zal in Ur III dating formulae. See also ba-ra-e<sub>3</sub> for ba-ta-e<sub>3</sub> and similar spellings of the verb e<sub>3</sub> in Ur III sources (for the examples, see BDTNS), also expressed by the writing ba-ta<sup>ra</sup>-e<sub>3</sub>, which is uniquely attested in the personal name Lugal-ba-ta<sup>ra</sup>-e<sub>3</sub> (YOS 4 263:5; envelope line 6), usually written Lugal-ba-ta-e<sub>3</sub> or Lugal-ba-ra-e<sub>3</sub>. Finally, note 5 dug 0.0.1 5 sila<sub>3</sub> ka id<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Amar-<sup>d</sup>Suen-ba-gar-še<sub>3</sub> a ba-ra-a-de<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>, "5 jars of 15 liter capacity (each), for the inlet of the canal Amar-Suen-bagara, (which) will be pouring (lit: pouring out!) water into it" (MVN 16 1016:1-2).

6) The use of -ta- with the verb gar is an excellent example of the grammatical phenomenon by which the dimensional infix serves to modify the meaning of a verbal root. See Gragg, *op. cit.*, 10. As such, in an "ideal" Sumerian dictionary, this usage of gar should be listed as ta-gar, "to remove." Another good example here is sa<sub>10</sub>, "to buy," and ta-sa<sub>10</sub>, "to sell," for which compare German *kaufen* and *verkaufen*.

7) This operation is described in the opening lines of "Farmer's Instructions" lines 2-6: a-šag<sub>4</sub> dib-be<sub>2</sub>-da-zu-de<sub>3</sub> / eg<sub>2</sub> pa<sub>5</sub> du<sub>6</sub> du<sub>8</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub> igi kar<sub>2</sub>-kar<sub>2</sub>-ra-ab / a-šag<sub>4</sub> a de<sub>2</sub>-a-zu-de<sub>3</sub> a-bi šag<sub>4</sub>-ba nu-il<sub>2</sub> / ud a im-mu-e-a-e<sub>11</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a / a-šag<sub>4</sub> ki-duru<sub>5</sub>-bi en-nu-un ak-ba ki-še-er a-ra-ab-tuku, "when you prepare a field (for cultivation), inspect the embankments, ditches, and elevations that need to be opened; when you are flooding a field, the water should not rise in it (i.e., the field) too high; guard the areas with standing water in the field; it should have outer limits." For a de<sub>2</sub>-a, see now a detailed discussion by Stephanie Rost, "Watercourse Management and Political Centralization in Third-Millennium B.C. Southern Babylonia: A Case Study of the Umma Province of the Ur III Period (2112-2004 B.C.)" (unpublished PhD dissertation, SUNY at Stony Brook, 2015). The Sumerian terms for the natural spring/summer flood are a-eštub, "carp' flood," corresponding to Akkadian *mlu ĥarpū*, "spring/summer flood," and a zi-ga, "rising water." See 'a<sup>1</sup> zi-ga = *mi-lum*, a-eštub = *mi-lum ha-ar-pum* (Proto-Kagal Bil. 3-4 = MSL 13, 84). It is characteristic that a-eštub appears exclusively in literary sources. For the examples, see PSD A/1, 66-67, among which particularly important are "Winter and Summer" lines 7, 22, 26-27, 118. For a zi-ga, which is common in Ur III sources, see Rost, *op. cit.*, 168.

8) en-na a-šag<sub>4</sub>-ga al-šeg<sub>6</sub>-šeg<sub>6</sub>-e-da teš<sub>2</sub> a-ra-ab-si<sub>3</sub>-ke-a / <sup>giš</sup>šu-kara<sub>2</sub>-zu sa ha-ra-ab-gi<sub>4</sub>-da, "the field should be evenly leveled until it is well dry (lit.: cooked); your (plowing) implements should be ready (then)" ("Farmer's Instructions" lines 13-14). For si<sub>3</sub>-(k), "to level," see Steinkeller in E. C. Stone and P. Zimansky, *The Anatomy of a Mesopotamian City: Survey and Soundings at Mashkan-shapir* (Winona Lake, 2004), 144-145.

Piotr STEINKELLER, <steinkel@fas.harvard.edu>

**62) A Receipt for Fish from Garšana** — The following text is in a private collection in Australia. It is published from photos kindly provided by the owner and also posted on the CDLI.

Photos: CDLI P479369, Date: ŠS 3/iv/-, Sealed envelope (fragmentary) Provenance: Garšana

tab.	env.
1. [4]0 ku <sub>6</sub> -al-dar-ra	1. [4]0 ku <sub>6</sub> -al-[dar-ra]
2. 8 ku <sub>6</sub> -suhur 2-~kam-ús	2. 8 ku <sub>6</sub> -suhur 2-[kam-ús]
3. [á] mu-ku <sub>x</sub> (DU)	3. á mu-ku <sub>x</sub> (DU)
4. k[i x]-a-a-ta	4. [ki x-a-a]-ta
rev.	rev.
5. šu- <sup>d</sup> nisaba	[5. šu- <sup>d</sup> nisaba]
6. [šu ba]-an-ti	[6. šu ba-an-ti]
7. š[à E]N.LÍL <sup>ki</sup>	[7. šà EN.LÍL <sup>ki</sup> ]
8. it[i ki]-siki- <sup>d</sup> nin-a-~zu	[8. BLANK SPACE – SEAL]

9. mu [ús-s]a má-dàra-~abzu ba-ab-du <sub>8</sub>	[8. iti ki-siki- <sup>d</sup> nin-a-~zu [9. mu ús-sa má-dàra-~abzu ba-ab-du <sub>8</sub> ]
---	---

Seal impression on envelope fragments<sup>1)</sup>

šú-[<sup>d</sup>nisaba] , [dub]-sar , [dumu šú]-K[A<sup>2</sup>]-[x]

Ll. 1-2. The ku<sub>6</sub>-al-dar-ra (dried/split fish)<sup>2)</sup> are attested hitherto at Garšana (11 texts), Umma (3 texts) and Ur (1 text) while the ku<sub>6</sub>-suhur (carp) are attested more frequently and in greater numbers from Ġirsu (5 texts), Umma (10 texts), Ur (5 texts), Garšana (1 text),<sup>3)</sup> and *Puzriš-Dagan* (1 text).<sup>4)</sup>

L. 3. The phrase á mu-ku<sub>x</sub>(DU), “wage delivery,” occurs previously only at Garšana in twelve texts dating from ŠS 5->ŠS 9.<sup>5)</sup> However, Sigrist and Ozaki brought to my attention three unpublished texts in the Green Collection,<sup>6)</sup> tentatively attributed by them to Iri-Saġrig even though they have *Puzriš-Dagan*/Garšana month names. They each contain the phrase á mu-ku<sub>x</sub>(DU). It is more likely these texts originated also in Garšana with which Iri-Saġrig had close relations (cf. Owen, *Nisaba* 15/1, p. 36ff.); hence the attribution to Garšana rather than *Puzriš-Dagan*. It is also possible that tablets from Garšana were found together with Iri-Saġrig tablets in that looted, but as yet, unidentified site.<sup>7)</sup> The loss of excavated context here is particularly relevant.

L. 4. The restoration, [SI].A-a suggested in *CDLI* is unlikely. Fish are not attested in the *Sia'a* archive. The damaged space on the tablet (the envelope is not preserved here) between ki and [ . ]-a-a appears too large for just the SI sign. There are other names at Garšana ending with -a-a that might be restored here. Perhaps [*da*]-a-a, a cook, well known at Garšana, is a possibility. Cf. Kleinerman & Owen, *CUSAS* 4, pp. 413-414, s.v.



L. 5. Probably the same as *Šu-Nisaba*, a supervisor (ugula) of (hired) workmen (lú-huġ-gá-me), known from a number of Garšana texts who was also closely associated with the princess *Šimat-Ištaran*. But he is surely the same individual who receives two additional kinds of fish in Owen, *CUSAS* 6 1548 (ŠS 6/vi/-). Cf. Kleinerman & Owen, *CUSAS* 4, p. 582 s.v. for references.

L. 7. The fish were received in Nippur by *Šu-Nisaba* but the receipt was kept presumably in Garšana where it was likely found. Connections between the two places were close and both *Šu-Kabta* and his wife, the princess *Šimat-Ištaran*, who ran the Garšana estate, maintained homes in Nippur.

1) For this seal, cf. Owen, *CUSAS* 6 (2011), p. 246, no. 1548 (restoration courtesy of M. Molina).

2) Kleinerman & Owen, *CUSAS* 4, p.104, s.v.

3) Owen, *CUSAS* 6, pp. 246-247, nos. 1549a-b.

4) References to the published texts may be found in *BDTNS/CDLI* under the respective fish names.

5) Owen & Mayr, *CUSAS* 3, nos. 556 (ŠS 5/iv/-), 573 (ŠS 5/x/-), 580 (ŠS 6/ii/-), 581 (ŠS 6/ii/-), Owen, *CUSAS* 6, nos. 1543 (ŠS 6/iii/-), 1550 (ŠS 6/x/-), *CUSAS* 3, nos. 930 (ŠS 9/i/-), 1525 (ŠS 9/iii/-), *CUSAS* 6, no. 1567 (ŠS 9/iii/-), *CUSAS* 3 nos. 942 (ŠS 9/iv/-), 938 (ŠS 9/iv/-), 939 (ŠS 9/iv/-), *St. Mander*, p. 57, no. 4 (ŠS 9/iv/-).

6) Publication in preparation.

7) The locations of both Iri-Saġrig and Garšana have been discussed extensively by Heimpel, Molina, Owen, and Steinkeller and identifications of specific, looted sites have been suggested. While the general locations are reasonably certain, until such time as surveys of the suggested sites are undertaken, the actual identifications must remain speculative.

David L. OWEN <dio1@cornell.edu>

**63) Šulgi 45 or Amar-Suen 2: an ambiguous Ur III Year Name** — In the Ur III year date formulation, the incomplete or short year name, mu Ur-bi<sub>2</sub>-lum<sup>ki</sup> ba-hul “the year Urbilum was destroyed”, is an ambiguous year name among Assyriologists (see FRAYNE 1997: 108), which denotes either Šulgi’s forty-fifth or Amar-Suen’s second regnal year. In his famous contribution OIP 121, Markus Hilgert temporarily drew the conclusion that the year name mu Ur-bi<sub>2</sub>-lum<sup>ki</sup> ba-hul denotes Amar-Suen’s second

regnal year in the first two months of this year; however, this year name indicates Šulgi's forty-fifth regnal year which is employed in the months between the third month and the twelfth month of this year (see HILGERT 2003: 19-20). This theoretic conclusion is supported by all extant records from Drehem except for one questioned record *Fs Szarzynska* 102 (CDLI no. P200534, also see STĘPIEN 1998: 101-102).

The text *Fs Szarzynska* 102 records that Nasa, the “central bureau” official of the Puzriš-Dagan organization, received ( $i_3$ -dab $_5$ ) the delivery (mu-DU) of one sheep from the governor of Umma via Ahuni ( $\hat{g}iri_3$ ). From the information provided by the hand copy (STĘPIEN 1998: 102), the month name attested in the next-to-last line of the reserve of this text was partly damaged, which was reconstructed by its author as  $iti\ ma\check{s}-da_3$ -<erasure>-ku $_2$ . If his restoration to the hand copy is correct, this text should date to the first month of the second regnal year of Amar-Suen, the third ruler of the Third Dynasty of Ur, based on the theoretical conclusion by HILGERT 2003: 19-20.

On the basis of the prosopographical and formulary analysis as well as the paralleled attestations, however, this text is not suggested to date to Amar-Suen's second regnal year but to Šulgi's forty-fifth regnal year. The reasons are as follows.

First of all, the extant records issued by the bureau of Nasa date between Šulgi 34 vi (*BIN* 3 362) and Amar-Suen 1 viii 13 (*MVN* 18 121) (see LIU 2015). In other words, no extant records issued by the bureau of Nasa from Drehem date after the eighth month of Amar-Suen's first regnal year, that is, the year name in the text *Fs Szarzynska* 102 does not probably refer to Amar-Suen 2 but only to Šulgi 45.

Furthermore, the text formula of *Fs Szarzynska* 102 (*animal* / ki PN-ta / mu-DU /  $iti\ u_4\ N\ ba$ -zal /  $\hat{g}iri_3\ PN$  / PN  $i_3$ -dab $_5$  / *month, year*) is not attested in the records issued by Nasa dating to the reign of Amar-Suen but to the reign of Šulgi. In other words, the mu-DU texts issued by Nasa do not employ the term  $\hat{g}iri_3$  dating to the reign of Amar-Suen (see LIU 2015) but to the reign of Šulgi (compare *OIP* 115 257, *PDT* 1 457 and *Ontario* 1 28). It is important to note that the paralleled text, *Ontario* 1 28 dated Šulgi 45 iii, records the very similar transaction that Nasa received the delivery of animals from the governor of Marda via Ahuni, in which the year date formula is also mu Ur-bi $_2$ -lum $^{ki}$  ba-hul, but the month name is  $iti\ u_5$ -bi $_2$ -gu $_7$  (iii).

In conclusion, the theoretical conclusion by Hilgert that the year name mu Ur-bi $_2$ -lum $^{ki}$  ba-hul denotes Amar-Suen's second regnal year in the first two months of this year is undisputed. In addition, the text *Fs Szarzynska* 102 does not date Amar-Suen 2 but Šulgi 45. It is most likely that the month name in question attested in this text is not  $iti\ ma\check{s}-da_3$ -gu $_7$  (the first month) but  $iti\ u_5$ -bi $_2$ -gu $_7$  (the third month), for the reason of which the sign U $_5$  in the hand copy has probably been falsely drawn and thought as MAŠ by its author due to its damaged condition. Therefore, the text *Fs Szarzynska* 102 dates to Šulgi 45 iii 16.

#### Bibliography

- FRAYNE, Douglas R., 1997 *Ur III Period (2112-2004 BC)*, RIME 3/2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.  
 HILGERT, Markus, 2003 *Cuneiform Texts from the Ur III Period in the Oriental Institute*, Volume 2: Drehem Administrative Documents from the Reign of Amar-Suena, OIP 121. Chicago: The Oriental Institute.  
 LIU, Changyu, 2015 *Organization, Administrative Practices and Written Documentation at Puzriš-Dagan during the Reign of Amar-Suen*, PhD thesis, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg.  
 STĘPIEN, Marek 1998 Three Neo-Sumerian texts from a private collection in Poland. In *Written on Clay and Stone: Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Krystyna Szarzyńska on the Occasion of her 80th Birthday*, J. Braun, et al, eds., Pp. 101-107. *Fs Szarzynska*. Warsaw: AGADE.

Changyu LIU <assyrialiu@yahoo.com>

Depart. of History, College of Humanities, Zhejiang Normal University, Jinhua 321004, CHINA

**64) The Name of the Incantation Priest of Hamazu in Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdana<sup>1)</sup>** — Collation of the two sources that preserve mention of the personal name of the maš-maš incantation priest of Hamazu<sup>ki2)</sup> for lines 135 and 149c (according to Wilcke's numeration in AOS Essay 12 39f.), UM 55-21-303 = 3N-T 308 (Wilcke, Attinger Enmerkara et Ensukukešdana 1.8.2.4 (2013) source P, CDLI P257245)<sup>3)</sup> reverse 14 and N 3494 (Wilcke source T ((+) UM 29-16-424+ (Wilcke source S+Z+), CDLI P256992) reverse ii 2, demonstrate that the personal name should be read Ur-alim-nun-na, not Ur-njir $_3$ -

nun-na, as in each instance the IGI sign is added to the bottom left corner of the sign (for other Old Babylonian examples, see Mittermayer AOAT 319, p. 49, 127, Mittermayer ABZ sign no. 295). Thus, the name does not involve a pun on the equid designation anše 𒊕<sub>2</sub>-nun-na, with 𒊕<sub>3</sub> as an allograph/pun of 𒊕<sub>2</sub>, as maintained by Wilcke (WILCKE *ibid*, 8 n. 23, 13-14).

The combination alim nun-na, literally perhaps “princely bison” also occurs in the divine names <sup>d</sup>Alim-nun-na, which is given as a variant name of Enki in the An : *Anum* tradition (An : *Anum* 2, 148) and <sup>d</sup>Asal-alim-nun-na, a variant name of Asalluhi/Marduk.<sup>4)</sup> It also occurs in description of the limbs (me-dim<sub>2</sub>) of a goddess in the *adab* of Inana for Rim-Sin H (UET 6/1 100, CDLI no. P346185) line 5’ (Brisch AOAT 339, 242, where the previous readings 𒊕<sub>3</sub> (ETCSL 2.6.9.8) and piriṅ (Brisch) are to be corrected: read me-dim<sub>2</sub> alim nun-na “her limbs (are those of?) a ‘princely bison’ ”).

Pascal Attinger points out to me (personal communication) that the personal name may play on an inflated perception of the incantation priest’s magical ability, if an allusion to Enki, the primary god of magic, is intact in the personal name, albeit without the divine determinative.<sup>5)</sup> Thus, even an affiliation with the god of magic himself, when coupled with his possession of an “intellect of a citizen of Hamazu,” typically understood as an ethnic slur,<sup>6)</sup> cannot give him victory against his opponent, the venerable woman um-ma<sup>7)</sup> saṅ-bur-ru of Ereš, the latter of whom is not formally attributed with a magical title in the text.

1) My thanks are due to Pascal Attinger for his extensive and most helpful input. I am solely responsible for the contents of this note.

2) Given the novel spelling, this is often considered to be a play on the more typical orthography Ha-ma-zi<sup>ki</sup>, see Wilcke AOS Essay 12, 7, etc.

3) An excellent image of the reverse and the sign in question is available in K. Foster, *The City of Rainbows: A Tale From Ancient Sumer* (Philadelphia, University Museum, 1999), 27.

4) For these two divine names see the discussion of Lambert MC 16, 480-482. As Lambert notes, the underlying meaning of the initial element asar-/asal- remains elusive.

5) “Il porterait un nom faisant peut-être allusion au dieu de la sagesse, mais vient de Hamazu (“Puisse (la magie) m’être enseignée!”) et se fait battre à plate couture par Sagburu!”

6) Note however that Berlin in her *edito princeps* (Berlin OPSKNF 2, 79) did not see a pun here (“the phrase merely indicates that the Hamazu-ites were known for their magical ability”). Is it possible that ha-ma-zu<sup>ki</sup> continues the one introduced by the personal name, perhaps a pun on the rhetorical question posed by Enki to Asalluhi, in the so-called Marduk-Ea formula?

7) Presumably a personal name, with unclear connotation here (see Wilcke *ibid*, 12, Peterson BPOA 9, 247-248).

Jeremiah PETERSON <jeremie.peterson@gmail.com>

**65) Altassyrisch *ḥazuanum*: noch eine anatolische Entlehnung\*** — Die Herkunft von altass. *ḥazuanum* ‚ein transportables Gartenkraut‘ ist bislang unklar (zur Bedeutung und für Belege s. FARBER 1991: 235-238, der für eine Bedeutung „Knoblauch, eine Art Zwiebel“ plädiert, dazu s. noch unten). Obwohl sein Zusammenhang mit heth. *ḥazzuwanni-* ‚ein Gartenkraut‘<sup>1)</sup> und ugar. *ḥs/šwn* ‚eine essbare Substanz (eine Art Knoblauch oder Zwiebel (?))‘ allgemein anerkannt ist (FARBER 1991: 235-238; WATSON 1995b: 228 Anm. 95; DEL OLMO LETE – SANMARTÍN 2003: 411), wurde das genaue Verhältnis dieser Wörter zueinander noch nicht genau erforscht („Kultur- bzw. Wanderwort“).<sup>2)</sup> Allein die Herkunft des ugaritischen Wortes scheint als Entlehnung aus dem Hethitischen geklärt zu sein (TROPPEL 1995: 514; WATSON 1995a: 543, 1995b: 227-228, 1996: 705, 2015; PELZL 1977: 368 [„vielleicht“]): die Schwankung des Konsonanten weist auf ein Lehnwort hin und der Teil <sup>o</sup>wn<sup>o</sup> findet sich nur in der hethitischen Form wieder.<sup>3)</sup> Abgesehen von der zufälligen aber hier unwahrscheinlichen Homoiophonie kann der Zusammenhang zwischen dem hethitischen und dem altassyrischen Wort aus drei verschiedenen diachronen Prozessen resultieren: 1) *ḥazzuwanni-* stellt eine hethitische Entlehnung aus dem Altassyrischen dar; 2) *ḥazuanum* stellt eine altassyrische Entlehnung aus dem Hethitischen dar; 3) beide Wörter stellen eine Entlehnung aus einer dritten Quelle dar, die ihrerseits sowohl 3a) indogermanisch (aus chronologischen und geographischen Gründen kann es sich vor allem um das Luwische handeln) als auch 3b) nicht-indogermanisch sein kann.

Eine hethitische Entlehnung aus dem Altassyrischen kann nicht *a priori* ausgeschlossen werden (-w- konnte hier auch einen Hiattilger darstellen, der am hethitischen Lautwandel -uwV- > -umV- bekanntlich nicht teilnimmt, HOFFNER – MELCHERT 2008: 44-45<sup>4</sup>), obwohl der *i*-Stamm (statt des zu erwartenden *a*-Stammes) dagegen spricht. Das altassyrische Wort verfügt allerdings über keinen semitischen Hintergrund: die Verknüpfung mit akk. *ḥassū* ‚Kopfsalat‘ beruht auf der älteren Bedeutungsbestimmung von *ḥazzuwanni-* als ‚Kopfsalat‘,<sup>5</sup> die durch die kontextuelle Analyse FARBERS (1991: 236-237) widerlegt wurde (von HW<sup>2</sup>: 554 ebenfalls abgelehnt, jedoch ohne Argumente). Das oft mit dieser Wortsippe in Zusammenhang gebrachte *ḥašī/uañum* ‚eine in der Medizin eingesetzte Pflanze‘<sup>6</sup> muss aus phonologischen Gründen davon getrennt werden (vgl. auch FARBER 1991: 237 Anm. 14). Schließlich dürfte akk. *ḥazannum* > *azannum* ‚Knoblauch‘ mit *ḥazuanum* verwandt sein, dann allerdings mit Kontraktion der Vokale (FARBER 1991: 237), so dass *ḥazuanum* in diesem Fall noch die ursprüngliche Form darstellen würde.<sup>7</sup> *ḥazuanum* scheint daneben das auf fremde Herkunft hinweisende -(V)nn-Suffix zu enthalten (dazu jüngst DERCKSEN 2007: 39-42; VERNET – VERNET demnächst), damit sind wir an den Möglichkeiten Nr. 2 und 3, dass das Wort eine Entlehnung im Altassyrischen darstellt.

Eine altassyrische Entlehnung aus dem Hethitischen ist ohne weiteres möglich (dieses Wort wurde in den gängigen Listen der anatolischen Lehnwörter des Altassyrischen nicht erwähnt<sup>8</sup>). Das Problem besteht allerdings darin, dass das hethitische Wort aus morphologischer Sicht nicht als hethitisch eingestuft werden kann: es scheint entweder das Deminutivsuffix -*anna/ī-* oder das Zugehörigkeitssuffix -*wann(ī)-* zu enthalten, die beide luwisch sind (MELCHERT 2003: 196, 197-198). Diese Suffixe wurden schon von PELZL 1977: 368 erwogen, der sie aber aus semantischen Gründen abgelehnt hat. Es gibt jedoch keinen Grund dafür, dass ein Diminutivsuffix bzw. ein Zugehörigkeitssuffix (nicht nur Herkunftssuffix, *contra* PELZL 1977: 368) im Namen eines Gartenkrauts nicht erscheinen sollte.

Damit kommen wir zu der dritten Möglichkeit, nach der sowohl *ḥazzuwanni-*, als auch *ḥazuanum* aus einer dritten Quelle stammen, die jetzt anhand des Suffixes als das Luwische identifiziert werden kann. Rein theoretisch könnte man allerdings annehmen, dass das Wort aus einer unbekanntem dritten Quelle als *\*ḥazzu-* entlehnt worden sein könnte und in den semitischen Sprachen mit dem Suffix -*ān-* versehen wurde (so ASTOUR 1997: 41) und das so entstandene im Altassyrischen belegte *ḥazuanum* wäre dann im Luwischen volksetymologisch mit dem Suffix -*wann(ī)-* versehen worden: diese Luwisierung ist allerdings nicht wahrscheinlich, weil -*wann(ī)-* nicht diese Funktion hatte. Des Weiteren ist es methodologisch nicht begründet, ohne zwingende Argumente eine dritte unbekanntem Sprache anzunehmen. Daher ist die morphologisch gesicherte luwische Lösung vorzuziehen. Damit kann zur Anzahl der anatolischen bzw. luwischen Lehnwörter in den altassyrischen Texten ein weiteres hinzugefügt werden.

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

1) So HW<sup>2</sup> s.v., das den Aufsatz Farbers nicht zitiert (noch vorsichtiger TISCHLER 1977-1983: 235: ‚Pflanze‘). Die traditionelle Übersetzung ‚Kopfsalat‘ (HOFFNER 1973, 1974: 112; gefolgt von BECKMAN 1983: 43, 54; PUHVEL 1991: 286; ASTOUR 1997: 41 („meaning absolutely certain“); sowie ZINKO 2001: 748 und HAAS 2003: 323 („Lattich“), die den Aufsatz Farbers nicht zitieren; ÜNAL 2007: 208 und TISCHLER 2008: 54 mit Fragezeichen) wurde von FARBER 1991: 236-237 anhand von kontextuellen Gründen überzeugend widerlegt.

2) HOFFNER 1973: 234; PELZL 1977: 368; SANMARTÍN 1990: 93; PUHVEL 1991: 286; HW<sup>2</sup>: 554; DARDANO 2015. Pelzl lässt die Frage der ursprünglichen Herkunft offen (vorgeschlagen wurden das Akkadische und eine nordwestanatolische Substratsprache mit oder ohne akkadische Vermittlung). Er nimmt aufgrund des *i*-Stammes im hethitischen Wort hurritische oder luwische Vermittlung an.

3) In SIMON 2014: 879 Anm. 14 habe ich wegen des schwankenden Konsonanten eine gewisse Skepsis gegenüber dieser Herleitung geäußert (s. dort auch gegen ein angebliches Lehnwort im Ägyptischen). Die Frage kann freilich nur durch eine kritische Diskussion aller vorgeschlagener hethitisch-luwischer Lehnwörter des Ugaritischen geklärt werden.

4) Aus verschiedenen Gründen haben schon HOFFNER 1973: 234; PELZL 1977: 368; DIETRICH – LORETZ 1978: 431; Astour 1997: 41 einen Hiattilger angenommen.

5) HOFFNER 1973: 234, 1974: 112; gefolgt von TROPPEL 1995: 514; ASTOUR 1997: 41; vgl. noch PUHVEL 1991: 286.

6) PELZL 1977: 368 Anm. 5; DIETRICH – LORETZ 1978: 431; SANMARTÍN 1990: 93; PUHVEL 1991: 286; HAAS 2003: 323; HW<sup>2</sup>: 554.



7) Die Bestimmung der Bedeutung der ugaritischen und altassyrischen Wörter beruht gerade auf der Verknüpfung mit diesem Wort (FARBER 1991: 237-238; vgl. aber DIETRICH – LORETZ 1978: 431 und SANMARTÍN 1990: 93, die für eine Bedeutung ‚Thymian‘ plädieren, allerdings aufgrund einer Verknüpfung mit *ḥašī/uānum*). Möchte man diesem Vorschlag nicht folgen, hat dies keinerlei Folgen für die Annahme eines Zusammenhangs zwischen diesen Wörtern, da dieser auch ohne die Kenntnis der genauen Bedeutung (die dann nur als ‚ein Gartenkraut‘ zu bestimmen wäre) offensichtlich ist. Selbst ohne eine semitische Verknüpfung, wäre eine anatolische Entlehnung ins Altassyrische noch wahrscheinlicher. Die Anwesenheit von *ḥazannum* im Eblaitischen (vgl. die Literatur in DEL OLMO LETE – SANMARTÍN 2003: 411) bildet an sich noch kein Argument gegen eine anatolische Herkunft: einerseits ist der Zusammenhang von *ḥazannum* mit *ḥazuannum* nicht gesichert, andererseits hat schon WATSON 2008: 96 (mit Lit.) anhand von ebl. *zīru* ‚ein Gefäß‘ aus heth. *zēri-* ‚Becher, \*Topf‘ gezeigt, dass auch anatolische Lehnwörter im Eblaitischen vorkommen können.

8) Vgl. BILGIÇ 1954; KRONASSER 1966: 135-140; TISCHLER 1995: 364-365; Alp 1997: 41-43; DERCKSEN 2007; VERNET – VERNET demnächst (ich bedanke mich herzlich bei M. Vernet für die Zusendung des Aufsatzes).

### Bibliographie

- ALP, Sedat (1997): Die Mehrheit der einheimischen Bevölkerung in der Kärüm-Zeit in Kaneš/Neša. *SMEA* 39: 35-48.
- ASTOUR, Michael C. (1997): Ḥaššu and Ḥasuwan. A Contribution to North Syrian History and Geography. *UF* 29: 1-66.
- BECKMAN, Gary M. (1983<sup>2</sup>): *Hittite Birth Rituals*. StBoT 29. Wiesbaden
- BILGIÇ, Emin (1954): *Die einheimischen Appellativa der kappadokischen Texte und ihre Bedeutung für die anatolischen Sprachen*. Ankara
- DARDANO, Paola (2015): Semitic influences in Anatolian languages. Unveröffentlichter Vortrag gehalten am *The Aegean and the Levant at the Turn of the Bronze and Iron Ages II*. Warschau, 11. Juni 2015.
- DERCKSEN, Jan Gerrit (2007): On Anatolian Loanwords in Akkadian Texts from Kültepe. *ZA* 97: 26-46.
- DIETRICH, Manfred – LORETZ, Oswald (1978): Ug. *ḥs/šwn* ‚Thymian‘(?). *UF* 10: 431.
- FARBER, Walter (1991): Altassyrisch *addaḥšū* und *ḥazuannū*, oder von Safran, Fenchel, Zwiebeln und Salat. *ZA* 81: 234-242.
- Hoffner, Harry A. (1973): Hittite and Ugaritic Words for “Lettuce”. *JCS* 25: 234.
- Id. (1974): *Alimenta Hethaeorum*. AOS 55. New Haven
- Id. – Melchert, H. Craig (2008): *A Grammar of the Hittite Language I. Reference Grammar*. LANE 1. Winona Lake
- HW<sup>2</sup> = Friedrich, Johannes et al. (1975-): *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg
- KRONASSER, Heinz (1966): *Etymologie der hethitischen Sprache I*. Wiesbaden
- MELCHERT, H. Craig (2003): Language. In: id. (Hg.): *The Luwians*. HdO 68. Leiden – Boston, 170-210.
- DEL OLMO LETE, Gregorio – Sanmartín, Joaquín (2003): *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. HdO 67. Leiden - Boston
- PELZL, B. (1977): Heth. *ḥa-az-zu-wa-ni-iš* und ug. *ḥs/šwn*. *UF* 9: 368.
- PUHVEL, Jaan (1991): *Hittite Etymological Dictionary 3. Words beginning with H*. Berlin – New York
- SANMARTÍN, Joaquín (1990): El *ordo* litúrgico KTU 4.14. *AuOr* 8: 89-99.
- TISCHLER, Johann (1977-1983): *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar I. A-K*. IBS 20. Innsbruck
- Id. (1995): Die kappadokischen Texte als älteste Quelle indogermanischen Sprachgutes. In: Onofrio Carruba – Mauro Giorgieri – Clelia Mora (Hg.): *Atti del II Congresso internazionale di Hittitologia*. StMed 9. Pavia, 359-368.
- Id. (2008<sup>2</sup>): *Hethitisches Handwörterbuch. Mit dem Wortschatz der Nachbarsprachen*. Innsbruck
- TROPPER, Josef (1995): Das letzte Zeichen des ugaritischen Alphabets. *UF* 27: 505-528.
- ÜNAL, Ahmet (2007): *Multilinguales Handwörterbuch des Hethitischen. A Concise Multilingual Hittite Dictionary. Hittite Çok Dilli El Sözlüğü*. Hamburg
- VERNET, Eulàlia – VERNET, Mariona (demnächst): On the Hittite and Luwian origin of some common nouns in Cappadocian Old Assyrian texts: a new examination. In: Aygül Süel (Hg.): *Acts of the 9th International Congress of Hittitology*.
- WATSON, Wilfred G. E. (1995a): Non-Semitic Words in the Ugaritic Lexicon. *UF* 27: 533-558.
- Id. (1995b): Ugaritic Lexical Studies in Perspective. *SEL* 12: 217-228.
- Id. (1996): Non-Semitic Words in the Ugaritic Lexicon (2). *UF* 28: 701-719.
- Id. (2008): Some Akkadian and Hittite equivalences. *N.A.B.U.* 2008/68, p. 95-96.
- Id. (2015): Anatolian Influences in Semitic Languages. Unveröffentlichter Vortrag gehalten am *The Aegean and the Levant at the Turn of the Bronze and Iron Ages II*. Warschau, 11. Juni 2015.
- ZINKO, Christian (2001): Bemerkungen zu einigen hethitischen Pflanzen und Pflanzennamen. In: Gernot Wilhelm (Hg.): *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie. Würzburg, 4.-8. Oktober 1999*. StBoT 45. Wiesbaden, 739-759.

ZSOLT Simon (2014): Der phonetische Wert der luwischen Laryngale. In: Piotr Taracha (Hg.): *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Hittitology. Warsaw, 5-9 September 2011*. Warsaw, 873-895.

Zsolt SIMON <zsltsimon@gmail.com>

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

**66) paššurum (table) or gušūrum" (beam) ?** — Prof. Veenhof gave valuable information on some wooden items and objects including the word *gušūrum* (*gu<sub>5</sub>-šu-ru*) "beam", tree-trunk, log etc. in *NABU* 2007/50; *Kültepe Tabletleri V/KBY Kültepe Bilimsel Yayınları Kt.T 7* (Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu. Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları VI. Dizi – Sayı 33<sup>c</sup>, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi-Ankara (2010) Nr.59) which is well known from OB and Neo-Assyrian house-sale contracts in logographic descriptions, in the the following combinations: É *ep-šú a-di* GIŠ.ÛR.MEŠ-šú *a-di* GIŠ.IG-la-te<sup>MEŠ</sup>-šú É *dan-nu*. "A constructed house with its beams and doors; and the main house" in H.K.1007-5536 (Pl. XXIV-(see Donbaz, *Çiviyazılı Belgeler/Cuneiform Tablets in the Sadberk Hanım Museum* No.30, Pl. XXIV, fig.15, 15a-b). He further claims that H.K.1005-5534 one of the Old Assyrian text which we have published in 1999 from Sadberk Hanım Museum No.28 (see above, Pl. XXIII, fig.14) : 10) has É-tám 6 *gu<sub>2</sub>-šu-re, dālatim uṭuptam, la taddan* " she will not sell the 6 beams, the doors and the furniture" (cf. *Kültepe Tabletleri V n° 59:1, n.1*) instead of my former reading *ma-šu-ú-z-tù* which I had translated as *mašuztu*-posts. Despite the fact that I had given a very close translation for the word in question, neither of us was correct. The word which we have read differently was neither *gušūrum* nor *mašuztu* : it is simply 6 *pá-šu-re* "six tables" for which we have an official *rabi paššūrē* "chief of the tables" in Kültepe period (L. Orlin, ACC p.111). According to the contract drawn between the host and the tenant lady the restrictions that she had to obey had included solely the household utensils and not beams or logs-which one can logically think of to be used for the construction of the house or as fire-wood, but six tables, the doors and the furnishings (furniture)" she was not allowed to sell and to replace them which comes in the 13<sup>th</sup> line (*ulā tušerrab*). First sign of the word is an explicit ba, pá sign (see the copy in Pl.XXIII and fig.14).

The reason why this inconveniency happened is simply due to the fact that – as Prof. Veenhof rightly clarified – (see *Kültepe Tabletleri V n° 59, n.1* ) the last two signs *-du-ši* – which I had assigned for lines 9 and 10 reversely – (*la itarradūši* ) were overrun from the 9<sup>th</sup> line. Then the remaining three signs of line 10 are *pá-šu-re* "tables" (unfortunately I have mistaken for *-uš*; I cannot be blamed for it, check against the photo fig.14) but from the tablet it was almost impossible to identify it so. It seems also that Prof. Veenhof had a great interest in this text, which is clear from the fact that he also suggested *taqqabbir* (*qabāru/qebēru* "to bury" for *ta-ša-bi<sub>4</sub>-ir* (*šabārum* "to break, to be broken" for line 8 (cf. "Old Assyrian and Ancient Anatolian Evidence for the Care of Elderly" in M. Stol-S.P. Vleming (eds.) *The Care of the Elderly in the Ancient Near East*, Leiden, 1999) p. 143 ff. Even though his suggestions were not confirmed on checking the original, they nevertheless inspired us to find out what was on the tablet.

Veysel DONBAZ, <donbazzveysel@gmail.com>

Feritselimpaşa Cad.Güzide, Hanım sok.7/12, 34182 Bahçelievler/Istanbul

**67) Das Zusammenspiel der Distanzangaben des Šamšī-Adad I und des Aemilius Sura** — Vor einiger Zeit hat Eva CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM (2006) auf eine Stelle bei C.V. Paterculus hingewiesen, der den ansonsten unbekanntem Historiographen Aemilius Sura zitiert. Letzterem zufolge soll 1995 Jahre vor dem Sieg im Zweiten Römisch-Makedonischen Krieg der König Ninus das Assyrische Reich gegründet haben.

In der von Paterculus zitierten Stelle geht es um die Abfolge von Weltreichen (Assyrer, Meder, Perser, Makedonen, Römer) und erfreulicherweise gibt Sura präzise die Anknüpfungspunkte der Distanzangabe an. Sie läuft vom *Beginn* der Regierung des Ninus bis zum Sieg der Römer über die Makedonen „nicht lange nach der Unterwerfung von Karthago“ (i.e. Zweiter Punischer Krieg). Cancik-Kirschbaum errechnet folglich 197 (v.Chr.) + 1995 = 2193/2 als Beginn des Ninus.

Das Interessante an dem errechneten Datum ist, dass Šamšī-Adad I in seiner bekannten Distanzangabe, in der er vom *šulum akade*.KI spricht, möglicherweise auf dasselbe Ereignis zielt. In der

in Ninive gefundenen Inschrift RIMA 1, A.0.39.2 i 7-25 sagt er, dass Maništušu den Tempel Emenue in Ninive erbaut hatte, dieser mittlerweile baufällig wurde und von Šamši-Adad erneuert wurde. Der Tempel bestand Šamši-Adad zufolge im Jahr der Eroberung Nurrugus 7 Menschenalter (*dāru*) seit einem als *šulum akade.KI* benannten Ereignis (RIMA 1, A.0.39.2 i 15, 18).

Häufig wurde diese Angabe als zu unpräzise verworfen, während manche Gelehrte doch eine Annäherung versuchten, u.a. BOESE (1982, 44f., auch ältere Literatur) und WU (1990, 34-37), um die zwei wichtigsten Beiträge zu nennen. Fraglich an dieser Distanzangabe ist, was Šamši-Adad mit *šulum akade.KI* genau meint, da *šulum* sowohl ‚Wohlergehen‘ als auch ‚Untergang‘ bedeuten kann (AHw 1268f., s.v. *šulmu(m)*). Grayson hatte sich in seiner Übersetzung für ‚fall of Akkad‘ entschieden (RIMA I, 53), während BOESE 1982, 45 für die Übersetzung ‚Blüte(zeit)‘ eintritt, da der Untergang Akkades in Bezug auf Maništušu keinen Sinn ergebe. Auch die 7 Generationen scheinen vielen Gelehrten in ihrer zeitlichen Ausdehnung zu schwammig, vielleicht sogar mythisch.

Einen Hinweis, dass die Angabe präzise berechnet und dann verklausuliert wurde, gibt die Verknüpfung mit der Eroberung Nurrugus im Eponymat des Aššur-malik (vgl. CHARPIN-ZIEGLER 2003, 99, 147). Bei einem anderen Ansatz wäre Šamši-Adad I also nicht auf die 7 Menschenalter gekommen. Auch die Distanzangabe des Tukultī-Ninurta I von 720 Jahren erwies sich letztlich als präzise und nicht geschönt (JANSSEN 2013). Wie lang ist also ein Menschenalter nach Ansicht Šamši-Adads? Ich glaube, es sind 60 Jahre, denn das ist die Lebensspanne eines Fürsten (*bēlutū*) in den neuassyrischen Angaben aus Sultantepe (tafel STT II 400). 50 Jahre gelten dort als kurzes Leben, 70 Jahre hingegen als langes (zu alledem WU 1990, 36f.).  $7 \times 60 = 420$  Jahre.

Das Eponymat des Aššur-malik und damit die Eroberung Nurrugus wird von CHARPIN-ZIEGLER 2003, 147 in 1780 MC und von BARJAMOVIC *et al.* (2012, 95) in 1781 MC datiert. Nach der Datierung von DE JONG 2012-13 und JANSSEN 2014, nach der die MEC-Eklipse die vom 24.III. 1838 ist (entspricht der Chronologie MC II bei SALLABERGER/SCHRAKAMPF 2015) datiert das Eponymat in das Jahr 1773 oder 1771, je nachdem ob man 197 oder 199 Eponymen für die Zeit von Anfang Erišum I bis Ende Šamši-Adad I ansetzt.  $1773/1 + 420 = 2193/1$ . Der Beginn des Ninos bei Aemilius Sura und *šulum akade.KI* bei Šamši-Adad I könnten also durchaus dasselbe Ereignis bezeichnen, zumal Cancik-Kirschbaums Berechnung wohl zu 2192/1 zu emendieren ist. Die Diskrepanz von 2193/2/1 zu 2193/1 ist im Grunde also keine und lässt sich im Notfall als Abweichung in den benutzten Quellen bzw. in den Berechnungskonventionen erklären.

*Notabene:* Beide Datierungen sind um 1 Jahr abzusenken, falls das jeweilige Ausgangsjahr (der Sieg über Makedonien bzw. über Nurrugu) Teil der jeweiligen Distanzangabe ist. Es drängt sich nun die Schlussfolgerung auf, dass es in den Jahren 2192-2190 zu einem Ereignis kam, welches von Šamši-Adad I als *šulum akade.KI* bezeichnet und von Aemilius Sura mit dem Regierungsbeginn des Ninos identifiziert wird.

Vorstellbar ist, dass das Datum den Zusammenbruch des akkadischen Staates bezeichnet. In diesem Fall wäre Ninos als Begründer des assyrischen Reiches Nachfolger des akkadischen gewesen. CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM 2006, 261f. stellt Überlegungen an, wer Ninos gewesen sein könnte oder ob es sich um einen Archetypus handelt. In einer Überschlagsrechnung datiert sie die Zeltkönige der AKL an den Beginn des 22. Jh. (CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM 2006, 262f. mit Fn. 16). In einer eigenen Berechnung kam auch ich zu dem Schluss, dass die Zeltkönige jünger als Šar-kali-šarri, vielleicht sogar jünger als Šudurul sein müssen (JANSSEN in Vorb.). Der Archetyp Ninos wäre dann also an das Reich von Akkade anzuschließen. Aufgrund der Mehrdeutigkeit des Ausdrucks *šulum* (=Blütezeit (?), s. oben) müssen wir dennoch fragen, ob für Aemilius Sura der ‚Assyrer Ninos‘ in Wirklichkeit ein König von Akkad war.

Mehrere Indizien sprechen dafür, dass es sich bei dem auf 2192/0 datierten Ereignis um den Thronantritt des Narām-Sîn von Akkade handeln könnte. Zunächst einmal bringt Aemilius Sura seine Distanzangabe mit dem *Beginn* des Ninos in Verbindung. Desweiteren datiert Šamši-Adad den Tempelbau in Ninive auf Maništušu. Nach den Gepflogenheiten der mittel- und neuassyrischen Zeit wird der älteste König einer Distanzangabe zwar genannt, aber nicht verrechnet (vgl. JANSSEN 2006, 2012; PRUZSINSZKY 2006, 2009, 149 mit Fn. 717). Die Rechnung beginnt erst beim Nachfolger – und in der Sumerischen Königsliste (SKL) folgt Narām-Sîn auf Maništušu, während USKL die Abfolge Maništušu – Rimuš bringt. Desweiteren war Narām-Sîn sicherlich ein König, dem man aufgrund seines Ruhmes die

Rolle als erster Weltenherrscher zuschreiben konnte. Darin spiegelt sich natürlich auch die Vorstellung von Akkade als ersten weit ausgreifenden Flächenstaat in Westasien. Für die Römer sind die Akkader natürlich einfach frühe Assyrer – das Territorium beider Reiche überschneidet sich teilweise und Narām-Sîn war König von Ninive/Ninua, auf welches der Name Ninos zurückgeht (zu Ninua/Ninos vgl. CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM 2006, 261f.). Für einen römischen Sprachforscher wäre das Alt-Akkadische gewiss eine frühe Form des Assyrischen gewesen. *Šulum akade.KI* und der Beginn des Ninos bezeichnen in diesem Fall den Thronantritt des Narām-Sîn um 2192/0, allerdings wäre diese unrealistische Datierung dann den Quellen geschuldet.

Alles in allem ist es wahrscheinlicher, dass Aemilius Sura und Šamši-Adad I den Untergang Akkades meinen. Urnamma ist um 2104 auf den Thron gekommen. Die Spanne der Gutäer-Zeit ist heftig umstritten (vgl. zuletzt SALLABERGER/SCHRACKAMP 2015, 113-130 vs. STEINKELLER 2015), doch selbst wenn 2192/0 den Untergang des akkadischen Staates bezeichnen sollte, wissen wir nicht genau, ob hier das Ende des Šar-kali-šarri oder des Šu-durul gemeint ist. Wie dem auch sei, *šulum akade.KI* und der Beginn des Ninos bezeichnen offenbar dasselbe Ereignis; Aemilius Sura hat eine fortgeschriebene Fassung der Quelle benutzt, die auch schon Šamši-Adad I zur Verfügung stand.

#### Bibliographie

- BARJAMOVIC *et al.* (2012) = Barjamovic, G., Hertel, Th., Larsen, M.T.: *Ups and Downs at Kanesh. Chronology, History and Society in the Old Assyrian Period* (= PIHANS 120; OAAS 5), Leiden.
- BOESE, J., 1982: «Zur absoluten Chronologie der Akkad-Zeit», *WZKM* 74, 33-55.
- CANCIK-KIRSCHBAUM, E., 2006: «Ab urbe condita – Assyria», *BaM* 37, 259-266.
- CHARPIN, D., ZIEGLER, N., 2003: *Mari et le Proche-Orient à l'époque amorite: essai d'histoire politique* (Florilegium Marianum 5, Mémoires de N.A.B.U. 6), Paris.
- DE JONG, T., 2012-13: «Astronomical Fine-Tuning of the Chronology of the Hammurabi Age», *JEOL* 44, 147-167.
- GRAYSON, A.K., 1987: *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)* (= RIMA 1), Toronto, Buffalo, London.
- JANSSEN, Th., 2006: «Zu den Berechnungsweisen und Resultaten assyrischer Distanzangaben», *Akkadica* 127, 63-72.
- Id.*, 2012: «Zur Klärung der assyrischen Distanzangaben», *Akkadica* 133, 1-20.
- Id.*, 2013: «1579 oder 1499 – wann fiel Babylon?», *Akkadica* 134, 29-48.
- Id.*, 2014: «A New Proposal for Dating the Fall of Babylon», *N.A.B.U.*, § 19, 29-31.
- Id.*, in Vorb.: «Zum Verständnis des ‚Grundstocks‘ der AKL».
- PRUZINSZKY, R., 2006: Šamši-Adads I. „neue“ Regierungsdaten und Assyrische Distanzangaben, in Czerny, E., Hein, I., Hunger, H., Melman, D., Schwab, A. (Eds.): *Timelines. Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak* (=OLA 149/3), Leuven- Paris –Dudley, Ma., 73-79.
- EAD., R., 2009: *Mesopotamian Chronology of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium B.C.* (= CChEM 22; Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtkademie 56), Wien.
- SALLABERGER, W./SCHRACKAMP, I., 2015: «Philological Data for a Historical Chronology of Mesopotamia in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Millennium», in Sallaberger, W./Schrackamp, I (Eds.): *ARCANE: History & Philology* (Associated Regional Chronologies for the Ancient Near East and the Mediterranean 3); Turnhout, 1-136.
- STEINKELLER, P., 2015: «The Gutian Period in Chronological Perspective», in Sallaberger, W./Schrackamp, I (Eds.): *ARCANE: History & Philology* (Associated Regional Chronologies for the Ancient Near East and the Mediterranean 3); Turnhout, 281-288.
- WU, Y., 1990: «Did the Assyrian King List Attempt to Prove the Legitimacy of Šamši-Adad?», *JAC* 5, 25-37.

Thomas JANSSEN <thomjan@live.de>  
Berkaer Str. 41, 14199 Berlin, Deutschland

**68) En marge d'ARCHIBAB, 23 : *tarinum, tarnum, terinum, tiranum, turunnum*** — En complétant la lemmatisation des textes économiques de Shemshara, il m'a semblé qu'en ShA 2 109 le Pirée avait été pris pour un homme. Le texte énumère des présents effectués par plusieurs personnes au seigneur local, Kuwari (l. 6, 10, 14 et 16). L'éditeur avait transcrit les l. 13-14 :

1 *né-em-se-IM* 1 š[u]-úš-ma-ru-ú  
m<sup>a</sup>ta-ri-nam a-na ku-wa-ri

À la l. 13, il est peut-être inutile de corriger le -IM final en TU comme le propose J. Eidem (p. 77a) pour retrouver le mot *nemsētum* (attesté il est vrai l. 4 : 1 *né-em-se-tu*) ; on aurait ici le masculin *nemsûm*, qui est une sorte de bassin attesté à Mari (cf. J.-M. Durand, LAPO 16, p. 328 n° 194 note a et LAPO 18, p. 135 n° 987 note a). À la l. 14, le nom propre Tarinam serait, autant que j'ai pu voir, un hapax. Il me semble qu'il pourrait s'agir d'un troisième objet offert à Kuwari, en lisant 1 *ta-ri-nam*. On pourrait s'étonner de la présence d'un accusatif, mais si l'on lit la l. 13 sans correction, *nemsêm* est également à l'accusatif (< *nemsiam*).

Il faut alors rapprocher ce passage de deux textes de Mari qui décrivent un bassin (ŠU.ÚŠ.GAR.RA // *šu-úš-ma-ru-ú*) et qui ont été commentés par M. Guichard (ARM 31, p. 139-140 s. v. *tiranu/tarnum*). Le premier texte (ARM 31 185) énumère de la vaisselle en or apportée depuis Alep. On lit à la ligne 1 : 8 MA.NA 7 SU KÙ.GI KI.LÁ.BI 1 ŠU.ÚŠ.GAR.RA *ta-ar-nim* « 8 mines 7 sicles d'or, poids d'un bassin à *tarnum* ». Le second inventaire (ARM 31 85) cite parmi les objets en argent l. 6 : 1 *šu-úš-ma-ru-ú ša ti-ra-ni* « un bassin-*šušmarrû* à *tiranû* ». M. Guichard s'était demandé si ce dernier texte ne décrivait pas le décor du bassin : il proposait en ce cas d'y reconnaître le même mot que *tîrânû* « circonvolutions (intestinales) ». Il avait rapproché ce passage du texte paléo-assyrien Kt h/k 87 : 1 : 10 *ša-áp-lá-tum šá tí-ra-ni*<sup>1</sup>. De fait, J. G. Dercksen a traduit le passage « 10 grooved stands » (PIHANS 75, p. 77). Mais la variante *tarnum* de ARM 31 185 avait fait pencher M. Guichard dans une autre direction, songeant à « un mot d'emprunt non sémitique ». À ce stade de l'enquête, l'intérêt du texte de Shemsharra est de montrer que le *tarnum* / *tarinum* / *tiranû* est un objet indépendant du *šušmarrû*, qui complète celui-ci. Les graphies très variées de ce qui semble bien être un seul et même mot invitent de fait à songer à un terme d'emprunt.

On pourrait rapprocher ce mot d'un hapax, *tarinnum*, attesté par un texte de Nuzi. Le AHW p. 1330a indique : « (churr. Fw.) in Nuzi *nēbeḫ* (Gürtel) *ta-ri-in-ni!* HSS 13, 431, 42, unkl. ». Le CAD T, p. 231a, cite le même texte de Nuzi avec comme entrée « (a fabric?); Nuzi; Hurr.(?) word ». Th. Richter (*Bibliographisches Glossar des Hurritischen*, Wiesbaden, 2012, p. 445a s.v. *tarinnu II*) renvoie en outre à son article de *AoF* 32, 2005, p. 42, où le mot figure à côté de cinq autres noms hourrites d'ustensiles terminant par *-inni*. Le CDA, après avoir indiqué « mng. unkn. Nuzi in desig. of belt; < Hurr. » (p. 400a), suggère un rapprochement avec le mot *terinnu* (p. 404a). Il s'agit du fruit de conifères et autres arbres, attesté à Mari dans la lettre M.7294 (N. Ziegler, « Samsî-Addu, Eštar-Irradân et les administrateurs de Mari », sous presse). Samsî-Addu y demande à trois hauts fonctionnaires mariotes de lui envoyer des fruits de cèdres en ces termes :

- 10'      *ù te-ri-in-na-tum ša*<sup>giš</sup>*e-r[e-ni]*  
           *i-na qa-ti-ku-nu i-ba-aš-š[e-e]*  
 12      *ma-li i-ba-še-e-ma a-na še-r[i-ia]*  
           *šu-bi-la-[nim]*

« (S)'il y a aussi à votre disposition des fruits (litt. cônes) de cèdre, faites m'en porter autant qu'il en existe. »

Le mot *terinnu* désigne également des éléments de bijoux, qu'on doit donc supposer de forme cônique. Il me semble que ce sens correspondrait assez bien aux deux contextes rencontrés jusqu'à présent : dans le cas du texte de Nuzi, puisqu'il s'agit d'une décoration de ceinture, on aurait affaire à ce qu'on désignerait aujourd'hui en français comme des glands (angl. *tassel*, all. *Quaste*), ornements qui ressemblent au fruit du chêne. Dans les textes de Mari et de Shemshara, puisqu'il est question d'un bassin, on pourrait considérer le *tar(in)num* comme une sorte d'aspersoir ou goupillon en forme de cône (nous parlons bien aujourd'hui de « pomme d'arrosoir ») : les génies des bas-reliefs néo-assyriens pourraient faire écho à une réalité du même genre, eux qui portent un récipient plein d'eau bénite d'une main et un goupillon en forme de cône dans l'autre.

Un autre rapprochement serait éventuellement possible avec les inventaires de bijoux de Qatna. On y trouve en effet plusieurs éléments décrits comme *i-na tu-ru-ni*. Le CAD T p. 493 a rangé les exemples s. v. *turunnu* avec comme glose « (a setting for jewelry) ». Dans son étude de ce terme, G. Wilhelm a proposé de comprendre le mot comme un emprunt au hourrite (G. Wilhelm, « *turoni* "Unterseite, Grundplatte, Basis" im Hurritischen von Qatna », *SCCNH* 10, Bethesda, 1999, p. 415-421) :

« *tu-ru-ni* is to be derived from Hurrian *turi* “below, low”, and analyzed as *tur(i)=o=ni* », avec comme sens « dessous, fond, base » (« *Unterseite, Grundplatte, Basis* »). Dans les exemples de Mari et de Shemsharra, il s’agirait alors de bassins avec une sorte de support. Il me paraît actuellement difficile de trancher entre ces deux hypothèses, mais j’espère que d’autres collègues pourront aller plus loin ; du moins me semble-t-il sûr que l’anthroponyme *Tarinam* est à oublier.

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

**69) Talmi-Šarruma, an unknown scribe of the *hišuwu*-ritual (CTH 628)** — In this brief communication a small fragment concerning the *hišuwu*-ritual is published for the first time. To our knowledge, SZM 51.2401 – housed at the Szépművészeti Múzeum (Museum of Fine Arts) in Budapest – is the only Hittite inscription in Hungary. The late János Everling, who edited the Ur III administrative documents as well as the royal inscriptions of the collection (EVERLING 1999, 2001, 2008), planned to include this fragment in his contribution to the *Gedenkschrift* of Péter Vargyas.<sup>1)</sup> His untimely death, however, prevented him from finishing the manuscript. Part of that work shall be done in this paper.<sup>2)</sup>

In his manuscript under discussion, János considered this fragment to belong to the Hittite Funerary Ritual (CTH 450). According to the website *Hethitologie Portal Mainz* of G. G. W. Müller and S. Košak at the JMU Würzburg, it has since been identified by F. Fuscagni (06.05.2013) as a direct join to KBo 35.260, ll. 16’ff.<sup>3)</sup> Consequently, the fragment belongs to tablet 12 of the *hišuwu*-ritual (CTH 628); presumably to the group of tablets concerning Queen Puduḫepa’s instruction by the chief scribe Walwaziti. These were copied by different scribes under Walwaziti’s supervision, most of whom were also members of his family (see DOĞAN-ALPARSLAN 2007).

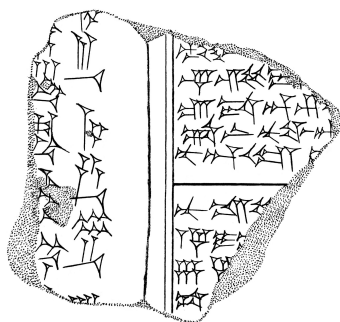
Beside assigning our fragment to the *hišuwu*-rituals, this identification also furnishes some information about its provenience. Since the join (1252/v) comes from regular excavation at Büyükkale (Bk. M, loc. y-z/16, from phrygian settlement debris) as late as 1963, it was presumably found at the same place, but considerably earlier.<sup>4)</sup> According to the available records – most of the documentation was destroyed during the World War II – our fragment was taken from another museum before 1951. A former museum or auction number 341, written with blue or green ink, is still visible on the completely destroyed obverse side. How this piece found its way to Hungary remains unknown.

Since tablet 12 of the *hišuwu*-ritual has recently been edited by D. GRODDEK (2011: 126–145), the transliteration provided here is limited to the lines preserved on the new fragment and the corresponding part of its join KBo 35.260 (= 12 MS B). The signs actually preserved on the Budapest piece are set in bold type. The copy has been made by Zs. Földi.

Mus. no.: SZM 51.2401 (no. “341” of a former collection?), Dimensions: 45×36×21 mm

Rev., col. IV

- [...]
- 1’.) **ṛnam<sup>1</sup>-mla** <sup>DINGIR</sup>IM Ma-nu-zi <sup>DINGIR</sup><sup>MEŠ</sup>-ia  
 2’.) **šur-zi-ila**-aš pé-e-da-aš kat-ta-an ar-ḫa  
 3’.) **ú-da-an-zli** na-an-ša-an EGIR-pa tap-ri-ti  
 4’.) **ta-ni-nu-wa-a[n-z]**i nu ḫa-pu-pu-un da-an-zi  
 5’.) **nu DINGIR**<sup>LAM</sup> ṛÉ<sup>1</sup><sup>MEŠ</sup>.DINGIR<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ia wa-aḫ-nu-an-zi
- 
- 6’.) **nu IŠ-T**[U É.GAL ḫu-uḫ-ḫ]a-[a]š [(1 UDU)]  
 7’.) **1**<sup>NINDA</sup>**i-d**[u-ri-in/iš ZÌ.DA ḫa-az-zi-l]a-aš [(x)]  
 8’.) **6 NIND**[A.SIG<sup>MEŠ</sup>-ia da-an-zi nu A-NA<sup>DINGIR</sup>]IRIM [(Ma-nu-zi)]  
 9’.) **ša**-[ra-a a-še-šu-wa-aš SISKUR ši-pa-an-da-an-zi]  
 [...]
- le.e
- 1.) ŠU<sup>1</sup>Tal-m[i-LUG]AL-ma<sup>16</sup>DUB.SAR DU[MU ...]  
 2.) DUMU.DUMU-ŠU Š[A<sup>1</sup>]ṛMi<sup>1</sup>-it-ta-⟨an-na⟩-ṛmu<sup>1</sup>-u-wa ṛx<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 3.) ṛPA-NI<sup>1</sup>UR<sup>1</sup>.[MAḪ<sup>2</sup>-LÚ<sup>2</sup> GAL DUB.SAR<sup>MEŠ</sup> IŠ-TUR]



As noted by GRODDEK (2011: 144), these lines are repeated at the beginning of tablet 13 of the same series (see KOMPALLA 2011). With these the preserved parallels are the following:

tablet 12, MS D (KBo 23.85)

tablet 12, MS E (up. Bo 5296)

tablet 13, MS A (KBo 15.37+)

tablet 13, MS B (IBoT 4.91)

Not surprisingly, our fragment does not contribute significantly to the reconstruction of the text itself; in general, see GRODDEK's (2011: 139) translation as well as KOMPALLA's (2011: 20, 26–28) detailed edition of the corresponding part of tablet 13. The two minor differences, compared to GRODDEK's (2011: 135, see already GRODDEK – OLOEKHORST 2006: 326–327 with earlier literature) restoration of 12 MS B are the following:

L. 4'.) ta- instead of da-, also attested on 13 MS B (l. 4: 'ta<sup>1</sup>-[ni-nu-wa-an], see GRODDEK 2007: 71, KOMPALLA 2011: 57). 13 MS A, on the contrary, reads da-ni-nu-wa-an.

L. 8'.) The number of NINDA.SIG<sup>MEŠ</sup> is 6 instead of 5; compare 12 MS D rev. 6': [2+]4 and 13 MS A obv. 9: 6 (cf. HAGENBUCHNER-DRESEL 2002: 105).

The main difference to the expectations lies in the left-edge colophon. 12 MS B was conjecturally attributed to the scribe \*Talmi-Teššub by its editors (OTTEN 1965: vi, OTTEN – TÜSTER 1993: vii, xv), in which the later literature follows them without exception (VAN DEN HOUT 1995: 158, GRODDEK – OLOEKHORST 2006: 327, WAAL 2010: 92–93, GORDIN 2011: 186, GRODDEK 2011: 136, DE MARTINO 2011: 30–31 and 60, VAN DEN HOUT 2012a: 427, GORDIN 2014: 69). According to the most recent overview (VAN DEN HOUT 2012a: 427), \*Talmi-Teššub was known from 13 MS A (KBo 15.37+: \*[Talmi]-Teššub) and our 12 MS B (\*Talm[i]-Teššub]),<sup>5)</sup> as well as a number of hieroglyphic seal impressions which makes him one of the few scribes known from both kinds of sources.<sup>6)</sup>

With the new fragment the scribe's name on 12 MS B turns out to be Talmi-Šarruma, previously not attested for a scribe (cf. GORDIN 2008 and DE MARTINO 2011) but only for the grandson of Šuppiluliuma I and later king of Ḫalab (SIEGELOVÁ 1986: 125; VAN DEN HOUT 2012b). Consequently, there is no reason anymore to restore [Talmi]-Teššub for [...]Teššub in 13 MS A – even though the existence of a scribe called Talmi-Teššub is confirmed by seal impressions (see above). It also challenges WAAL's (2010) arguments for attributing two more CTH 628 manuscripts to \*Talmi-Teššub; they may well be the work of other scribes.<sup>7)</sup>

Unfortunately, the name of Talmi-Šarruma's father is not preserved on our fragment, but only that of his grandfather Mitta(nna)muwa.<sup>8)</sup> Although Walwaziti (see GORDIN 2011: 185–189), chief scribe and father of the scribe [...]Teššub may be a reasonable choice, one cannot exclude his four brothers, that is, the former chief scribe Purandamuwa (see HOFFMANN 1994, HAWKINS 2007), a certain Aliḫḫešni, and two others.<sup>9)</sup>

1) See now CSABAI, Z. (ed.), *Studies in Economic and Social History of the Ancient Near East in Memory of Péter Vargyas*. Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean Studies, 2. Pécs – Budapest: Department of Ancient History, The University of Pécs – L'Harmattan, 2014.

2) We gratefully acknowledge the kind permission for publication, originally granted by István Nagy and verified recently by Éva Liptay, present Head Curator of the Collection of Egyptian Art. Michele Cammarosano kindly called our attention to the join and provided a number of valuable remarks; to him we are particularly grateful. We are indebted, furthermore, to Chiara Cognetti and Shai Gordin for their useful hints; to Péter Gaboda for his assistance in tracing the acquisition history, to Zsolt Simon for reading an early version of the manuscript and to

Charles Draper for improving the English style. The responsibility for any remaining mistakes lies solely with the second author.

3) [http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/hetkonk\\_abfrage.php?iv=1252/v](http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/hetkonk_abfrage.php?iv=1252/v).

4) Compare the case of HT 50+KBo 18.198 (KOŠAK 1982: 106–109; SIEGELOVÁ 1986: 227–237), the latter part of which (1251/v) was found at the same place during the same season (i.e., in 1963). The first piece (BM 108551 = 1913-10-11, 4), however, was purchased from Artin Indjoudjian as early as 1913 (on-line catalogue of the British Museum, [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)).

5) WAAL 2010 (followed by GORDIN 2011: 186) attributes two more tablets (KBo 33.175+ and KBo 23.28+) to him.

6) On Hittite scribes in detail see GORDIN in press (not available for the present study).

7) Thus the importance attributed to the left margin line by WAAL (2010) seems to be lessened in assigning tablets and manuscripts to individual scribes. According to Gordin (2011: 186), there is even a paleographic feature that these tablets have in common, namely, the use of IIIc sign forms (see GORDIN 2014 in detail). Nevertheless, this feature is not typical of our Talmi-Šarruma (Sh. Gordin, pers. comm.).

8) Note the previously unattested form *Mi-it-ta-mu-u-wa* (cf. HOFFMANN 1994, DEVECCHI 2010: 20 with n. 81). A reading \**Mi-it-ta-n[a']-mu'-wa* is not supported by the available traces.

9) For Mittannamuwa's family tree see now GORDIN 2011: 187 (cf. also DOĞAN-ALPARSLAN 2007: 250). Due to the available space, however, GORDIN's (2011: 187–188) reading of KBo 39.43's colophon is not entirely convincing. There seem to be two possible restorations: [ŠU<sup>1</sup>PN ...] / [DUMU] <sup>1</sup>Aliḫḫešni [...] / [DUM]U.DUMU-ŠU ŠA <sup>1</sup>Mittanna[muwa ...], implying that the scribe was indeed a son of Aliḫḫešni (even though his name, contrary to Gordin's opinion, must be expected in the previous line). On the other hand, a reading [ŠU] <sup>1</sup>Aliḫḫešni [... DUMU ...] / [DUM]U.DUMU-ŠU ŠA <sup>1</sup>Mittanna[muwa ...] cannot be excluded. Although Mittannamuwa did have a son called Aliḫḫešni (see DOĞAN-ALPARSLAN 2007: 249 with earlier literature), the scribe of this text is not necessarily identical with him. Due to the lack of his father's name in the colophon of KBo 35.260+SZM 51.2401, not even Talmi-Šarruma can be excluded. The discussion will benefit from thorough paleographic analysis of these tablets, to be expected especially from the colleagues at Würzburg (see [http://www.altorientalistik.uni-wuerzburg.de/forschung/3d\\_joins\\_und\\_schriftmetrologie/](http://www.altorientalistik.uni-wuerzburg.de/forschung/3d_joins_und_schriftmetrologie/) on their project *3D-Joins und Schriftmetrologie: Rekonstruktion dreidimensionaler Keilschrifttafeln mit dreidimensionaler Schrift*).

## Bibliography

DEVACCHI, E. (2010): "'We are all descendants of Šuppiluliuma, Great King.'" The Aleppo Treaty Reconsidered', *WO* 40, 1–27.

DOĞAN-ALPARSLAN, M. (2007): 'Drei Schreiber, Zwei Könige', *SMEA* 49, 247–257.

EVERLING, J. Z. (1999): 'Sumerian Texts in the Museum of Fine Arts / A Szépművészeti Múzeum sumer szövegei', *BMHBA* 90–91, 7–22, 149–155.

EVERLING, J. Z. (2001): 'Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions of the Museum of Fine Arts / A Szépművészeti Múzeum ékírásos királyfeliratai', *BMHBA* 94, 7–26, 119–127.

EVERLING, J. Z. (2008): 'Amar-Suena Bricks in Hungary', in: Á. SZABÓ – P. VARGYAS (eds.), *Cultus deorum. Studia religionum ad historiam. I: De Oriente antiquo et regione Danuvii praehistorica. In memoriam István Tóth*. Ókortudományi dolgozatok, 1. Budapest: PTE-BTK Ókortörténeti Tanszék, 147–182.

GORDIN, SH. (2008): *Scribal Families of Hattusa in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century BCE. A Prosopographical Study*. MA thesis (Tel Aviv University). Tel Aviv: MS.

GORDIN, SH. (2011): 'The Tablet and its Scribe: Between Archival and Scribal Spaces in Late Empire Period Hattusa', *AoF* 38, 177–198.

GORDIN, SH. (2014): 'The Socio-Historical Setting of Hittite Schools of Writing as Reflected in Scribal Habits', in: SH. GORDIN (ed.) *Visualizing Knowledge and Creating Meaning in Ancient Writing Systems*. BBVO 23. Gladbeck: PeWe-Verlag, 57–79.

GORDIN, SH. (in press): *Hittite Scribal Circles. Scholarly Tradition and Writing Habits in the Late Empire Period*. StBoT. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015.

GRODDEK, D. (2007): *Hethitische Texte in Transkription*. IBoT 4. DBH 23. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

GRODDEK, D. (2011): 'Die 11. und 12. Tafel des ḫiṣuṣa-Festes', *RANT* 8, 111–150.

GRODDEK, D. – OLOEKHORST, A. (2006): *Hethitische Texte in Transkription*. KBo 35. DBH 19. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

HAGENBUCHNER-DRESEL, A. (2002): *Massangaben bei hethitischen Backwaren*. DBH 1. Dresden: Verlag der Technische Universität Dresden.

HAWKINS, J. D. (2007): 'Puranda-muwa', *RIA* 11/1–2, 115.

HOFFMANN, I. (1994): 'Mittannamuwa', *RIA* 8/3–4, 286.

VAN DEN HOUT, TH. P. J. (1995): *Der Ulmitesub-Vertrag. Eine prosopographische Untersuchung*. StBoT 38. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

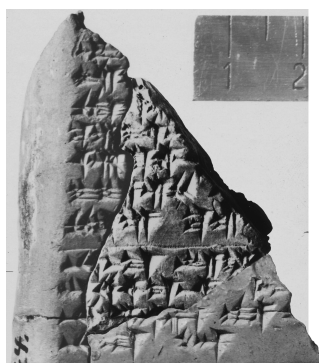


- VAN DEN HOUT, TH. P. J. (2012a): 'Talmi-Teššub', *RIA* 13/5–6, 426–427.  
VAN DEN HOUT, TH. P. J. (2012b): 'Talmi-Šarruma', *RIA* 13/5–6, 426.  
KOMPALLA, K. (2011): 'Die 13. Tafel des (h)isuwa-Festes', in: R. FISCHER - D. GRODDECK - H. MARQUARDT (Hrsg.), *Hethitologie in Dresden. Textbearbeitungen, Arbeiten zur Forschungs- und Schriftgeschichte*. DBH 35. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 5–78.  
KOŠAK, S. (1982): *Hittite Inventory Texts (CTH 241-250)*. THeth 10. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.  
DE MARTINO, S. (2011): *Hurrian Personal Names in the Kingdom of Ḫatti*. Eothen, 18. Firenze: LoGisma editore.  
OTTEN, H. (1965): *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi (Insbes. Texte aus Gebäude A)*. KBo 15 = WVDOG 80. Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann.  
OTTEN, H. – TÜSTER, CH. (1993): *Texte in hurritischer Sprache*. KBo 35. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag.  
SIEGLOVÁ, J. (1986): *Hethitische Verwaltungspraxis im Lichte der Wirtschafts- und Inventardokumente*. Praha: Národní muzeum v Praze.  
WAAL, W. (2010): 'Hulanabi vs. Talmi-Teššub: who wrote KBo 33.175+ and KBo 23.28+ (CTH 628)?', *NABU* 2010/81.

János EVERLING<sup>†</sup> & Zsombor FÖLDI, <zsombor.foldi@gmail.com>  
Institut für Assyriologie und Hethitologie, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München

**70) Further joins from the Boğazköy-Tablets** — Three new joins including the unpublished Bo 9518+ (CTH 255.2.E “*Instructions de Tudhaliya IV aux majordomes (LÚ.SAG)*”), Bo 9526+ (CTH 292.II.b.A “*Les lois. Deuxième série: ‘si une vigne’*”) and Bo 9441+ (CTH 311.2.B “*Naram-Sin en Asie Mineure*”) were found while I was working in co-operation with Ms. Başak Yıldız from the Ankara Museum to conduct a study of the Bo 8000-9000 fragments (see *N.A.B.U.* 2014/4, 146). A fourth join is a result of another project on Hittian studies that I consider appropriate to announce here as well: KBo 62.92 is suggested as an indirect join to the text ensemble of CTH 727 “*La lune qui tomba du ciel*”. Composite images are kindly generated by F. Fuscagni (Mainz).

**1) Bo 9518** is a one-sided fragment, and lines 1’-8’ directly join Bo 4744<sup>1)</sup> I 3’-10’ + KUB 26.1a :1’-2’ (CTH 255.2.E). The restorations are taken from the duplicate KUB 26.8 I 25’-36’ (CTH 255.2.B). The dating and script of all these texts is that of Tuḫaliya IV/(L)NS. Here I present an improved trans-literation and translation of Bo 9518 + Bo 4744 + KUB 26.1a based on the present join, followed by brief remarks (in the form of footnotes) with some corrections to the text editions by E. von Schuler, *Hethitische Dienstanweisungen für höhere Hof- und Staatsbeamte* (1957) 10, J. L. Miller, *Royal Hittite Instructions and Related Administrative Texts* (2013) 298 f. and R. Akdoğan, *AoF* 40 (2013) 2 f.



Bo 4744 + Bo 9518 + KUB 26.1A (composite image)

Obv. I (line numbers of Bo 9518 in parentheses)

§ 1’

1’ ag-g[(a<sup>3</sup>)-

2’ IŠ-TI(U ZI LUGAL x)-

3’ (= 1’) le-e k<sup>t</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-(iš-ki a-uš-z)i

4’ (= 2’) ku-e-da-n[(i-ik-ki) ... (nu-za A-NA <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI) ... ?]

5' (= 3') *ar-lu-wa-x(-)<sup>2</sup>*[...<sup>?</sup> (*ha-at-te<sub>9</sub>-eš-šar*)(-)<sup>3</sup> ...<sup>?</sup> *le-e*(?)]

6' (= 4') *i-ya-zi* [(*na-aš-kán ta-me*)-*e-da-ni an-da-an*]

7' (= 5') *le-e ku-e*-[(*da*)-*ni-ik-ki pa-iž-zi*<sup>4</sup>]

-----  
§ 2'

8' (= 6') *na-aš-ma*<sup>LÚ</sup>*a-r<sub>1</sub>a-a<sub>1</sub>*[š<sup>2</sup>(-)<sup>5</sup> ... (*a-aš-šu-uš*)<sup>6</sup>]

9' (= 7') <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI-*ma-aš-š<sub>i</sub>*<sup>7</sup> *me-m*<sup>l</sup>[*a-al*<sup>?</sup>-*hi*<sup>?</sup>]<sup>8</sup> (EGIR GAM-*wa-ra-a*)*n-kán kar-aš*(?)]

10' (= 8') *na-an-za-an-kán*<sup>9</sup> EGIR GAM [(*Ú-UL*) *kar-aš-zi*<sup>10</sup> ...<sup>?</sup>]

(Bo 9518 breaks here off; text continues in Bo 4744 I 11' ff. + KUB 26.1a :3' ff.)

(Lines 3'-7') ... no one shall se[e ...] to someone [...] shall [not<sup>2</sup>] make *arluwa*[*r*<sup>2</sup> and<sup>2</sup>] pit against My Sun and he [shall] not [join] wi[th<sup>11</sup>] some[one] el[se].

(Lines 8'-10') Or (if) a colleague [is not] favorable [to / with My Sun, and [I], My Sun, sa[y (to somebody)] about him: “[Stay] away from hi[m!]”, but he does not [stay] away from him (then it shall be placed under oath).

1) Bo 4744 is recently published by R. Akdoğan, *AoF* 40, 2-4 (with text copy), however, treated there as a duplicate of KUB 26.1a. For the join Bo 4744 (+) KUB 26.1a see now *Konkordanz* (<http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de>). The first four lines of Bo 4744 are now lost.

2) The sign “*lu*” has an initial vertical, and the incomplete word is a hapax of unknown meaning (something unfavorable?). There are slight traces beginning with a *winkelhaken*, thus the sign may be “*š*” or “*ar*”.

3) The semantic function of *hateššar* “hole (in the ground)” in the present context is obscure, but it may figuratively indicate a trap or plot against the Hittite king.

4) The restorations for lines 5'-6' are based on the similar passages treated by J. L. Miller, *Royal Hittite Instructions*, 296 f. (§ 3).

5) Thus, the reading of E. von Schuler, *Hethitische Dienstanweisungen*, 10, is now confirmed.

6) Perhaps to be reconstructed as <sup>LÚ</sup>*a-r<sub>1</sub>a-a<sub>1</sub>*[š *A-NA* / *IT-TI* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ŠI *Ú-UL* (*a-aš-šu-uš*)] “A colleague [is not] favorable [to / with My Sun]”.

7) Thus, the restoration of E. von Schuler, *ibid.*, is now confirmed.

8) Cf. E. von Schuler, *ibid.* On the other hand, J. L. Miller, *Royal Hittite Instructions*, 298, posits a restoration with pres. sg. 3 person *me-ma-i*.

9) There is a direct join here with the other piece KUB 26.1a line 2' which suggests this reading to be preferred over *BE<sup>2</sup>-L<sup>2</sup>-an-kán* by J. L. Miller, *Royal Hittite Instructions*, 298 (§ 5'). For the morpheme chain *na-an-za-an-kán* in the same text composition see KUB 26.1 I 57' (CTH 255.2.A).

10) The restoration of the end of lines 8'-9' with the predicates to the verb *karš-* were suggested already by E. von Schuler, *ibid.* For the usage ...(-*za*)-*kan* EGIR GAM *karš-* “to stay away / clear (himself) of, keep one's distance” in this composition see the passages treated by J. L. Miller, *Royal Hittite Instructions*, 300 f. (§ 18”) and 304 f. (§ 31”).

11) On the idiomatic use of *andan pai-* “to transfer one's allegiance to, resort to, join with, recognize the lordship of” see CHD P/1 (1994) 38 f.

**2) Bo 9526** is a missing piece from the right edge of the Hittite Laws KBo 6.10 + KBo 6.20 II and III (OH/NS; CTH 292.II.b.A). Its lines II 1'-9' directly join KBo 6.10 + KBo 6.20 II 21-29', and III 1'-9' directly join KBo 6.10 + III 9'-17'. Duplicates are KUB 29.28 + I 10'-13' (OS; CTH 292.I.A) and KUB 29.29 + II 2'-8' (OS; CTH 292.I.A) from where the restorations are taken. For text edition see J. Friedrich, *Die hethitischen Gesetze* (1959) 68 f., 70 f. and H. A. Hoffner, *The Laws of the Hittites* (1997) 116 f., 119 f.



Bo 9526 (obv. II)

Bo 9526 (rev. III)

KBo 6.10 + KBo 6.20 + Bo 9526 obv. II (line numbers of Bo 9526 in parentheses)

§ 6' ...

21' (= 1') *ta-i-e-ez-zi an-da-aš-še<<aš-še>> a-pé-e-ni-šu-u-wa-an pa-a-i*

22' (= 2') *ták-ku ša<sup>1</sup>-ma-na-az NA<sub>4</sub>.ĪI.A-u]i<sup>š<sup>2</sup></sup> ku-iš-ki<sup>1)</sup> ta<sub>1</sub>-i-e-[e]z-zi*

23' (= 3') *A-NA II NA<sub>4</sub> 10 NA<sub>4</sub>.ĪI.A pa-[(a)]-zi ták-ku± [...-az<sup>2</sup>] i<sup>NA<sub>4</sub></sup> hu-u<sub>1</sub>-ha-an<sup>2)</sup>*

24' (= 4') *na-aš-ma<sup>NA<sub>4</sub></sup> har-mi-ya-al-li ku-iš-ki*

25' (= 5') *ta-i-e-ez-zi II GÍN.GÍN KÛ.BABBAR pa-a-i*

§ 7'

26' (= 6') *ták-ku <šA> ANŠE.KUR.RA na-aš-ma iANŠE.GÌR.NUN.NA<sub>1</sub>*

*an-na-nu-u<sup>KUŠ</sup>z±-[z]i*

27' (= 7') *ga-az-zi-mu-el [ša-ku-wa(?)]-a]l-li<sup>3)</sup> kat-ra-al ZABAR*

28' (= 8') *ku-iš-ki ta-a-i-e-e[z-zi ka-r]u-ú I MA.NA KÛ.BABBAR pé-eš-kir*

29' (= 9') *ki-nu-na iXII GÍN.GÍN KÛ.BABB<sup>r</sup>AR<sup>1</sup> [pa-a-i] pá-r-na-aš-še-ya*

*šu-wa-a-iz-zi*

(Bo 9526 breaks here off; text continues in KBo 6.10 + KBo 6.20 II 30' ff.)

KBo 6.10 + Bo 9526 rev. III (line numbers of Bo 9526 in parentheses)

§ 3'

9' (= 1') *ták-ku LUŠU.I URUDU zi-na-[al-li a-ri-i(š-ši pa)]-i<sup>a<sup>2</sup>-i<sup>2</sup></sup>*

10' (= 2') *tu-uš har-ni-ik-zi [... š(a-a-k)u-wa-(aš-ša-r)]u-uš<sup>r</sup> pa-a<sup>1</sup>-i*

11'-13' (= 3'-5') ...

§ 4'

14' (= 6') *ták-ku É.GU<sub>4</sub> ku-iš-ki [(ú-e-te-ez-zi)] x<sup>2</sup>*

15' (= 7') *VI GÍN.GÍN KÛ.BABBAR pa-a-i t[ák-ku ...-(uš) d]a-a-la-i<sup>4)</sup>*

16' (= 8') ...

§ 5'

17' (= 9') *ták-ku É-ir na-aš-ma URU-an n[a-aš-ma (GĪ<sup>Á</sup>KI)]<sup>r</sup>RI<sub>6</sub> na-aš<sup>1</sup>-uma ú<sub>1</sub>-e-lši-in<sub>1</sub>*

(Bo 9526 breaks here off; text continues in KBo 6.10 + III 18' ff.)

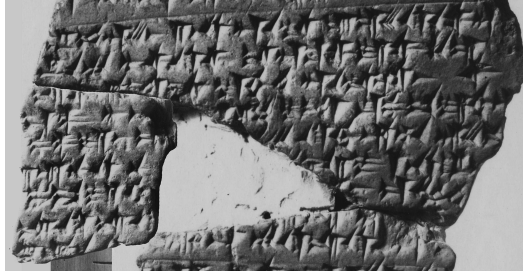
1) Contra J. Friedrich, *Die hethitischen Gesetze* 68 and H. A. Hoffner, *The Laws of the Hittites* 117, the hand copy in KBo 6.10 shows some sign remnants here.

2) Thus, not [<sup>N</sup>]<sup>A<sub>4</sub></sup> hu-u-[wa-a-ši], as posited once by J. Friedrich, *Die hethitischen Gesetze* 68 and H. A. Hoffner, *The Laws of the Hittites* 117. <sup>NA<sub>4</sub></sup> hu-ha- is known otherwise only from the oracular text KUB 5.9 obv. 33 and 34 (<sup>NA<sub>4</sub></sup> hu-u-ha-an) where it appears to be a portable stone (object) of material or spiritual value; J. Friedrich — A. Kammenhuber et alii, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*<sup>2</sup> III/2 (2010) 633 f.; J. Tischler, *Hethitisches Handwörterbuch* (2001) 51 “Schlacke”?

3) Restoration with *šakuwal-* “eye-cover, blinder” as part of a horse harness is my guess. Alternatively, [<sup>pu-ri-ya-a]</sup>l-li “lip-cover, bit<sup>2</sup>” would be plausible as well.

4) KUB 29.29 + II 7' has *ta-a-la-i*.

3) Bo 9441 is a one-sided fragments, and its lines 1'-7' directly join to KBo 3.18 + 19 + 17 III 11-17. Duplicate is KBo 3.16 + III 7-13 (CTH 311.2.A) from where the restorations are adopted. The dating and script of all these texts is OH/NS (at the *Konkordanz*, however, labeled as "LNS"). For text edition see H. G. Güterbock, ZA 44 (1938) 54-57.



KBo 3.18 + 19 + 17 + Bo 9441 (composite image)

Rev. III (line numbers of Bo 9441 are in parentheses)

...

§ 3

- 11 (= 1') [(*ki*)]-iš-ši-ri-it-ta<sup>1)</sup> te-eh-ḫi <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR-ša-aš- ši<sup>2)</sup>  
 12 (= 2') [a-a]p-pa tar-aš-ki-i-iz<sub>1</sub>-zi i-it šu-up-pí-ya-aḫ-ḫu<sub>1</sub>-(*ut*)  
 13 (= 3') [šu]-up-pa-ya-aš<sup>3)</sup> <sup>GIŠ</sup>N[(*Á*-aš)] iše<sub>1</sub>-eš-ki-aḫ-ḫu-ti<sup>4)</sup> DINGIR.MEŠ-K[(*A*)]  
 14 (= 4') [da]-a-ri-<sup>5)</sup>nu-ut nu DINGIR.MEŠ-KA m<sub>1</sub>u-g<sub>1</sub>a-a<sup>6)</sup>-i <sup>1</sup>NA-RA-A[(*M*-<sup>d</sup>SÍN-na-aš)]  
 15 (= 5') [(*šu*)]-up-pí-ya-aḫ-ḫ[(*a-ti* šu-up-pa-y)]<sub>1</sub>a<sub>1</sub>-aš <sup>GIŠ</sup>NÁ-[(*aš*)]  
 16 (= 6') [še]-iš-ki-iš-ki-[(*u-wa-an* d)]<sup>r</sup>a-a-iš<sup>1</sup> DINGIR.M[EŠ-Š]<sub>1</sub>U<sub>1</sub>  
 17 (= 7') [(*da*)]-a-ri-<sup>7)</sup>nu-ut<sub>1</sub> [(*n*)]u DINGIR.MEŠ-ŠU<sup>8)</sup> mu-ki-iš-ki-u-an<sup>9)</sup> d[(*a-a-i*)]š

(Bo 9441 breaks here off; text continues in KBo 3.18 + III 18ff.)

1) KBo 3.16 + III 7: *ke-eš-šar-ta*.

2) KBo 3.16 + III 7: <sup>d</sup>IŠTAR<sup>1</sup>-iš-ša-aš-ši.

3) KBo 3.16 + III 9: [šu-up]-pí-ya-aš.

4) KBo 3.16 + III 9: *še-eš-ki-ya-aḫ-ḫu-ut*.

5) KBo 3.16 + III 10 inserts *-ya-*.

6) KBo 3.16 + III 10 omits *-a-*.

7) KBo 3.16 + III 13: *da-ri-ya-nu-ut*. The present occurrence and that one in line 17 assure the existence of the secondary verbal root *darinu-* beside *dariyanu-* "to implore, beseech".

8) KBo 3.16 + III 13 omits *-ŠU*.

9) KBo 3.16 + III 13: *mu-ki-iš-<<eš>>-ki-u-wa-an*.

4) The recently edited "leftover" fragment KBo 62.92 (= E 1702) appears to contain the Hattian myth of the "moon who fell down from the sky" and reads as follows:

- § 1'     1' <sup>r</sup>taḫ<sup>1</sup>-ḫ[u-ku-ru]  
           2' pa-l[a]

- § 2'     3' ka-a[p-ḫu]  
           4' [<sup>UR</sup>]<sub>1</sub>La-[aḫ-za-an]

Rather, the present piece is a duplicate of KUB 28.4 (CTH 727.A) and KBo 58.219, but not a join to them. Therefore, other exemplars would come into consideration as possible candidates for an indirect join to KBo 62.92: KUB 28.3+KUB 48.61 (CTH 727.B) or KUB 28.5(+VBoT 73 (CTH 727.C). The very slightly drawn paragraph divider in KBo 62.92 after line 2' better assembles with that one after obv. lt. col. 17 of KUB 28.3+ (see the tablet's photo: [hethiter.net/](http://hethiter.net/): *PhotArch N05591*). With this suggested join, the text reads as follows (duplicate restorations are adopted from KUB 28.4 obv. lt. col. 13-16, KUB 28.5(+)) obv. lt. col. 18'-21' and KBo 58.219:1'-4'):

KBo 62.92 (+<sup>3</sup>) KUB 28.3 + KUB 48.61 obv. lt. col. (line numbers of KBo 62.92 in parentheses)

§ 5

16 (= 1') <sup>1</sup>*taḫ<sup>1</sup>-ḫ[(u-ku-r)]u<sup>1</sup>* *ka-taḫ-zi-pí-ri zi-ya-aḫ-šú*

17 (= 2') *pa-l[(a i-ta-a ú)]-l<sub>1</sub>uk-ḫu-u-ma i-ta-a*

§ 6

18 (= 3') *ka-a[(p-ḫu<sup>2</sup>) zi-ya-aḫ-d)]u<sup>d</sup>* *Ka-a-aš-ku<sup>1</sup> tu-uk-zi-ik*

19 (= 4') [<sup>U(R)</sup>]<sup>U</sup>*La-[(aḫ-za<sup>1</sup>-an zi-i-ši-i)]m a-aḫ-ku-nu-wa<sub>a</sub> ta-a-ru*

(KBo 62.92 breaks here off; text continues in KUB 28.3+ obv. lt. col. 20 ff.)

1) Although the duplicate KUB 28.4 obv. lt. col. 13 has transitive predicate *an-taḫ-ḫu-ku-ru* instead, further occurrences of *taḫḫukuru* in the “Narratives of Kataḫzipuri” in KBo 21.82 I 26' and KBo 37.28 IV 10' prove that the intransitive form *taḫ-ḫu-ku-ru* here is the correct form.

2) Despite the hand copy in KBo 62.92, the tablet's photo at the *Konkordanz (hethiter.net/: PhotArch E-1702)* does permit the reading “*ap*”.

Oğuz SOYSAL, <o-soysal@uchicago.edu>

The Oriental Institute, 1155 East 58<sup>th</sup> Street, CHICAGO IL 60637, U.S.A.

**71) The Meaning and Significance of Hittite *ḫūiḫuššuwali-*** — The term *ḫūiḫuššuwali-*<sup>1)</sup> appears in only two texts in the entire Hittite corpus, both of which are preserved only fragmentarily where the word occurs. On account of its rarity, *ḫūiḫuššuwali-* has received little individual attention, even though it appears in arguably the most famous Hittite text, the Apology of Ḫattusili III. I argue here that *ḫūiḫuššuwali-* has routinely been mistranslated in editions of the Apology, and this has led to erroneous understandings of the rhetoric Ḫattusili uses to besmirch his nephew and rival, Urḫi-Tessup. In this note, I will first examine the two passages in which *ḫūiḫuššuwali-* appears, then determine the most likely interpretation of the term, then conclude with a few remarks of the significance of this analysis for understanding the Apology.

**1. *ḫūiḫuššuwali-* in Context :** Of its two attestations, the far better known is in §10b of the Apology of Ḫattusili III, where we read the following: “[N]ow beca[use] there [wa]s n[o] *ḫūiḫuššuwali* [son to my brother [of his wife<sup>3</sup>], I to[o]k up Urḫi-Tessup, son of a concubine, and [...] him as lord ov[er] Hatti; all [...] I put into (his) hand” ([*kēz̄za≈ma maḫ[han] ANA ŠEŠ≈YA [(ŠA DAM≈ŠU<sup>3</sup>)] ḫūiḫuššuwali*]i<sup>š</sup> DUMU-aš / U[L *ēš*]ta nu <sup>m</sup>urḫi-<sup>d</sup>U-upan DUMU EŠERTI / šarā dah[ḫ]un n≈an I[NA] KUR <sup>URU</sup>KÛ.BABBAR-ti / EN-anni [...] *ḫūmandan* / ŠU-i *teḫḫun*, iii 40'-44'). In the narrative of the apology, this appears after Ḫattusili's elder brother, Muwatalli, has died,<sup>2)</sup> leaving the throne of Ḫatti open. Clearly, a *ḫūiḫuššuwali-* son would be the obvious successor, but Ḫattusili relates that there was none. In the absence of a *ḫūiḫuššuwali-* son, Ḫattusili took one of Muwatalli's sons through a concubine (DUMU EŠERTI) and installed him on the throne.

The other text in which *ḫūiḫuššuwali-* appears is another historiographical narrative of Ḫattusili III, which describes the same event and reads as follows: “Because there was not yet any [*ḫūi*]ḫuiššuwali-son to my brother of his wife ...” (*nu ANA ŠEŠ≈YA kuit ŠA DAM≈ŠU [ḫūi]ḫuiššuwališ* / DUMU-aš *nāui kuiški ēšta*, KUB 21.15 + 760/v i 6'-7'). Ḫattusili then relates, as in the Apology, that he installed Urḫi-Tessup as king. This second reference adds two clues to help establish a definition for the word, the qualifying terms “of his wife” (*ŠA DAM≈ŠU*, which may have appeared in the Apology in iii 40') and “not yet” (*nāui*). This reveals both that it was theoretically possible for Muwatalli to have had a *ḫūiḫuššuwali-* son born by someone other than his wife and that Muwatalli might have later had a *ḫūiḫuššuwali-* son.

Early discussions mistakenly introduced a ghost word *šahūiḫuiššuwali-* when discussing this latter text, but this was corrected by KOŠAK (1996).

**2. Interpreting *ḫūiḫuššuwali-* :** By far the most common rendering of *ḫūiḫuššuwali-* in the secondary literature is “legitimate.”<sup>3)</sup> Oddly, this definition derives solely from context, but the context militates against it. Urḫi-Tessup was the “son of a concubine” (DUMU EŠERTI), which qualified as “legitimate” in every meaningful way. I suspect that this incongruity is predominantly a semantic issue,

and “legitimate” is used here to mean the son of a wife as opposed to the son of a concubine.<sup>4)</sup> But if so, this is an inappropriate usage, since one of the purposes of concubinage in several cultures is to provide a legitimate heir. One might object that Urḫi-Tessup’s legitimacy was an open question due to the nature of the remarks of a certain Masturi (as quoted by Tudḫaliya) in the Sausgamuwa Treaty.<sup>5)</sup> As Tudḫaliya tells it, Masturi refused to honor his oath to protect Muwatalli’s offspring on the grounds that Urḫi-Tessup was a “bastard” (<sup>LÚ</sup>*paḫḫurši-*, ii 28-29).<sup>6)</sup> But Tudḫaliya condemns Masturi for this and depicts it as an excuse to switch his allegiance.

Some appeal to the succession rules stipulated in Telipinu’s Proclamation for proof of Urḫi-Tessup’s illegitimacy, but this is inappropriate for two reasons. First, it remains conjectural that the Proclamation held sway in Ḫattusili’s Ḫatti. The fact that most copies of the Proclamation date to the thirteenth century speaks for its circulation during the age of Ḫattusili, but at the same time, he never explicitly mentions it—in fact, there is no evidence anywhere of the Proclamation’s edict ever having tangibly affected Hittite policy. It is entirely possible that the Proclamation’s persistence in the Hittite canon derived not from its legal value, but from its literary value.

Whether or not the Proclamation was known and considered authoritative by Ḫattusili, a major argument against its pertinence to §10b in the Apology stems from the contrast in the language used in each. The hierarchy of succession according to §28 of the Proclamation involves preference for a prince of the “first rank” (*ḫantezziya-*), followed by a prince of the “second tier” (*tān pēdaš*), and if there is no male child of the king, then a husband should be taken for the “first-rank” princess and made king (this man being the *antiyant-*, one who marries into another family<sup>7)</sup>). Ḫattusili, however, says that Urḫi-Tessup was crowned on account of there being no *ḫūiḫuššuwali-* son.<sup>8)</sup>

The second reason why one should not appeal to the Proclamation to consider Urḫi-Tessup illegitimate is that if the rules of the Proclamation did apply in Ḫattusili’s day, then Telipinu’s protocol would actually reinforce Urḫi-Tessup’s appropriateness as a successor. Urḫi-Tessup is called the “son of a concubine” (DUMU *EŠERTI*), which is not explicitly connected to Telipinu’s “second rank,” but must qualify since the following clause stipulates what should be done in the case of the king having no male progeny.

On the whole, then, the interpretation of *ḫūiḫuššuwali-* as “legitimate” seems impossible in context. So what other options are available for this troublesome term?

“Living” has been suggested, based primarily on its etymological connection with *ḫuiš-*.<sup>9)</sup> But this seems to fail on multiple grounds. The main argument against this interpretation is that it fails to explain the “not yet” of KUB 21.15. Moreover, as Košak notes, “sie inhaltlich überflüssig erscheint und wir dafür doch das übliche Wort *ḫuišyant* erwarten würden” (1996: 97). Košak suggests “own” (“leiblich”) as another possibility, but immediately dismisses it, correctly in my view, as “pleonastisch” (1996: 97). One might consider *ḫūiḫuššuwali-* to mean “designated”; that is, Ḫattusili might here be saying that Muwatalli had not yet selected one of his sons to succeed him. This would be consistent with the Hittite practice of the king choosing a successor from among his eligible sons,<sup>10)</sup> and it would explain well why Muwatalli did “not yet” have a *ḫūiḫuššuwali-* son. It does not cohere well with the distinction between the sons of a wife and those of a concubine, however. A still greater impediment to this understanding is that Urḫi-Tessup himself seems to have been designated as Muwatalli’s successor, as is indicated by a pair of seals depicting Muwatalli and Urḫi-Tessup together and declaring the latter *tuhkanti*, “heir presumptive” or “crown prince.”<sup>11)</sup> Of course, Ḫattusili obviously ignored this fact, because in the Apology he takes full credit for placing Urḫi-Tessup on the throne, so it is possible that Muwatalli had in fact designated a successor but Ḫattusili feigned ignorance of this.

On the whole, the most viable interpretation of *ḫūiḫuššuwali-* seems to be “adult.” This was the interpretation in the *editio princeps* of the Apology,<sup>12)</sup> and it was recently championed by Singer.<sup>13)</sup> This definition works particularly well in light of the following “not yet” in KUB 21.15. Singer argues that Muwatalli had at least one son, specifically Kuruntiya, whose mother was a first-rank wife. But Kuruntiya was still in his minority at the time of Muwatalli’s death (hence Muwatalli “not yet” having a *ḫūiḫuššuwali-* son). Whether or not Singer’s reconstruction of the entire situation is valid, “adult” solves

all of the problems encountered by the other suggestions and does not present new problems. At this point, “adult” is the most likely meaning of *hūiḫuššuwali-*.

**3. Significance for Reading the Apology of Ḫattusili III :** Focusing on what *hūiḫuššuwali-* can mean—and equally importantly, what it cannot mean—has ramifications for interpreting the Apology. Translating “legitimate” detracts from the careful rhetoric Ḫattusili displays throughout. Ḫattusili clearly employs the motif of the “unworthy predecessor”<sup>14)</sup> when relating his interaction with Urḫi-Tessup, but asserting that his nephew was illegitimate at the outset was not part of the smear campaign. Indeed, the text that immediately follows the enigmatic *hūiḫuššuwali-* confirms this. Ḫattusili, with no paucity of bombast, pronounces, “I to[o]k up Urḫi-Tessup, son of a concubine, and [...] him as lord ov[er] Hatti; all [...] I put into (his) hand.” Why would Ḫattusili call into question Urḫi-Tessup’s legitimacy immediately before taking credit for ensuring his succession? If his nephew did not belong on the throne, Ḫattusili would be responsible for abetting the coronation of a pretender. Playing up the significance of his role in what would amount to a coup would put himself more in the wrong than Urḫi-Tessup, the object of his calumny. This would be sloppy propaganda.

On the contrary, Ḫattusili’s condemnation of Urḫi-Tessup is carefully crafted. He raises no objection to his nephew’s initial candidacy for the throne of Ḫatti, and by claiming responsibility for seeing the succession properly executed, he reinforces his loyalty to Muwatalli, Urḫi-Tessup, and the realm. This unimpeachable fidelity makes Urḫi-Tessup’s jealousy of him all the more unwarranted. Urḫi-Tessup assumed the throne in good order, but sacrificed his legitimacy through his actions after becoming king. As is well known, according to the Apology, Urḫi-Tessup turned on his uncle in the years following his accession, “harming” (*uwaya-*, iii 56’) and “diminishing” (*teḫnu-*, iii 59’) him. Ḫattusili refrained from responding for as long as he could,<sup>15)</sup> but when Urḫi-Tessup divested him of his final two cities, his hand was forced. Ḫattusili rebelled. Even here, though, Ḫattusili carefully couches his rebellion in the terminology of a lawsuit and attributes the mediation of the dispute to the gods (§10c).

In sum, the semantic peccadillo of translating *hūiḫuššuwali-* as “legitimate” has consequences for interpreting the Apology, leading readers to believe that Ḫattusili was casting aspersions on Urḫi-Tessup’s pedigree when such was not the case. I tend to read the Apology cynically, as many scholars do. That is, I suspect Ḫattusili usurped the throne from his nephew without provocation and justified it through the elaborate apology. But even if I question his deeds and motives, I cannot help but express admiration for his adroit defense. When it comes to rhetoric, Ḫattusili has style.

1) Or *hūiḫuššuwali-*; for the precise renderings of the word see KOŠAK 1996, 96.

2) No reference to Muwatalli’s death actually appears in the Apology. It probably appeared in the broken section at the beginning of §10b, or Ḫattusili may have omitted it because his focus is not on Muwatalli, but Urḫi-Tessup.

3) TISCHLER 2001: 52; VAN DEN HOUT 1997: 202; IMPARATI 1995: 148; OTTEN 1981: 21, 98; *CHD* L-N: 423 sub *nawi* b.1’; WOLF 1967: 68; STURTEVANT & BECHTEL 1935: 84.

4) Unfortunately, English has no word to distinguish the son of a wife from the son of a concubine; perhaps “uxorial” would be more accurate, though with the drawback of not being a common member of the vernacular.

5) For this, see KÜHNE & OTTEN 1971, esp. pp. 8-11 for the passage in question.

6) For this term see *CHD* P: 17 sub <sup>L1</sup>*paḫḫurši-*; also BRYCE 2005: 457 n. 21.

7) Cf. BEAL 1983: 117-18.

8) Note that Bryce misleadingly homogenizes the texts when he translates the Apology, “And since he [Muwatalli] had left no son of the first rank” (2005: 252). He translates *hūiḫuššuwali[iš]* here as “first rank,” which is not justified; this is symptomatic of the tendency to read the Proclamation and the Autobiography in sync without acknowledging the differences between them.

9) Cf. WEITENBERG 1984: 104, 417 n. 182. Weitenberg rightly rejects this suggestion.

10) BECKMAN 1986: 24-25. I suggest that this practice was fairly common in the ancient Near East. Most scholars appear to assume that primogeniture dictated succession in most ancient Near Eastern societies, but this seems unfounded.

11) HAWKINS 2001, anticipated by KLENGEL 1998: 226 and HOUWINK TEN CATE 1994: 239. Hawkins writes, “It has otherwise been supposed that this succession may have been contested and that Urḫi-Tešub’s successful assumption of the throne was due to the vital support of Hattusili. But this is not to deny that he was the legitimate and recognized heir to Muwatalli: the recent appearance of these seals assure [*sic*] us incontrovertibly that this was so” (2001: 176).

- 12) GÖTZE 1967: 27, 47, 119, “*erwachsen*” on p. 27 and “*großjährig*” on pp. 47, 119.  
13) SINGER 2002: 744-46.  
14) I take this term from HOFFNER 1975. For thorough discussion of this motif, see KNAPP 2015.  
15) Thus employing the motif of transcendent non-retaliation, on which see KNAPP 2015.

### Bibliography

- BEAL, R. H. 1983: “Studies in Hittite History”, *JCS* 35, pp. 115-26.  
BECKMAN, G. M. 1986: “Inheritance and Royal Succession Among the Hittites”, in H. A. Hoffner and G. M. Beckman, eds., *Kaniššuwār: A Tribute to Hans G. Güterbock on His Seventy-fifth Birthday, May 27, 1983* (Chicago), pp. 113-31.  
BRYCE, T. 2005: *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, Oxford.  
GÖTZE, A. 1967: *Ḫattušiliš: Der Bericht über seine Thronbesteigung nebst den Paralleltexen*, Darmstadt.  
HAWKINS, J. D. 2001: “Urhi-Tešub, *tuhkanti*”, in G. Wilhelm, ed., *Akten des IV. Internationalen Kongresses für Hethitologie: Würzburg, 4.-8. Oktober 1999* (Wiesbaden), pp. 167-79.  
HOFFNER, H. A. 1975: “Propaganda and Political Justification in Hittite Historiography”, in H. Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts, eds., *Unity and Diversity: Essays in the History, Literature, and Religion of the Ancient Near East* (Baltimore), pp. 49-62.  
HOUWINK TEN CATE, P. H. J. 1994: “Urhi-Tessub Revisited”, *BO* 51, pp. 233-59.  
IMPARATI, F. 1995: “Apology of Ḫattušili III or Designation of His Successor?” in T. van den Hout and J. de Roos, eds., *Studio historiae ardens: Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Philo H.J. Houwink ten Cate on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (Istanbul), pp. 143-57.  
KLENGEL, H. 1998: *Geschichte des hethitischen Reiches*, Leiden.  
KNAPP, A. 2015. *Royal Apologetic in the Ancient Near East*, Atlanta.  
KOŠAK, S. 1996: “Ein hethitisches ghost word entgeistert”, *AoF* 23, pp. 95-97.  
KÜHNE, C. & OTTEN, H. 1971: *Der Šaušgamuwa-Vertrag (eine Untersuchung zu Sprache und Graphik)*, Wiesbaden.  
OTTEN, H. 1981: *Die Apologie Hattusilis III: Das Bild der Überlieferung*, Wiesbaden.  
SINGER, I. 2002: “Danuḫepa and Kurunta”, in S. de Martino and F. Pecchioli Daddi, eds., *Anatolia antica: studi in memoria di Fiorella Imparati* (Florence), 739-51.  
STURTEVANT, E. H. & BECHTEL, G. 1935: *A Hittite Chrestomathy*, Baltimore.  
TISCHLER, J. 2001: *Hethitisches Handwörterbuch: Mit dem Wortschatz der Nachbarsprachen*, Innsbruck.  
VAN DEN HOUT, T. 1997: “Apology of Ḫattušili III”, in W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger, eds., *The Context of Scripture* (Leiden), pp. 199-204.  
WOLF, H. M. 1967: “The Apology of Ḫattušiliš Compared with Other Political Self-justifications of the Ancient Near East”, PhD Diss (Brandeis).

Andrew KNAPP, <andrew.n.knapp@gmail.com>

**72) On the etymology of the Old and Middle Assyrian *nasbītu*-festival (< *našbutu*)** — In an article of the 1<sup>st</sup> Kültepe International Meeting, DERCKSEN 2015, 53-54 provided new information on the Middle Assyrian cultic festival known in the traditional literature as *našbutu*<sup>sic.</sup>. He demonstrated that this event was already known in the Old Assyrian period. Following the new information on the Old Assyrian attestations, it is necessary to review the evidence once more in order to approach an etymology.

The existence of this cultic event was put forth by Deller/Postgate in the study of the Urad-Šerūa archive (POSTGATE 1988, 47), who noted that it was mentioned in KAJ 226 in the context of two other festivals *tanmartu* and *paddugannu*. The spelling of this noun in KAJ is *a-na na-AZ-BE-te* KAJ 226:4; *a-na na-AZ-BI-[t]e* KAJ 130:17. In addition, we find *našbutu* in connection with some more unexplained terminology. In MARV 2 19:19<sup>1</sup> the sheep of the *kašsu* and the *na-AZ-BE-te* are mentioned (POSTGATE 2013, 163 n22). To this we may add 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 *na-AZ-BE-te* (MARV 10 5:23), which mentions the festival in combination with 𐎠𐎶𐎠𐎶 SISKUR<sup>meš</sup> ‘sheep offerings’ (see DE RIDDER 2015, 122). Of further interest is the addition of the unexplained apposition *ab-ba-še* (StAtT 5, 22).

As for the realization of this noun, although none of the aforementioned studies on the Middle Assyrian sources elaborate on it, all realize the spellings as *našbutu*, which would be a *naPRA*S construction of - presumably - the root *šabātu*. As all the attestations occur in the genitive, the noun would have undergone Assyrian vowel-harmony (*našbatu* > *našbutu*). It has not found its way into the traditional dictionaries with this translation (only CDA, 244b), though it can be found under *našbatu* ‘ein Mantel’ in AHw (p. 756b) ‘(a garment/metal object)’ in the CAD (N<sub>2</sub>, 47).



In this respect, the material that Dercksen presents from unpublished Old Assyrian materials is useful as he mentions a plural form *naZBiätum* (*na-AZ-BI-a-tum*) and a singular form and a singular accusative *na-AZ-BE-tám*. This proves two things: /i/ or /e/ is not the result of Assyrian vowel-harmony and /t/ is not part of the root of this noun but the feminine gender marker. Whereas Dercksen mentions that he cannot be certain of the exact character of sibilant (Z) and labial (B) because of the absent etymology, the Middle Assyrian evidence may be helpful here. The signs <bi> (KAŠ) and <be> (BAD) may not be read /p/ in this period, unless this is some kind of traditional spelling (e.g., passim. *tup-pí* ‘tablet’), which is not likely the case here because both signs can be used through another. We are then left with the reading of the sign AZ, for which we may look to the Middle Assyrian tablets from Tell Ṭābān, published in SHIBATA 2007. Two (slightly modified) passages contain a possible attestation:

TabT05-85: <sup>1)</sup> 4½ TÚG<sup>hi.a</sup> *Su-ḥa-iu-ú* <sup>2)</sup> *ša na-áš-be-te*  
 ‘Four and half textiles of the Suhean style of *nasbītu*’

TabT05A-623: <sup>6)</sup> TÚG<sup>hi.a.mes</sup> <sup>7)</sup> *ša na-áš-be-te* <sup>8)</sup> *a-na* <sup>uru</sup>ŠÀ-URU <sup>9)</sup> [*i*]-*ta-šu*  
 ‘[They] have departed to transport textiles of *nasbītu* to *Libbi-āle*’

Unusual in Shibata’s transliterations is the use of the syllabic value <áš> (ÁŠ), which is virtually absent in Middle Assyrian outside these two passages. If we compare the two signs AZ and ÁŠ, there is only one common shared syllabic value <as> ~ <áš>. If these two passages are to be accepted, we may replace the former *našbutu* with *nasbītu*.

One may note that *nasbītu* in the two passages from Tell Ṭābān could refer to the textiles that are mentioned under the lemma *našbatu* in the AHw/CAD. To establish this, we may note that the ‘(metal object)’ of the CAD seems nowadays to be regarded as a ‘handle’ (SAA 7, 218). This would make sense with the root *šabātu* ‘to seize/hold’, but might set it apart from the *našbatu* textiles. The remaining Neo-Assyrian attestations have an unusual spelling, usually (<sup>tu</sup>)*na-ša-bat* (e.g., ADD 957/SAA 7 96 r. 1; ADD 956/SAA 7 97:11 ‘; ND.3407:2) with a probable epenthetic vowel and never following *ša*. In this respect, the spellings from Tell Ṭābān are much closer to the spellings for the festival from Aššur. Furthermore, some cases of NA *našbatu* featured in the dictionaries are to be analysed differently in modern (online) editions, e.g., <sup>tu</sup>*na-ḥa-pa-a-te* (ADD 680/SAA 7 112 r. 1) for *naḥ(h)aptu* as the sign ḤA is used instead of ZA; <sup>tu</sup>*za-za-ba-te* (ADD 1020/SAA 7 172 r. 9) for *zazabātu* as ZA is used for the sign NA. We are left with a few attestations of *našbatu* textiles in Neo-Babylonian texts (CAD N<sub>2</sub>, 47b). As I have tried to explain my scepticism on the relation between Neo-Assyrian *našabāte* textiles and the Tell Ṭābān attestations, we may wonder if a Neo-Babylonian relation is not overstretched. In addition, the Tell Ṭābān examples may be explained differently. The passage from TabT05-85 indicates the textiles as of the Suḥean kind and not as of the *nasbītu*-type. The particle *ša* can be well explained as referring to the function of textiles; to be used for the *nasbītu*-festival. Likewise, it is not unthinkable that in TabT05A-623, textiles were brought to Aššur for the purpose of the festival in the same vein that some of the aforementioned texts speaks of sheep (offerings).

DERCKSEN, J. G., 2015, The Archive of Ali-ahum (I): The documents Excavated in N-O-P/20 in 1950, *Subartu* 35, 47-58.

SHIBATA, D., 2007, Middle Assyrian Administrative and Legal Texts from the 2005 Excavation at Tell Taban: A Preliminary Report, *Al-Rāfidān* 28, 63-74.

POSTGATE, J. N., 1988, *The archive of Urad-Šerūa and his family: a Middle Assyrian household in government service*, Rome.

*Id.*, 2013: *Bronze Age Bureaucracy: Writing and the Practice of Government in Assyria*, Cambridge.

RIDDER, J. J. DE, 2015, Review of StAT 5, *BiOr* 72, 120-124.

J. J. DE RIDDER <jacob\_jan.de\_ridder@uni-leipzig.de >  
 Altorientalisches Institut, Universität Leipzig, Goethestraße 2, 04107 LEIPZIG

**73) A Bride in Araziqa** — In *AuOr* 5-T 13,<sup>1)</sup> Aḥu-ṭabu states: “Now, I have no son. (So) I have made my daughter Alnašuw[a] as ‘male and female’ (*i.e.*, son). May she invoke my gods and my godd[esses]. I have given [her] my household and all my possessions” (ll. 4–8). As for the continuation of his speech (ll.

9–12a, esp. 10), although both D. Arnaud and E. J. Pentiuć have provided translations,<sup>2)</sup> neither seems satisfactory. So, I present here mine in comparison with those two:

<sup>9</sup> [(x) q]a-qa-dá li-iš-pí-ir-mi <sup>10</sup> [lu-]ú ta-aḫ-ru-um-mi <sup>11</sup> [DUMU.MEŠ] ša ul-la-du<sub>4</sub>  
<sup>12</sup> [DUMU.MEŠ]-ia šu-nu-mi

May she adorn the (hair on her) [h]ead (and) cover (it). [The sons] whom she bears will be (recognized as) my [sons].

Cf. 1: [...] qu'elle vienne à se coiffer en mariée, [qu']elle conçoive: [les enfants] qu'elle enfantera seront mes [enfants] (by Arnaud).

Cf. 2 (ll. 10–12): She [surely] declared (vowed): “[The sons] whom I will bear, they (will be) my [sons]” (by Pentiuć).

Since Aḫu-ṭabu said of the sons to be born, “May they perform my <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL-duty [together w]ith the men of Araziqa (DUMU.MEŠ <sup>uru</sup>GN)” (ll. 12b–14a), he was most probably a citizen of Araziqa, which was in the northern vicinity of Emar.<sup>3)</sup>

There is no doubt that l. 11 presupposes Alnašuwa’s marriage. So we may well expect that the preceding lines concern the marriage. As for the verb in l. 9, Arnaud (*Aula Orientalis* 5, 233 n. 31) correctly takes it as *šepēru*, “to strand (hair, linen), to dress (hair)” (*CAD* Š, 132b–133a, mngs. 1a–b); *šapāru* (*šepēru*), mit 2 Akk. mit Steinen, Körnern usw. “besetzen” (*AHw*, 1082, mng. 5). However, the verb in l. 10 is problematic. While Arnaud associates it with the West Semitic *hry*, “être enceinte” (*ibid.*), Pentiuć thinks it is the West Semitic *hrm*, “to put aside, forbid, consecrate” (cf. Arab. *ḥarama* II, “to declare inviolable”), and understands the meaning of the verb in l. 10 as “to declare sacred; to vow” (*HSS* 49, 176f.). However, the latter interpretation is difficult, simply because ll. 11f. are apparently a part of the direct speech of Aḫu-ṭabu (cf. also ll. 12b–14a on the military duty), not of Alnašuwa, despite the fact that the prefix *ta-* (3.f.[sg.]) is used only for this verb.

I suggest taking it as *arāmu* (*ḥarāmu*, *erēmu*), “to cover” the body or a part of the body (*CAD* A/2, 228b, mng. 1b-1’); *ḥarāmum* I, “bedecken” (*AHw*, 323a), although its stem-vowel is admittedly the *i/i* class. The basis for this proposal is a passage in the Installation of the NIN.DINGIR of Ba’lu (<sup>d</sup>IM) in Emar (*Emar* VI 369). On the last day of the seven-day installation ceremony, when the NIN.DINGIR finally departs her house for the temple of Ba’lu, she is depicted in the various texts as follows:<sup>4)</sup>

A: <sup>61</sup> 1’ x [(x) TÚG.ÍB.LÁ<sup>?</sup>] bi-ir-mi ša É a-bi-ši

B: NIN.DINGIR iš-tu É uš-[ši-ma ]

D: [ ] É È-ma TA TÚG.ÍB.LÁ bi-ir-mi ša É AD-<sup>r</sup>šú<sup>?</sup>

A: SAG.DU-ša ki-i É.GI<sub>4</sub>.A ú-kat-ta-mu

B: ú-kat-ta-mu

D: [ki-i É.GI<sub>4</sub>.A ú-kat-ta-mu

(B, D) When the NIN.DINGIR leaves the house, <sup>61</sup> (A, B, D) they will cover her head as a bride with (D; A: one ...) a colorful sash of her father’s house.

In l. 61, É.GI<sub>4</sub>.A (*kallātu*) undoubtedly means “bride,” not “daughter-in-law” as in the legal texts from Emar. We see here that the NIN.DINGIR is veiled at her departure.<sup>5)</sup> In my opinion, this figure is exactly what Aḫu-ṭabu pictured in *AuOr* 5-T 13: 10: the veil being placed on the adorned hair of his daughter Alnašuwa on her wedding day.

If this is correct, Aḫu-ṭabu’s statement can be understood as his plan for Alnašuwa’s future: her marriage (ll. 9f.), her childbirth (ll. 11–12a), and her sons’ growth to adulthood (ll. 12b–14a). Then, was his plan (or dream) realized? We know only one thing: according to *AuOr* 5-T 14,<sup>6)</sup> Aḫu-ṭabu adopted Baššu as his son and heir and married Alnašuwa to him.

1) D. Arnaud, “La Syrie du moyen-Euphrate sous le protectorat hittite: contrats de droit privé,” *Aula Orientalis* 5 (1987), 233f. (without photograph or handcopy).

2) Arnaud, *ibid.*; and Pentiuć, *West Semitic Vocabulary in the Akkadian Texts from Emar* (*HSS* 49), Winona Lake, Ind., 2001, 176. For the latter’s interpretation, see also *idem*, “West Semitic Terms in Akkadian Texts from Emar,” *JNES* 58 (1999), 90.

3) For the location of Araziqa, see J. A. Belmonte Marín, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Texte aus Syrien im 2. Jt. v. Chr.* (RGTC 12/2), Wiesbaden, 2001, 31; also M. Yamada “The Second Military Conflict between ‘Assyria’ and ‘Ḫatti’ in the Reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I,” *RA* 105 (2011), 205f.

4) D. E. Fleming, *The Installation of Baal’s High Priestess at Emar* (HSS 42), Atlanta, Ga. 1992, 23f., 56.

5) For the veil in the ancient Near East, see K. van der Toorn, “The Significance of the Veil in the Ancient Near East,” in: D. P. Wright *et al.* (eds.), *Pomegranates and Golden Bells (= Fs. Milgrom)*, Winona Lake, Ind., 1995, 327–339. Unfortunately, *Emar VI* 369 does not provide us with information on the bride’s hair adornment or hairstyle, since the hair of the NIN.DINGIR was shaved on the day of consecration, the day before the installation week began (ll. 7–9).

6) Arnaud, *Aula Orientalis* 5, 234f.

Masamichi YAMADA <masamuwa@gmail.com> Tokyo, JAPAN

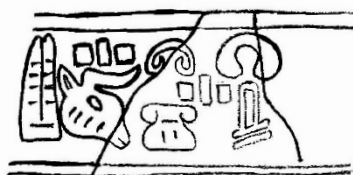
**74) Once again on the reading of Hieroglyphic Luwian sign \*429: the evidence of the newly published ARSUZ inscriptions\*** — The last issue of *Anatolian Studies* (vol. 65, 2015) has brought forth at once several important contributions concerning the history of the Early Iron Age Cilician principality Que/Hiyawa. First is the long-awaited publication of two hieroglyphic inscriptions found in 2007 at Arsuz in the Hatay province of Turkey (ARSUZ 1 and 2), in which the author, Suppiluliuma, king of Walastina (a land located in the Amuq valley), boasts with a victory over land Hiyawa (Dinçol *et al.* 2015). The other one is a paper of I. Yakubovich presenting a new view on the relationship between the Phoenician and Luwian versions of two bilingual inscriptions coming from Cilicia (KARATEPE and ÇİNEKÖY) and attempting to associate the usage of Phoenician language with the ruling elite of the region, which, as has been long supposed, may have Greek roots (Yakubovich 2015a). Moreover, the latter article presents in a supplement, making up virtually a separate article, a discussion by D. Hawkins (2015) and I. Yakubovich (2015b) of a recent proposal by the present author, according to which the sign \*429, traditionally read as *TANA*, might instead have the phonetic value *hi(ya)*, and the name of the region attested in KARATEPE, á-\*429-wa/i-(REGIO), should be interpreted as Ahhiyawa rather than Adanawa (Oreshko 2013). While D. Hawkins right of the bat rejects the very possibility of this interpretation, Yakubovich more positively (even if quite hesitantly) evaluates it, pointing out some additional advantages of the re-reading of the sign. In the present note I would like to pick up the discussion, making use of the evidence of the newly published ARSUZ inscriptions, which has a profound indeed, but quite an opposite effect on the problem of interpretation of \*429 than that envisaged by Hawkins.

The ‘comments’ of Hawkins, despite all their peremptory tone, offer few arguments which may disprove the interpretation of \*429 as *hi(ya)*. The *only* factor which deserves serious consideration is the new attestation of this sign in the ARSUZ inscription, where it appears in §11 as a *logogram* concealing the name of a land, while in §13 of the inscription name Hiyawa appears in the phonetic spelling *hi-ia-wa/i-(REGIO)*. As was already pointed out by Yakubovich, the appearance of \*429 and *hi-ia-wa/i-* in the same inscription does not, *contra* Hawkins, automatically disprove the possibility of reading \*429 as *hi(ya)* or *hi(ya)wa*, since the alternation may reflect simply the wish of the scribe to demonstrate his erudition. Philological analysis of the respective passage (§§11-13) could play an important role for the question whether \*429 is the same as *hi-ia-wa/i-* or something different, but, given uncertainties of interpretation of the expressions used, one cannot at present base a serious argument on it. However, the irony is that the publication of the ARSUZ inscriptions, prepared with Hawkins’s participation, contains more straightforward epigraphic evidence which permits an easy solution the question of reading of \*429.

The beginning of §11, which should, judging from ARSUZ 1, mention the land \*429-*sa*, is damaged in ARSUZ 2. In the drawing by H. Peker one finds in this place an amorphous shape, reminiscent of a piece of cheese, which does not seem to correspond closely to the upper part of \*429 as attested in ARSUZ 1. A close look at the photo – which, despite its disappointingly small scale, is clear enough to allow details to be discerned – makes it clear that the drawing, which is generally accurate, is not quite correct here. Instead of the formless ‘piece of cheese’ one can distinctly see a part of sign having a clear-cut *semicircular* right edge:



The visible part of the sign cannot correspond either to a part of \*429 in its most frequent quadrangular shape present in ARSUZ 1 or even to a part of the abnormal flower-like variant of the sign attested once in KARATEPE, as the visible semicircle is significantly bigger than one should rate for one of the ‘petals’ of the latter variant (for the variants of the sign s. Oreshko 2013, 23). Instead, the visible traces correspond exactly to a part of *HI* (cf., e.g., the *HI* attested twice in l. 4 of ARSUZ 2), or, which is less likely, to a part of *SA*. To this one should add a further observation. Sign \*429 is a rather tall sign; however, in ARSUZ 1 (l. 4) it does not occupy the entire height of the line (nor does it do so in KARATEPE) and *SA* rendering the nominative ending stands there *below* the sign. However, in ARSUZ 2 the sign *SA* rendering the nominative ending takes the *next* slot in the line, to the *left* of the alleged \*429, so that one needs to assume a further sign or signs between the sign in question and *SA*. The implications of these observations are, I think, quite obvious. What we have here is *h[i-ia-wali-s]a*, i.e. the same toponym in the same writing as it appears a line below (§13). Note that the damaged sign *HI* takes exactly the same position in the line as *HI* in *hi-ia-wali-* and that the signs *IA* and *WA/I* (together with *PA* of the following particle chain) require as much space as it seems to be available in the gap. The signs in the gap can be reconstructed as follows:



This means that only in ARSUZ 1 did the scribe vary the logographic vs. phonetic spelling of the name, while in ARSUZ 2 he remained less creative and both times used the simpler and unambiguous one. Thus, to \*429-*sa* of ARSUZ 1 corresponds *hi-ia-wali-sa* of ARSUZ 2, which establish the equation \*429 = *hiyawa* and the interpretation of *á*-\*429-*wali-* of KARATEPE as *Ahhiyawa* beyond any reasonable doubt.

One may add a further epigraphic consideration. The evidence of ARSUZ confirms the hypothesis about the original value of the sign suggested in the previous paper (Oreshko 2013, 26f.). The writing of ARSUZ 1 \*429 makes it clear that the original value of \*429 is not just *hi(ya)*, but indeed *hiyawa*; in view of the clear phonetic assonance of the name with the Anatolian word for ‘rain’ (Hittite *hēu-lhēyaw-*), there is every reason to interpret the sign \*429 as representation of this natural phenomenon (apparently, multitude of drops) and thus ascribe it the logographic value PLUVIA. Needless to say, this in no way refutes the assumption that graphically \*429 is the successor the Late Bronze Age sign *HÍ/HI(YA)*, whose phonetic value can be acrophonically derived from *hiyawa*.

Identification of a reference to Hiyawa in §11 of the ARSUZ inscriptions significantly clarifies the structure of their historical part, making it clear that §§11-13 refer in fact to a *single* campaign against Hiyawa. This fact effectively confirms the analysis of the passage suggested as an alternative to Hawkins’s interpretation by Yakubovich (2015b, 58): ‘The city/land Hiyawa made me take up arms, I rose up and routed also the land Hiyawa’. I readily embrace both the interpretation of the connective *-ha* as harking back to the *first* military event referred to in §§7-10 (rebuff of an attack of ‘this city’, i.e. Arsuz/Rhosos), and the entirely convincing interpretation of SUPER+*rali* CRUS (*sarra ta-*) as ‘stand up’ and (PES<sub>2</sub>)*tarali-zi-i-* as ‘rout’ < ‘turn’. However, the expression (LIGNUM)*tarali-wali* PONERE-*wali-* literally ‘put (to) the tree/wood’ used in §11 to describe some hostile action commenced by Hiyawa needs a comment. Yakubovich’s interpretation of (LIGNUM)*tarali-wali-* as ‘arms’ (i.e. acc.neutr.pl. /*tarwa*) makes indeed good sense in the context and is at any event preferable than the unintelligible ‘to the stick’ (i.e. dat.sg. /*tarwi*) given in the *editio princeps*. However, it seems that the meaning of *tarwa* may be

somewhat more specific as general ‘arms/weapons’, e.g. ‘spear’. On the other hand, I see no necessity to interpret PONERE-*wa/i-* as causative (‘make take up’); a literal interpretation of PONERE-*wa/i-* as ‘put’ makes fairly good sense: ‘Hiyawa put the *spears/arms* against/on me’, i.e. ‘turned the spears/arms against me’. Lastly, one may note that the Greek cognate of the Anatolian *taru*: δόρυ demonstrates just the semantic development ‘tree’ > ‘spear’ (which is, however, not unique for Greek, cf., e.g. Avestan *dāuru* ‘tree; wooden weapon’). In view of likely Aegean influence in the region at the beginning of the Early Iron Age, one wonders if we are not dealing with a case of a linguistic influence of Greek on the Amuq dialect of Luwian.

\* I express my thanks to Ian Rutherford who has taken upon the task of proofreading the text.

#### **Bibliography**

DINÇOL, B., DINÇOL, A., HAWKINS, J.D., PEKER, H., ÖZTAN, A., ÇELİK, Ö, Two new inscribed Storm-god stelae from Arsuz (İskenderun): ARSUZ 1 and 2, AnSt 65, 2015, 59-77.

HAWKINS, J.D., Addendum to ‘Phoenician and Luwian in Early Iron Age Cilicia’ by Ilya Yakubovich, AnSt 65, 2015, 54-55.

ORESHKO, R., ‘The Achaean Hides, Caged in Yonder Beams’: The Value of Hieroglyphic Luwian Sign \*429 Reconsidered and a New Light on the Cilician Ahhiyawa, Kadmos 52(1), 2013, 19-33.

YAKUBOVICH, I., Phoenician and Luwian in Early Iron Age Cilicia, AnSt 65, 2015a, 35-53.

*Id.*, I., Adanawa or Ahhiyawa? Reply to the addendum by J.D. Hawkins, AnSt 65, 2015b, 56-58.

Rostislav ORESHKO, <rostislav.oreshko@uni-hamburg.de>

**75) Die Interpretation eines in der Inschrift Tukultī-Ninurtas II. vorfindbaren Ausdrucks über die Annexion ins assyrische Reich** — Obwohl Tukultī-Ninurta II. in Annalen 133 (GRAYSON 1991: 178) behauptet „Assyrien fügte ich Land und den (assyrischen) Bewohnern die Bewohner hinzu (UGU KUR *aš-šur ma-a-ta* UGU UN.MEŠ-*šá* UN.MEŠ *ú-rad-di*)“, kann man seinen Königsinschriften keine Information über eine Annexion während seiner Regierungszeit entnehmen. In Bezug auf seine Aussage ist zu vermuten, dass dieser Ausdruck nicht für die Annexion ins assyrische Reich, sondern für die Einrichtung von Vasallenverhältnissen gebraucht wird. Obwohl das Akkusativ-Nomen *māta* “Land” in diesem Ausdruck im Singular gebraucht wird, interpretiere ich es so, dass dieses Nomen als ein Sammelbegriff die Bedeutung eines Plurals einschließt, wenn es nicht ein Fehler des Schreibers bei *mātāti* “Länder” ist. In der Zeit Tukultī-Ninurtas II. wurden folgende Städte und Länder als assyrische Vasallenstaaten eingerichtet: die Stadt Ki[...] (GRAYSON 1991: 171 Annalen 1-3), [das Land] Bīt-Zamāni (GRAYSON 1991: 171-172 Annalen 11-29), die Stadt Sūru (GRAYSON 1991: 176 Annalen 97-102) und das Land Mušku (GRAYSON 1991: 177-178 Annalen 120-127).

GRAYSON, A.K. (1991): *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC*, I (1114-859 BC) (RIMA 2), Toronto.

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

**76) šap-rūtu aus der Festungsstadt Madara** — Die Information über die Belagerung der im Land Nirdun gelegenen Festungsstadt Madara des Labṭuru, des Sohnes von Ṭupusu, und ihrer Unterwerfung stammt aus drei Königsinschriften Aššurnasirpals II., nämlich Nimrud Monolith iv 40-50, Kurkh Monolith 63-67 und Annalen ii 98-100 (GRAYSON 1991: 250, 259, 209-210). Dieses Ereignis zeigt uns, dass Labṭuru, der im Jahre 882 v.Chr. zum assyrischen Vasall wurde (GRAYSON 1991: 202-203 Annalen ii 12-15), im Jahre 879 v.Chr. gegen Assyrien rebellierte. Was in diesem Beispiel beachtet werden muss, ist die Interpretation des folgenden Ausdrucks: NÍG.GA.MEŠ-*šú-nu bu-šá-šú-nu* DUMU.MEŠ-*šú-nu ana LÚ šap-ra* (Var. *ru*)-*te am-ḫur-šú-nu* (GRAYSON 1991: 250 Nimrud Monolith iv 46-47; 259 Kurkh Monolith 65-66; 209 Annalen ii 99). Dieser Ausdruck wird von Grayson übersetzt mit “I received from them property, possessions (and) sons as hostages”. Das Nomen *šap-rūtu* bedeutet “Abgesandte” (AHw 1175b), daher entsteht hier die Frage, ob tatsächlich *mārīšunu* “ihre Söhne” vom König als Geiseln genommen und nach Assyrien gebracht wurden. Man muss beachten, dass die Formulierung in den Texten nicht *mārīšunu ana līṭūte* “ihre Söhne als Geiseln”, sondern *mārīšunu ana šap-rāte* (od. *šap-rūte*) “ihre Söhne als Abgesandte” lautet. Ich interpretiere das so, dass die Söhne der Eliten in der Stadt

Madara als Abgesandte zusammen mit ihrem Eigentum und Besitz zu Aššurnaširpal II. kamen, um ihm zu gehorchen. Somit ist es schwer deutlich nachzuweisen, ob diese Söhne als Geiseln nach Assyrien gebracht wurden oder nicht. Vermutlich blieb Labṭuru nicht in der Stadt Madara, und angesichts der Unterwerfung seiner Festungsstadt entschied er sich, Assyrien zu gehorchen, daher schickte er den Tribut zu der Stadt Tušḫa (GRAYSON 1991: 250 Nimrud Monolith iv 53-57; 259 Kurkh Monolith 67-68; 210 Annalen ii 101-102).

Aufgrund der oben genannten Diskussion sei auch ein Hinweis zur Übersetzung der betreffenden Zeile in CAD (Š/1, 481a) gemacht: I received from them goods, their possessions, (and) their citizens to (act as) goodwill messengers. Meines Erachtens ist es nicht angemessen, hier *mārīšunu* als "their citizens" zu übersetzen, weil es schwer denkbar ist, dass zur Mitteilung der Unterwerfung nicht die Elite, sondern einfache Bürger zum assyrischen König geschickt wurden. Beurteilt man von dem Kontext des Texts, ist es auch nötig, "goodwill" auszuschließen. Daher schlage ich vor, folgendermaßen zu übersetzen: I received from them their property, their possessions (and) their sons as messengers.

GRAYSON, A.K. (1991): *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC, I* (1114-859 BC) (RIMA 2), Toronto.

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

**77) Dating the kudurru Ashmolean 1933.1101** — S. Paulus in her recent edition of this kudurru in AOAT 51, pp. 689-692, argues against assigning the text to the reign of Aššur-nādin-šumi (699-694) and opts instead for a return to an older interpretation which preferred Nabû-nāšir (747-734). She rejects the more recent reading of the royal name as [DN]-<sup>r</sup>SUM<sup>r</sup>.NA-MU in iii 21<sup>1)</sup> for the following reasons:

(1) the writing SUM.NA for the middle element of the name Aššur-nādin-šumi would be attested only in this text (with reference to Baker-Radner, *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, pp. 202-203);

(2) the writing SUM.NA for the element *nādin* is attested for the name of no other Babylonian king;

(3) the final sign, read as MU here, cannot be so interpreted because it ends in a single Winkelhaken (with reference to Labat, *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne*, p. 62);

(4) this final sign instead corresponds to a ŠIR ("entspricht einem ŠIR").



Figure 1

Ashmolean 1933.1101 iii 21<sup>1)</sup>

She therefore reads the royal name in the text as [<sup>d</sup>AG/PA]-*na-šir*.

We will discuss these points one by one. First, in the article in the Baker-Radner volume cited, there are three texts—not just one—quoted in which the middle element of the name Aššur-nādin-šumi is spelled SUM.NA: (a) this kudurru; (b) BM 46916:15 (a legal text from Borsippa dated in year 12 *arki* Aššur-nādin-šumi [=688], published in *NABU* 1992/88); and (c) BM 77611+77612+ rev. 8' (a royal grant presumably from [Babylon] in the time of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn [667-648], text published by Da Riva and Frahm in *AfO* 46-47 [1999-2000] 156-182).<sup>2)</sup> In the two fully preserved examples (b and c above), the royal name is written AN.ŠÁR-SUM.NA-MU. The writing of the participial form *-nādin-* as SUM.NA in the middle element in Babylonian personal names of this period has been noted previously;<sup>3)</sup> and further examples beyond those already quoted in print can readily be found, e.g., <sup>md</sup>AG-SUM.NA-ŠEŠ (Nabû-nādin-aḫi), <sup>md</sup>AG-SUM.NA-MU (Nabû-nādin-šumi), <sup>md</sup>30-SUM.NA-MU (Šîn-nādin-šumi).<sup>4)</sup> I have not as yet found an instance of this distinctive usage of SUM.NA before the beginning of the seventh century.

Second, it is true that a similar writing for *-nādin-* is not attested for the name of any other Babylonian king. But there is no other Babylonian king with the element *-nādin-* in his name after 700 B.C., when this writing was in use;<sup>5)</sup> so the point is irrelevant.

Third, Labat's two drawings for the Neo-Babylonian MU sign do not include an example that ends in a single Winkelhaken. But Fossey in his older and more comprehensive coverage showed a clear example of a MU ending in a single Winkelhaken in a royal inscription of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn.<sup>6)</sup> There are also at least two other examples of MUs that end in a single Winkelhaken elsewhere in the first-millennium kudurru corpus itself: RA 16 (1919) 126 iii 32 (=AOAT 51 p. 668) and BBSt 10 rev. 9 (=AOAT 51 p. 734).<sup>7)</sup> Thus, though the variant of MU with a single final Winkelhaken is less common, there are several attested examples and hence no reason to exclude the possibility of reading MU here.<sup>8)</sup>

Fourth, as to the proposed ŠIR, Paulus makes the statement without citation of supporting evidence. Labat (p. 170 no. 374) and Fossey (II/3 pp. 748-749) show Neo-Babylonian forms of MUŠ/ŠIR that as a general rule seem to consist of a cluster of Winkelhaken at the left side, usually preceding but sometimes slightly overlapping the head of a horizontal wedge, most commonly with a vertical wedge transecting the horizontal wedge. These bear little resemblance to the sign form under discussion here, in which the Winkelhaken are lined up horizontally both above and below the principal horizontal wedge.

For these reasons, I suggest that the reading Aššur-nādin-šumi be retained as more likely and that this kudurru be dated to the first decade of the seventh century.<sup>9)</sup>

1) See figure 1 reflecting the line as copied in ZA 78 (1988) 81; one may also compare the photo of the text on the unnumbered plate facing p. 81. There is extensive damage to the sign immediately before NA in this line, and one can debate whether the traces are sufficiently distinctive to prove or disprove any suggested reading of the royal name. We will prescind from further consideration of the damaged sign here, since the arguments in favor of either alternative do not rely on its interpretation.

2) As with many Neo-Babylonian texts of legal/economic import from the late eighth and seventh centuries, it is always possible that (b) and (c) here are archival copies, not necessarily contemporary. Da Riva and Frahm argue for the Babylon origin of the text in *AfO* 46-47 (1999-2000) 158.

3) E.g., <sup>md</sup>30-SUM.NA-Š EŠ in UET 4 32:5, 61:13, 198:15, all seventh-century legal texts, cited in *Orientalia* N.S. 34 (1965) 246 n. 2. It was also pointed out there that Ungnad in his *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden, Glossar* (1937), p. 103, showed that the writing SUM.NA sometimes indicates forms of *nadānu* that do not end in *-nal-nā*.

4) BM 27854:17 (legal text from Borsippa, Kandalānu, year 19 [629]); *JCS* 36 (1984) 46 no. 9:31 (legal text from Borsippa, Kandalānu, year 8 [640]); and UET 4 84:15, 23:26 (legal texts from Ur, dated respectively in Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, year 13 [655], and in the reign of Ashurbanipal, year not preserved, but Šin-tabni-ušur mentioned as governor [so circa 650-649]).

5) All four kings cited by Paulus, AOAT 51, p. 690 n. 8, ruled in the latter part of the second millennium, when different orthographic habits prevailed—more than three centuries before this usage of SUM.NA began.

6) Ch. Fossey, *Manuel d'assyriologie*, II/1 p. 125 no. 4002. The example is taken from C. F. Lehmann, *Šamaššumukīn König von Babylonien 668-648 v. Chr.: Inschriftliches Material über den Beginn seiner Regierung* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1892), pl. I line 8; similar sign forms may be found *ibid.*, pls. III and IV line 33.

7) For BBSt 10, the photo in AOAT 51 pl. 67 shows the general form and spacing of the MU much more clearly than King's copy in *Babylonian Boundary-Stones*, pl. 8.

8) All examples of the single-Winkelhaken-final MU cited here occur in texts written on stone. In each of these texts, there is at least one other MU which exhibits a different, more conventional configuration of Winkelhaken.

9) I wish to thank Grant Frame for commenting on an advanced draft of this note.

J. A. BRINKMAN <j-brinkman@uchicago.edu>

**78) On the šēdus, lamassus, and rābišus mentioned in Esarhaddon's Babylon Inscriptions** — A statement about Esarhaddon refurbishing the damaged divine statues and apotropaic figures in Esagil appears in five Babylon Inscriptions of this Assyrian king: MMA 86.11.283 v 11'-14'; Babylon A iv 9-23<sup>7</sup> (exs. 1-2, 4); Babylon C v 44-vi 4<sup>1</sup> (ex. 1); Babylon D iv 25-27a; and Babylon E iii 54-iv 3 (exs. 2-6). All of these texts were recently published by E. Leichty in his *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680-669 BC)* (The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period 4 [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011]; hereafter *RINAP* 4); see p. 198 no. 104, p. 207 no. 105, p. 214 no. 106, p. 226 no. 111, and p. 237 no. 114. R. Borger labeled this passage as Episode 32 in his *Die Inschriften Assarhaddons Königs von Assyriens* (pp. 23-24).

The ending of Episode 32, which records the renovation of Esagil's apotropaic figures, is damaged in MMA 86.11.283, Babylon A, and Babylon C, and not included in Babylon D and Babylon E. After

collation and careful examination of the passages mentioning the *šēdu*, *lamassus*, and *rābišus* of Marduk's temple in Babylon, the following changes should be made to Leichty, *RINAP* 4, p. 198 no. 104 v 18–23, p. 207 no. 105 v 47–vi 4<sup>1</sup>, and p. 226 no. 111 v 11'–14':

1. Read MMA 86.11.283 (*RINAP* 4 no. 111) v 11'–14' as:

(11') [d<sup>d</sup>ALAD.MEŠ d<sup>d</sup>LAMMA].MEŠ MAŠKIM.MEŠ<sup>(12')</sup> [š<sup>š</sup>u-ut É.KUR an]-hu-su-nu<sup>(13')</sup> [ú-pa-áš-ši<sup>š</sup>]-iḫ<sup>š</sup> a-šar<sup>(14')</sup> [...]-ti-šú-nu uš-ziz-su-nu-ti

“[I repair]ed [the dilapidated parts of the [*šēdu*, *lamassu*]s, (and) *rābišus* [of the temple], (and) I (re)stationed them where their [...] are.”

This reading of the text was adopted by Leichty in I. Spar and M. Jursa, *Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art 4: The Ebabbar Temple Archive and Other Texts From the Fourth to First Millennium B.C.* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2014), p. 261. For *puššuḫu* having the meaning “to repair,” see *CAD* P, p. 231 sub *pašāḫu* 2d.

2. Read Babylon A (*RINAP* 4 no. 104) v 18–23 as:

(18) d<sup>d</sup>ALAD.MEŠ d<sup>d</sup>LAMMA.MEŠ MAŠKIM.ME

(Ex. 1 iv 18) [d<sup>d</sup>ALAD.MEŠ d<sup>d</sup>LAMMA].MEŠ MAŠKIM'.ME

(Ex. 2 iii' 14) d<sup>d</sup>ALAD.MEŠ d<sup>d</sup>LAMMA.[MEŠ]<sup>(15)</sup> MAŠKIM'.MEŠ →

(Ex. 4 iv 24') [d<sup>d</sup>]r<sup>r</sup>ALAD'.<MEŠ> d<sup>d</sup>LAMMA.<MEŠ> MAŠKIM'.MEŠ'

(19) š<sup>š</sup>u-ut É.KUR' an-ḫu-su<sup>1</sup>-nu

(Ex. 1 iv 19) [š<sup>š</sup>u-ut É.KUR an-ḫu]-r<sup>r</sup>su<sup>1</sup>-nu'

(Ex. 2 iii' 15) ← š<sup>š</sup>u-ut r<sup>r</sup>É'.[KUR]<sup>(16)</sup> an-ḫu-su-nu<sup>1</sup> →

(Ex. 4 iv 25') [š<sup>š</sup>u-ut] r<sup>r</sup>É'.KUR an<sup>1</sup>-ḫu<sup>1</sup>-su<sup>1</sup>-[nu]

(20) r<sup>r</sup>ú-pa-áš-ši-iḫ<sup>1</sup>

(Ex. 2 iii' 16) ← r<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-pa<sup>1</sup>-áš<sup>1</sup>-še<sup>1</sup>-eḫ<sup>1</sup>

(Ex. 4 iv 26') [r<sup>r</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-pa<sup>1</sup>-áš<sup>1</sup>-ši<sup>1</sup>-iḫ<sup>1</sup>]

(21) QU [(x)] x x x x

(Ex. 2 iii' 17) QU' [...] x x

(Ex. 4 iv 27') [QU (x)] x x x x

(22) r<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[šar<sup>š</sup>] x x-ti-šú<sup>1</sup>-nu

(Ex. 2 iii' 18) r<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[...] -nu'

(Ex. 4 iv 28') [x x] x x-ti-šú<sup>1</sup>-[nu]

(23) [uš-ziz]-r<sup>r</sup>su-nu-ti<sup>1</sup>

(Ex. 2 iii' 19) [...] x

(Ex. 4 iv 29') [uš-ziz]-r<sup>r</sup>su-nu-ti<sup>1</sup>

“I repaired the dilapidated parts of the *šēdu*, *lamassus*, (and) *rābišus* of the temple, (and) I (re)stationed] them ... wh[ere] their ... [are].”

Note the writing of MĀŠKIM.ME for *rābišu* (a protective genius) in the extant Esarhaddon corpus is no longer attested. It should be replaced with MAŠKIM.ME in the glossary of written forms published by J. Novotny (“The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon: An At-A-Glance Akkadian Glossary of the *RINAP* 4 Corpus,” *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 19 [2011–12], p. 64)

3. Read Babylon C (*RINAP* 4 no. 105) v 47–vi 4<sup>1</sup> as:

(v 47) [d<sup>d</sup>ALAD].MEŠ d<sup>d</sup>LAMMA.MEŠ<sup>(48)</sup> [MAŠKIM.MEŠ] r<sup>r</sup>š<sup>š</sup>u<sup>1</sup>-ut<sup>1</sup> É.KUR<sup>(49)</sup> [an-hu-su]-nu<sup>(vi 1)</sup> [...]

(2) [ú-pa-áš-ši-iḫ<sup>š</sup>]<sup>(3)</sup> a-šar<sup>š</sup> x x x-šú<sup>š</sup>-nu<sup>š</sup><sup>(4)</sup> uš-ziz-su-nu-ti

“[I repaired the dilapidated parts of] [the *šēdu*]s, *lamassus*, (and) [*rābišus*] of the temple, (and) I (re)stationed them where their ... are.”

There are two lines missing at the very beginning of col. vi according to T. Pinches' copy of Babylon C ex. 1 (*CT* 44, pl. 6 no. 5); Leichty's unpublished collation notes also state that there are “two lines missing.” The inclusion of those missing lines is supported by the parallel passages in MMA 86.11.283 and Babylon A.

Jamie NOVOTNY <jnovotny@sas.upenn.edu>  
RINAP Project, Babylonian Section, Penn Museum



**79) Editions of two Neo-Assyrian legal documents published as copies by George (2010)<sup>1)</sup>** — In his contribution to the Festschrift for Veysel Donbaz (2010), George published copies of three Old Assyrian and two Neo-Assyrian texts from the estate of the Assyriologist Sidney Smith (1889–1979). This note presents an edition of the Neo-Assyrian legal texts (nos. 4 and 5); their provenance and current location is unknown.<sup>2)</sup>

— **Text no. 4 (GEORGE 2010: 158, Fig. 5)** Text no. 4 records the sale of an estate located in the village of Simsimānu by Bakā-il to Urdu-Sīn for 10 minas of copper. The tablet bears five fingernail impressions (of Bakā-il). The lower part of the obverse is partly destroyed. Since the reverse is not available (either owing to its loss or because its copy was omitted), we lack both the witness list and the date formula. The reference to copper as currency, however, suggests that the transaction took place in the 8<sup>th</sup> or early 7<sup>th</sup> century BC (RADNER 1999b: 129). Neither the preserved personal names nor any other contents give clues as to its provenance.

Obv.

- 1) *ku-um* NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB-šú
- 2) *šu-pur-šú iš-kun*

---

5 fingernail impressions

---

- 3) *šu-pur* <sup>m</sup>ba<sup>!!</sup>-ka-DINGIR
- 4) SILA É-1-tú SILA PÚ
- 5) SILA *ad-ri* SILA GIŠ.SAR<sup>!</sup>
- 6) *ina* URU.ŠE-<sup>m</sup>si-im-si-man
- 7) *ú-piš-ma* <sup>m</sup>ARAD-<sup>d</sup>30
- 8) *ina* ŠÀ-bi 10 MA.NA URUDU.MEŠ
- 9) TA IGI <sup>m</sup>ba<sup>!!</sup>-ka-DINGIR
- 10) *il-qi kas-pu ga-mur*
- 11) *ta-din* É za-ri-pi
- 12) *la-a-qi tu-a-ru*
- 13) *de-nu* DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub> la-a-šú
- 14) *man-nu* ša<sup>!</sup> *ina* <sup>r</sup>ur<sup>?</sup>-kiš *ina* mat-e-ma
- 15) <sup>r</sup>ša DUG<sub>4</sub>.DUG<sub>4</sub> TA
- 16) <sup>m</sup>ARAD-<sup>d</sup>30 [TA<sup>?</sup>] DUMU-šú
- 17) [DUMU].DUMU-šú *i-ga-ru-u-ni*

(remainder of obv. lost, and whole of rev. lost (or omitted))

(obv. 1–3) Instead of his seal he impressed his fingernail. Fingernail of Bakā-il. (4–9) *Separator* storehouse(?), *separator* well, *separator* threshing floor, *separator* orchard in the village of Simsimānu — Urdu-Sīn has contracted and bought (them) for 10 minas of copper from Bakā-il. (10–13) The silver is paid completely. The property is purchased (and) acquired. Any revocation, lawsuit, or litigation is void. (14–17) Whoever in the future, at any time, seeks a litigation with Urdu-Sīn or his son or his grandson (...)

**3–4:** In legal records the sign SILA usually refers to a street (*sūqu*) which adjoins the property being sold (e.g. in SAA 6 328:8<sup>?</sup>). Here, by contrast, it functions as a separator between the different elements of the property being sold, like the two wedges (: = GAM) and three wedges (: = ILIMMU) which may serve as separators of words or clauses (Luukko 2004: 23). The two signs are otherwise used as “ditto” markers (see also below, text no. 5:2).

**3:** According to the copy, the personal name actually reads <sup>m</sup>NA-ka-DINGIR (ditto in line 9). However, to read it as Bakā-il seems to be the most plausible solution (see Baker, PNA 3/II 1413 s.v. Urdu-Sīn 3). Only a few other references to this name (written <sup>m</sup>ba-ka-a-DINGIR) are known (Ambos, PNA 1/II 254; BATSH 6 119 r. 15).

**4:** The reading was suggested by H.D. Baker (personal communication). Three references to the *bēt issēte* (É-1-te) can be found in a letter from Nineveh about the damage an earthquake caused to different buildings and building parts (SAA 16 100 r. 6, 13, 15), which apart from the *bēt issētes* also include the temple (É-DINGIR), the ziggurat (É.si-qur<sup>!</sup>-ra<sup>!</sup>-[te]) and the watch towers of the inner and the outer gates (*na-mi-ri* ša KÁ.GAL *qab-si-te* ša KÁ.GAL <sup>r</sup>ša<sup>!</sup> qa-ni). One *bēt issēte* is said to be located outside and one inside the “city garrison” (*bēt maššarti* ša *āli*).<sup>3)</sup> However, it remains unclear what is actually meant by this term here. Though the dictionaries do not give this

particular writing, it is likely related to the *išittu* (or *bēt išitti*), which already occurs in Old Babylonian texts and means storehouse or treasury (CAD I/J 243 s.v. *išittu* A, with variants *isittu*, *esittu*, *ešittu*); cf. AHw 395 s.v. *išittu(m)*). For a Neo-Assyrian reference see SAA 5 120 r. 3 (É-*i-si-te-ia*). Apparently reeds (*appāru*) were stored here. In our case it may have been used as a storage facility for crops or as a tool shed since the other properties sold indicate an agricultural environment.

**6:** For the personal name Simsimānu with which the toponym is formed see SAA 12 38 r. 4' (<sup>m</sup>*si-im-si-man[u]*) and Baker, PNA 3/I 1112.

**9:** Cf. line 3.

**Text no. 5 (GEORGE 2010: 158, Fig. 6)** Text no. 5 records an inheritance division. The inheritance share in the form of a building (or rather, building part) is allocated to Inūrta-iqīša by Dīdī, Aššūr-abu-ušur and Aššūr-bēl-ilāni, presumably his brothers. Aššūr-abu-ušur and Aššūr-bēl-ilāni both own a house in the immediate environment of the property in question. The transaction took place on the 20<sup>th</sup> Araḥsamnu (8<sup>th</sup> month) in the eponymy of Bēl-šaddū'a. Though no clear prosopographical connections can be established, the tablet possibly stems from Assur, judging by the comparatively high proportion of personal names with the theophoric element /Aššūr/ which are particularly popular in Assur (Aššūr-abu-ušur, see Weszeli, PNA 1/I 144; Aššūr-bēl-ilāni and Aššūr-bēssunu, Radner, PNA 1/I 171, 175–6).

Obv.

- 1) NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>m</sup>*di-di-i*
- 2) ∴ <sup>m</sup>*aš-šur-AD-PAB* ∴ <sup>m</sup>*aš-šur-EN<sup>1</sup>-DINGIR*  
sealing twice repeated
- 3) É *ki-sal a-di* É.SIG<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-*šu*
- 4) *mu-sà-ki-lu-tu<sup>11</sup> šá qa-an-ni a-di* GIŠ.ÛR<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-*šú a-di* GIŠ.IG.MEŠ-*šú*
- 5) SUḪUR É <sup>m</sup>*aš-šur-AD-PAB*
- 6) SUḪUR É <sup>m</sup>ARAD-PAB.MEŠ-*šu*
- 7) SUḪUR É <sup>m</sup>*aš-šur-EN-DINGIR*.MEŠ
- 8) SUḪUR É <sup>m</sup>*aš-šur-bé-sún* A <sup>m</sup>IM-*aš-šur*
- 9) PAB *an-ni-tu<sub>4</sub>* ḪA.LA <sup>m</sup>BAR-BA-A
- 10) TA IGI *a-ḫi-iš uṭ-tu-ru*
- 11) *tu-a-ru de-e-nu*
- 12) *da-ba-bu la-a-šú*
- 13) *mám-ma* TA *mám-ma*
- 14) *la i-da-bu-ub*
- 15) *man-nu šá i-bal-kát-t[ú-ni]*

Rev.

- 1) <sup>d</sup>*aš-šur* <sup>d</sup>UTU *lu* EN-<sup>r</sup>*de`-[ni-šú]*

---

- 2) IGI <sup>m</sup>ARAD-PAB.MEŠ-<sup>r</sup>*šu* [A<sup>?</sup>.Z]U<sup>?</sup>
- 3) IGI <sup>md</sup>60-MAN-DÙ SIMUG
- 4) IGI <sup>m</sup>NUMUN<sup>1</sup>-<sup>u</sup>*te-i*
- 5) IGI <sup>mr</sup>*na<sup>1</sup>-bu-u-a<sup>1</sup>*
- 6) A <sup>m</sup>NIM<sup>?</sup>-*ba*
- 7) IGI <sup>m</sup>*aš-šur-bé-sún* A <sup>m</sup>IM-DINGIR
- 8) IGI <sup>m</sup>15-*mu-še-zib*
- 9) IGI <sup>m</sup>15-*ta-SU*
- 10) IGI <sup>md</sup>*šá-maš-kil-la-a-ni*
- 11) IGI <sup>m</sup>*aš-šur-DU*
- 12) ITI.APIN UD-*mu* 20 KÁM
- 13) *lim-mu* <sup>m</sup>EN-KUR-*u-a*

(obv. 1–2) Seal of Dīdī, ditto of Aššūr-abu-ušur, ditto of Aššūr-bēl-ilāni. (3–9) A front building(?) with its walls (and) ... outside, with its roof-beams (and) with its doors, adjoining the house of Aššūr-abu-ušur, adjoining the house of Urdu-aḫḫēšu, adjoining the house of Aššūr-bēl-ilāni, adjoining

the house of Aššūr-bēssunu, son of Šār-Aššūr, all this is the share of Inūrta-iqīša. (10–rev. 1) They are mutually paid off. Any revocation, lawsuit, or litigation is void. Neither shall litigate against the other. Whoever contravenes, may Aššūr and Šamaš be his prosecutors. (2–11) Witness Urdu-aḥḥēšu, physician(?). Witness Aia-šarru-ibni, smith. Witness Zārūtī. Witness Nabû'a, son of Zumbâ(?). Witness Aššūr-bēssunu, son of Šār-ili. Witness Issār-mušēzib. Witness Issār-tarība. Witness Šamaš-killanni. Witness Aššūr-ukin. (12–13) Month Araḥsamnu, 20<sup>th</sup> day, eponym year of Bēl-šaddû'a.

**Obv. 3:** For *bēt kisalli* denoting a vestibule or “Vorraum” see RADNER 1999a: 266. Since it is treated here on its own, it may rather refer to an entire building, a front building. Alternatively, the É may be interpreted as a determinative (É.ki-sal), with *kisallu* simply referring to a courtyard (CAD K 416–419 s.v. *kisallu*).

**4:** *mu-sà-ki-lu-tu*<sup>11</sup> (with KU emended to TU) may be related to the obscure *musakkiltu* (*mu-sa-kil-a-te*), which is said to adjoin the property sold in a legal record from Nineveh (SAA 6 278:8). The editors of this text tentatively supposed that it refers to the fatteners (*mušākilu*), which does not really make sense in the present context. At the most one could think of a shed where domestic animals were kept and bred, such as a stable or a dovecote.

**6:** Urdu-aḥḥēšu is also the first witness in our text (r. 2); see Groß, PNA 3/II 1396 s.v. no. 16.

**8:** For Šār-Aššūr see Kessler, PNA 3/II 1230 s.v. Šār-Aššūr 6. He may be identical with Šār-ili, father of Aššūr-bēssunu, in the witness list of our text (r. 7).

**9:** A possible reading of the name is <sup>m</sup>bar-ba-a, for Barbâ, which is not known from other Neo-Assyrian sources. An alternative reading would be <sup>m</sup>MAŠ-BA-a, for Inūrta-iqīša. To my knowledge this name is otherwise unknown, but personal names such as Issār-iqīša and Nabû-iqīša are attested. These latter names, however, are usually written <sup>m</sup>DN-BA-ša/šá.

**Rev. 2:** He must be identical with Urdu-aḥḥēšu whose house adjoins the sold property. See comment on line 6.

**5–6:** I thank M. Weszeli for the suggested reading of these two personal names.

**6:** According to PNA the personal name Zumbâ is otherwise not attested in the Neo-Assyrian period. It can be interpreted as a hypocoristic of the name Zunbu (attested with the writings <sup>m</sup>zu-un-bu and <sup>m</sup>zu-un-bi), meaning “Fly” (Baker, PNA 3/II 1450). There are also other hypocoristica of animal names attested, for instance, Ta'lâ, meaning “Little Fox” (Talon, PNA 3/II 1305).

**7:** The reading Šār-ili may be the result of a scribal error and may actually refer to Šār-Aššūr. See comment on line 8.

**13:** Bēl-šaddû'a either was eponym of the year 650 or a year in the post-canonical era (648\*–609\*); see Baker, PNA 1/II 327 s.v. Bēl-šaddû'a 4 and 5.

1) This note was written in the framework of the project “Royal Institutional Households in First Millennium BC Mesopotamia” led by Heather D. Baker at the University of Vienna funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF, grant S 10802–G18) as part of the NFN “‘Imperium’ and ‘Officium’. Comparative Studies in Ancient Bureaucracy and Officialdom.” The abbreviations and symbols used here follow the list “Other Abbreviations and Symbols” in KWASMAN & PARPOLA 1991: XLIV.

2) The copy of text no. 5 was provided by Smith with the handwritten label “no. 3199” possibly referring to a tablet registered in the Iraq Museum (GEORGE 2010: 154).

3) Alternatively, *bēt maššarti* may be translated as guardhouse or prison; see AHW 620 s.v. *maššartu*(m) 1.d) and CAD M/I 340–1 s.v. *maššartu* in *bīt maššarti*.

#### Bibliography:

GEORGE, A.R. 2010 “Assyrian Texts from the Folios of Sidney Smith,” in Ş. Dönmez, *Veysel Donbaz'a Sunulan Yazılar DUB.SAR É.DUB.BA.A. Studies Presented in Honour of Veysel Donbaz*. Istanbul: 153–158.

LUUKKO, M. 2004 *Grammatical Variation in Neo-Assyrian*. State Archives of Assyria Studies 16. Helsinki.

RADNER, K. 1999a *Die neuassyrischen Privatrechtsurkunden als Quelle für Mensch und Umwelt*. State Archives of Assyria Studies 6. Helsinki.

EAD. 1999b “Money in the Neo-Assyrian Empire,” in J.G. Dercksen (ed.), *Trade and Finance in Ancient Mesopotamia*. MOS Studies 1. PIHANS 84. Leiden: 127–157.

BATSH 6 = Radner, K., *Die neuassyrischen Texte aus Tall Šeh Hamad/Dur-Katlimmu. Mit Beiträgen von Wolfgang Röllig zu den aramäischen Beischriften*. Berichte der Ausgrabung Tell Šeh-Hamad / Dur-Katlimmu 6, Texte 2. Berlin (2002).

PNA = Radner, K. (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire I/I: A* (1998); *I/II: B–G* (1999); Baker, H.D. (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire 3/I: P–Ş* (2002); *3/II: Š–Z* (2011).

SAA 5 = Lanfranchi, G.B. and Parpola, S., *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part II: Letters from the Northern and Northeastern Provinces*. State Archives of Assyria 5. Helsinki (1990).

SAA 6 = Kwasman, T. and Parpola, S., *Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh, Part I: Tiglath-Pileser III through Esarhaddon*. State Archives of Assyria 6. Helsinki (1991).

SAA 12 = Kataja, L. and Whiting, R., *Grants, Decrees and Gifts of the Neo-Assyrian Period*. State Archives of Assyria 12. Helsinki (1995).

SAA 16 = Luukko, M. and Van Buylaere, G., *The Political Correspondence of Esarhaddon*. State Archives of Assyria 16. Helsinki (2002).

Melanie GROSS <melanie.maria.gross@univie.ac.at>  
Institut für Orientalistik, Universität Wien, Spitalgasse 2, Hof 4, 1090 WIEN

**80) A seal impression with Arabian legend on a Tell Sheikh Hamad tablet** — Tell Sheikh Hamad tablet 98/6949 I 882 (294+631) documents the sale of a female slave by her two owners, Raḥimi-il and Adad-tabni-ušur, concluded in the eponymate of Sîn-šarru-ušur, 634 B.C. (RADNER 2002: 102–103, text 64). The text mentions the seals of the two men, and the tablet bears two adjacent impressions (**Fig. 1**) – of a cylinder seal and a stamp seal to its left – both just published in the magnificent work on the Sheikh Hamad glyptic by FÜGERT 2015: nos. 128 and 289. The cylinder seal impression (**Fig. 2**) shows an ‘eight-locked hero’ subduing two upright hybrid beings, and the faint stamp seal impression (**Fig. 3**) possibly bears the image of a winged ‘genius’. FÜGERT (*ibid.*: 118, 244) remarked that “unfortunately it is not possible to attribute the impressions [each] to its owner”.

But it *is* possible: The cylinder seal impression bears the name of Adad-tabni-ušur, unrecognized hitherto,<sup>1)</sup> written from left to right, apparently *hdtbnsr*, in an Arabian alphabet (**Fig. 4**). As a consequence the neighbouring stamp seal impression can be attributed to Raḥimi-il.<sup>2)</sup>

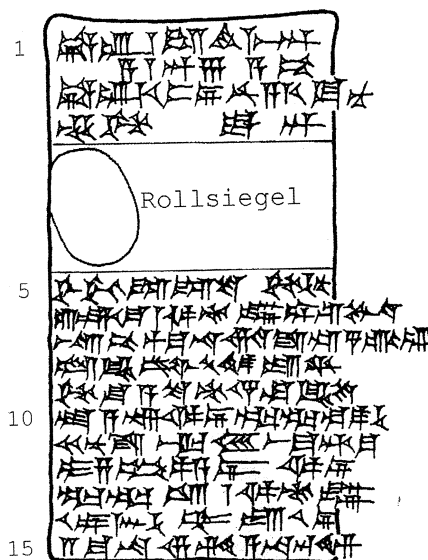


Fig. 1. Tell Sheikh Hamad tablet 98/6949 I 882 verso (RADNER 2002: 102).

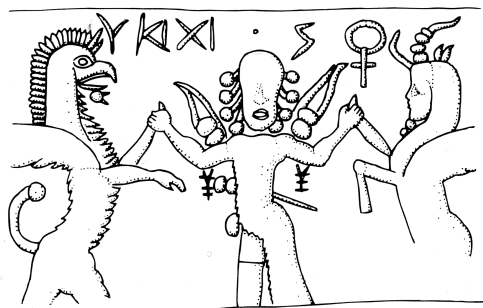


Fig. 2. Inscribed seal impression of Adad-tabni-ušur (FÜGERT 2015: 116).

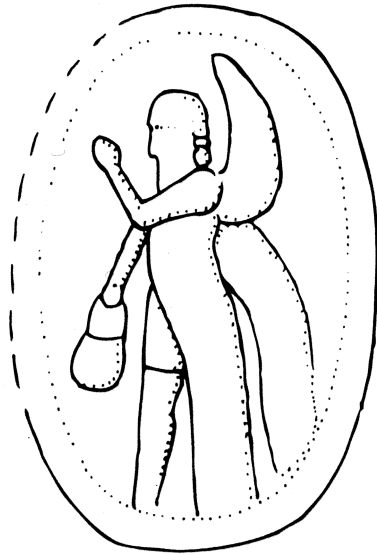


Fig. 3. Uninscribed seal impression of Raḥimi-il (FÜGERT 2015: 244).

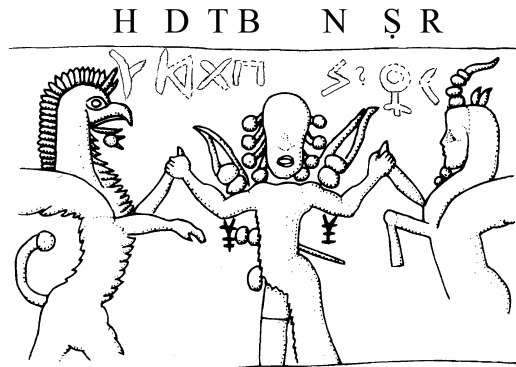


Fig. 4. Inscribed seal impression of Adad-tabni-uşur (imagery as in Fig. 2, inscription B. Sass).



Fig. 5. Modern impression of a stamp seal inscribed *hd...* (see note 4; photograph B. Sass).

Founded only on the published photograph my drawing of the seal legend is probably less than perfect. The *h*, *d* and *t* are clear. The *b* is reasonably identifiable in this context, but its present sketch remains approximate. A space above the head of the central figure is followed by *n*, *ş* and *r*.<sup>3)</sup> The drawing of the former is also approximate. Between the *n* and *ş* there is a space, which seems too small to have accommodated a now lost ' (in Aramaic transliterations the name-element *uşur* may be spelled with ' or without).

For palaeographic comparisons see the letter charts in SASS 1991: 99, MACDONALD 2000: 34, and SASS 2005: 126. I have comments on the forms of only two letters: The Y-shaped *h* and the *š* in the form of a down-pointing, angular trident topped by a circle differ from their rounded counterparts in the oldest standardized South Arabian monumental inscriptions; they resemble archaic non-monumental South Arabian shapes as well as monumental pre-standardization ones, of J. Pirenne's palaeographic Stage A, but also correspond to several North Arabian script forms centuries afterwards, the latter evidently preserving older forms (Sass 2005: 127–128). The origin of the letter shapes, North Arabian or South Arabian, in the Sheikh Hamad seal legend is thus hard to pinpoint. The dating of the letter-shapes rests on a much more solid footing, however: Written in 634 B.C., the tablet provides them with a precise time-frame, or a *terminus ad quem*.

If a man with the Akkadian name Adad-tabni-ušur and a seal bearing Mesopotamian imagery had this seal inscribed in an Arabian alphabet, he will have had dealings with the Arabian peninsula, possibly linked to the caravan trade.<sup>4)</sup>

1) FÜGERT (2015: 117) described the first five letters as pseudo script and understood the remaining two as components of the imagery.

2) No legend is visible, but originally the seal may have borne one in the now blurred field in front of the figure, possibly partly obscured by the metal mount in which the seal was set. There are numerous Akkadian and West Semitic parallels to such a layout, and a few Arabian ones, e.g. SASS 1991: 51 and Fig. 29.

3) Despite the misunderstanding, Fügert reproduced the shapes of all seven letters quite accurately (Fig. 1 herein).

4) A fragmentary Adad/Hadda-name in an Arabian alphabet, this time running from right to left (on the impression), occurs alongside Mesopotamian imagery on an amethyst stamp seal of unknown provenance in the Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem, inv. BLMJ 1099h (Fig. 5; cf. GOODNICK WESTENHOLZ 2004: 47, with a different reading).

#### Bibliographie

FÜGERT A. 2015. *Die neuassyrische und spätbabylonische Glyptik aus Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad / Dūr-katlimmu* (BATSH 16). Wiesbaden.

GOODNICK WESTENHOLZ J. (ed.) 2004. *Dragons, monsters and fabulous beasts*. Jerusalem.

MACDONALD M.C.A. 2000. Reflections on the linguistic map of pre-Islamic Arabia. *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 11: 28–79.

RADNER K. 2002. *Die neuassyrischen Texte aus Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad* (BATSH 6). Berlin.

SASS B. 1991. *Studia alphabetica: On the origin and early history of the Northwest Semitic, South Semitic and Greek alphabets* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 102). Fribourg and Göttingen.

ID. 2005. *The alphabet at the turn of the millennium: The West Semitic alphabet ca. 1150–850 BCE; the antiquity of the Arabian, Greek and Phrygian alphabets* (Occasional Publications 4). Tel Aviv.

Benjamin SASS, <sass@post.tau.ac.il>

**81) A playful writing of the name of Babylon** — In a recent contribution J.C. Fincke has provided a useful summary of the information contained in colophons of tablets from Nineveh written in Babylonian script.<sup>1)</sup> Only eleven of them specify the origin of their *Vorlage*: seven come from Babylonia, three from Assyria, and one from a place whose name appears to be written cryptographically. Fincke offers a photo of the signs in question, but no transliteration (FINCKE, *Gelehrte*, 273).

The tablet that bears the colophon, K.5824+ K.10337, consists of two pieces joined by J.C. Fincke herself. One of the pieces, K.10337, was previously published by REINER & PINGREE *BPO* 3 (1998) p. 123, where the passage is read as ÁŠ TE DIŠ KI. The photograph in Fincke's article, however, makes it clear that the passage should be read as:

[o o o o o o o o o o ki]-i<sup>1</sup> pī(KA) tuppi(DUB) gabarê(GABA.RI) ÁŠ.ÁB.DIŠ.DIŠ<sup>ki</sup>

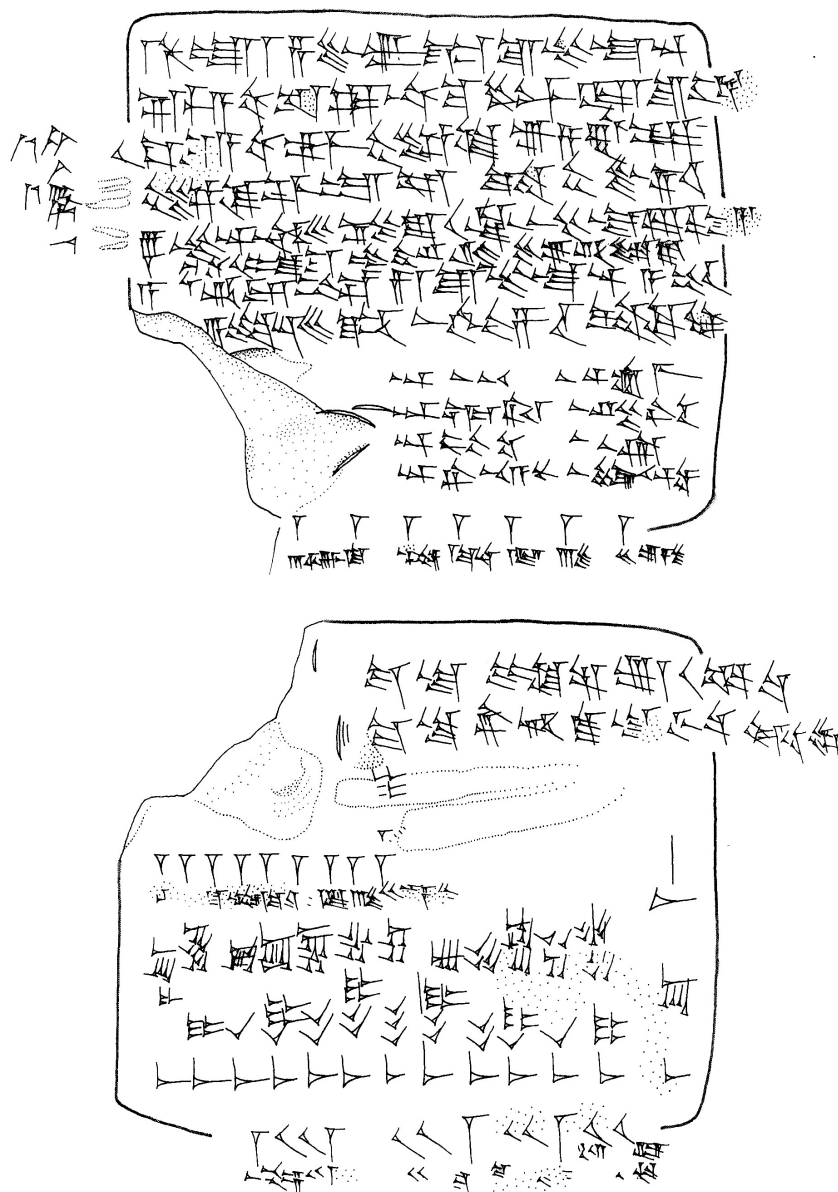
The final signs contain no doubt a playful writing of the name of Babylon, as *ba<sub>x</sub>(ÁŠ)-áb-ilī(DIŠ.DIŠ)<sup>ki</sup>*. The reading *ba<sub>x</sub>*, which probably derives from the reading /ba(n)eš/ of the sign ÁŠ, is attested also in the colophon of BM 54654 (copied in *OrNS* 59 p. 478), which is to be read as *šaṭir(SAR)-ma ba<sub>x</sub>(ÁŠ)-arī(PA)*. On the other hand, the writing of *ilī* in the name of Babylon with two horizontal wedges (i.e. KÁ.DIŠ.DIŠ<sup>ki</sup>) is well attested elsewhere (see *BTT* p. 254 and *MesZL* p. 418).

1) J.C. FINCKE, "Babylonische Gelehrte am neuassyrischen Hof: zwischen Anpassung und Individualität," in *Krieg und Frieden im Alten Vorderasien. 52e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*. (ed. H. Neumann et al.; AOAT 401; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014), 269-292.

Enrique JIMÉNEZ <enrique.jimenez@yale.edu>  
Dep. of N. E. Lang. & Civil., Yale University. P.O. Box 208236, NEW HAVEN, CT 06520-8236, USA

**82) The Neo-Babylonian chronicle about Sabium and Apil-Sîn: a copy of the text (BM 29440) —**

Here I offer a copy of BM 29440, a Neo-Babylonian tablet previously published with a photograph by E. Leichty and C.B.F. Walker, "Three Babylonian Chronicle and Scientific Texts," in G. Frame (ed.), *From the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea. Studies on the History of Assyria and Babylonia in Honour of A.K. Grayson*. Istanbul 2004, 203-212 (no. 2, pp. 205-211). The tablet contains a brief chronicle about the Old-Babylonian dynasty, besides a number of astronomical and metrical notitions. The tablet hails from Borsippa and dates roughly to the Neo-Babylonian or early Persian period. I wish to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish the copy of this tablet here. It measures 11,1 x 10,3 cm.



Caroline WAERZEGGERS <c.waerzeggers@hum.leidenuniv.nl>, Leiden University

[NDLR. La note qui précède a déjà été publiée dans *NABU* 2015-2 sous le n° 54, mais une erreur de manipulation a fait disparaître la copie du revers. Elle est donc republiée ici *in extenso*.]

**83) Einige kurze Bemerkungen zu sieben mathematischen Texten in der Sammlung des Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Genf<sup>1)</sup>** — Das Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Genf besitzt ca. 1000 Texte aus verschiedenen Gebieten des Vorderen Orients, die aus der Zeit zwischen der 3. Dynastie von Ur und der Achämenidenzeit stammen.

Zur Sammlung des Museums gehören 16 mathematische Tafeln, von denen nur eine publiziert ist: MAH 16055.<sup>2)</sup> Von dieser Tafel, die die Unterteilung von Dreiecken behandelt, abgesehen, gehören die anderen 15 zu den Texten, die O. Neugebauer und A. Sachs als "Table Texts" definiert haben.<sup>3)</sup> Alle Tafeln sind auf der Website der *Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative* (CDLI) als Photographien mit einigen Informationen einsehbar. Das Ziel dieser kurzen Notiz ist es, anhand der Photos auf CDLI Informationen zu einigen der Texte aus diesem Corpus zu verbessern und zu ergänzen.

**MAH 16040:** Laut CDLI handelt es sich bei dieser Tafel um eine Multiplikationstabelle  $\times 44$  26 40. Dies trifft jedoch nur für Kol. I der Vorderseite zu. Kol. II der Vorderseite enthält dagegen eine Multiplikationstabelle  $\times 36$ . Die Rückseite der Tafel ist fast völlig zerstört. Es ist immerhin möglich, auf der linken Seite die Zahlen von 4 bis 18 zu erkennen. Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach enthielt die Rückseite ebenfalls zwei Spalten mit Multiplikationen.

**MAH 16052:** Wie bereits in CDLI angegeben, handelt es sich um eine Multiplikationstabelle  $\times 3$ . Es gibt einen Kolophon mit Angabe des Tages und möglicherweise auch des Monats: [iti ...] u<sub>4</sub> 15-kam.

**MAH 16053:** Wie bereits korrekt in CDLI angegeben, handelt es sich um eine Tafel mit Multiplikationen  $\times 2$ . Auch hier ist ein Kolophon erhalten, der Monat und Tag angibt: iti sig<sub>4</sub>-GAR u<sub>4</sub> 6-kam.

**MAH 16054:** Wie bereits in CDLI angegeben, handelt es sich um eine Tafel mit Multiplikationen  $\times 4$  30. Auch hier findet sich ein Kolophon mit Datum: iti ziz<sub>2</sub>-a u<sub>4</sub> 28-kam.

**MAH 16135:** Wie in CDLI vermerkt, ist dieser Text eine Tafel mit Multiplikationen  $\times 5$ . Der erhaltene Kolophon gibt das Datum an: iti ziz<sub>2</sub>-a u<sub>4</sub> 25-kam.

**MAH 16195:** CDLI zufolge enthält die Tafel eine Multiplikationstabelle  $\times 45$ . Tatsächlich jedoch handelt es sich um eine Tafel mit verschiedenen Multiplikationen, und zwar je eine Multiplikationstabelle  $\times 45$  (Vorderseite Kol. I),  $\times 40$  (Vorderseite Kol. II),  $\times 22$  30 (Rückseite Kol. I) und  $\times 25$  (Rückseite Kol. II).

**MAH 16416:** Wie zutreffenderweise bei CDLI angegeben, handelt es sich um eine Tabelle von Quadratzahlen. In dem Text liegen zwei Fehler vor: In Z. 14 der Vorderseite lautet die korrekte Quadratzahl von 14 nicht 2 51, sondern 3 16. In der zweiten Zeile der Rückseite ist die Quadratzahl von 17 nicht 4 32, sondern vielmehr 4 49. In diesem letzten Fall scheint es, daß der Schreiber, anstelle die Quadratzahl von 17 zu bilden, vielmehr 17 mit 16 multipliziert hat ( $17 \times 16 = 4$  32).

**MAH 16519:** Wie CDLI vermerkt, handelt es sich um eine Multiplikationstabelle  $\times 1$  20. Der Schreiber hat in der letzten Zeile der Rückseite einen Fehler gemacht: 50 multipliziert mit 1 20 ergibt nicht 1 23 20, sondern 1 06 40.

1) Diese kurze Notiz gehört in ein größeres Projekt mit dem Titel "The Mathematical Knowledge during the III Dynasty of Ur in the Light of Administrative Records", finanziert von der Gerda-Henkel-Stiftung, der ich sehr herzlich für ihre Unterstützung danke.

2) Diese Tafel war ursprünglich von A. Vaiman 1961 publiziert worden und wurde erneut behandelt von E. M. Bruins 1962 und schließlich von C. Proust 2012.

3) Neugebauer, O. - Sachs, A. 1945, S. 11.

#### **Bibliographie**

BRUINS, E. M. 1962 "Interpretation of Cuneiform Mathematics" in *Physis* 4, 277-341.

NEUGEBAUER O. - SACHS A. 1945 *Mathematical Cuneiform Texts, American Oriental Series* 29. New Haven: American Oriental Society.

VAIMAN, A. A. 1961 *Shumero-vavivonskaya matematika III-I tysyacheletiya do n.e. (Sumerisch-babylonische Mathematik vom 3. bis ins 1. Jtsd. v. Chr.)*. Moskau: Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoj Literatury.



**Websites**

– Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (CDLI): <http://cdli.ucla.edu/>

– Proust, C. 2012 <http://culturemath.ens.fr/content/problèmes-de-partage-des-cadastres-à-larithmétique> (URL zuletzt eingesehen am 10/07/2015).

Sergio ALIVERNINI <[sergio.alivernini@gmail.com](mailto:sergio.alivernini@gmail.com)>  
Gerda Henkel Fellow, "Sapienza" Università di Roma.

**84) New Dating of the Late Babylonian Astronomical Diary -180A<sup>\*)</sup>** — The astronomical diary, *ADART 2 -180A* (= LBA 345), is now preserved in the British Museum. The tablet of the diary has the number, BM 35060. Each side of this tablet makes a gentle curve. Two corners of the tablet are severely damaged but its original shape is well preserved. The present size of the tablet is 74 × 76 × 27 mm.

The contents of the small, almost square tablet are restricted to the record of astronomical data and weather of twelve days. The script of the record is not well controlled: the scribe of the tablet sometimes used a diagonal wedge where we expect horizontal one. The limited contents, short coverage and uncontrolled script indicate that the diary *ADART 2 -180A* is one of the primary observational records<sup>1)</sup>. The diaries of this type were updated day by day. In the course of the update, some tablets became dry and hard, and the signs inscribed on the dried clay have shallow wedges<sup>2)</sup>. No shallow wedges, however, are written on the tablet BM 35060. This indicates that the scribe of the diary *ADART 2 -180A* could keep his tablet moist until the end of his record.

The scribe recorded observations for twelve days on this tablet. According to the text as edited in *ADART 2, -180A*'s "Obv." has the record of the 1<sup>st</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> of month Nisan, 131 SE, and its "Rev." shows the observations of the 23<sup>rd</sup>–29<sup>th</sup> of the same month<sup>3)</sup>. The designation "Obv." means that the end of this side is broken<sup>4)</sup>. The break is, if any, quite small, according to the T. G. Pinches' copies of LBA 345<sup>5)</sup>, the photographs of *ADART 2 -180A*<sup>6)</sup>, and a recent collation by the author of this article. The reproductions are arranged in the same way as the text of *ADART*, although the designation "Obv." is used instead of "Obv.()" "Obv.()" is broken just at the beginning of its line 13, and the width of the break is only ca. 10 mm. The remaining part of this line is well preserved but clearly blank. There is also a space for ca. two lines in the edge between the bottom of "Obv.()" and the top of "Rev." This edge is well preserved, except for the break which continues from "Obv.()" This break, once again, only measures ca. 10–20 mm in its width, and the remaining part of the edge is blank. We therefore cannot find any space for the record of the 6<sup>th</sup>–22<sup>nd</sup> Nisan before the entries on "Rev." If BM 35060 really records the diary from the 1<sup>st</sup> to the 29<sup>th</sup> Nisan, the scribe once used this tablet during the first five days of this month, stopped his record on it but kept it moist and well inscribable for seventeen days, and re-used it during the next seven days. It is difficult, however, for us to find any reason for such a strange usage.

A new reading of the tablet resolves this gap of seventeen days. The author's recent study of the reproductions and collation of the original tablet result in the following reading of "Rev." 1 and 2, and the first half of "Rev." 3.

**BM 35060 "Rev."**

- 1 [mu-1-me-30-k]am it<sup>i</sup>še ṛge<sub>6</sub>1 [23 sin e múl igi]<sup>7)</sup>
- 2 [šá suḥur] ṛmāš<sup>1</sup> 2 1/2 kùš sin 1 1/2 kùš ana šú lal ṛ2ṽ3
- 3 [x x (x) ge<sub>6</sub> 2]ṛ4<sup>1</sup> dir an za<sup>8)</sup>...
- 1 [Year 130.] Month Addar, night of [the 23<sup>rd</sup>, the moon was above gamma]
- 2 [Capricor]ni<sup>9)</sup> 2 1/2 cubits, the moon being 1 1/2 cubits back to the west. The 23<sup>rd</sup>,
- 3 [... Night of the 2]ṛ4<sup>th</sup>, clouds were in the sky, ...

Lines 1–2 probably record the astronomical observation on the night of the 23<sup>rd</sup>, because the daytime of the 23<sup>rd</sup> was mentioned next to this observation. The month name Addar is clearly shown in line 1. This means that "Rev." of the diary covers the twelfth month of a year. The month name follows the half preserved sign kam, which requires a year number in the lacuna at the top of "Rev." 1. The number should be different from 131. This number is shown on "Obv.()" 1 of this diary. There is no need to insert the same year number into the small tablet twice. We can therefore reject 131 from the candidates for the year number and look for other possibilities. The lacuna is ca. 20 mm in its width. This

size is enough for restoring the year number mu-1-me-30, “year 130,” and the first half of the sign kam<sup>10</sup>. If the record on “Rev.” begins with the observation in the night of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Addar, 130 SE, and ends with the weather report of the 29<sup>th</sup> of the same month (“Rev.” 10), this record smoothly connects to “Obv.(,)” which covers the beginning of the next year<sup>11</sup>. The record on “Obv.(,)” begins with the year number 131, the name of the ruling king, “Seleucus (IV)<sup>12</sup>,” and the description of the 1<sup>st</sup> of Nisan, which is identical with the 30<sup>th</sup> of the preceding month<sup>13</sup>. The predecessor is the month Addar of 130 SE, because there is no intercalary month between this Addar and the month Nisan of 131 SE<sup>14</sup>. Every restoration other than “year 130” on “rev.” 1 results in a gap larger than that of seventeen days between the entries on “Obv.(,)” and “Rev.”

The restoration of “year 130” in “Rev.” 1 of *ADART 2 -180A* (= *LBAT 345*) reveals a consecutive observational record from the 23<sup>rd</sup> Addar, 130 SE, to the 5<sup>th</sup> Nisan, 131 SE, continuing without any gap from “Rev.” 1 to “Obv.(,)” 12, the last line of the latter side. This order of the record requires a change in the arrangement of “Obv.(,)” and “Rev.” “Obv.(,)” is actually Rev.’ and “Rev.” is Obv. This exchange is not contradicted by the shape of the tablet. Each side of the tablet has a gentle curve (see above). This means that each side can be Rev.(,) and *vice versa*.

Any new dating of the astronomical data in the diaries should fit with the modern calculation of the same phenomena or the positions of the relevant celestial bodies. The newly dated Obv. (= “Rev.”) of *ADART 2 -180A* partly preserves one astronomical report in lines 1–2. This report shows the distance from the moon to a normal star<sup>15</sup>. The moon was above or below the normal star 2 1/2 cubits, being 1 1/2 cubits back to the west. This means the angular difference of 2.5 cubits in ecliptic latitude and 1.5 cubits in ecliptic longitude<sup>16</sup>. This distance was probably measured on the night of the 23<sup>rd</sup> Addar, 130 SE (see above). This night of the 23<sup>rd</sup> corresponds to the night of the 27<sup>th</sup>/28<sup>th</sup> March, 181 BC of the Julian calendar<sup>17</sup>. On the night, the moon was above the normal star  $\gamma$  Cap<sup>18</sup>, being to the west of it. Their distance can be calculated with *Stella Navigator ver. 10.0c / AstroArts Inc.* According to this calculation, the moon rose at 01:56 on the 28<sup>th</sup> March,  $\gamma$  Cap rose at 02:32, and the sun rose at 6:00 above the horizon of Babylon (32° 33' N, 44° 26' E)<sup>19</sup>. These times are provided according to UT+3.  $\gamma$  Cap’s apparent position on this day are -2° 19' 36" in ecliptic latitude and 291° 22' 34" in ecliptic longitude. Figure 1 shows the apparent positions of the moon and its angular distances to  $\gamma$  Cap at the moonrise, at the rise of this normal star, and at the sunrise. Each position of the moon indicates the central point of its disk. The moon’s centre was, however, invisible in this night, because the moon had become waning crescent at that time. The moon’s age was 23.6 at the moonrise, 23.7 at the sunrise. Since the normal star was below the horizon at the moonrise, the distance at 01:56 is in parentheses.

Time	Moon’s Position		Angular Distance	
	Latitude	Longitude	Latitude	Longitude
01:56	+3°50'46"	287°41'47"	(6°10'22")	(3°40'47")
02:32	+3°47'35"	288°00'41"	6°07'11"	3°21'53"
06:00	+3°35'46"	289°32'07"	5°55'22"	1°50'27"

Figure 1: Apparent Positions of the Moon and Its Angular Distances to  $\gamma$  Cap on the 23<sup>rd</sup> Addar, 130 SE

The distance attested in the diary is 2.5 cubits in latitude and 1.5 cubits in longitude. If a cubit is 2.27° (2° 16' 12")<sup>20</sup>, 2.5 cubits is 5.675° (5° 40' 30") and 1.5 cubits is 3.405° (3° 24' 18"). The attested difference in longitude is close to the computed value at the rise of the normal star. This indicates that the attested distance was measured at 02:32 or a shortly later point. However, the attested difference in latitude is 26' 41" smaller than the computed distance at 02:32. We can solve this problem, if we think that the attested distance was measured from the lowest point of the moon, that is, the lower cusp of the moon crescent, which had just begun to wane. The lower cusp was, aside from the upper cusp, the westernmost part of the moon crescent, and its position in longitude must have been close to that of the invisible centre of the moon’s disk, the point of origin in our calculation of the moon’s distance to  $\gamma$  Cap (see above). This means that we can use the angular distance from the moon’s centre to the normal star in longitude at 02:32, 3° 21' 53", as the approximate difference between the longitudes of the lower cusp of

the moon and the rising normal star. This cusp's latitude is, however, clearly lower than that of the moon's centre. The difference can approximately be estimated from the value of the moon's apparent radius. According to Stella Navigator, the moon's apparent size was 32' 24" at the rise of  $\gamma$  Cap. If we subtract the moon's apparent radius (16' 12") from 6° 07' 11", the computed difference between the moon's centre and the rising  $\gamma$  Cap in latitude, we have the value of 5° 50' 59", which is considerably closer to the observed difference, 5° 40' 30". We can, therefore, confirm that the newly dated observation of the distance from the moon to  $\gamma$  Cap fits with the calculation of the distance at the new date, the 23<sup>rd</sup> Addar, 130 SE<sup>21)</sup>. This also strengthens the new dating of the diary *ADART 2 -180A Obv.* Since the moon's distance to  $\gamma$  Cap is the single astronomical entry on this side, we do not need to check the compatibility of the new dating with any more astronomical data.

We, therefore, find that *ADART 2 -180A* is a primary observational record, which begins on the 23<sup>rd</sup> Addar, 130 SE, and ends on the 5<sup>th</sup> Nisan, 131 SE. Primary observational record containing records covering the last part of a year and the first part of the next year are unusual, but we know of another diary which straddles two years: *ADART 2 -201D* (BM 36591) covers the period from the 28<sup>th</sup> of the intercalary Addar, 110 SE to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Nisan, 111 SE. This, again, substantiates our argument that the record of the diary *ADART 2 -180A* covers the consecutive twelve days from two different years.

\*) My research for this article is funded by JSPS KAKENHI Grant No. 24700245 and JSPS Postdoctoral Fellowship for Research Abroad. I am greatly indebted to the Trustees of the British Museum for allowing me to study the tablet BM 35060. I would like to thank John M. Steele for the revision of my English. I would also like to thank Mathieu Ossendrijver for letting me know the recent studies on the unit of angular distance, kùš, "cubit" (in discussion with the author, February 2013), and to thank Mitsutoshi Sasaki, Keisuke Takai, Kazuko Watanabe, and Daisuke Yoshida for discussing the subject of this paper in March 2015. All the remaining errors, of course, are mine.

The abbreviations used here follow those in the list in *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, ed. M. T. Roth, vol. 20, *U and W* (Chicago, Illinois: The Oriental Institute, 2010) with the following exceptions:

*ADART* = A. J. Sachs and H. Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia* (Vienna: VÖAW, 1988–).

PD = R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology: 626 B.C.–A.D. 75* (Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University Press, 1956).

SE (S.E.) = Seleucid Era;

$\gamma$  Cap = Gamma Capricorni

1) A group of diaries were classified as the primary observational records in Y. Mitsuma, "Scholars' Own Reports and Royal Letters: How and When They Were Included in the Astronomical Diaries?" (paper presented at 58<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, July 2012). The author is now preparing an article based on the presentation.

2) See *ADART 1*, 12.

3) See *ADART 2*, 386–89. The text shows no date for the record of "Rev." 1–3. The dates '213 and [ge<sub>6</sub> 2]4', however, can be seen on "Rev." 2 and 3, respectively (see below the partial transliteration of BM 35060 "Rev."). *LBAT* indicates that the diary *LBAT 345* covers "131 S.E. I 1–29" (see *LBAT*, xv).

4) *ADART 1*, 38.

5) *LBAT*, 81.

6) *ADART 2*, plate 144.

7) *ADART 2*, 386 shows the text of this line as follows: [...] murub<sub>4</sub>-tî 'x x<sup>1</sup> [...].

8) The remaining part of "Rev." is same as the text of *ADART*. The recent collation, however, identifies the trace 'an<sup>1</sup> after ge<sub>6</sub> 2 dir in "Obv.(.)" 3.

9) For this star, see *ADART 1*, 19; H. Hunger and D. Pingree, *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 149; A. Jones, "A Study of Babylonian Observations of Planets Near Normal Stars," *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 58 (2004) 483; N. A. Roughton, J. M. Steele, and C. B. F. Walker, "A Late Babylonian Normal and *ziqpu* Star Text," *Archive for History of Exact Sciences* 58 (2004) 570.

10) The first four signs of the mu-1-me-30-1-k a m of "Obv.(.)" 1 measures ca. 18 mm.

11) The last one or two lines of "Rev." are well preserved and the edge between the bottom of "Rev." and the top of "Obv.(.)" is partly preserved. Their remaining parts are blank. The scribe left them unused, probably because he wanted to begin the record of the new year from the top of "Obv.(.)"

12) This insertion seems to highlight the beginning of the year 131. No king's name is shown in "Rev.", which covers the twelfth month of a year.

13) “Obv.(.)” 2: [i]ᵀbar 30, “month Nisan, (the 1<sup>st</sup> of which was identical with) the 30<sup>th</sup> (of the preceding month).” For this interpretation, see *ADART* 1, 38.

14) See *ADART* 2, 394; PD, 40.

15) For this kind of reports, see Jones, “A Study of Babylonian Observations,” 477–79.

16) For the character of the distances recorded in the diaries, see G. Graßhoff, “Normal Star Observations in Late Astronomical Babylonian Diaries,” in *Ancient Astronomy and Celestial Divination*, ed. N. M. Swerdlow (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1999), 97–147; Jones, “A Study of Babylonian Observations,” 491–99.

17) *ADART* 2, 394 shows that the 29<sup>th</sup> Addar, 130 SE corresponds to 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> April, 181 BC.

18) The trace before 2 1/2 kùš in Obv. 2 can be transliterated into ʾmāš.<sup>1</sup> This fits with the name of the normal star. See above the partial transliteration and translation of BM 35060 “Rev.” (= current Obv.)

19) For the position of Babylon, see E. Klengel-Brandt, “Babylon,” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, ed. E. M. Meyers, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), col. 251a.

20) The equivalent of a cubit is approximately 2.27°, according to Jones, “A Study of Babylonian Observations,” 520; cf. *ADART* 1, 22; Graßhoff, “Normal Star Observations,” 137–39.

21) The observation cannot be dated to the 23<sup>rd</sup> Nisan, 131 SE (25<sup>th</sup>/26<sup>th</sup> April, 181BC), because the moon was positioned to the east of γ Cap in that night. The moon was below the horizon at the rise of γ Cap on 26<sup>th</sup> April (00:38). At the moonrise (01:35), the moon’s apparent position was 02°02’42” in ecliptic latitude, 312°28’48”, at the sunrise (05:22), 01°50’56”, 314°13’08”. γ Cap’s apparent position was -02°19’36”, 291°22’46” in that night (All the positions in this note are calculated with Stella Navigator ver. 10.0c / AstroArts Inc.)

Yasuyuki MITSUMA <licornesoleil@gmail.com>

**85) Notes on the onomastics from Yahūdu** — Two hitherto unexplained anthroponyms (*Il-ʾta<sup>1</sup>-ra-a-ma* and *Ma-al-te-e-ma*) can be interpreted as Yahwistic names. Most of the ensuing discussion is about orthographic conventions and phonological shifts of such names.

*Il-ʾta<sup>1</sup>-ra-a-ma* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 14, 10) renders Hebrew (Heb.) *Šryh* (Serayah, see ZADOK 1988, 30). For the rendering of the theophorous element *-Yhw* by *-a-ma*, i.e. with *ya- > a-* (cf. ZADOK 1978, 93, 214, 256), compare *Da-la-a-ma* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 49a *ad* 101, 5 < *Dlyh*), *Pa-da-a-ma* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 75b *ad* 76, 16 < *Pdyh*) and *Ra-pa-a-ma* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 78 *ad* 9, 4; 13, 4, 9, 11; 14, 19; 25, 6; 29, 3; 43, 3; 44, 3; 96, 1 < *Rpyh*). *Ma-al-te-e-ma* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 23, 6, with the Yahwistic paternal name *Za-ka-ri-ia-a-ma*) renders Heb. *Mšyh* (Maaseyah, see ZADOK 1988, 60). Both *Ma-al-te-e-ma* and *Il-ʾta<sup>1</sup>-ra-a-ma* are with Neo/Late-Babylonian (NB/LB) <lt> = West Semitic /š/ (see FALES 1978 and ZADOK 1978, 245, 262, 343). For the rendering of the theophorous element *-Yhw* by *-e-ma*, i.e. with *ya- > e-* (cf. ZADOK 1978, 175, 256, 331), compare *Ra-a-pe-e-ma* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 78 *ad* 18, 3, i.e. “Yhw is my healer”). The latter was the same individual as *Ra-pe-ʾe<sup>1</sup>-a-ma* (PEARCE and WUNSCH, 20, 6) and *Ra-pe-a-am* father of Ahi(ŠEŠ)-iá-<qa>-*a-am* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 36, 4). The last variant was influenced by the spelling <-a-am> of the paternal name. Attraction of the grapheme <-a-ma> is extant in *Iq-IM-ia-a-ma* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 36b *ad* 42, 11), which refers to the same individual as *Ahiya-qām* <*A-hi-ia-a-qa-am-mu*>, son of *Ra-pa-ia-ma* (with many variant spellings, see PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 35–36, 259 with refs.; the scribe is recorded only in this document, i.e. PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 42). The same attraction is found in *Ta-qu-a-ma* which appears among Yahwistic names (< \**Taqūm*, cf. PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 86b *ad* 14, 6).

Like the final vowel of appellatives and names in NB/LB, the final vowel of the first component of a compound name (*-i/u/a-*) renders *-ø*. This is the case with the following predicative elements of Yahwistic names (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 22–23). They all render *qatal* (G perf. 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sg. m.) + *Yhw*:

*-Ci-ia/iá-a-ma*: *A-za-zi-*, *Ba-ri-ki-*, *Ha-šá-bi-*, *Kin-ni-* (but cf. *Ra-pa-a-ma* in the same document, PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 35, 4), *Na-da-bi-*, *Sa-ma-ki-*, *Šá-lam-mi-*, *Za-kar-ri-*, *Ba-ra-ki-<sup>d</sup>iá-a-ma*;

*-Cu-ia-ma*: *Na-ta-nu-*, *Sa-ma-a-ku-*, *Šá-lam-mu-*;

*-Cu-ia/iá-a-ma*: *Ba-ra-ku-*, *Šá-lam-mu-*, *Šá-ma-hu-*, *Ha-nu-nu-*;

*-Ca-ia-a-ma*: *A-za-ra-*, *Az-za-ra-*, *Ga-da-la-*.

On the other hand, there is good reason for thinking that the final vowel of the first component was pronounced in the following cases:

*Mi-ik-ka-<sup>2</sup>iá-a-ma* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 2, cf. below) is written with *-<sup>2</sup>*;

-ia-ma: Ba-ni-, Ba-an-na-, Ga-la-, Ra-pa-, Šá-ma<sup>2</sup>- (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 24);  
 -Ci<sup>3</sup>-a-ma: A-qa-bi<sup>2</sup>-, Za-ka-ri<sup>2</sup>-. For other variant spellings rendering *Yhw* as the final component in this document see PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 156 *ad* 34, 7, 10. Variation in the rendering of *Yhw* within the same text is also extant in other documents, e.g., Ši-id-<sup>4</sup>qí<sup>2</sup>-iá-a<sup>2</sup>-<sup>5</sup>ma<sup>2</sup>, Mi-ik-ka<sup>2</sup>-iá-a-ma, but [Sa]<sup>6</sup>-<sup>7</sup>ma<sup>2</sup>-ki-ia-a-ma (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 2). Ši<sup>8</sup>-<sup>9</sup>li-im-iá-a<sup>2</sup>-<sup>10</sup>ma, Za-kar-iá-a-ma and Ni-ir-iá-a-[ma] occur in a deed together with Ahi(ŠEŠ<sup>11</sup>)-iá-qa-am-mu and <sup>12</sup>Da<sup>2</sup>-ri-iá-a-muš, but other Yahwistic names are written with -ia- (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 45 = ABRAHAM 2007).

Diphthong > bisyllable (cf. ZADOK 1978, 433-434):

A-mu-uš-a-ma, A-mu-uš-šá-a-ma, A-muš<sup>13</sup>-<sup>14</sup>a-ma = /\*Awš-/ > /\*Awuš-/ "Yhw's gift" (cf. the verbal sentence names *Yw*<sup>15</sup>, *Yšyh*, *Yš*, ZADOK 1988, 25, 30, 40, 119, 133; incorrect PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 39a).

Diphthong > monophthong: Uš-šu-hi-a-ma < /\*Awš<sup>16</sup>i<sup>17</sup>- < /\*Hawš<sup>18</sup>i<sup>19</sup>-yahw/ "Yhw has delivered" (the predicative element is not a nominal form as understood by PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 88a *ad* 36, 14 and WUNSCH forthcoming, 10, 20).

With lengthening: Mi-ik-ka<sup>2</sup>-iá-a-ma (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 66 *ad* 2, 11) is with <-ik-k(a)-> for /ik/ (the lengthening with "e-colouring" is extant in *Me-e-ka-ia-a-ma*; *Mi-ki-iá-a-ma*, WUNSCH forthcoming 3, 1, is a contracted form) and *Kin-ni-ia-a-ma* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 62b *ad* 35, 13) with <kin-n(i)-> for /kīn/.

Accent (cf. ZADOK 1978, 262): the predicative element of *Ba-rak-ka-ia-ma* can be compared to *Za-kar-ri-ia-a-ma* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 43b, 92b *ad* J9, 2 and 27, 21)/*Za-kar-ri-iá-a-ma*/*Za-kar-ri-a-ma* (WUNSCH forthcoming, 3, 10 and 10, 21 respectively). Both render /qatàll/. On the other hand, the following spellings are with omission of unstressed short -a- of *qatal*- resulting in *qatl*, as the accent was on the second component, i.e. *Yhw*:

*Sa-am-ki-iá-ma* (same individual as *Sa-ma-ki-ia-a-ma*/ *Sa-ma-ki-ia-ma*/ *Sa-ma-ki-a-ma* with retention of the short unstressed vowel, PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 9, 4 and 6, 4; 7, 6; 8, 4; 11, 5 respectively); *Ha-áš-bi-a-ma* son of <sup>20</sup>Pal<sup>21</sup>-<sup>22</sup>fi-iá-a-ma (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 3, 8-9), *Ha-áš-bi-a-ma* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 36, 1, possibly a different individual), vs. *Ha-šá-bi-ia-a-ma* and *Pa-la-tu-a-ma* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 23, 15; 53, 3), referring to different individuals from their aforementioned namesakes, where the short unstressed -a- is retained. The following spellings with -*Ce/i*- are with attenuation of the unstressed short *a* of the second syllable of *qatal*, viz. *A-ze/z<sup>23</sup>i-ri-ia-ma* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 14, 9) and *Na-de/d<sup>24</sup>i-bi-a-ma* (WUNSCH forthcoming 11, 3, 7). Both documents were written by the same scribe. *Na-de/d<sup>24</sup>i-bi-a-ma* is the same individual as *Na-da-bi-iá-a-ma*, who is recorded in a deed written by a different scribe (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 2: <sup>25</sup>a<sup>26</sup>-, 7, 9, 13, 16). *A-ze/z<sup>23</sup>i-ri-ia-ma* is homonymous with *A-za-ri-a-ma*/*A-za-ra-ia-a-ma*/*A-za-ri-ia-ma*, which refers to different individuals (with retention of the short unstressed vowel, PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 42a, 263b).

Pretonic lengthening?: *Ba-an-na-ia-[ma]* (WUNSCH forthcoming 5, 6), *Ra-ap-pa-A+-A-ma*/*Ra-ap-pa-a-ma* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 288-289, where other variants of the same name are listed) < Hebrew;

<sup>27</sup>d+AG-za-ab-PA-du (see PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 71b *ad* WUNSCH forthcoming, 88, 11) < Aramaic. *Ra-ap-[pa-a-m]a* and *Ia-ra-ap-pa<sup>28</sup>-*, both with gemination of the middle radical of their predicative element, occur in the same document (cf. PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 56b *ad* 31).

Irregular spellings: *Man<sup>29</sup>-<sup>30</sup>na<sup>29</sup>-<sup>31</sup>ta-na-a-ma* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 44, 15, see 66a, s.v. Matan-Yāma, cf. *Ra-pa-a-ma* in 44, 4). The -na- is non-phonematic, due to an *interpretatio Akkadica* of \**Mantan-yaw* (<\**Mattan-yaw*) by the scribe.

With contraction: *Ma-qí-na-a-ma* <—\**Maqni-Yaw* "Yhw's possession" (see PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 64-65 *ad* 15, 23).

#### Bibliography

ABRAHAM, K. 2007. An Inheritance Division among Judeans in Babylonia from the Early Persian Period, in Lubetski, M. (ed.), *New Seals and Inscriptions*. Hebrew Bible Monographs 8. Sheffield, 206-221.

FALES, F.M. 1978. A Cuneiform Correspondence to Alphabetic šin/šin in West Semitic Names of the First Millennium B.C. *OrNS* 47, 91-98.

JOANNÈS, F. & LEMAIRE, A. 1999. Trois tablettes cunéiformes à l'onomastique ouest-sémitique (collection Sh. Moussaïeff). *Transeuphratène* 17, 17-34.

HOROWITZ, W., GREENBERG, Y. and ZILBERG, P. (with PEARCE, L. E. and WUNSCH, C.) 2015. *By the Rivers of Babylon: Cuneiform Documents from the Beginning of the Babylonian Diaspora*. Jerusalem (in Hebrew).

PEARCE, L.E. and WUNSCH, C. 2014. *Documents of Judean Exiles and West Semites in Babylonia in the Collection of David Sofer*. CUSAS 38. Bethesda.

WUNSCH, C. forthcoming. *Judeans by the Waters of Babylon: New Historical Evidence in Cuneiform Sources for Rural Babylonia in the Schøyen Collection. With Contributions by L.E. Pearce*. *Babylonische Archive* 6. Dresden.

ZADOK, R. 1978. *On West Semites in Babylonia During the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods: An Onomastic Study*. 2nd ed., Jerusalem.

ZADOK, R. 1988. *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography*. OLA 28. Leuven.

Ran ZADOK < zadokr@post.tau.ac.il >

Tel Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology, Ramat-Aviv 69778, Israel

**86) Yamu-iziri the summoner of Yahūdu and Aramaic linguistic interference** — The earliest occurrence of the Judean "colony" is with a gentilic, viz. *Ālu (URU) šá Yahūdāyi* (<sup>li</sup>*Ia-a-hu-du-A+A*) from 20.I.33 Nebuchadnezzar II = 572 BCE, i.e. 25 years after the first deportation from Judah and 14 years after the second. The only other occurrence of the gentilic, viz. <sup>uru</sup>.<sup>li</sup>*Ia- $\ll da \gg$ -hu-du-A+A* (without *šá*), is from 7.IX.38 Nebuchadnezzar II = 567 BCE (WUNSCH forthcoming, 1, 13). Hence it is arguable that *Ālu ša Yahūdāyi* predates the much more common form *Yahūdu* (<sup>uru</sup>*Ia-a-hu-du* with variants, PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 312b with refs.). The interchange between the plain toponym and its gentilic is analogous to *Nērebu* which is recorded along with *Ālu šá Nērebāyi* (in Babylonia), i.e. "the settlement, colony of the people from Nerab" in northern Syria (ZADOK 1985, 18, 238 with refs). I consider *URU* as a mere determinative and therefore prefer to transcribe the toponym in question as *Yahūdu* rather than *Āl-Yahūdu*, also in view of contemporaneous and later analogies, such as *Pārsa* which in Old Persian refers to both the city of Persepolis and the land of Persis, as well as Arab. *Šām* (Syria) for Damascus and *Mašr* (Egypt) for Cairo where the capital receives the name of the country without any modification.

PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 84 was issued at *Ālu-ša-Našar*, but the dates will be delivered in *Yahūdu*. Therefore one may infer that the settlements were close to each other. There are more indications for their proximity:

PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 83 from *Bīt-Našar* is a receipt for payment of duties to the summoner (or "recruitment officer", JURSA 2010, 652) of *Yahūdu*. *Ālu-ša-Našar* was situated near a royal road (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 69), namely a highway, which facilitated the communication with urban centres. From the fact that *Kalbā* son of the eponym-founder *Na-āš-šar* is recorded on 18.IV.5 Nabonidus = 551 BCE (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 8, 14), one may conclude that *Ālu-ša-Našar/Bīt-Našar* ("*Našar*'s place, settlement") was established just a generation earlier, when the deportations of the Judeans took place.

It is clear that the Achaemenid authorities used existing communal and familial bonds when it came to recruitment of workmen for projects of the state. Summoners collected taxes of the Judean community via proxies, who were Judeans like these functionaries. A much later noteworthy analogy comes to mind: the Armenian *gžir* "(village) clerk" served as village summoner, counted harvests and measured plots. *Ia-mu-<sup>i</sup>'-zi-ri*, the summoner (*dēkū*) of *Yahūdu* (<sup>uru</sup>*Ia-a-<sup>i</sup>'hu-di*), is mentioned in a deed from *Bīt-Našar* dated to 27.IX.1 Cyrus = 538 BCE (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 83). At least one of his proxies, *Šá-lam-ia-a-ma* son of *Ab-[di-ia]-<sup>i</sup>'a-hu* ("Yhw's servant", see PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 33b), was a Judean.

This summoner is identical with *Ia-a-hu-<sup>i</sup>'e-dir* son of *Ṭāb*(<sup>7</sup>DU<sub>10</sub>.GA)-*šá-lam-ma* who acted in the same capacity via his proxy *Bi-li-ia-a-ma* (*B'lyh*) son of *Ia-di-a-ma* (*Yd'yh*) five years later according to a receipt from *Kēš* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 12, 6f. from 5.XII.5 Cyrus = 533 BCE; the filiation is without rendering of /*i*/). Both the summoner and his proxy were Judeans in view of their Yahwistic

names. A year later (5.VI.7 Cyrus = 532 BCE) one encounters a second summoner, namely Ab-da-ia-hu-ú son of <sup>2</sup>Ba-rak-ka-ia-ma (JOANNÈS & LEMAIRE 1999, 27, 34:fig. 2, 1f.). Was he the father of the proxy of the former summoner Iamu-iziri? The second summoner recurs as the 1<sup>st</sup> witness (out of three) without title 14 years later (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 33 from <sup>uru</sup>ia-hu-<sup>r</sup>du<sup>r</sup>, 19.VI.4 Darius I = 518 BCE): Ab-di-<sup>d</sup>ia-hu-ú son of Ba-ra-ki-<sup>d</sup>ia-a-ma. He is followed by the Judeans Hu-ú-mar-ra (< *Yhw'mr* / \**Yahw-'amàr* / "Yhw has said", with omission of the first syllable of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> component, i.e. a double aphaeresis) son of Za-kar-<sup>d</sup>ia-a-ma and Šá-<sup>r</sup>lam<sup>r</sup>-<sup>d</sup>ia-a-ma son of Ag-gu-ru. The spelling of the theophorous element *Yhw* as the final component, viz. -<sup>d</sup>ia-a-ma, is consistent in this deed. The 1<sup>st</sup> witness to a transaction, who is recorded in a deed from Yahūdu (date: 19.IV.24 Darius I = 498 BCE), is <sup>d</sup>Iá-a-hu-ú-a-za-ri son of Ṭāb (<sup>17</sup>DU<sub>10</sub>.GA)-šá-lam-mu (JOANNÈS & LEMAIRE 1999, 18, 33:fig. 1, 16f., see PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 87a). Was he identical with the summoner *Ia-a-hu-ú-e-dir* from 533 BCE (i.e. 35 years earlier) in view of the two cases of <sup>d</sup>Ia-a-hu-ú-i-zi-ri = <sup>d</sup>Iá-a-hu-ú-a-za-ri/<sup>d</sup>I-hu-ú-a-za-ri (see PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 297, index, s.vv.)? <sup>1</sup>

*Ia-a-hu-ú-e-dir* is the same name as *A-hu-ú-id-ri* (son of Pa-da-ia-a-ma, WUNSCH forthcoming, 5, 11). The latter form is with *ya-* > *a-* (cf. ZADOK 1978, 93, 214, 256). The initial component of *Ia-mu-iziri*, i.e. <*Ia-mu-*>, renders *Yhw*. This spelling resembles the plene one <*Ia-a-mu-*> for the same theophorous element of *Ia-a-mu-a-qa-bi* (with an Aramaic predicative element, G perf. 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sg. m. of <sup>r</sup>-*Q-B*, i.e. "Yhw has protected", hardly a nominal form as understood by PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 90b) and *Ia-a-mu-ha-a'* (WUNSCH forthcoming, 29, 12), i.e. / \**Yahw-ḥayy* / "Yhw is living" (with PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 90b). *Ia-mu-šú* (son of Ha-ri-im, PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 23, 7) is not a Yahwistic anthroponym. It is not the same name as *Ia-hu-ú-šū-ú* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 45, 4, as cautiously suggested by HOROWITZ *et al.* 2015, 67 *ad* PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 23, 7), but derives from *M-W/Y-Š* "to feel" (G imperf. 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sg. m., for an alternative interpretation see PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 91a). Regarding the predicative element, that of *Ia-mu-<sup>r</sup>i-zi-ri* (-<sup>r</sup>i-zi-ri) renders Hebrew <sup>r</sup>zr, whereas *-e-dir* (of *Ia-a-hu-ú-*) stands for the Aramaic equivalent <sup>r</sup>dr (both forms originate from Proto-Semitic \*<sup>r</sup>dr "support").<sup>2</sup> They are recorded in deeds which were written by different scribes. The interchange between Hebrew and Aramaic forms is also extant in *A-za-ri-i-qa-am* (*A-za-ri-qa-am-ma/mu*) / *I-zi-ri-qa-am* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 264a, 275-276 with refs., see 42a, 61-62, Heb.) ~ *A-di-ri-ia-qa-[am?]* (son of Ha-ri-im, JOANNÈS & LEMAIRE 1999, 27, 34:2, 7, Aram., referring to a different individual than those spelled with *z*; the interpretation of PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 35a is less likely). The Hebrew-Canaanite name *I-šū-bu-ši-di-ku* (< \**Yašūb-šidq*, see PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 91 *ad* 15, 8, with *ya-* > *i-* and anaptyxis) is with dissimilation of emphatics, a phenomenon which is attested in Aramaic. Thus the names of Judeans are with Aramaic linguistic interference as early as the third generation of their presence in Babylonia.

1) <sup>d</sup>*I-hu-ú-a-za-ri* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 30, 5, 8: -<sup>r</sup> ra<sup>r</sup> = <sup>d</sup>*I-hu-ú-i-zi-ri*, 16, 4, 9, 15, 19) is mentioned in a deed which was issued in <sup>uru</sup>*I-hu-<sup>r</sup>du*, like Ab-du-<sup>d</sup>*i-hu-ú* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 36, 3, 13: -<sup>r</sup> hu<sup>r</sup>; < Ab-du-<sup>d</sup>*ia-hu-ú*) and <sup>d</sup>*I-hu-ú-li-ia* (see PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 90a *ad* 44, 19; < \**Yhw-ly*). The scribe Iddina-Bēl son of Kalbâ descendant of Dābibī, who wrote these three deeds, always spelled the place of issue as <sup>uru</sup>*I-hu-<sup>r</sup>du*, i.e. *Yahūdu* with *ya-* > *i-* (cf. ZADOK 1978, 257). The only exception (without the shift) is <sup>d</sup>*Ia-a-hu-ú-a-za-ri* in PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 36, 12. The same shift is extant in <sup>r</sup>Ab-du-<sup>d</sup>*i-hu-<sup>r</sup>ú*] (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 11, 9) and the predicative element of <sup>11</sup>*I-pa-<sup>d</sup>ia-<sup>r</sup>hu-ú* (PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 91a *ad* 8, 9), which are recorded in deeds written by other scribes. The various spellings of <sup>(d)</sup>*ia-(a-)hu-ú* as final component are listed in PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 25 (for Ab-da/di/du~, cf. PEARCE and WUNSCH 2014, 257a, s.v. Abdi-Yāhū with refs., cf. also Aramaic <sup>r</sup>bdy? [...], 41, 3, 18). These spellings do not match *-ia-a-hu* and *-ia-ah-hu* of the toponym <sup>uru</sup>É<sup>m</sup>AD-*ia-a-hu* = <sup>m</sup>AD-*ia-ah-hu* in the Murašū archive (CLAY 1912, 51, 7 and 13, 5 respectively from VI.1-VII.2 Darius II = 423-422 BCE, also <sup>uru</sup>É<sup>r</sup>É<sup>m</sup>AD-*a-hu*, STOLPER 1985, 36, 6 from 40 Art. I = 425/4 BCE), where the lack of *-ú* causes a difficulty (*-a-hu-* can be compared with the first component of *A-hu-ú-id-ri* above), but semantically a segmentation \*<sup>r</sup>Bit-*Abi-ahi* (ZADOK 1985, 78, s.v., cf. xvii:4.5.1, where I did not attempt an interpretation) does not yield a suitable denotation. Therefore it seems that *AD-ia-a-hu*/*AD-ia-ah-hu* renders <sup>r</sup>byh (spelled *AD-ia-a-ma* in CLAY 1912, 185, 2; 218, 3, 12, r. from the same archive). Arumeans (an Iranian group) held bow-properties there, but since Iranians were settled in the Nippur region only in the Achaemenid period it is possible in view of the "eponym" that the settlement was founded earlier by Judeans.

2) See ABRAHAM 2007, 215 *ad* 3; regarding the rendering of Hebrew <sup>r</sup>zr, the insertion of *-ZI-* in <sup>d</sup>*[I]a-hu-ú-iz-zi-ri* (same person as <sup>d</sup>*Ia-hu-ú-a-za-ri*, see ABRAHAM 2007, 215) is presumably in order to assure that the sign *ZI*

(is/s/z) renders only /z/. The same applies to <sup>d</sup>Ia-hu-ú-uz-zí-ri (WUNSCH forthcoming, 13, 4, 9, referring to a different individual), where the 2<sup>nd</sup> component was assimilated to the first one (-uz- <-íz-).

## Bibliography

ABRAHAM, K. 2007. An Inheritance Division among Judeans in Babylonia from the Early Persian Period, in Lubetski, M. (ed.), *New Seals and Inscriptions*. Hebrew Bible Monographs 8. Sheffield, 206-221.

CLAY, A.T. 1912. *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur Dated in the Reign of Darius II*. PBS 2/1. Philadelphia.

JOANNÈS, F. & LEMAIRE, A. 1999. Trois tablettes cunéiformes à onomastique ouest-sémitique (collection Sh. Mousaïeff). *Transeuphratène* 17, 17-34.

JURSA, M. (with contributions by HACKL, J., JANKOVIĆ, B., KLEBER, K., PAYNE, E.E., WAERZEGGERS, C. and WESZELI, M.) 2010. *Aspects of the Economic History of Babylonia in the First Millennium BC. Economic Geography, Economic Mentalities, Agriculture, the Use of Money and the Problem of Economic Growth*. Veröffentlichungen zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Babyloniens im 1. Jahrtausend v.Chr., 4. AOAT 377. Münster.

PEARCE, L. E. & WUNSCH, C. 2014. *Documents of Judean Exiles and West Semites in Babylonia in the Collection of David Sofer*. CUSAS 28. Bethesda, MD.

STOLPER, M.W. 1985. *Entrepreneurs and Empire: the Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia*. PIHANS 54. Leiden.

WUNSCH, C. forthcoming. *Judeans by the Waters of Babylon: New Historical Evidence in Cuneiform Sources for Rural Babylonia in the Schøyen Collection. With Contributions by L.E. Pearce*. Babylonische Archive 6. Dresden.

ZADOK, R. 1985. *Geographical Names According to New- and Late-Babylonian Texts*. RGTC 8. Wiesbaden.

Ran ZADOK

**87) Antiochus IV et Meluḥḥa** — À propos du ‘théâtre’ de Babylone où la communauté grecque écoutait les messages officiels, Patrick Michel (*N.A.B.U.* 2014/4, 168-169) évoque la chronique astronomique BM 41591 (VAN DER SPEK, 1987, 66-68; SACHS et HUNGER, 1989, Pl. 157, p. 470-471) pour souligner les ingéniosités lexicales des lettrés multilingues. Une victoire d’Antiochus IV et sa célébration par les citoyens grecs sont l’objet de la chronique datée du mois de : Abu (V), 143 SEB (17 août – 15 septembre, 169 av. J.-C.) :

ITI BI *al-te-e um-[ma]*<sup>15 1</sup> An LUGAL ina URU<sup>mes</sup> šá KUR Me-luḥ-ḥa šal-ṭa-niš GIN-GIN-ma [x x] <sup>li</sup>pu-li-te-e pu-up-pe-e ép-še-e-tú šá GIM ú-šur-tú <sup>li</sup>ia-a-man-nu x [...]

Ce mois j’ai entendu ceci : le roi Antiochos a fait une marche victorieuse dans les villes de Meluḥḥa. Les *politai* ont [établi] une *pompê* et un rituel selon la coutume grecque.

De fait, les développements de VAN DER SPEK (1987, 68 ; 1993, 100) concernant *politai* et *pompê*, repris par Patrick Michel, sont une avancée sur la traduction de SACHS et HUNGER. Cependant, l’assimilation de Meluḥḥa avec l’Égypte est à revoir. Depuis que Bickerman a postulé une négligence du scribe, tous les commentateurs considèrent que cette marche victorieuse en Meluḥḥa correspond à la première campagne d’Égypte que fit Antiochus la même année (BICKERMAN, 1952, 396-397; MØRKHOLM, 1966, 86, n. 87; WALBANK, 1957-79, 324; VAN DER SPEK, 1987, 67; *Id.* 1993, 100; HÖLBL, 2001, 152 n. 98, et P. Michel). Qu’un scribe ait confondu l’Égypte avec Meluḥḥa, connu à Babylone depuis des lustres, s’accorde mal avec l’habileté de polyglotte, et la présence de scribes égyptiens compétents en écriture cunéiforme (DANDAMAYEV, 1992, 320-323) rend l’hypothèse peu probable. De plus, non seulement cette campagne d’Égypte n’évoque en rien une ‘victoire’ méritant célébration, mais aux dates indiquées le Séleucide aurait déjà quitté le territoire égyptien. En effet, les informations datées ou datables de ses actions en Basse-Égypte concernent la période de basse crue, celle des récoltes et des actions militaires. Après une lutte surprise au Mont Casios et l’occupation de Péluse par ses troupes en février-mars 169, Antiochus se rend à Memphis en distribuant au passage de l’argent aux Grecs (WALBANK, 1957-1979, 324). Un "camp du roi" dans le Delta réquisitionne de l’orge, selon le papyrus Lond. Inv. 1974, daté du 17 avril 169 (SKEAT, 1951, 110-112; MØRKHOLM, 1966, 83; WALBANK, 1979, 358.). Après Naukratis, il se rend à Alexandrie et revient à Memphis où il rencontre en avril son neveu adolescent, Ptolémée VI, pour lui offrir son renfort contre la faction familiale adverse d’Alexandrie prétendante au trône d’Égypte. Après une entrevue avec la délégation de Rhodes à



Alexandrie, qu'il avait assiégée, il quitte l'Égypte, laissant Memphis à Ptolémée VI, non sans avoir stationné ses troupes à Péluse. Fin 169, Antiochus dévaste le temple de Jérusalem (I *Mac* I, 20-23; Josèphe, XII, 246; BICKERMAN, 1952, 397; MØRKHOLM, 1966, 86, 142, n. 25; WILL, 1979, 317, 337; WALBANK, 1957-1979, 358-359). Aucune 'victoire' n'est en fait attestée en Égypte. Péluse n'est qu'un poste frontière, en limite, voir *hors* d'Égypte. Entre l'installation des troupes à Péluse et le sac de Jérusalem, d'autres faits plus glorieux seraient intervenus pendant les semaines précédant la mi-septembre, une date marquante à l'est du Delta. Entre les 17-19 septembre on fêtait la pleine crue et l'ouverture du canal reliant la branche pélusiaque du Nil à l'ouadi Tumilat, rendu ainsi navigable (COOPER, 2009, 204). Cette circulation de cargos vers la mer Rouge par les Lacs Amers et Suez était saisonnière. Elle était précédée par une intense activité de stockage des récoltes et marchandises hors du niveau de la crue montante. Antiochus n'a pu éviter de l'observer et d'en jauger l'intérêt.

Après ses pérégrinations décevantes en Basse-Égypte, Antiochus IV se serait tourné vers l'Isthme de Suez, un secteur hors du périmètre égyptien et une clef économique de poids qui draine tout le trafic des aromates sabéens et celui venant de Gerrha, par Pétra et Suez. Le lien de Babylone avec *Meluhha* était ancien, culturel et économique. Les assyriens Tukulti-Ninurta I (*RIMA* I, 275) et Esarhaddon s'en prévalent (*RINAP* 4, 105). *Meluhha* payait tribut au roi de Babylone au 1<sup>er</sup> millénaire av. J.-C. (WISEMAN, 1967, 495-497, Col. II, 5-8). Si Antiochus IV avait réussi la vassalisation de l'Isthme, où *Meluhha* trouve une localisation cohérente, il devenait maître des deux mers Supérieure et Inférieure, et asphyxiait l'économie lagide déjà aux abois. Le *casus belli* du conflit entre le Séleucide et les Lagides portait sur les droits dynastiques de la Coelé-Syrie, dont le contrôle du trafic nabatéen était l'enjeu majeur. Ptolémée II avait bien compris qu'il fallait détenir simultanément les doubles clefs des ports de la Coelé-Syrie et ceux de la mer Rouge pour en récolter les taxes (TARN, 1929, 22; WILL, 1979, 191-193; HOLBL, 35 ff.; GRAINGER, 1991, 196-198). Avec des comptoirs en mer Rouge, l'aménagement de l'ouadi Tumilat et d'importantes concessions à son temple d'Atum à Tjeku (THIERS, 2007, 94-95), il contrôlait la situation. Mais la double clef échappe à ses successeurs. Antiochus IV est maître de la Coelé-Syrie depuis 175. S'il tient une 'satrapie de *Meluhha*' comme celle de *Mesene-d'Érythrée* au nord du Golfe Persique (MØRKHOLM, 1966, 106, 169 n. 14), on comprend son succès vanté auprès des Babyloniens pour sa conquête du 'pont' vers la Méditerranée. Un tel événement méritait en effet la *pompe* célébrée à l'automne. Antiochus, ainsi en position de force, revient en Égypte au printemps 168, plus agressivement qu'en 169. Mais ses espoirs sont ruinés à Éleusis en quelques instants dans l'épisode fameux du cercle de Popilius Laenas, le général romain qui l'expulse d'Égypte (WILL, 1979, 322-325; MØRKHOLM, 1966, 92-95). Il n'y reviendra plus, se consacrant exclusivement au trafic du Golfe (WILL, 1979, 345-355). Rome avait compris ses objectifs.

L'*Isthmus* des Classiques qui comprenait l'Isthme de Suez et le Désert oriental avait pour nom 'Arabie' depuis Hérodote (*L'Enquête* II, 15; DESANGES, 1989, 416-428). Entre Péluse et Suez, les villes d'Heroonpolis, Neles, Marchades, Daneon, Serapiu, Arsinoe, Cambisis (Kabret), Cleopatris, Qolzum et les deux Clysmas (BRUYÈRE 1966, 11-35) étaient actives et sous domination des Arabes-Quédarites (GRAF, 1990, 131-148; MICHAUX-COLOMBOT, 2011, 288). *Geshem*, identifiée avec Pi-Sopdou à l'entrée de l'ouadi Tumilat est "en Arabie" (*Gen.* 45,10; 46,34; RETSÖ, 2003, 250-251; YOYOTTE, 1989, 31). Ainsi le scribe Babylonien bien informé ne confond l'*Isthmus* ni avec *Musru*, ni avec *Arabaya*, le nord de la péninsule. À juste titre, il désigne *Meluhha*, le secteur stratégique vital aux enjeux économiques des grands. Depuis l'emprise arabe un chef politique y manquait sans doute. Le dernier roi de *Meluhha* remonte à 652 lors de la révolte de Šamaš-šuma-ukîn. Il est cité parmi les coalisés d'Aqaba et Bab Salimeti, après les chefferies MARTU (Prisme A, iii, 96-106, BORGER 1996, 40). *Meluhha* est le dernier maillon occidental du trafic de Gerrhéen.

Le contexte de cette ultime information sur *Meluhha* sous Antiochus IV est capital. Il en éclaire la fonction de "gateway community" nord-sud et est-ouest, entre mers et continents. Cette localisation, corroborée par les sources du I<sup>er</sup> millénaire ne peut avoir varié. L'Indus, Kouch ou l'Égypte sont des localisations purement spéculatives qu'aucun indice certain n'est venu conforter. Le nom du roi sous Sargon II peut être lu GAR.*Patakuan* au lieu de *Šapatakû* (MICHAUX-COLOMBOT sous presse). De même, le pays voisin *Magan*, celui du cuivre, prétendument en Oman, se place naturellement dans l'aire

Sinai-Araba-Timna dès le début. Une route caravanière du cuivre 'Mésopotamie-Delta égyptien' aurait existé au III<sup>e</sup> millénaire par Kirbet Al-Batrawy en Transjordanie, passant par la piste hivernale de l'ouadi Sirhan et Dumah (NIGRO 2014, 60 Fig.5). L'emprise assyrienne sur cette région avait un sens. *In fine*, les installations portuaires importantes du III<sup>e</sup> millénaire, à l'ouadi el Jarf dans le Golfe de Suez (TALLET *et al.*, 2014) offrent désormais de bons arguments pour éliminer le vacuum historique de l'ouest sous Sumer et Akkad. L'Érythrée = mer Inférieure, devait entourer toute l'Arabie, jusqu'au double 'pont' de Magan / Sinai-Araba et Meluhha / Isthmus. Par voie de terre trans arabe, l'un et l'autre sont bien plus proches de l'Euphrate que l'Indus et l'Oman.

#### Bibliographie

- BICKERMAN, E. 1952 "Sur la chronologie de la Sixième Guerre de Syrie", *CdE*, 27, 396-403.
- BORGER, R. 1996 *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, Wiesbaden.
- BRUYÈRE, B. 1966 *Fouilles de Clysmo-Qolzum (Suez)*, FIFAO XXVII, Le Caire.
- COOPER, J.P. 2009 "Egypt's Nile-Red Sea Canals: Chronology, Location, Seasonality and Function", in *Connected Hinterlands*, Proceedings of Red Sea Project IV, Southampton, Septembre 2008, 195-209.
- DANDAMAYEV, M.A. 1992 "Egyptians in Babylonia in the 6th-5th Centuries B.C.", in (Eds. D. Charpin & F. Joannès) *La circulation des biens*, 38<sup>e</sup> RAI, Paris, 321-325.
- DESANGES, J. 1989 "Arabes et Arabie en terre d'Afrique dans la géographie antique", in (Ed. T. Fahd) *L'Arabie Préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel*, USHS 10, 413-429.
- GRAF, D. 1990 "Arabia during Achaemenid Times", in (Eds. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg & A. Kuhrt) *Achaemenid History IV*, Leyde.
- GRAINGER, J.D. 1991, *Hellenistic Phoenicia*, Oxford.
- GRUEN, E.S. 1984 *The Hellenistic world and the coming of Rome I-II*, Berkley.
- HÖLBL, G. 2001 *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, London-New York.
- MICHAUX-COLOMBOT, D. 1990 "La prétendue glose Meluhha-Kaši dans EA 133 :17", *N.A.B.U.* 1990/4, 110-111.
- EAD. 2001 "Magan and Meluhha: a reappraisal through the Historiography of Thalassocratic Powers", in XLV<sup>e</sup> RAI, 329-355.
- EAD. 2011 "Is Maga/Magan, the ancient name for Sinai?", in (Ed. E. Kormycheva), *CHECO* 6, Moscou 277-304 (téléchargeable sur Academia.edu).
- EAD. (sous presse) "Locating the country Meluhha mentioned in cuneiform sources and identifying it with that of *Md3* from Egyptian sources", Actes Colloque, Topography and Toponymy, Louvain-La-Neuve, 27-28/02/2014.
- EAD. (en préparation): "The king of Meluhha is not the king of Kush: once again and more about it", Actes 13<sup>e</sup> Conférence Études Nubiennes, Neuchâtel sept. 2014.
- EAD. (en préparation): "Bronze Age reed boats of Magan and *magillum* boats of Meluhha", Red Sea VII: The Red Sea and the Gulf. Congrès de Naples, 26-30 Mai 2015.
- MICHEL, P.M. 2014 "Note sur le nom du théâtre de Babylone", *N.A.B.U.* 2014/4, 168-169.
- MØRKHOLM, O. 1966 *Antiochus IV of Syria*, Copenhagen.
- NIGRO, L. 2014 "The Copper Route and the Egyptian connection in 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium Jordan", *Vicino Oriente* XVIII, 39-64.
- PRÉAUX, C. 1939 *L'économie royale des Lagides*, Bruxelles.
- RETSÖ, J. 2003 *The Arabs in Antiquity*, Londres - New York.
- SACHS, A.J. & HUNGER, H. 1989 *Astronomical Diaries and related Texts from Babylonia*, OAW 210, Vienne.
- SKEAT, T.C. 1951 "Notes on Ptolemaic Chronology", *JEA* 47, 107-112.
- SWAIN, J.W. 1944 "Antiochus Epiphanes and Egypt", *Classical Philology* XXXIX/2, 73-94.
- TALLET, P. & MAROUARD, G. 2014 "The Harbour of Khufu", *Near Eastern Archaeology* 77, 4-14.
- TARN, W.W. 1929 "Ptolemy II and Arabia", *JEA* XXV, 9-25.
- THIERS, C. 2007 *Ptolémée Philadelphie et les prêtres d'Atoum de Tjékou*, Orientalia Monspeliensa XVII, Montpellier.
- VAN DER SPEK, R.J. 1987 "The Babylonian City" (Eds. A. Kuhrt *et al.*) *Hellenism in the East*, Duckworth, 57-74.
- Id. 1993 "The Astronomical Diaries as a Source for Achaemenid and Seleucid History", *Bi.Or.* L n°1/2, 92-102.
- WALBANK, F.W. 1979 *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, Vol. III, Oxford.
- WILL, E. 1979 *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique*, (323-330) I, Nancy.
- WISEMAN, D.J. 1967 "A Late Babylonian List", *BSOAS* XXX/3, 495-504.
- YOYOTTE, J. 1989 "Le roi Mer-Djefa-Rê et le dieu Sopdou. Un monument de la XIV<sup>e</sup> dynastie", *BSFE* 114, 17-63.

Danièle MICHAUX-COLOMBOT <d.michaux-colombot@orange.fr>

**88) Éblaïte *gú-bù-rúm* = akkadien *kuppurum*, « rite de purification »** — Le terme *gú-bù-rúm* est jusqu'à présent connu en tant qu'*hapax* d'après un passage d'un texte administratif remontant à la période la plus ancienne des archives, quand *ar-ru*<sub>11</sub>-LUM était encore ministre de la ville :

[1] *ARET XV 38 (40–47)*: 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-túg 1 *bu-di* 1 na<sub>4</sub> siki *gú-bù-rúm* / sag / *ti-a-da-mu* / 1 túg-NI.NI 2 *bu-di* 10 *zabar* / dam / šu-mu-taka<sub>4</sub> / <sup>d</sup>utu / 1 sal-túg / 1 íb+III-túg gùn / guruš / šu-mu-taka<sub>4</sub> / <sup>d</sup>utu / 1 kin siki / tuš / <sup>d</sup>utu / 1 *gu-zi-mug-túg* / ùz-mí / 2 túg-NI.NI / *za-ga-rí-iš* / ká / SA-ZA<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup> / 1 túg-NI.NI 1 íb+IV-túg gùn / *ba-lu-zú* / 21 na<sub>4</sub> siki / ír<sub>11</sub>-ír<sub>11</sub> / <sup>d</sup>en<sup>ki</sup> / 1 túg-NI.NI *dumu-mí* / *za-ni-tum* / in u<sub>4</sub> / u<sub>9</sub>-zú / *ig-rí-iš-l̪a-lab<sub>x</sub>* / *du-da-ù*.

Ce passage est en grande partie parallèle à :

[2] *ARET XV 12 (54–58)*: 1 zara<sub>6</sub>-túg 1 gíd:túg 1 *bu-di* *zabar* / 1 na<sub>4</sub> siki / *ti-a-da-mu* / 1 túg-NI.NI 1 íb+III gùn / *ba-lu-zú* / 1 sal-túg guruš / *gaba-ru* / *ba-lu-zú* / 1 túg-NI.NI dam / *gaba-ru* / dingir / 1 *gu-zi-mug-túg* / ùz / 2 bal<sup>l</sup>(LAK-20) siki babbar / 2 bal<sup>l</sup>(LAK-20) siki gi<sub>6</sub> / 1 LAK-390 / 1 kin siki / tuš / <sup>d</sup>utu / 6 kin siki / 6 sal-túg / 7 nídba maḥ

Il concerne les livraisons de tissus et de laine pour la cérémonie du nídba <sup>d</sup>en<sup>ki</sup>, le « lieu du repos des rois défunts » ou bien le dieu qui protégeait cet endroit, c'est-à-dire <sup>d</sup>ra-sa-ab, dont on connaît, en effet, une hypostase qualifiée de <sup>d</sup>en<sup>ki</sup>.<sup>1)</sup> Au début de ces deux extraits, on note qu'il y a le même enregistrement de tissus précieux et de bijoux pour une femme de la cour, *ti-a-da-mu*, à propos de laquelle le texte ne donne pas de renseignements mais qui a évidemment pris une part active à la cérémonie.

Dans le passage [1] la raison de la livraison pour cette dame est indiquée par la graphie sémitique *gú-bù-rúm*. Même si la signification du sumérogramme sag qui suit ce terme demeure incertaine, on peut interpréter, à mon avis, *gú-bù-rúm* d'après l'akkadien *kuppurum*, « purifier », <sup>2)</sup> du sém. \**kpr*.<sup>3)</sup> Il faut constater qu'il s'agit exactement de la même racine qui est à l'origine du nom de la cérémonie biblique du *ym kpr* pendant laquelle se déroulait le rite du « bouc émissaire ». <sup>4)</sup> Dans [1-2], on le rappellera, un tissu en laine (*gu-zi-mug-túg*) est livré pour une chèvre (ùz-[mí]) qui sert de « bouc émissaire ». Ce rite de purification devient nécessaire car il y a eu un contact entre les vivants et les morts en évoquant les esprits des ancêtres royaux.<sup>5)</sup>

Il n'est pas clair si dans [1] *gú-bù-rúm* est employé comme lecture sémitique du sumérien a:tu<sub>22</sub>. En ce cas, il s'agirait d'une variante lexicale des textes de la période du ministre *ar-ru*<sub>11</sub>-LUM, étant donné que les équivalents éblaïtes d'a:tu<sub>22</sub> tirent toujours leur origine de la racine \**hll*, « purifier ». <sup>6)</sup> Il demeure de toute façon intéressant de noter que déjà à Ébla au milieu du III<sup>e</sup> millénaire il y avait un lien entre le rite de purification *kuppurum* et le rite du « bouc émissaire », ce que l'on trouvera de nouveau dans la Bible. Tout cela apporte des preuves nouvelles en faveur de l'hypothèse selon laquelle il faut chercher dans la Syrie du Nord l'origine du rite du bouc émissaire.<sup>7)</sup>

1) Pour cette interprétation, Pasquali 2009a ; 2009b.

2) WRIGHT 1987 : 64, a bien résumé la signification du rite du *kuppurum* pendant la fête de l'*Akītu* dans la documentation mésopotamienne : « The rite is simply for the transfer and disposal of evils affecting Nabû's cella; it contains no motive of substitution as often appears in Hittite and other Mesopotamian rituals. The carcass of the ram is used to wipe away evils present in the room (line 354). It thereby becomes saturated with impurity and must be disposed of properly by casting it into the river (line 359). Because the rite only manifests the idea of transfer and disposal, it is conceptually similar to the "scapegoat" rite. Another notable similarity between the two rites is the pollution incurred by officiants ».

3) Voir *DRS* 10 : 1264-1265. Il faut donc abandonner l'interprétation de *gú-bù-rúm* proposée dans PASQUALI 2010 : 174. POMPONIO 2008 : 419, en revanche, ne traduit pas du tout le terme. Je reviendrai sur l'argumentation dans un prochain article.

4) PERI 2003 : 180-190.

5) PASQUALI 2009b ; PASQUALI 2013 : 44.

6) FRONZAROLI 1993 : 39-40.

7) Comme JANOWSKI & WILHELM 1993 le proposent.

## Bibliographie

- FRONZAROLI, P. 1993 *Archivi Reali di Ebla. Testi, XI. Testi rituali della regalità (Archivio L.2769)*, Roma.  
 JANOWSKI, B. & WILHELM, G. 1993 « Der Bock, der die Sünden hinausträgt. Zur Religionsgeschichte der Azazel-Ritus Lev. 16,10.21f », dans B. Janowski, G. Wilhelm et K. Koch (édd.), *Religionsgeschichtliche*

*Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament. Internationales Symposium Hamburg 17.–21. März 1990, Freiburg-Göttingen: 109–169.*

PASQUALI, J. 2009a AN.EN.(KI) en tant que lieu de sépultures à Ébla, *NABU* 2009/24.

ID. 2009b « La graphie *u<sub>9</sub>-zu, u<sub>9</sub>-zú* et l'exercice de la nécromancie dans la documentation éblaïte », *NABU* 2009/62.

ID. 2010 « Les noms sémitiques des tissus dans les textes d'Ébla », dans C. Michel et M.-L. Nosch (éds.), *Textiles Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennia BC*, Oxford: 173–185.

ID. 2013 « Symbolique de mort et de renaissance dans les cultes et les rites éblaïtes: <sup>d</sup>*ga-na-na*, les ancêtres et la royauté », *RA* 107: 43–70.

PERI, C. 2003 *Il regno del nemico. La morte nella religione di Canaan*, Brescia.

POMPONIO, F. 2008 *Archivi Reali di Ebla. Testi, XV, 1. Testi amministrativi: assegnazioni mensili di tessuti. Periodo di Arrugum (Archivio L.2769)*, Roma.

WRIGHT, D. P. 1987 *The Disposal of Impurity: Elimination Rites in the Bible and in Hittite and Mesopotamian Literature*, Atlanta.

Jacopo PASQUALI <pasquali.jacopo@tin.it>

05, Avenue du 7<sup>ème</sup> Génie, 84000 AVIGNON (France)

## *N.A.B.U.*

Abonnement pour un an / *Subscription for one year:* EUROPE / *EUROPA* 18 €  
AUTRES PAYS / *OTHER COUNTRIES* 27 €

– Par chèque postal ou bancaire en **Euros COMPENSABLE EN FRANCE** à l'ordre de / *By Bank check in Euros PAYABLE IN FRANCE and made out to: Société pour l'Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien.*

**Nota Bene: Pour tout paiement par chèque en Euros compensable à l'étranger, ajouter 11 € / *With checks in Euros payable in other countries, add 11 €.***

– Par virement postal à l'ordre de / *To Giro Account: Société pour l'Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien,*  
14, rue des Sources, 92160 ANTONY. **CCP 14.691 84 V PARIS**

IBAN: FR 23 2004 1000 0114 69184V02 032

BIC: PSSTFRPPPAR

**Téléchargez tous les numéros de *N.A.B.U.* depuis 1987 gratuitement, abonnez-vous à *N.A.B.U.* ou commandez les volumes des *Mémoires de N.A.B.U.* sur <http://www.sepoa.fr>**

***For subscriptions in USA only:***

One year = 34 US \$. Our financial representative in the USA is Pr. Jack SASSON.

**Beginning on May 1, subscribers need to send their checks to: Jack M. Sasson 243 Hales Wood, Chapel Hill, NC. 27517. Make check payable to: «Jack M. Sasson»**

Les manuscrits pour publication sont à envoyer à l'une des deux adresses suivantes:

*Manuscripts to be published should be sent to one of these addresses:*

J.-M. DURAND – IPOA, Collège de France, 52 rue du Cardinal Lemoine, 75005 PARIS, FRANCE.

e-mail: jean-marie.durand@college-de-france.fr

Pour tout ce qui concerne les affaires administratives, les abonnements et les réclamations, adresser un courrier à l'adresse électronique suivante: **contact@sepoa.fr**

Comité de Rédaction / *Editorial Board*

Dominique CHARPIN - Jean-Marie DURAND

Francis JOANNÈS - Nele ZIEGLER

*N.A.B.U.* est publié par la Société pour l'Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien, Association (Loi de 1901) sans but lucratif

ISSN n° 0989-5671. Dépôt légal: Paris, 10-2015. Reproduction par photocopie

Directeur de la publication: D. Charpin