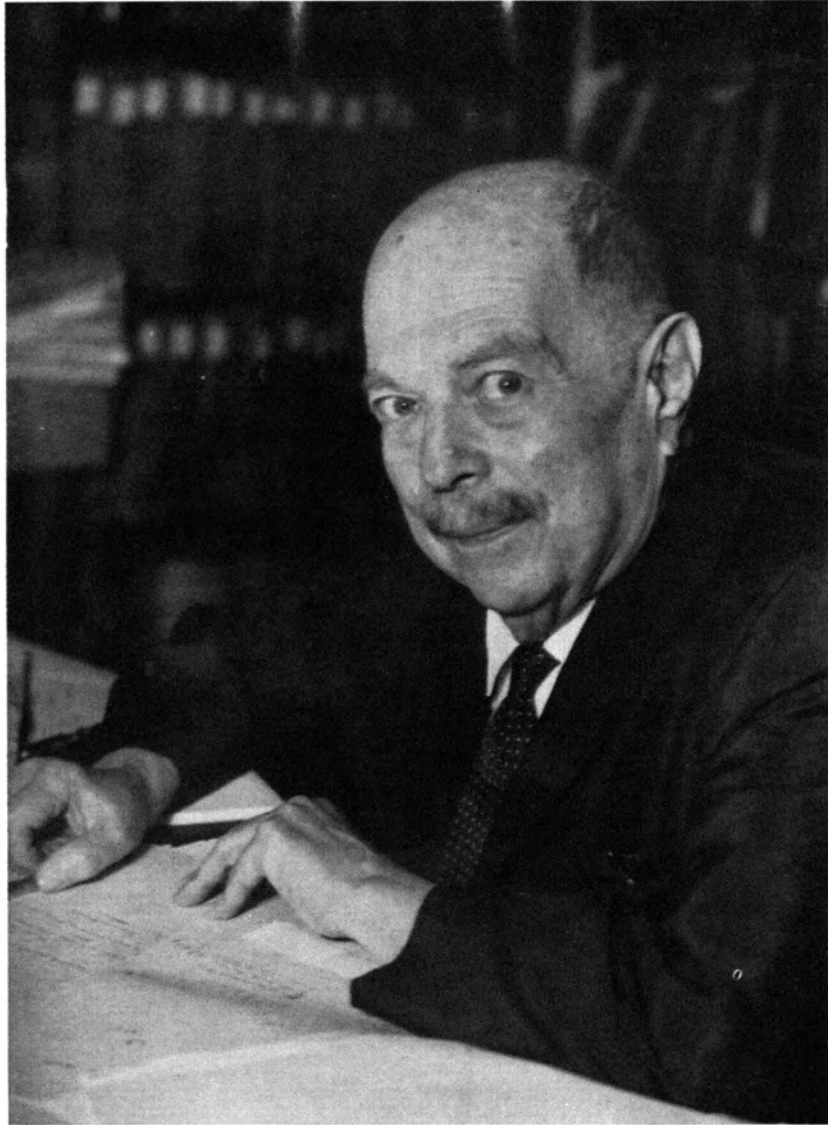


THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
ASSYRIOLOGICAL STUDIES . NO. 16



Demosthenes

STUDIES
IN HONOR OF
BENNO LANDSBERGER
ON HIS
SEVENTY-FIFTH BIRTHDAY
APRIL 21, 1965

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THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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EDITORS' FOREWORD

Planning a Festschrift for our teacher and friend Benno Landsberger was a pleasant and challenging task. It also soon proved to be a task of considerable magnitude. When we began to enumerate his former and present colleagues, his pupils, and his many other friends, we realized that it would be impossible to include contributions of all of them. As a matter of fact on two earlier occasions it had been this great number of Landsberger's friends which had kept us from even attempting to prepare full-size Festschriften and caused us rather to present him with publications of modest size: a bibliography and a list of his lexicographical contributions on his sixtieth birthday (*JCS* IV [1950] 1-62) and one issue of our departmental journal (*JNES* XIX, No. 2, of April, 1960), containing ten articles, on his seventieth. Now, when the approach of his seventy-fifth birthday offered the opportunity to prepare a volume in honor of Professor Landsberger, we were forced by practical considerations to keep the size of the book within certain limits and therefore had to restrict the number of contributions; and since limitation was necessary the obvious principle was to invite only Assyriologists. We are painfully aware that this meant that some of Landsberger's very good friends could not be invited to participate, and we can only hope that they will forgive us.

It is characteristic of the wide range of interests of the scholar for whom they were written that the articles presented here cover such a variety of fields. That some of them deal with

general Semitics, Hebrew, or Phoenician indicates that their authors know such subjects to be by no means peripheral to Landsberger's scholarship. Similarly, when two of the invited Assyriologists proposed themes involving contributions of an archeologist and a musicologist, respectively, we were glad to include these because they touch upon subjects which have also occupied Landsberger. Quite naturally, some topics relevant to the master's own work were selected by more than one contributor. In view of both the diversity of the articles in general and the affinity of some it seemed advisable for once to depart from the traditional alphabetic arrangement and rather to attempt to arrange the articles by topics, even though many different and often overlapping criteria had to be used. We hope that it will be evident, at least approximately, what the guidelines were in this endeavor.

Benno Landsberger's uniqueness lies not only in his mastery of all parts of an enormously wide field but also in the intensity with which he penetrates any subject chosen from any part of it. We—the contributors to this volume—are conscious of the fact that "he has no equal" (as the texts say), and for that reason can only hope that he will look upon our modest gifts "with a gracious eye."

HANS G. GÜTERBOCK
THORKILD JACOBSEN

CHICAGO
April 21, 1965

TABLE OF CONTENTS

NEW SUMERIAN LAW FRAGMENTS. <i>Miguel Civil</i>	1
TWO FRAGMENTS OF SUMERIAN LAWS. <i>O. R. Gurney and S. N. Kramer</i>	13
A THREE-COLUMN <i>Silbenvokabular</i> A. <i>Edmond Sollberger</i>	21
"VOCALISES" ET "SYLLABES EN LIBERTÉ" À UGARIT. <i>Jean Nougayrol</i>	29
ADDITIONS TO SERIES B AND C OF PERSONAL NAMES FROM OLD BABYLONIAN NIPPUR. <i>Muazzez Çiğ and Hatice Kızılyay</i>	41
THE PHILADELPHIA ONION ARCHIVE. <i>I. J. Gelb</i>	57
BEITRÄGE ZUM SUMERISCHEN WÖRTERBUCH. <i>Åke W. Sjöberg</i>	63
ABOUT THE SUMERIAN VERB. <i>Thorkild Jacobsen</i>	71
DAS AKKADISCHE <i>t</i> -PERFEKT IN HAUPT- UND NEBENSÄTZEN UND SUMERISCHE VERBALFORMEN MIT DEN PRÄFIXEN <i>ba-</i> , <i>imma-</i> , UND <i>u-</i> . <i>Wolfram von Soden</i>	103
DIE STÄMME DES ALTBABYLONISCHEN VERBUMS IN IHREM OPPOSITIONSSYSTEM. <i>D. O. Edzard</i>	111
THE VERBAL NOUNS IN ACHAEMENID ELAMITE. <i>Richard T. Hallock</i>	121
DIE ANUNNA IN DER SUMERISCHEN ÜBERLIEFERUNG. <i>A. Falkenstein</i>	127
<i>Igigū</i> UND <i>Anunnakkū</i> NACH DEN AKKADISCHEN QUELLEN. <i>Burkhard Kienast</i>	141
THE OLD ASSYRIAN WEEK. <i>Kemal Balkan</i>	159
ANATOLISCHE FESTE NACH "KAPPADOKISCHEN" TAFELN. <i>Lubor Matouš</i>	175
STYLES IN KÜLTEPE SEAL ENGRAVING AS EXPRESSIONS OF VARIOUS CULTURAL INFLUENCES. <i>Mebrure Tosun</i>	183
IM 62100: A LETTER FROM TELL SHEMSHARA. <i>Jørgen Læssøe</i>	189
A VOTIVE SWORD WITH OLD ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTION. <i>Hans G. Güterbock</i>	197
A "PERSIAN GULF" SEAL ON AN OLD BABYLONIAN MERCANTILE AGREEMENT	199
A MERCANTILE AGREEMENT FROM THE REIGN OF GUNGUNUM OF LARSA. <i>William W. Hallo</i>	199
A DATED "PERSIAN GULF" SEAL AND ITS IMPLICATIONS. <i>Briggs Buchanan</i>	204
TAVERN KEEPERS AND THE LIKE IN ANCIENT BABYLONIA. <i>Albrecht Goetze</i>	211
THE JOURNEY OF THE DIVINE WEAPON. <i>Rivkah Harris</i>	217
EIN EDIKT DES KÖNIGS SAMSU-ILUNA VON BABYLON. <i>F. R. Kraus</i>	225
SOME NEW <i>Misharum</i> MATERIAL AND ITS IMPLICATIONS. <i>J. J. Finkelstein</i>	233
DEAD OF NIGHT. <i>Erica Reiner</i>	247
A NOTE ON THE SCRIBES IN MESOPOTAMIA. <i>A. Leo Oppenheim</i>	253
JEUX NUMÉRIQUES DANS L'IDÉOGRAPHIE SUSIENNE. <i>René Labat</i>	257
THE STRINGS OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS: THEIR NAMES, NUMBERS, AND SIGNIFICANCE. <i>Anne Draffkorn Kilmer</i> , WITH AN APPENDIX BY <i>Marcelle Duchesne-Guillemin</i>	261
IŠTAR-ŠĀD AND THE BOW STAR. <i>Hildegard Lewy</i>	273
A MIDDLE ASSYRIAN TABLET OF INCANTATIONS. <i>W. G. Lambert</i>	283
AN INTRODUCTION TO BABYLONIAN PSYCHIATRY. <i>J. V. Kinnier Wilson</i>	289

MAGICAL-EXPERT (= <i>Āšipu</i>) AND PHYSICIAN (= <i>Asû</i>): NOTES ON TWO COMPLEMENTARY PROFESSIONS IN BABYLONIAN MEDICINE. <i>Edith K. Ritter</i>	299
<i>Urruru</i> , "(AM FEUER) DÖRREN." <i>Franz Köcher</i>	323
<i>Apišalû</i> . <i>Erle Leichty</i>	327
EINE LISTE VON AMULETTSTEINEN IM MUSEUM ZU ISTANBUL. <i>Kadriye Yalvaç</i>	329
PROBLEMATICAL BATTLES IN MESOPOTAMIAN HISTORY. <i>A. K. Grayson</i>	337
A BABYLONIAN POLITICAL PAMPHLET FROM ABOUT 700 B.C. <i>I. M. Diakonoff</i>	343
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF NABUNAJD: HISTORICAL ARRANGEMENT. <i>Hayim Tadmor</i>	351
CAMPAIGNS TO THE MEDITERRANEAN BY IAHDUNLIM AND OTHER EARLY MESOPOTAMIAN RULERS. <i>Abraham Malamat</i>	365
THE TOPOLOGICAL FACTOR IN THE <i>Hapiru</i> PROBLEM. <i>M. B. Rowton</i>	375
<i>Pāli</i> AND CONGENERS: A SAMPLING OF APOTROPAIC SYMBOLS. <i>E. A. Speiser</i>	389
STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE SEMITIC LEXICOGRAPHY. <i>Moshe Held</i>	395
PARALLELS TO THE AKKADIAN STATIVE IN THE WEST SEMITIC LANGUAGES. <i>Jussi Aro</i>	407
HEBRÄISCHE ERSATZNAMEN. <i>Johann Jakob Stamm</i>	413
ZUR STELLUNG DES JAUDISCHEN IN DER NORDWESTSEMITISCHEN SPRACHGESCHICHTE. <i>Johannes Friedrich</i>	425
DER RELATIVSATZ IM PHÖNIZISCHEN UND PUNISCHEN. <i>Hans-Siegfried Schuster</i>	431

NEW SUMERIAN LAW FRAGMENTS¹

MIGUEL CIVIL

Chicago

Shortly after the publication of the Hammurabi stele in 1902, the opinion that it was to a large extent a compilation of older sources was widely accepted by scholars and seriously studied by Koschaker in 1914–17.² He was limited, however, to internal criticism alone. Definitive answers, he added, could be given only “wenn glückliche Funde uns noch weitere Originale sumerischer Gesetze bescheren.” This desideratum has now largely been fulfilled, but the older sources available are still very imperfectly preserved. We have only about 40% of Lipitištar’s laws and an undetermined—but certainly very small—proportion of Urnammu’s laws. Any new finds are thus welcome, no matter how small, and it is a pleasure to offer the following material as a humble contribution in honor of the editor and commentator of *Ana ittišu*.

All the texts here published are from the collections of the University Museum in Philadel-

phia,³ and they contain completely new material, or substantially new additions, on the following subjects:

1. Lipitištar’s Laws⁴
 - CL § 28 = CH § 148 Remarriage in case of disability of the wife
 - § 30 Marriage with a prostitute against a court order
 - § 31 = § 165 Gifts to a son
 - § 33 Slandering of an unmarried woman
2. UM 55-21-71
 - ii 2’ ff. = CH §§ 242–43 Rental of oxen
 - 8’ ff. Succession in default of male heirs
 - iii 2’ ff. = §§ 209–10, Assault on a pregnant woman
 - 213
3. Various texts about damage to rented oxen (see list on p. 6).

1. ADDITIONS TO LIPITIŠTAR’S LAWS: NEW TEXTS

I = N 1791* (Pl. I), small fragment which joins the upper part of UM 29-16-55 + 29-16-249 = text B of Steele’s edition,⁵ which forms with texts C and G and with N 3058 (= H, published in *ArOr* XVIII, Pls. 8–9) the large tablet (abbreviated hereafter as B+) with the full text of CL.

J = CBS 2158 (Pls. I–II), a badly preserved portion of a three-column tablet, which originally contained the last quarter of CL, including the epilogue. The contents of the preserved part are as follows:

¹The abbreviations are as in *CAD*, with the following additions:

CH Hammurabi Laws

CL Lipitištar Laws

GSG A. Poebel, *Grundzüge der sumerische Grammatik*

SGL *Sumerische Götterlieder*

²*Rechtsvergleichende Studien zur Gesetzgebung Hammurapis* (Leipzig, 1917).

ii = B+ xvi 29–49

iii = xvii 32–50

iv = xvii 58–xviii 13

v = xix 3–17

K = N 3320* (Pl. II), a small fragment of the reverse of a tablet with at least two columns:

i’ = B+ xvii 58a–xviii 6

ii’ = xix 2–9

For UM 55-21-71, which may also belong to CL, see pages 4–6.

The sections to which substantial additions are made are given in full; for the others, only

³I wish to express my gratitude to its curator, Professor Samuel N. Kramer, for his generosity in making the pieces available.

⁴For a general concordance between CH and CL see F. R. Steele in *AJA* LII 450 (cf. following note).

⁵*Ibid.* pp. 425 ff.; reprinted in the series “Museum Monographs” of the University of Pennsylvania. Our sigla for the published texts are the same as those used by Steele.

the variants are listed. The numbering of lines and paragraphs follows Steele's edition.

- xvi 30 J has -k a m, instead of -k a of F.
 40 B+ and J have ì-; F has in- (cf. Falkenstein in *Or.* NS XIX 109).
- xvii 27 t u k u n - b i
 28 l ú - ù
 29 d a m - n i t a l a m - a - n i
 30 i g i - n i b a - a b - g i₄
 31 ù š u b a - a n - l á - l á
 32 é - t a n u - u b - t a - è - e⁶
 33-34 d a m - a - n i d a m - 2 - k a m - m a⁷
 35 b a - a n - d u₁₂ - d u₁₂⁸
 36 d a m - e g i r - r a - k e₄⁹
 37 d a m - n i t a l a m
 38 i n - í l - í l - e¹⁰

§ 28. "If a man's first wife has *lost her sight* or has become a paralytic, she shall not leave the house; (if) her husband takes a second wife, the later wife shall support the first wife." Variant: "he shall support the later wife (and) the first wife."

In spite of Steele's remark (*AJA* LII 448) that no parallel exists in CH for CL § 28, there is at first sight a striking resemblance between CL § 28 and CH § 148, which will become more apparent after a re-examination of lines 30-31. In CH § 148, a man is authorized to take a second wife, without divorcing the first one, if the first has become sick with *lahbum*. She may stay in the house and shall be supported by her husband. The conclusion of CL § 28 is similar. Therefore, the difficult lines 30-31 must be understood in the sense that something—presumably a disease, as in CH—prevents the wife, without culpability on her part, from fulfilling her marital and household duties properly. Of the two verbs in lines 30-31, *igi—gi₄* and *š u—l á*, the second one is well attested in the sense of "to be(come) paralyzed," literally, "to hang down limp, a member of the body"; cf. *l ú—š u—l á—a = uš₄—šú—lum* (OB Lu part 7:6) and the lexical references for *š u—l á =*

ešēlu given in *CAD* IV 341. As for *igi—gi₄*, no helpful references are known,¹¹ and the translation "to lose the sight" is based on the context, which requires, according to the proposed interpretation, a disability severe enough to render the wife useless, and on the fact that, although there are many terms meaning "blind," a Sumerian expression for "to become blind" has not yet been found. While CH, as well as the Ur III ditilla quoted below, gives only names for the disease(s), CL describes the effects. Since Sum. ù can have a conjunctive as well as a disjunctive value (*GSG* § 417), it is uncertain whether two unconnected disabilities are meant, regardless of their cause, or whether a specific disease whose main effects were loss of sight and paralysis is intended. In the latter case one could think of leprosy, which includes as two of its most characteristic results blindness and loss, total or partial, of hands and feet.¹² Instead of the difficult *d a m - g a l a m - n [a(?)]*¹³ of text F, the new source I gives a straightforward *d a m - 2 - k a m - m a* (cf. CH § 148: *ana šanītim aḥāzīm*). Unless of course it is a simple paleographic error for *2 - k a m, g a l a m* in the present context can hardly mean anything but "skillful," in the sense of someone able to carry out his duties properly, that is, "able-bodied," in contradistinction to the handicapped wife. Otherwise, the word *g a l a m* is never used of persons in Sumerian literature, where it qualifies only: *m e, i n i m, š à* (for references see Falkenstein in *ZA* XLIX 138 and Van Dijk, *SGL* II 122), and *n a m - š u b* (*CT* XVI, Pl. 28,

¹¹ Cf. *igi—gi₄ = MIN (= sa-ḥa-rum) šá [i]-[nim]* (Nab-nitu X 207). One could think of *gi₄ = peḥá*, "to close an opening," although *peḥá*, when used with parts of the body, is said only of the mouth (*Izbu* III 38; *AMT* 90, 27), the ears (*Malku* IV 14; *KAR*, No. 473 rev. 27 [figurative]), and the anus (*Izbu* III 75). The semantic ranges of *gi₄* and *peḥá* do not, of course, necessarily overlap.

¹² If we assume that the *same* disease—traditionally recognized as giving the husband the right to take a second wife—is meant in all three sources, these give the impression of an attempt to avoid a tabooed word for leprosy, or whatever the disease turns out to be, since the ditilla gives only the mythical etiology (*á - z á g — s ì g*), CL describes only the effects, and CH probably uses the word *lahbum* as a euphemism. The sense of *lahbum* still needs clarification and cannot be discussed here, but there is no doubt that it is applied often in the medical texts to conditions which do not fit the description in CL and are insufficient to explain the incapacity of the woman.

¹³ The last sign in F remains uncertain.

⁶ I: -e; F om.

⁷ F: *g a l a m - n [a(?)]*; I: *2 - k a m - m a*.

⁸ F: *- d u₁₂ - a*; I: *- d u₁₂ - d u₁₂*.

⁹ I: *- k e₄*; F om.

¹⁰ I: -e; F om.

line 52).¹⁴ The variant $-k e_4$ in line 36 changes the meaning of the final disposition of the law. According to F, the subject is still $l ú - ù$, "he will support the later wife (and) the first wife," in agreement with CH § 148. According to the new variant, the later wife becomes the subject and she has to take care of the needs of the disabled woman. The practical application of CL § 28 and CH § 148 is illustrated by a much older source: *ITT* III 2, No. 6550 (= Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden*, No. 6), an Ur III ditilla in which a wife stricken by a disease ($\acute{a} - z \acute{a} g b a - a n - s [i g] - a$) asks her husband to marry a second wife and adds $[ù g] \acute{a} - e \check{s} e - b a s \acute{f} g - b a \check{h} a - d a b$, "and let me receive an allotment for food and clothing" (see Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden* II 9 f.).

xvii 47 $i n - n a - a b - t a b (!) - e - n e$

Here we read $-t a b -$, instead of $-b a -$, according to photograph of B and in agreement with CH §§ 160–61 (*uštašannâma*).

xvii 50 $t u k u n - b i$
 51 $g u r u \check{s} - d a m - d u_{12}$
 52 $k a r - k i d - d \acute{e} t i l l a_2 - a$
 53 $i n - d u_{12} - \grave{a} m$
 54 $k a r - k i d - b i - i r$
 55 $n u - u n - \check{s} i - g u r - r u - d a$
 56 $d i - k u d - e - n e i n - n a - a n - e \check{s}$
 57 $e g i r - b i - t a d a m - n i t a l a m - a - n i$
 58 $b a - a n - t a k_4 k \grave{u} - d a m - t a k_4 - a - n i$
 58a $\acute{u} - n a' - [l \acute{a}]$
 59 $k a r - k i d - b i$
 60 $n u - u n - d u_{12} - [d u_{12}]$

§ 30. "If a married man joined a prostitute from the street and the judges have told him not to go back to the prostitute, (if) after that he divorces his wife, when he has paid the divorce money, he shall not marry that prostitute."

The new lines give the formerly missing conclusion of § 30. A married man has become attached to a public woman. A court order restraining him from seeing her again (for $g u r$

¹⁴ In $i g i - g a l a m$ (Falkenstein in *ZA* XLIX 112, line 1) the reading $m e$ given by text B (= *VAS* X, No. 145 [not pointed out by the editor]) is probably preferable to $i g i$ of text A (collated by E. Sollberger).

in the sense of "to go back to a woman" see Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden*, No. 23:8) has been given, presumably after complaint by the wife. The law establishes then that not even after divorcing his wife will he be able to marry the prostitute. The restoration $k \grave{u} - [d a m] - t a k_4 - [a - n i]$ was suggested by M. San Nicolò in *Or.* NS XIX 116 (cf. also Falkenstein in *Or.* NS XIX 110). The verb is $[l \acute{a}]$ in all probability; cf. $\grave{u} \frac{1}{2} m a - n a k \grave{u} - d a m - t a k_4 - n i - r a \grave{i} - l \acute{a} - e$ (*BE* VI 2, No. 40:11), $k \grave{u} - d a m - t a k_4 \frac{1}{3} m a - n a - \grave{a} m a l - l \acute{a} - e a l - t a g - t a g k \grave{u} - d a m - t a k_4 - a \frac{1}{3} m a - n a - \grave{a} m g \acute{a} - e b a - r a - d u_8$ (Dialogue 5:190 ff.).

xviii 1 $t u k u n - b i$
 2 $a d - d a - t i - l a$
 3 $d u m u i g i - n a^{15} \check{s} a_6 - g a$
 4 $n \acute{f} g - b a i n - n a - a n - b a$
 5 $k i \check{s} i b i n - n a - a n - 's a r'$
 6 $e g i r - a d - d a - b a^{16} - \acute{u} \check{s} - a - t a$
 7 $i b i l a - e - n e$
 8 $\acute{e} - a d - d a \grave{i} - b a - e - n e$
 9 $\check{h} a - l a - b a (!) - a n u - u n - b a - e - n e$
 10 $i n i m - a d - d a - n e - n e$
 11 $A.A^{17} n u - u n - n e - n e$

§ 31. "If a father, while living, has presented a gift to a favorite son and written him a sealed document, after the father has died, the heirs shall divide the estate of the father (but) they shall not divide the (already) given share. They shall not . . . their father's word."

This paragraph, now complete, is a forerunner of CH § 165, with the differences—after emendation of Steele's reading in line 9—that the son is called simply $d u m u$ in CL but $DUMU.NITA$ in CH, that the gift is described in more detail in CH, and that there is no equivalent in CH for the last two lines of CL. In both sources the existence of a written and sealed document is an indispensable condition for the son to keep the gift after his father's death. The readings $k i \check{s} i b$ and $s a r$ are preferable to $d u b$ and $s u m$ according to CH § 165: *kunukkam*

¹⁵ J: $-n a$; K: $-n u$ (error). Cf. CH § 165: *ša inšu mahru*.

¹⁶ K: $-b a -$; B+ (and J?) om.

¹⁷ B+: $A.A$; J: $\check{H}A$ [.

ištursum. The correction of ḥa-la-é-a to ḥa-la-ba-a is based on a photograph of B+. The reading -ba-e- of the verb of line 9 is based on Steele's copy but is not clearly supported by the photograph, which seems to have gá-gá. In spite of the new variant in line 11, no satisfactory translation of it is yet possible. A likely restoration in text J would be ḥA.[A...], that is, záh, with a translation "they shall not make the (written) word of their father disappear," but a form *záh — du₁₁ / e is otherwise unattested.

xviii 32 [] - 'x¹ - n e
 33 [t] u k u n - b i
 34 d u m u - m u n u s - l ú
 35 é - n u - g i₄ - a g i š ì - z u
 36 l ú b [a - a] b - d u₁₁
 37 'g i š¹ n u - u n - z u - a
 38 u n - g e - e n
 39 10 g í n k ù - b a b b a r ì - l á - e

§ 33. "If a man has said that a freeman's daughter who is not yet married has had sexual

intercourse, once it has been proved that she has not had sexual intercourse, he shall pay ten shekels of silver."

The case of the slandering of an unmarried girl is not considered in the extant law sources, which seem concerned with protecting the honor of married women only. For "unmarried" the text uses not the ordinary term dam-nu-du₁₂ but the hapax é-nu-gi₄-a, the negative of the well-known expression é-gi₄-a, "daughter-in-law," Akk. *kallatu*. In an unpublished inscription of Šusin we have a comparable case: dumu-munus-a-ni si-ma-nú m^{ki}-e 'na m¹-é-gi₄-a-bi-šè [...] -sum, "he (Šusin) gave his daughter in marriage (lit. 'as a bride') in Simanum" (Šusin Collection B iii 26 ff., to be published by the writer).

xix 2-4 For the traces, see copies of J v (Pl. II) and K ii' (Pl. III).

9 J: -lá-ta; B+ omits -lá-.
 13 J: -im-mi-gi₄; B+ omits -im-.
 16 J: -im-mi-a-k; B+ omits -im-.

2. THE TABLET UM 55-21-71

UM 55-21-71* (Pl. III) is part of the reverse of a three-column tablet excavated in Nippur during the 1949/50 campaign, with the field number 2NT 440.

There is no positive proof that UM 55-21-71 belongs to CL. Some considerations, however, suggest that it may be taken provisionally as part of CL. The first and only completely preserved line of column vi in B+ reads ní-g-ga-é-a-d-da, and, although it is clear from the traces in the following line that it does not duplicate ii 14 of UM 55-21-71, nevertheless it can very well be part of a section dealing with rights of succession, as does the lower part of column ii in the new tablet. The obverse of B+ is practically gone, and there is ample room for the text of our tablet. Column ii of UM 55-21-71 would thus be placed toward the end of column v of B+ and column iii somewhere in column vi of B+. The fact that CL deals with oxen again at the very end imposes no objection to this arrangement, if one takes the paragraphs about rented oxen (discussed on pp. 6-8) as an appendix to CL, added perhaps only in a later recension.

col. ii

2' t u k u n - [b i]
 g u d - á b - ù r - r a l ú [i n - ḥ u n]
 m u - 2 - à m a d d i [r - š è]
 5' 8 š e g u r i n - n a - á g - á g
 g u d - á b - s a g - m u r u b₄ a d d i r - [š è]
 6 š e g u r i n - n a - á g - á g
 t u k u n - b i l ú b a - ú š
 d u m u - n i t a n u - u n - d u₁₂
 10' d u m u - m u n u s d a m n u - u n - d u₁₂ - a
 i b i l a - a - n i 'x¹ - [(x) - k u₄ - (k u₄)]
 t u k u n - [b i l ú b a - ú š]
 d u m u - m u n u s - a - n i []
 n í g - g a - é - a d - d a - n a [()]
 15' n i n₉ - b à n - d a m u r g u_x - é - 'a¹ - []
 (rest broken)

col. iii

2' t u k u [n - b i x - r] e
 d u m u - m u n u s - l [ú - k a i - n i - i n] -
 r a
 n í g - š à - [g a] - n a
 5' š u m u - u [n - d a - a n - l á]
 ½ m a - n a [k ù - b a b b a r ì - l á] - e

t u k u n - b [i b] a - ú š
 n i t a - b i ì - [g a z] - e
 t u k u n - b i [x] - r e
 10' 'g e m e₂' - l ú - k a i - n i - i n - r a
 n í g - š à - g a - n a
 š u m u - u n - d a - a n - l á
 5 g í n k ù - [b a b b a r ì - l á] - e
 t u k u n - [b i]
 15' S A G P A []

ii 2'-7'. "If a man has hired oxen (to be yoked) in the rear (of the team), he shall pay as rent for two years 8 g u r of grain; (if he has hired) oxen (to be yoked) in front, he shall pay as rent 6 g u r of grain."

ii 8'-11'. "If a man died (and) he had no sons, (his) unmarried daughter(s) [shall become] his heir(s)."

ii 12' ff. "If [a man died], his daughter [. . .] the estate of her father [(. . .)], the younger sister, after in the house [. . .]" (rest broken).

iii 2'-5'. "If a [. . .] has beaten the daughter of a free man and she has suffered a miscarriage, he shall pay one-half mina of silver."

iii 7'-8'. "If she died, that man shall be [put to death]."

iii 9'-13'. "If a . . . has beaten the slave-girl of a free man and she has suffered a miscarriage, he shall pay five shekels of silver."

ii 2'-7'. This double paragraph is almost an exact forerunner of CH §§ 242-43. The major difference is that the rent is given for two years in our text, as against one year in CH, but the yearly rates are nonetheless identical. Dossin, in his study of the CH passage in *RA* XXX 97 ff., was the first to put the interpretation of the qualifications of the oxen given in these paragraphs on the right track. His over-all interpretation is correct except for minor points: in the third line of CH § 242 the reading is not GUD.DA.ÛR.RA but GUD.Á.ÛR.RA, as suspected by Scheil (*MDP* IV 106, n. 2) in the *editio princeps* of CH and confirmed by *Hh* XIII 286 (now completed by a new join to *S*₅ [courtesy of O. R. Gurney]): g u d . á . ù r . r a = *a-lap ar-ku*, and Nippur forerunner to *Hh* XIII 175. As for the group MURUB₄.SAG, it must be understood, as shown by the composition of the logogram, as oxen yoked in the front or middle position (in

six-oxen teams), that is, in any position other than immediately in front of the plow. *Hh* XIII 289 (completed as above) now gives g u d . m u r u b₄ . s a g . g á = [q]ab-lu-ú. Finally, the comparison of the terms in CH

GUD.Á.ÛR.RA
 GUD.ÁB.MURUB₄.SAG

with those in the new text UM 55-21-71

g u d - á b - ù r - r a
 g u d - á b - s a g - m u r u b₄

shows that g u d - á b here is not *mīru*, as suggested by Dossin ("jeune bovide"), but simply g u d - á b - (h i - a), the collective for "cattle," regardless of sex (cf. Landsberger, *MSL* VIII 1, p. 61). The writing A.PA.BI.GIŠ.PAD.SI.A for a d d i r is standard in the later lexical texts: *Diri* III 163 ff.; *Hh* IV 348b, 352 ff.; *Hh* VIIIB 48; *Lu* IV 231; *Nabnitu* I 209; *J* 26; *M* 174; *Antagal* F 48; *Ai*. VI ii 55 ff. Only Proto-*Diri* 214a-b (*JCS* VII 29, col. vi 8') gives the abbreviated A.PAD.SI.A.¹⁸ This word, attested since the Fara period,¹⁹ is rather infrequent in Sumerian contexts, where it is found mostly in the term m á - a d d i r, "ferryboat" (A. Salonen, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien*, p. 24) and derivatives.²⁰ The meaning "wages" is certain in a d d i r - r a - n i m u - n a - a b - s u m - m u - n e g u r u š - r a d a m d u m u - n i á m u - u n - d a - a n - è, "they (the foremen) pay the worker his wages, (and) he is able to take care of his family" (Contest between the Hoe and the Plow 139 f. [variants not given]).


ii 8'-11'. This paragraph states explicitly what was already known from Gudea's state-

¹⁸ Older writings: PAD.SI.A.BI.GIŠ — a k (R. Jestin, *Nouvelles tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak au Musée d'Istanbul*, No. 292 rev.); PAD.BI.SI+GIŠ (Ent. 16 iii 9; Ukg. 4-5 x 10; Ukg. 6 ii 5 [quoted after Sollberger, *Corpus*], cf. T. Jacobsen in Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs*, p. 462); k ù - m á - PAD.SI.A.PA.BI+GIŠ(!) (*Or*. Nos. 47-49, No. 221).

¹⁹ Jestin, *op. cit.* No. 292 (see preceding note).

²⁰ Ent. 16 iii 19; Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs*, Nos. 1.89 and 1.187. In the Enlil and Ninlil myth (S. N. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology*, pp. 43 ff.) Enlil approaches the lu-m á - a d d i r - r a (lines 127, 131). In *Sumer* XIII, Pl. 2, lines 3 f., read perhaps [A].PAD.SI.A b a l (with gloss 'a d' - [d i - i r]): *ti-tu-rum iš-da-ħu-um*; cf. *a d d i r* = *titurru* in *SBH*, No. 7:18 f.: *a d d i r - ħ u l - m a - a l - l a e - z é n u - b a l - a*: *ti-tur-ru lim-nu šá ġe-e-nu la ú-šib-bi-ru*, "a bad bridge (a better translation would be 'ford') which does not let the sheep cross."

ment (quoted below) and legal texts such as Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden*, No. 209 (Ur III), and *RA* XIV 152 (Enlilbani), namely that in default of male offspring the daughter(s) could take the place of the heirs (see discussion by Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden* I 110 f.). A reading *dumu-nita* in line 9' is preferred to the equally possible *ibila* because of Gudea Stele B vii 44 f. (cf. also Cyl. B xvii 8 ff.), *édumu-nitana-ud₁₂dumumunus-bi-ibila-ba-mi-ni-ku₄*, where the difference in spelling points to a difference in reading. The restoration [ku₄] is based on this Gudea passage as well as on *ibilana-ba-ni-ku₄* (Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden*, No. 204:32); in our passage, however, we do not have the expected locative.

ii 12' ff. The passage is too broken for translation. It deals presumably with the succession rights among daughters when the eldest is married. The fourth sign in line 15' is . The paleographic distinction between this sign and the true LUM, generally recognized years ago (e.g. by Thureau-Dangin in *RA* X 94, n. 1; Alotte de la Fuÿe in *RA* XVI 8), has often been forgotten in more recent publications. A detailed discussion and the proof for a reading *murgu_x* will be given by Landsberger in *MSL* IX.

The laws in column iii are close forerunners of CH §§ 209, 210, and 213. The most important differences are that our text, as far as it is preserved, ignores the *muškenu*-class of CH, that

the fines are higher than in CH, and that it is the man himself, not his daughter, who is put to death in the event of the girl's death. *YOS* I, No. 28, deals only with the miscarriage suffered by the daughter of a free man but makes a distinction as to whether it is due to an involuntary push (*zag-ús*) or to an intentional blow (*sìg*). Less close parallels can be found in the Assyrian Laws A §§ 50 ff. I am unable to give a satisfactory restoration for the end of lines 2' and 9'. The context requires the subject of the verb *ra*, and thus the last sign must be *-re* in spite of some uncertainty on the tablet. A reading *'tur¹-re* would fit very well the traces of the first sign in line 9', but not the context since there is no reason why the law should be restricted to "young boys." For the verb *ra* with a locative, instead of the usual accusative, cf. for example *kur-ra-bar-uš-ta-ba-ni-ib-ra* (Lugale 245).

The meaning "to suffer a miscarriage" for *šulá* (with locative) is unique, but it is certain from the context. The use of this verb must be based on some peculiar physiological concepts of the time. *YOS* I, No. 28, uses *a-šub*, CH uses *nadû*, and the Assyrian Laws use *nadû* and *šalā^{2u}*. The accident, as described in the Mesopotamian laws, is exceedingly rare in the practice of legal medicine. It seems that the more unusual and farfetched a legal case is, the fuller treatment it receives at the hands of the legislator, preoccupied above all in showing off the perspicacity of his legal mind.

3. LAWS ABOUT RENTED OXEN

CH §§ 244-49 and CL §§ 34-37 have regulations fixing the penalties for injuries or losses suffered by rented oxen. In *YOS* I, No. 28, §§ 8-9 deal with similar cases, although the text does not say explicitly that the oxen are hired. Finally, *KAV*, No. 8, published in *MSL* I 68 f. as an appendix to Ai. IV, opens with clauses about the same matter.²¹ The following new fragments can now be added to the already known material:

A = N 5119 (Pl. III) = I 1'-6' and III 6'-11'

B = 3NT 903, 139 (Pl. IV) = II 1'-7'

C = N 963 (Pl. IV) = III 1'-13'

²¹ In *KAV*, No. 8:1 f. (*MSL* I 68) read *tukun-bi-á-gá-la-dag-ga-ta : šum-ma i-na me-g[u-ti . . .]* instead of *a-mál-la kala-ga-ta*; cf. *gál-la-dag = egû* (Nabnitu X 136).

A poses a special problem. The shape of the fragment suggests a two-column, or even a three-column, tablet. If the first and fourth (or sixth) columns both deal with rented oxen, we ought to assume that the entire tablet was devoted to that subject; however, such a long section—with at least twenty paragraphs, and perhaps more, on rented oxen—is unlikely. A was, therefore, some uncommon type of school tablet, perhaps with repetition of the same text on obverse and reverse. B is too small a fragment to allow us to draw any conclusions, but it is probably an exercise tablet. C is certainly not a collection of laws. It is included here only because the law collections, as shown above, have identical

paragraphs and because of the light it can shed on the protohistory of Hh I-II and *Ana ittišu*. The obverse of C starts with "model contracts"; note the mention of personal names: [de]n-lil-ba-ni (lines 4, 5, 12) and AN-šu-ba-ni (line 3). The tablet is a collection—for scribal instruction—of sample contracts, concretely the kind of documents likely to be needed in connection with land tenure and farming activities. The inclusion of the clauses about oxen, which explain in detail such concise formulas as *ana inī qannī šuprī u sibbatī izzaz* (*PBS VIII 2*, No. 196:11), is perfectly normal in such a context.

The three following sections cannot be arranged satisfactorily in successive order without new evidence, especially because of the uncertainty of the real order of the obverse and reverse of A. There can be some overlapping in the imperfectly preserved passages, since II 5-8 could be the same as III 1-4 and I 6 could be identical with II 1 etc.

- I 1' ḥ' - [l á - e]
 2' tuk [un - bi gud]
 3' si - bi íb - t [a - an - ku d]
 4' igi - 3 - g á l - š á m - m [a - k a m]
 5' ì - l á - e
 6' [tu]k u [n - bi i]
- II 1' tuk [un - bi i]
 2' gud igi - bi [in - ḥ u l]
 3' š u - ri - š á m - [m a - k a m]
 4' ì - l [á - e]
 5' tuk [un - bi i]
 6' gud <x> - bi []
 7' igi - 4 - [g á l - š á m - m a - k a m]
 8' [ì - l á - e]
- III 1' tu [k un - bi gud]
 2' PA [(x) - bi]
 3' igi - 4 - g [á l - š á m - m a - k a m]
 4' ì - l á - [e]
 5' tu k un - [bi i]
 6' í d - da ba l - da [g] u d²² ba - ú š
 7' š á m - [t] il - la - bi - š è
 8' ì - l [a] - e
 9' tu k un - bi gud
 10' ²³š u d un - ma r²³ - g í d - da - bi
 11' ur - ma ḥ - e ba - an - ga z

²² A: gud; C om.

²³ C: - ma r -; A om. by mistake.

- 12' nu - u b - []
 13' u₄ - da []

I 2'-5'. "If (a man) has [broken] the horns of the ox, he shall pay one-third of its price."

II 1'-4'. "If (a man) has [damaged] the eyes of the ox, he shall pay one-half of its price."

II 5'-8'. "If (a man) has [. . .] the . . . of the ox, he shall pay one-fourth of its price."

III 1'-4'. "If (a man) has [. . .] the [. . .] of the ox, he shall pay one-fourth of its price."

III 5'-8'. "If the ox has been killed when crossing a river, he shall pay its full price."

III 9'. "If a lion has killed the ox (while it was under) the yoke of a wagon, he shall not [. . .], when [. . .] (rest broken).

I 2'-5' is identical with CL § 36 (from which the verbal form has been restored) but with a higher penalty: one-third of the price of the ox instead of one-fourth as in CL. The case is not considered in CH but is included in the clause from *PBS VIII 2*, No. 196, quoted above, and in a similar clause in Böhl, *Leiden Coll.* II, No. 771:12.

II 1'-4' is identical with CL § 35 and CH § 247 as well as with the appendix to Ai. IV 7-10; in all cases the penalty is the same. The restoration [in - ḥ u l] is from CL § 35.

II 5'-8'. The parallelism with the other paragraphs suggests an emendation in line 6': gud <x> - bi. A possible candidate for x, judging from the penalty, is kun, for which one pays one-fourth of the price according to § 37, or one of the items listed alongside the tail in CH § 248, with the minimum penalty. Cf. also III 1'-4'.

III 1'-4'. Line 2' remains undeciphered. A not very important part of the body of the ox is expected, since the penalty is only one-fourth of the total price. The sign PA is clear on the tablet, and SA is excluded. One could think of restoring PA.[IB, that is, š a b, because of the line gud š a b (with var. s a - a b) kud - kud ²³š u d un ná - n á (Dialogue 1:67, identical with P 5.21; see E. I. Gordon in *JCS XII* 14 f.), and taking š a b as equal to *qablū*, *qablātan* (Diri V 73a-74), but textually s a - a b is preferable to š a b in the passage just quoted. The term s a - a b is hardly a part of the body, since it is not found in the lists of s a's of the

forerunner of Hh XV 87 ff. and Ugumu 153 ff. ; it is better to consider it as $(\text{kuš})\text{s a - a b}$; cf. forerunner to Hh XI 118 (with new var. from unpubl. dupl. N 5497: kuš s a - á [b]), an unidentified part of the harness of oxen, written s á - p a in pre-Sargonic ($\text{DP, No. 492 i 7, iii 5}$; Genouillac, *Tablettes sumériennes archaïques*, No. 31 ii 1; etc.) and Ur III texts (Oppenheim, *AOS XXXII E 19*) and s a - á b in $\text{STVC, No. 75 ii 11}$. The meaning of Dialogue 1:67 is thus "even when this piece of the harness is broken, the ox continues to lie under the yoke," and the phrase was used to describe proverbial stupidity.

III 5'-8'. This paragraph has no known parallels in the legal sources. For the Ur III administrative texts, cf. for example $\text{RA XIX 44, No. 641:23}$: official "going to (supervise) the crossing of the river by the cattle" ($\text{g u d í d - d è b a l - e - d è g i n - n a}$). The tablet YOS IV, No. 294 , deals with a legal case in which barley had been paid for a herd of donkeys to cross the river ($\text{a n š e í d - d è b a l - a}$); the animals drowned (a - a ì - ú š), and restitution has to be made. The complications of the case, due to the fact that the paid barley had already been spent, are not clear because the end of the text is broken.

III 9' ff. The case of the ox killed by a lion is foreseen by CH § 244 and $\text{YOS I, No. 28, § 8}$.

The end of the article is not preserved in our text, but the negative form of the verb in line 12 makes it probable that the solution was similar to that of CH, namely that the man who hired the ox had nothing to pay and the loss was *ana bēlišu*. YOS I, No. 28 , says on the contrary that if a lion kills an ox "an equivalent for its (with incorrect suffix - n i -) life shall be provided." The cases, however, seem slightly different. YOS I, No. 28 , presumes negligence on the part of the man who hired the ox, which is described as a "wandering ox," while CH seems to presume due care, since the following paragraph covers the death of the ox by neglect, whatever the cause may be. In our text—if the assumption that its conclusion was similar to CH § 244 is correct—it seems that as long as the oxen are yoked to the wagon, reasonable care is presumed, and the hirer is not liable for the loss of the animals. If they were killed by a lion, it was a case of *force majeure*. Note, however, that the beginning of our line 13' ($\text{u}_4 - d a [. .]$) suggests that the paragraph included the consideration of special circumstances, unfortunately not preserved.

The following table gives all the sources available about damages to hired oxen, and a comparison of the penalties (given in the second sub-column as the price of an ox or a fraction thereof). One innovation of CH is that the cases are grouped according to penalties.

	CH		CL		New Texts		YOS I, No. 28		KAV, No. 8	
Ox killed by a lion	§ 244	0			III 9' ff.	0?	8	1		
Ox killed crossing a river					III 5'-8'	1				
Ox killed by neglect or striking	245									cf. 1-6*
Ox lost							9	1		
Lesions:										
legs	246	1								
labānu	246	1								
eyes	247	$\frac{1}{2}$	§ 35	$\frac{1}{2}$	II 1'-4'	$\frac{1}{2}$			7-10	$\frac{1}{2}$
skin	248	$\frac{1}{3}$								
tail	248	$\frac{1}{3}$	37	$\frac{1}{3}$	II 5'-8'?	$\frac{1}{2}$				
šašallu	248	$\frac{1}{3}$	34†	$\frac{1}{3}$						
horns			36	$\frac{1}{2}$	I 2'-5'	$\frac{1}{2}$				
bones									1-6	1

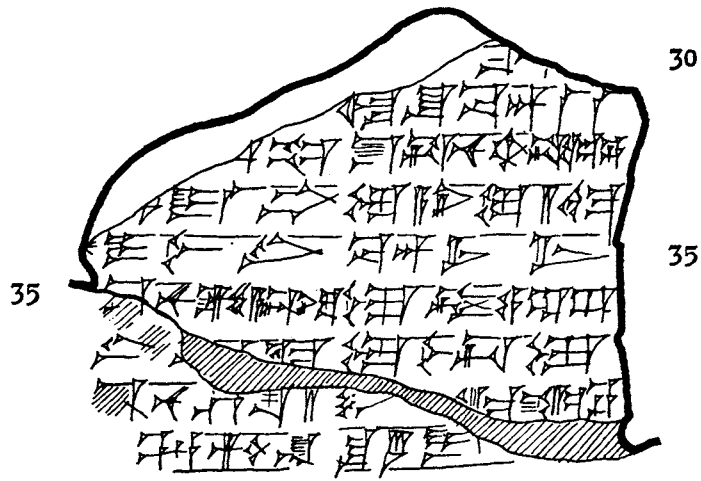
* See p. 6, n. 21.

† In CL § 34 read perhaps $\text{s a - s a l t u k u l - a (- t a)}$ expected, "with a stick," i.e., a goad.

N 1791*

xviii

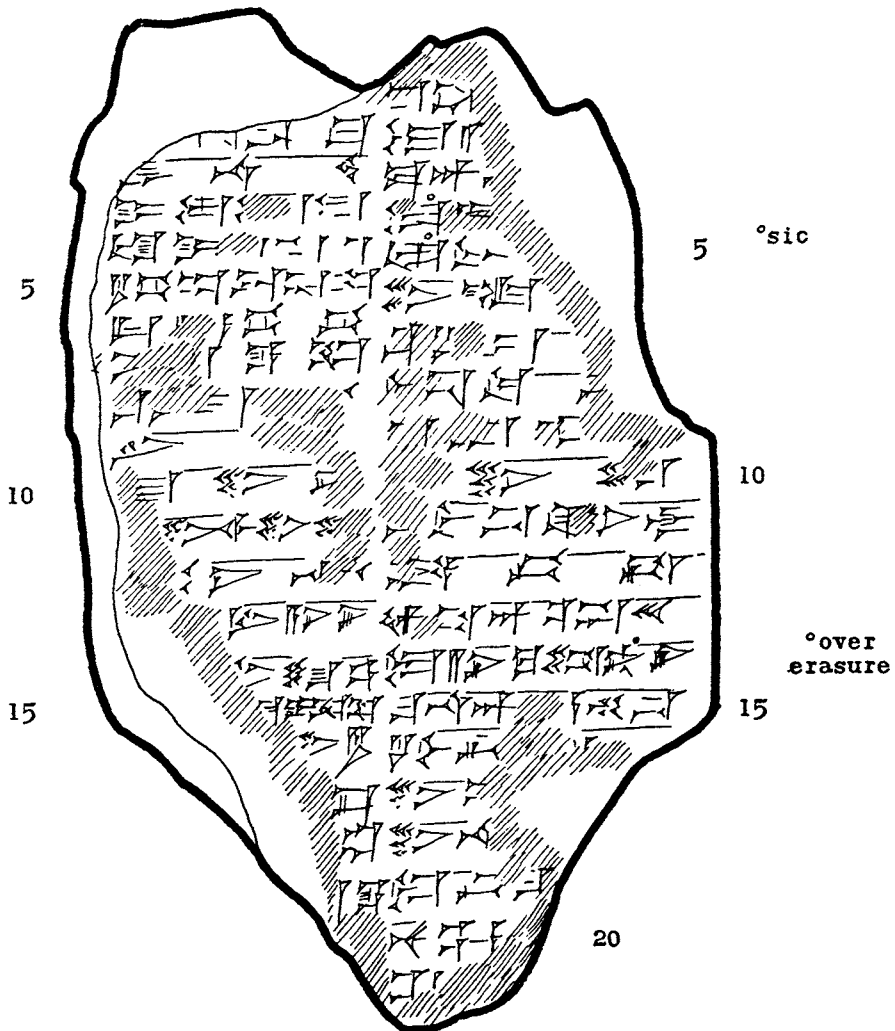
xvii



(UM 29-16-55)

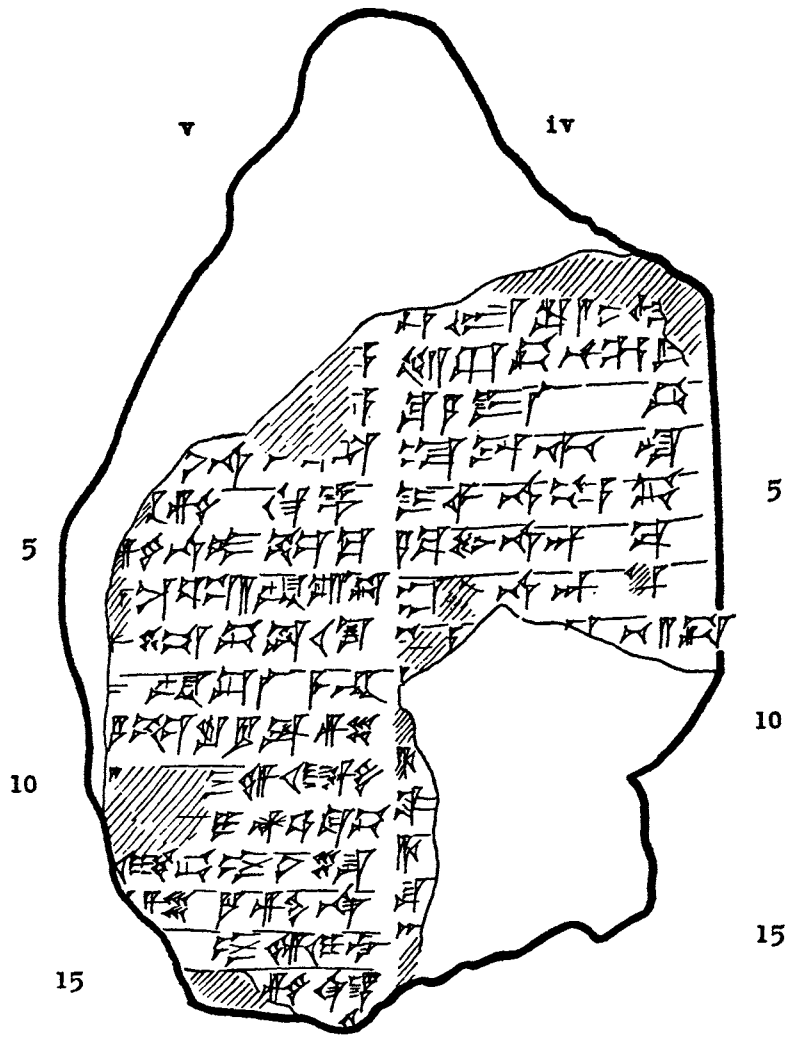
ii

iii

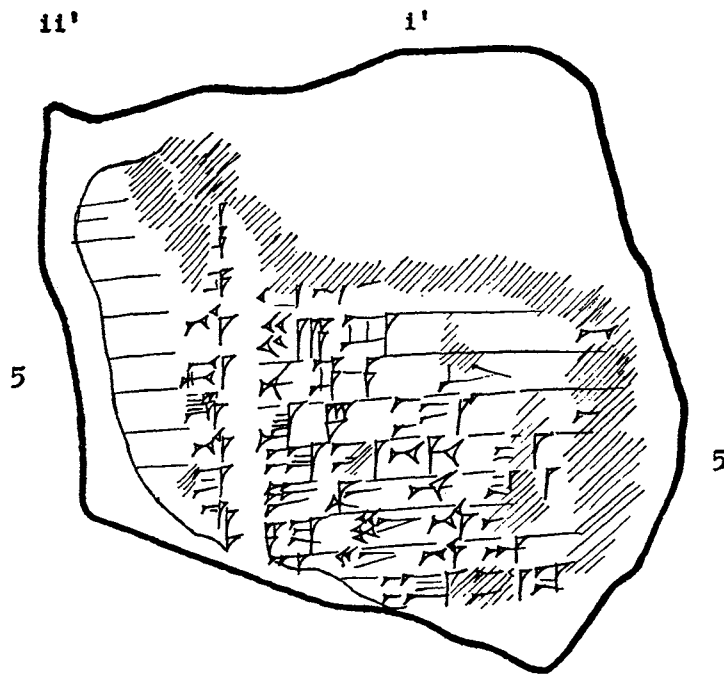


CBS 2158 obv.

PLATE II



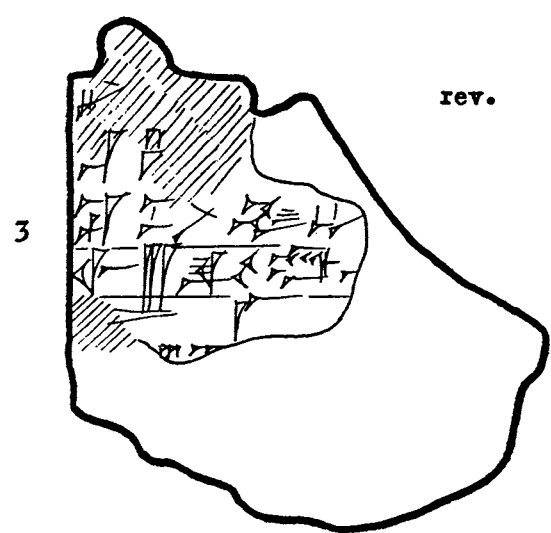
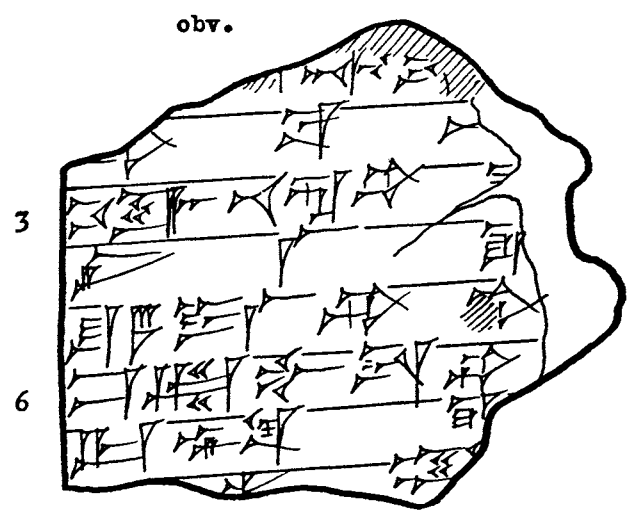
CBS 2158 rev.



N 3320* rev.

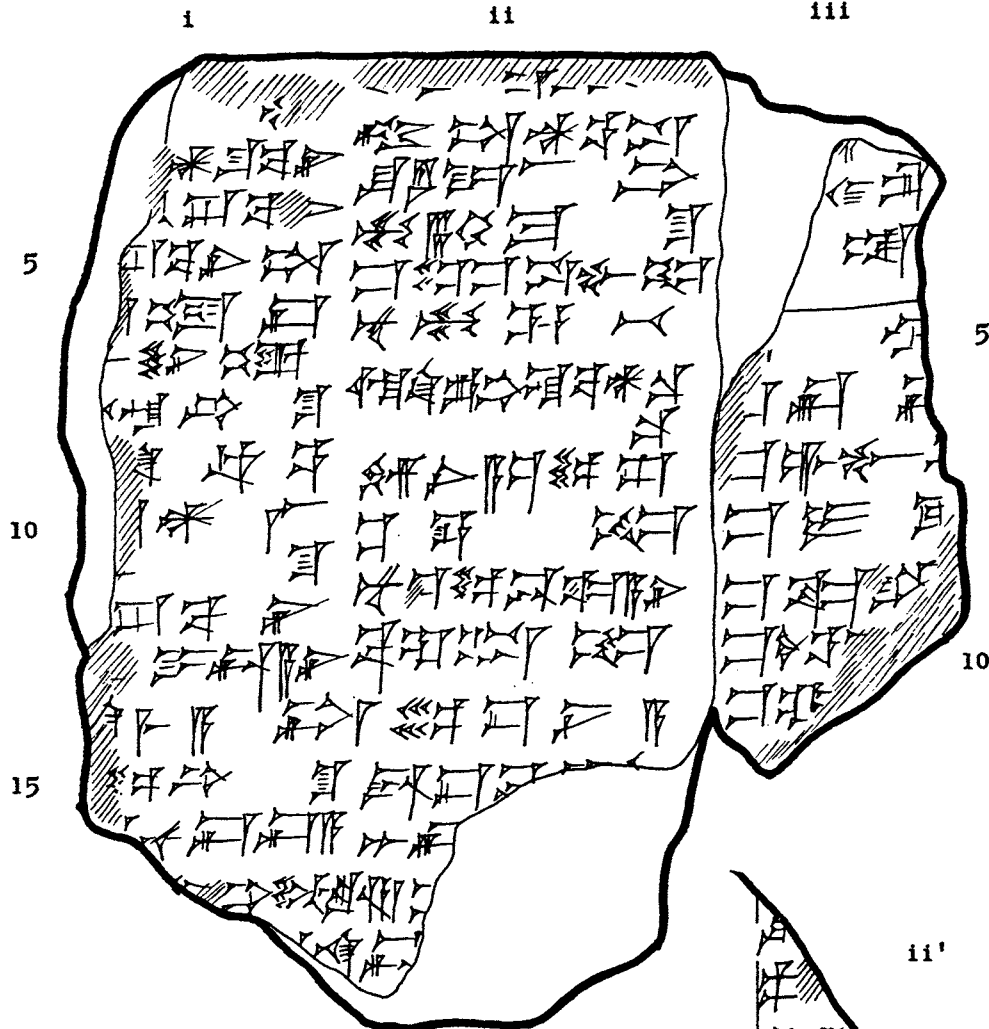


UM 55-21-71* rev.

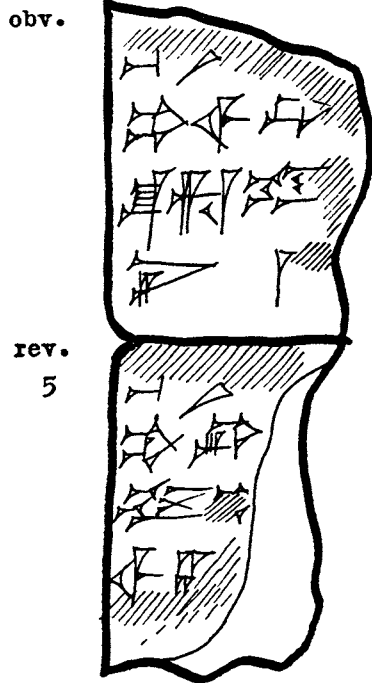


N 5119

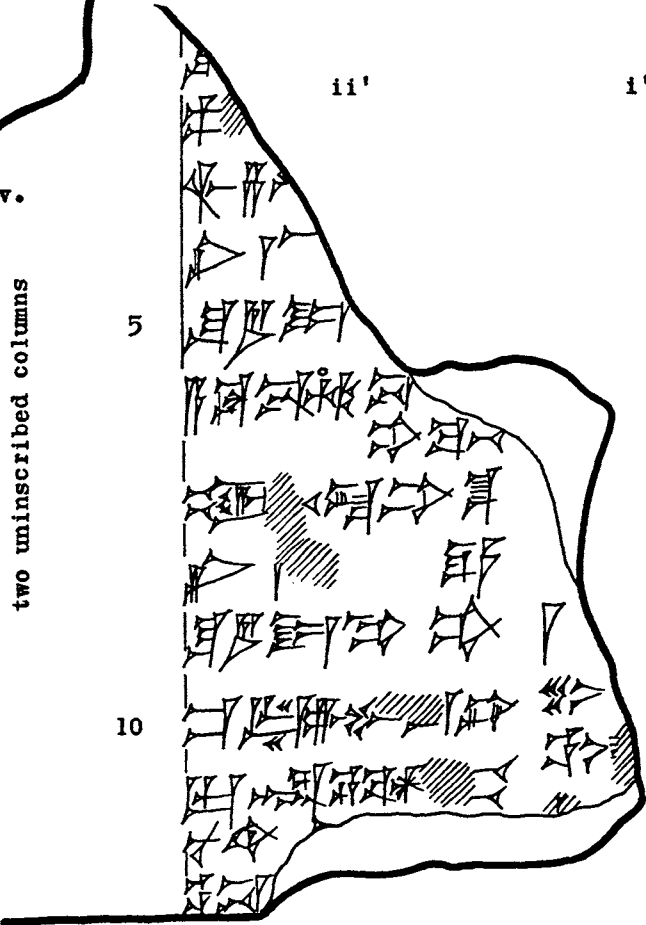
PLATE IV



N 963 obv.



3NT 903, 139



N 963 rev.

two uninscribed columns

TWO FRAGMENTS OF SUMERIAN LAWS

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The two fragments of clay tablet, U.7739 and U.7740, form part of the large collection of cuneiform tablets excavated by Sir Leonard Woolley at Ur between 1923 and 1934. They were recognized as containing Sumerian laws by Dr. C. J. Gadd and were generously assigned by him, together with other tablets of various contents, to Gurney for publication. The copies (p. 18) have been prepared by him, but the interpretation is mainly the work of Kramer. The importance of any new discovery of ancient laws need hardly be stressed, and the publication is offered as a tribute to the eminent master celebrated in this volume, to whom Assyriology owes so much.

U.7739 is an upper left corner, and U.7740 is a lower right corner. That they formed part of a single tablet is not certain but is supported not only by the script and contents but also by the shape and curvature and by the color of the clay in the break. The surface of U.7740 appears yellower and more polished than that of U.7739, but every Assyriologist knows how misleading such indications can be. They are treated there-

fore as parts of a single text in this edition, and it has been assumed that the first preserved column on U.7740 is the lower part of col. iii, the first few lines of which are also preserved on U.7739. The assumed relative position is shown in the rough sketch accompanying the copies. The line numbering has been roughly calculated accordingly, but is likely to be approximately correct even if the tablets do not belong together, since it is in accordance with the curvature of the two pieces. A rough allowance has also been made for the number of sections missing in the lacunae.

The resemblance of §§ 21-24 to §§ 16-19 of the Code of Ur-nammu is such that there can be little doubt that our text formed part of that code, especially in view of the place of its discovery. The actual tablet, to judge from the script, must have been inscribed some time about 1750 B.C. by a student of one of Ur's *edubba*'s. The writing stops abruptly after the first line of the second column of the reverse, and the tablet would therefore seem to be unfinished.

(Obv. col. i)

1. tukum-bi
2. dam-guruš
3. me-te-ni-ta
4. lú ba-an-uš
5. úr-ra-na ba-an-ná
6. munus-bi
7. lú ì-gaz-e
8. arad_x(!)-ba
9. ama-gi₄-bi
10. ì-gar

11. tukum-bi
12. geme-lú
13. é-nu-gi₄-a
14. ní-g-á-gar-šè
15. lú ì-ag
16. é bí-gi₄

§ 1

If the wife of (a man's) *guruš*(-slave), of her own will, followed the man about and he lay in her lap, that woman shall be killed, (and) that slave shall be set free.

§ 2

If a man acted in disregard of (the owner's) rights toward an(other) man's slave-girl, who had not been betrothed, and he betrothed her, that man shall pay 5 shekels of silver.

17. lú-bi
18. 5 gín-kù
19. ì-lá-e
- § 3
20. tukum-bi
21. lú [d]am(!?)-PI-ni
22. ì-tag₄-tag₄
23. 1 ma-na-kù-àm
24. ì-lá-e
- § 4
25. tukum-bi
26. nu-ma-su
27. ì-tag₄-tag₄
28. $\frac{1}{2}$ ma-na-kù
29. ì-lá-e
- § 5
30. tukum-bi
31. nu-ma-su
32. [d]ub-ka-kěš
33. nu-me-a
34. lú úr-ra-na
35. ba-an-ná
36. kù nu(!?)-lá-e
- § 6
37. tukum-bi
 . . .
- . . .
- §§ 7-8
missing
- § 9
- (Obv. col. ii)
1. 3 gín-kù
2. ì-lá-e
- [If]
.]
he shall pay 3 shekels of silver.
- § 10
3. tukum-bi
4. dam-guruš-a-da
5. úr-ra
6. ná-a
7. lú ì-da-lá
8. íd-dè
9. ù-um-zalag-zalag
10. lú ì-da-lá-[a]
11. šussana (šUŠŠANA.ŠA) [ma-na-kù]
12. ì-[lá-e]
- § 11
13. tuku[m-bi]
14. nital[am]
15. gán-ú- . . .
16. ì- . . .
- If a wife

42. [. . .]-ni
 43. [im-ta]-ku_s
 44. [. . . -gín-kù-babbar]-àm
 45. [i-lá]-e

§ 23

[If he sev]ered [hi]s . . . with a . . .], he shall [pay . . . shekels of silver] as [. . .].

46. [tukum]-bi
 47. [. . .-n]i
 48. [g^{is}. . .-t]a
 49. [im-ta-k]u_s
 50. [. . .-gín-kù-babbar]-àm
 51. [. . .]-àm
 52. [i-lá]-e

§ 24

[I]f [a man severed his . . . wi]th [a . . .], he shall pay . . . shekels of silver].

53. [tukum]-bi
 54. [g^{is}. . .]-ta
 (Obv. col. iv)
 1. [. . .-ni]
 2. [im-ta-ku_s]
 3. [. . .-gín-kù-babbar-àm]
 4. [i-lá]-e

...

§§ 25-27
 missing

§ 28

[If a man],
],
 he shall bring [. . .]; if he has no slave-girl, he shall pay 10 shekels of silver; if he has no money, he shall not give him anything.

35. [. . .]-a
 36. ḥa-ba-túm-mu
 37. tukum-bi
 38. geme nu-tuku
 39. 10 gín-kù-babbar-àm
 40. ḥé-na-lá-e
 41. tukum-bi
 42. kù nu-tuku
 43. níg-na-me
 44. nu-na-ab-sì-mu

§ 29

If the slave-girl of a man, presuming herself to be the equal of her mistress, uttered a curse against her, her teeth shall be scrubbed with 1 *sila* of salt.

45. tukum-bi
 46. geme-lú nin-a-ni-gim-
 47. dí-ma-ar
 48. áš ì-ni-dug₄
 49. 1 sila-mun-àm
 50. su_{II}-su_{II}-ni
 51. ì-sub₂(šUM)-bé

§ 30

If the slave-girl of a man, presuming herself to be the equal of her mistress, struck her, [.].

52. tukum-bi
 53. geme-lú nin-a-ni-gim-
 54. dí-ma-ar
 55. in-ni-ra
 (Obv. col. v)

...

§§ 31-33

...
33. [. . .]-gub-bé(!)

...

§ 34

34. tukum-bi
35. lú lú-ki-inim-ma-šè
36. íb-ta-è
37. lú-im-zuḥ
38. ba-an-ku₄
39. 15 gín-kù-babbar-àm
40. ì-lá-e

If a man came forward as a witness (and falsely) turned (some one) into a criminal, he shall pay 15 shekels of silver.

§ 35

41. tukum-bi
42. lú lú-ki-inim-ma-šè
43. íb-ta-è
44. nam-erím-ta e-gur
45. níg-di-ba-en-na-gál-la
46. íb-su-su

If a man came forward as a witness (but) turned away from an oath (i.e., refused to take an oath in support of his testimony), he shall pay as much as is involved in the suit.

§ 36

47. tukum-bi
48. a-šà-gán-lú
49. níg-á-gar-šè
50. lú ì-ag(!?)
51. ba-an-uru_x(APIN)
52. sá bí-dug₄
53. gú in-ni-[ta]g₄
54. lú-bi
(Rev. col. i)
1. á-ni íb-ta-an-e₁₁-dè

If a man acted in disregard of (the owner's) rights toward the field or land of (another) man and plowed it, and he (the owner) sued and made him relinquish the yield, that man shall forfeit (the reward of) his labor.

§ 37

2. tukum-bi
3. a-šà-gán-lú
4. lú a-da(!?) bí-rá(?)
5. a-šà 1 [iku]
6. 3 še-[gur]
7. ì-ág-gá

If a man flooded the field or land of an(other) man with water, he shall measure out 3 *gur* of grain per *iku*.

§ 38

8. tukum-bi
9. lú lú
10. a-šà-gán apin-lá-šè
11. ì-na-sì
12. nu-un-uru_x(APIN)
13. šà-sù-ga
14. ì-gar
15. 1 iku
16. 3 še-gur
17. ì-ág-gá

If a man gave (another) man a field or land to plow, (but) he did not plow it and caused it to become arid, he shall measure out 3 *gur* of grain per *iku*.

§ 39

18. tukum-bi
19. lú lú

If a man [gave] to an(other) man [. . .]

20. . . .-a

...

§§ 40-42
missing

§ 43

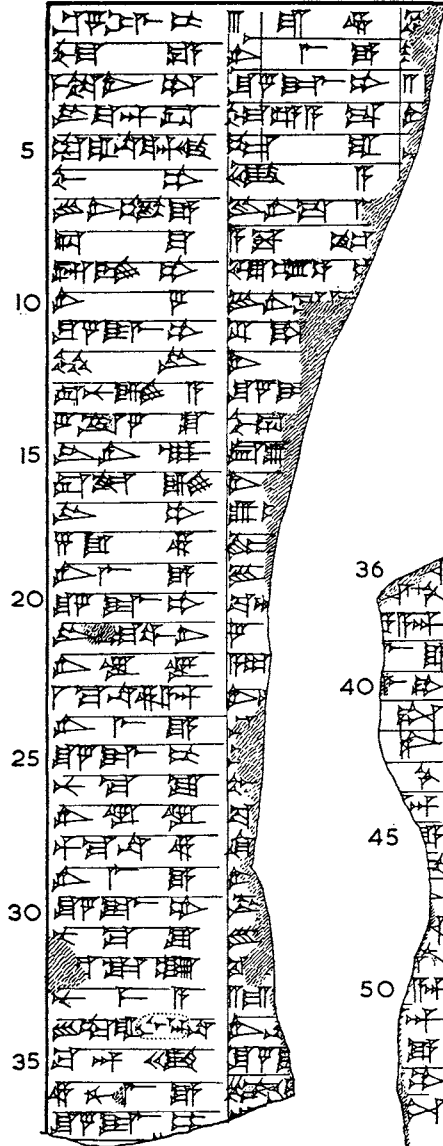
[If], [.]

he shall pay him.

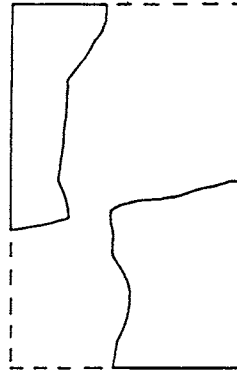
(Rest of tablet not inscribed)

(Rev. col. ii)
1. i-na-lá-e

U.7739



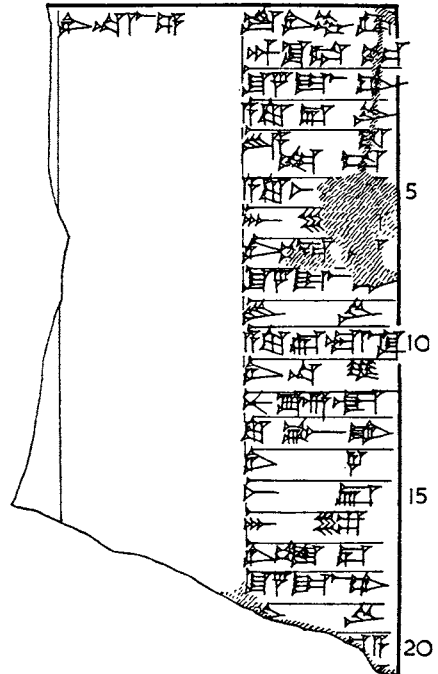
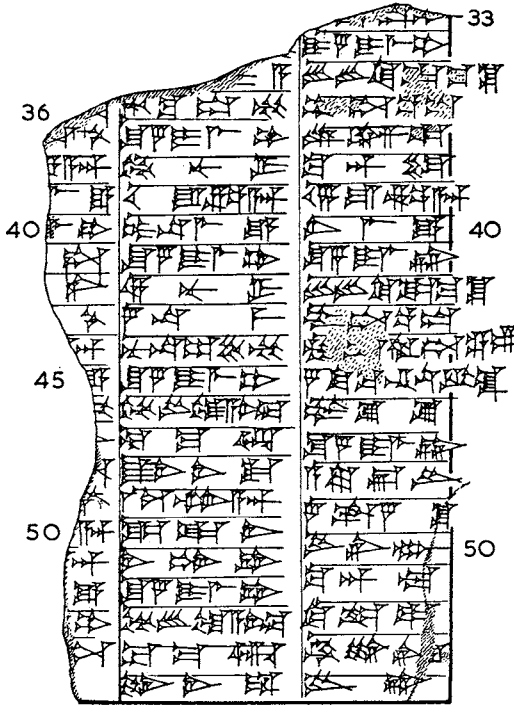
Rev. not inscribed



Obv.

U.7740

Rev.



NOTES

§ 1

Since ama-gi₄ (line 9), as used of individuals, is known only in the sense of "manumission," it is necessary to take uš (line 8) in the sense of "slave" (arad_x) and we infer that this slave must be the guruš of line 2, though it is not clear why the unfaithful woman's husband should be given his freedom, even if the wife were a free woman. One would rather expect lines 8-10 to contain a statement about the other person directly concerned, namely the lú of line 4, but this could only be obtained by translating "that man shall be acquitted"—an otherwise unknown use of the term ama-(ar-)gi₄ (Akk. *andurāru*).

§ 2

We are indebted to Professor T. Jacobsen for the interpretation of níg-á-gar-šè lú ì-ag, which occurs also in § 36. Cf. á-gar = *dāšu* (*CAD* III, s.v. *dāšu*), a verb which has the sense "act in disregard of rights," and the discussion of the construction . . . -šè . . . ag by Poebel in *AfO* IX 256.

é . . . gi₄, literally "confine to a house," could be taken in the literal sense here, but in view of the common expression é-gi₄-a = *kallatu* (*CH* §§ 155-56; Driver and Miles, *Babylonian Laws* I 250 ff.), this sense seems more likely here, the girl being taken to the man's home as a bride for his son.

§ 3

1 mina is the maximum divorce money in *CH*, where there is no *tirhatu* (§ 137). Possibly this has some bearing on the term here used for the divorced wife, which cannot be read with certainty.

§ 4

Why is the divorce money for a former widow only half that of the wife referred to in § 3? It appears from *CH* § 172 and *ARU*, No. 718, that she would have surrendered her share in

her first husband's estate on remarriage and would therefore have been as much in need of support as any other wife. Probably, therefore, the difference is simply that between fresh and tarnished property.

§§ 21-24

These sections are closely parallel to the Urnammu Code §§ 16-19 (lines 324 ff.), but the wording is not quite identical. There is hardly room for [lú lú-ra], or even [lú lú], in any of the extant lines, but it must be restored in the first section of the group, somewhere in the missing part of col. iii.

§ 34

For the expression lú-im-zuḥ ba-an-ku₄(TU) see Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden* III 169, s.v. tu(r) 3, and for the reading ku₄ for TU = *erēbu* see Civil in *Iraq* XXIII 167, sub 22.

§ 36

For níg-á-gar-šè lú ì-ag see § 2 above. Professor Jacobsen has pointed out to us that several parallels to the offense dealt with here are noted in *CAD* III 119a and that the expression sá bí-dug₄ occurs in the di-til-la documents (Falkenstein, *op. cit.* Vol. III 97 f.).

§ 37

This apparently corresponds to *CH* § 55. The penalty of 3 gur per iku would amount to 54 gur per bur, roughly double the average total yield for a field (Driver and Miles, *op. cit.* Vol. I 131-33), and therefore double the penalty imposed by Hammurabi for the same offense.

§ 38

This corresponds approximately to *CH* § 42, where again the penalty is half that imposed here.

For šà-sù-ga = *ḫurbū* see *CAD* VI 248.

A THREE-COLUMN *SILBENVOKABULAR A*

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Silbenvokabular A is the name given by B. Landsberger to his *Silbenalphabet A* when this list of more or less unrecognized personal names is provided with Akkadian "translations." By and large, the bibliography of this peculiar chapter of Sumero-Akkadian scholastic literature is still limited to Landsberger's two fundamental articles¹ and some thirty quotations scattered in the lexicographical sections of the *CAD*.²

Soon after the publication of the first volume of the new *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, Landsberger, on the evidence of a somewhat inaccurately transliterated excerpt, identified BM 13902 as a *Silbenvokabular A*.³ The special importance of this text, however, lies in the fact that, at least as far as I can gather from the published material, it is the only example with two parallel columns of translations. True, the known recensions give, occasionally, two or more equivalents of the "Sumerian" line; one even gives three sets of translations for the group 121-24.⁴ But the double

¹ "Die angebliche babylonische Notenschrift," *AfO Beiheft I* (1933) 170-78; "Zum Silbenalphabet B," in M. Çiğ and H. Kızılyay, *Zwei altbabylonische Schulbücher aus Nippur* (Ankara, 1959 [written in 1952]) pp. 97-116 (with a Turkish translation on pp. 77-96).

² To the texts listed in Landsberger's articles can now be added the prism from Tell Harmal (*Silbenalphabet A* with a colophon giving the name of the scribe) published by T. Baqir in *Sumer II 2* (1946) p. 29; the practice tablet BM 78262 = *CT XLIV*, No. 45 (also *Silbenalphabet A*); and the "alphabets" and "vocabularies" from Ugarit published by J. Nougayrol on pp. 29-39 of the present volume. Apart from the Ugarit recension, to which occasional reference will be made, the longest published parallel to our text is Genouillac's "curieux syllabaire" AO 6906B (*RA XXV* [1928] 124-26), in which lines 13-46 and 58-99, with fragments of lines 100-112, are preserved. Following Landsberger, it will be hereafter quoted as "C"; a mere reference to column and line will imply complete agreement, spelling included, with our text.

Thanks are due to J. Nougayrol for letting me see a typescript of his article and also for his comments on the new British Museum text and his collation of the "curieux syllabaire."

³ In a letter dated 2nd June, 1961, to D. J. Wiseman, then Assistant Keeper in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities.

"Akkadian" column of BM 13902 is more than just a tidy disposition of multiple equations. The two columns are, in fact, independent: sometimes *c* just repeats *b*, some other times it gives two equivalents where *b* has only one, and it can even be left blank.

It needs hardly mentioning that I do not claim to offer here a final edition of the *Silbenvokabular A*. That edition, we all hope, will be given us in due course by Landsberger himself. But the new BM text is important enough to be made available without delay; and it is certainly appropriate that it be published in a volume dedicated to Professor Landsberger. May he accept these pages as a modest, unbaked brick to the great edifice of which he is *šitim-gal* and *ummia*.

BM 13902 = 96-4-2,2 was acquired in 1896 from a Baghdad dealer, and its provenance is therefore unfortunately unknown. An almost perfectly square tablet (104 × 101 mm.), it is baked, its color a rich reddish brown. There are two treble columns on each side with no double ruling nor space between the sets. The tablet is ruled in the normal way, that is, a single ruled line after each one- or two-line entry, except the last in the first three columns, and a double ruled line at the end of the fourth and last column. The text is written in a small but very neat and elegant "classical" Old-Babylonian hand and presents no epigraphical problem; it is clearly the work of an advanced scholar, if not of a master.

Column *a* gives the 124 lines of the standard *Silbenalphabet A* established by Landsberger, with a few variants, most of which are attested elsewhere.

Column *b* gives "Akkadian" equivalents to the entries in column *a*. These are often, though by no means always, "canonic." They are arranged in semantic groups, for example divine

⁴ VAT 11514; quoted by Landsberger in "Notenschrift," p. 176 k, n.

names (1-15, 25-28, 71-73, 88-89, 92-93, 123-24, and the isolated DN 121), extispicy (16?-24), school (39-50?), kinship (110-19), or in pairs: male-female (25-26, 27-28!, 33-34, 124-123), simple-intensive (80-81, 82-83, 84-85, 86-87, 98-99), antonyms (48-49, 74-75, 90-91, 104-5), etc.

Column *c* gives a second set of "Akkadian" equivalents, which, as already noted, sometimes merely repeat those of column *b* (3, 5-7, 9-11, 13-14?, 72, 122). The arrangement broadly follows the same pattern as column *b*, but the divine names are far more numerous and form the only important semantic group: 1-15, 24-44 (with a possible interruption in 32-36), 49-51, 55-56, 72, 100-104, 110-12. Another group concerns the "cloister" (82?-87). Pairs include male-female (25-26, 50-49, 102-3, 110-12 [three double entries], 121-22, 123-24) and antonyms

(90-91). The correspondence between columns *b* and *c* is hardly ever "canonic" (100 is perhaps the exception) and seldom clear as, for example, in 45, 61, 80, 84, 113, 115, 116, perhaps also 82-87. In two cases (105 and 121) it is column *c*, not *b*, that gives the familiar equation.

Both columns *b* and *c* were certainly meant as explanations of, and a commentary on, the *Silbenalphabet A*. However, in view of the numerous divergences of the various recensions of the *Vokabular*, as against the uniformity of the *Syllabar*, one feels that the students had given a free rein to their imagination. It is hardly credible that Old-Babylonian scribes would have not understood a personal name as familiar as, for instance, *bēlī-tāb* (56). Indeed, one cannot help suspecting them of facetiousness: see, for example, line 119 and its dancing grandfather.

THE TEXT

	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>
(Obv. i)	1 [me-m]e	^d g[u-la]	[^d
	2 [pap]-pap	^d nin-ti	[^d
	3 a-a	^d en-ki	[^d en]-ki
	4 a-a-a	^d nin-é-gal	^d n[in-x]-ra
	5 [k]u-ku	^d nin-ge ₄ -lí	^d nin-ge ₄ -lí
	6 [l]u-lu	^d lugal-már-da	^d lugal-már-da
	7 maš	^d nin-urta	^d nin-urta
	8 maš-maš	^d maš-tab-ba	^d [i]b-ra-tum
	9 maš-kak	^d lugal-gir-ra	^d lugal-gir-ra
	10 maš-ni	^d mes-lam-ta-è	^d mes-lam-ta-è
	11 si-kak	^d nin-giz-zi-da	^d nin-giz-zi-da
	12 [s]i-ni	^d sataran	^d šul-pa-è-a
	13 [s]i-[a]	^d e[n-l]íl	^d en-[l]íl
	14 [u]-bar	^d utu	^d [utu]
	15 [bar]-bar	^d we-er	^d nín-[
	16 [lá]-lá	<i>hi-di-tum</i>	máš-x
	17 ši-bar	<i>bi-ru-um</i>	sag-ku
	18 [ba]r-ši	<i>ta-ka-al-tum</i>	ú-du-ru
	19 ši-ši	<i>pa-da-nu-um</i>	lu
	20 ši-ši-ši	<i>na-ap-l[a-á]s-[tum]</i>	ad-da aš-lum
	21 [a]-ši	<i>ma-za-x-[x]</i>	ku
	22 [a]-ši-ši	<i>ma-za-az-z[u-u]m</i>	[e]m-qum
	23 [m]e-a	<i>te-er-tum</i>	ud
	24 [me]-ni	<i>ba-ab É.GAL</i>	^d a- <i>hi-lib-bi</i>
	25 [aš]-ni	^d en-ki	^d za-ri-qum
	26 [aš]-ur	^d nin-ki	^d ta-ad-mu-uš- tum
	27 [nun]-ni	^d en-du ₇	^d urì-gal
	28 [nun]-ur	^d en-du ₇	^d iš-m[e]-ka-ra-ab
	29 [a]-ku	<i>wa-aš-bu</i>	^d sag-[š]u-[n]u-ba
	30 [kil]-a	<i>i-na pu-te-ri-š-u-nu</i>	^d aš-[m]-babbar
	31 [a]-pap	<i>ra-bu-tum</i>	^d nin-ezen

	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>
(Obv. ii)	32 [pa]p-a	A[N	[
	33 a-an	AN <i>pa-[nu-tum]</i>	[
	34 an-a	EŠ ₄ .TÁR <i>pa-[nu-tum]</i>	[
	35 kur-ba	<i>ni-ib-[tum]</i>	[
	36 kur-u-ta	<i>na-wi-i[r]-t[um]</i>	[
	37 me-zu	<i>ša-me-a-tum</i>	^d x-nin-líl-[x]-ra
	38 me-wa-zu	<i>ša-me-a-tum</i> <i>za-ni-na-t[um]</i>	^d tu-s[ag]
	39 ì-zu	dub-sar	^d lál
	40 a-zu	ša-tam	^d aš-n[a-a]n
	41 zu-zu	um-mi-a	^d h[a-ià]
	42 ì-ba	gi é-dub-ba	^d x-[
	43 ì-ba-ba	<i>ta-al-mi-du</i>	^d n[in-
	44 a-ba	<i>aš-lum</i>	^d šu-[an-n]a
	45 [a-ba-b]a	<i>qá-nu-ú-um</i>	gi šà-dub-b[a]
	46 [ba-ba]	<i>mi-iš-ru-um</i>	<i>mu-[w]i-ru</i>
	47 b[a-ba-a]	giš sar ú	<i>ša-ki-in x-ti</i>
	48 ba-z[a]	maš gar-ra	<i>ta-ra-a[š]</i>
	49 ba-za-za	maš zi-ga	^d aš-ra-[tum]
	50 ni-a	<i>ši-id-da-tum</i>	^d AN-mar-tu
	51 a-[ni]	<i>in-da-ar-ba-ku</i>	^d mar-tu
	52 tab-[ni]	<i>a-ba-lum ka-ab-rum</i>	ad-da mar-tu
	53 kas-ni	<i>a-ba-lum ra-mu-ú</i>	(blank)
	54 ni-ur-ba	<i>pi-il-ka-a-tum</i>	<i>ra-bi sí-ka-tim</i>
	55 <i>be-lí</i>	<i>bu-k[u]-kum</i>	^d nin-giz-z[i-d]a
	56 <i>be-lí-tab_x</i>	<i>iš-ti-ni-iš</i>	^d du
	57 giš-be	<i>ši-ib-ta-at re-</i> <i>di</i>	(blank)
	58 n[u]-nu	<i>a-na re-qi-tim</i>	<i>za-aḥ-ḥi-[x]</i>
	59 a-nu	<i>a-na da-ri-a-tim</i>	<i>ga-ga-du</i>
	60 sag-kud	<i>ba-ni-a-tum</i>	<i>na-[a]p-ša-ti</i>
	61 sag-kud-dar-a	<i>mu-da-mi-qá-tum</i>	<i>a-ši-ir-tum</i>
	62 sag-an	<i>tí-id-nu-um</i>	[k]a-li-šu-um
	63 sag-an-tuk	<i>a-wi-lum x-x</i>	<i>aš-ka-an</i>
(Rev. iii)	64 [sag-mu]	[	[g]u-zi-bu
	65 [sag-kur]	[	<i>a-wi-[lu]</i>
	66 [sag-kur-ta]	[-u]m	da-[x]
	67 ku[d-da]	[la-ap-nu-u]m	ḥa-[x]
	68 ku[d-da-a]	[	<i>na-az</i>
	69 ga[b-gab]	[	<i>pa-qi-du-um</i>
	70 ni[n-gab]	[	<i>ma-ku-zu-um</i>
	71 nin-ezen	^d [na-na-a]	<i>ma-nu-[u]m</i>
	72 nin-sukal	^d nin-šubur	^d nin-šubur
	73 nin-sukal-an-ka	^d ama-ság- nu-di	nu-ḥa-mu-ṭa-[d]u
	74 pú-ta	<i>sú-ku-kum</i>	<i>up-pu-ḡum</i>
	75 sil-ta	<i>ṭù-um-mu-mu</i>	<i>mu-ni-ir-t[um]</i>
	76 é-ta	<i>ša-gu-um</i>	<i>e-gu-ú</i>
	77 é-gud	<i>bi-it na-wi-ri-</i> <i>a-tim</i>	<i>pa-gu-u[m]</i>
	78 an-dùl	<i>zi-ik-rum</i>	an-d[ùl]
	79 an-an-dùl	é-gal	<i>ti-gi-[</i>
	80 an-gá	<i>ši-il-lum</i>	an-d[ùl]
	81 an-kal	<i>sú-ku-lum</i>	<i>pa-da-[</i>
	82 tam-ma	<i>eb-bu-um</i>	<i>ma-ri-ú</i>
	83 tam-tam-ma	<i>ub-bu-bu-um</i>	<i>kà-lu-ú</i>
	84 ug ₄ -ga	<i>el-lum</i>	<i>na-wi-ra-tum</i>
	85 ug ₄ -ug ₄ -ga	<i>ul-lu-lum</i>	^m šé-ek-ru

	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>
	86 an-gàr	<i>ra-am-kum</i>	<i>ga-gu-ú</i>
	87 gâr-an	<i>ru-um-mu-ku</i>	nin-dingir
	88 an-áš	^d nu-muš-da	<i>ma-tum</i>
	89 áš-an	^d sumugan	[x-u]š-ta-ra-tum
	90 an-ba	ša-mu-ú	[d]a-an-nu-um
	91 an-ba-ni	ša-mu-ú <i>pe-tu-</i> <i>tum</i>	<i>en-šum</i>
	92 an-ni	^d bára	<i>be-li ar-ni</i>
	93 an-ni-zu	^d kù-mul-mul	<i>we-du-ú-um</i>
	94 dùg-ga	<i>mu-si-ku-um</i>	<i>ti-ir-tum</i>
	95 dùg-dùg-ga	<i>mu-ka-bi-rum</i>	<i>mu-um-bi-[u]m</i>
	96 [me-dùg]	[	[x-m]a-du-[x]
(Rev. iv)	97 [me-dùg-g]a	[x-x]-a-[x]	[r]a- <i>hi-zu</i>
	98 [ši-ba]-ni	<i>na-sí-iq-t[um]</i>	<i>ri-su-[</i>
	99 [ši-ba]-ur	<i>nu-sú-uq-tu[m]</i>	<i>ma-ak-[x]-x-</i> <i>lum</i>
	100 [h]u- <i>hu</i>	<i>li-lum</i>	^d en-[l]l
	101 [h]u-ba	<i>ma-an-kà-nu-um</i>	^d da-gan
	102 [h]u-ur	<i>ma-a-ku-um</i>	^d iskur
	103 [h]u-r[u]	<i>a-<i>hu-ru-um</i></i>	^d ša-la
	104 [an]-ú	<i>ri-it ša-me-e</i>	^d nin-sún
	105 [ú]-a	<i>ri-it er-še-tim</i>	<i>za-ni-nu-um</i>
	106 [ú]-da	<i>ma-ka-a-lum</i>	[x]- <i>lú</i>
	107 [pa-p]a	<i>ru-ku-bu-um</i>	<i>ha-su-tu</i>
	108 [pa-gá]	<i>ru-tu-tum</i>	<i>mu-ša-gi-šu</i>
	109 [pa-gá]-gá	^d tùr-zum	<i>gu-lu-bu</i>
	110 [a]-a-ur	<i>re-<i>hi-tum</i></i>	^d en-ki ^d nin-ki
	111 [an]-ur	<i>a-ga-ri-nu-um</i>	^d en-du ₇ ^d nin-du ₇
	112 [ni]-ni	<i>ma-ru-um</i>	^d en-da-šerím-ma
	113 [ni]-ni-a	<i>mar ma-ri-im</i>	^d nin-da-šerím-ma
	114 ni-ni-ni	<i>mar mar ma-ri-im</i>	<i>ba-nu-ú-um</i>
	115 ni-ni-ni-a	<i>mar mar mar ma-ri</i>	<i>na-gi-rum</i>
	116 [a]b-ba	<i>a-bu-um</i>	<i>um-ma-na-tum</i>
	117 [ab-ba]-mu	<i>a-bi</i>	<i>ši-ib-bi-um</i>
	118 [ab-b]a-ni	<i>a-bu-šu</i>	<i>ra-<i>hu-ú</i></i>
	119 [a]b-[b]a-a	<i>a-ba-bi-im</i>	<i>lu-ša-nu</i>
	120 [a]b-[b]a-uru	<i>a-bi a-li-im</i>	<i>ra-qí-du-um</i>
	121 [igi]-sa ₁₁	^d lú-làl	<i>am-za-li-lum</i>
	122 [igi]-sa ₁₁ -sa ₁₁	<i>za-ar-ri-iq-tum</i>	<i>za-ar-ri-qum</i>
	123 sa ₁₁	^d inana	<i>za-ar-ri-iq-tum</i>
	124 [sa ₁₁ -s]a ₁₁ -a	^d tišpak	<i>pe-lu-ú</i>
			<i>pe-li-tum</i>

NOTES

- 1b. My restoration, though likely, is by no means certain. There is a space between the classifier and the DN proper which begins just above the KI of 3b and can hardly have more than two signs.
- 2b. TI is almost certain, although the remains of the sign could also point to AN. Same spacing as in 1b.
- 4b. See ad 72b.
- c. Between N[IN] and RA one can see the faint outline of an oblong PISAN-type sign such as ùR.

5b-c. Syllabic spelling of ^dnin-KILIM; cf. ^dnin-ge₄-lî-in, BIN IX, Nos. 19, 21, 23, 24, and see AfO XVII (1954) 42, n. 167, also F. Thureau-Dangin in RA XXIV (1927) 24 f. Urukagina combines the logogram and the syllabic spelling: ^dnin-KILIM^{ge₄}-na (genitive), Sollberger, *Corpus*, Ukg. 4 v 4 = 5 v 1; cf. ZA LIV (1961) 13, No. 43.

10b-c. Sic, without -a.

12b. = ^dKA.DI.

13b. C i 1 é ^den-lîl? There is more in Genouil-

- lac's copy than on the tablet now; for LÍL one might perhaps read ZU.
- 14b.** C i 2 ^dUD.UD.
c. The break allows for only one narrow sign.
- 15a.** C i 3 bar-a.
b. C i 3 *na-wi-ir-tum*.
c. One-half of the line is missing; restore [ERIN]?
- 16a.** C i 4 lá-a.
b. C i 4 *na-ṭa-lum*.
c. The remains of x point to a sign of the same type as the second sign in **17c**.
- 17a.** Read perhaps *igi-bar*.
b. C i 5 MÁŠ.ŠU.GÍD.GÍD.
c. KU is not certain.
- 18b.** C i 6 UZU.GAN. The Ugarit recension agrees with our text (but spells -kà-).
- 19b.** C i 7.
- 20a.** C i 8 ši-ši-ši over erasure.
b. C i 8. As Nougayrol informs me, there is a crack in the tablet not shown in Genouillac's copy. The first vertical of his ŠÈ (read KU by him) is absent, but the horizontals do not cross the vertical, as they do for instance in C iii 5 f., so that -ás- is not certain. The traces in our text, however, point more to ÁS than to ŠÈ (or KU).
- 21b.** What is preserved of the third sign rules out AZ. It begins above the middle of the AZ of the following line. C i 9 has ŠU.SI.
- 22b.** C i 10 *ma-az-za-zum*.
- 23b.** C i 11 Á.ÁG.GÁ.
- 24b.** C i 12 KÁ É.GAL.
c. Read ^aa-šár-? Cf. I. J. Gelb, *MAD* No. 3, p. 76, s.v. ṛ₁ŠR?.
- 25b.** C i 13.
c. On *zarriqum* see *CAD* XXI 69, s.v. especially b. The equation with Enki is new.
- 26b.** C i 14 has NUN.KI, which may be Eridu by association with Enki of the preceding line or, more probably, a mistake for Ninki, quite understandable if we assume that the text was dictated to the scribe.
- 27b.** May also be read ^aen-ul. C i 15 seems to have ^aen-ḫi×U, whereas Genouillac's reading -bir would require ḫi×ŠÈ. One could perhaps read -šár, though the sign is clearly different from the regular ḫi of C iii 11 ff.
- 28b.** C i 15 has ^anin-ḫi×U (see above). Our text has ^aen-du₇ (or -ul) by dittography; see also **111c**.
- 29a.** Read a-tuš? According to the OBGT verbal paradigms (*MSL* IV), this would be *wašib*.
b. C i 17 *wa-aš-bu-um*.
- 30b.** Is TE a mistake for Uḫ (*i-na pu-uḫ-ri-šu-nu*)? C i 18 has *i-na* NIGIN-šu-nu.
- 31b.** C i 18 adds *ra-aš-bu-ú-um*.
- 32b.** For AN, see the following. C i 20 has SAG. GÁ *ku-ub-bu-ú-tum*.
- 33b.** Restored after C i 21 *i-lu pa-nu-tum i-lu ba-nu-tum*. See also *CAD* XVI 91a, where both adjectives are spelled with -ú-.
- 34b.** Restored after the preceding. C i 22 has *ša-ap-ra-tum dam-qá-tum*, but the Ugarit recension with ^aEŠTAR *ra-bu-tum* is closer to our text.
- 35b.** Restored after C i 23.
- 36b.** C i 24 adds *ni-še-er-tum*.
- 37b.** C i 25 *zu-un-nu*; see also *CAD* XXI 161a.
c. ḫ is a rather narrow sign of which only a small bottom vertical is preserved. [x], if anything is actually missing, might be [gar].
- 38b.** C i 26 has only *ša-ma-a-tum*; see also *CAD* XXI 161a.
c. This DN is known to me only from *WVDOG* XLIII, No. 1 Rev. iv 1 (transliteration only; not visible in photograph on Pl. 3); see also *ŠL* IV 1, 99,9.
- 39b.** C i 27 adds šà-tam.
- 40b.** C i 28 adds *il-ki* dub-sar; see *CAD* VII 73a, which mentions further *a-sú-tum*; cf. also *SLT*, No. 243, in Landsberger, "Notenschrift," p. 175.
- 41b.** C i 29 NUN.ME.TAG; *SLT*, No. 243, *mu-du-ú*.
- 42b.** C i 30 omits gi; *SLT*, No. 243, *i-qi-iš*.
c. ḫ may be s[AG].
- 43b.** C i 31 *kab-zu-zu-um* (see Nougayrol's comment on p. 36, n. 68, in this volume); the (loan[?]-)word *kabzuzūm* is not listed in *AHw*. *SLT*, No. 243, has *iq-ta-ni-iš*.
- 44b.** C i 32 has gi, which would better correspond to **45b**; as a measure *ašlum* = 10 GI. *SLT*, No. 243, has *iq-ti-iš*.
c. šu equated with *ašlum* by confusion with ÉŠ?

- 45b.** C i 33 has GIŠ.GI *gi-ba-al-lu* (sic; see G. Dossin in *RA* LII [1956] 91 f.). This may well correspond to (a kind of) *ganūm*; see *AHw.* p. 287, where, however, Dossin's correction has been overlooked. *SLT*, No. 243, has *ši-pi-ri-ša*.
- c.** *šà-dub-ba* is probably a syllabic spelling for *GA-dub-ba* (see Landsberger in *JCS* IX [1955] 25, n. 22).
- 46a.** Restored after the standard *Silbenalphabet A*; C (i 34) and *SLT*, No. 243, both have *ba-a*.
- b.** C i 34 has *in(?)-dar(?)-bu-uk-kum li-ma-du-um*; the first word, if correctly read, recalls our **51b**. *SLT*, No. 243, has *um-mu-um*.
- 47b.** To be read GIŠ.SAR ū ("herb-garden") or GIŠ.SAR⁴ = *kirū*? Or do we simply have the three usual classifiers for plant names? *SLT*, No. 243, has *pe-le-e-tum* (our **124c**?).
- c.** *ḫ* may be [g]A.
- 48b.** *SLT*, No. 243, *ba-nu-u[m]*.
- 49b.** *SLT*, No. 243, *la ba-nu-um*.
- 50b.** *SLT*, No. 243, [*d*]an-nu-u[m].
- 56a.** The transliteration *tab_x* for 𒄠 is legitimate because the value is already recorded in Proto-Ea (line 366; *MSL* II 59).
- c.** Cf. *ŠL* IV 1, 410,1, and Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, No. 728 (where the reference to *BE* III, No. 90, should be corrected to *BE* III, No. 109).
- 57a.** For the reading (*izbi*), see Landsberger, *Schulbücher*, p. 112, n. 18.
- b.** Cf. *CAD* XVI 163b.
- 58b.** C ii 1 *sí-ma-at tu-ur(?)*-x.
- 59a.** The standard *Silbenalphabet A* has a-nu-nu; C (ii 3) agrees with our text.
- b.** C ii 3; cf. *CAD* III 111a. Preceded in C (ii 2) by *a-na re-ša-a-tim*, which may be reflected in our **59c**.
- 60b.** C ii 4 f. adds *sag-du-nu-tuk* (cf. *ŠL* II 115, 147) *ad-du-na-nu-um*; only the latter is quoted in *CAD* III 148b.
- 61a.** C ii 7 as well as the standard *Silbenalphabet A* have *sag-kud-da-a*.
- b.** C ii 6 f. spells *-dam-* and adds *AŠ(?) [x](?) ka-ab-ta-tum*.
- 62b.** Almost entirely destroyed (erased?). C ii 8 has ^{tu}mar-tu.
- 63b-c.** Almost entirely destroyed (erased?). For **b** C ii 9 has ⁴AN-mar-tu, which corresponds to our **50c**.
- 64b.** C ii 10 has *lú-mu* (or *LÚ.MU*).
- 65b.** C ii 11 *a-wi-il-ki(?) lú-dingir-ra*.
- c.** There is a blank space after *-wi-*, and at the end of the line there are traces of a single LAGAB-type sign. If my restoration is correct, our text would seem to agree with C, which offers the equivalence *sag* = *awilum* in **64-66** (see also **63b**).
- 66b.** C ii 12 has *lú-dingir-ra*, repeated from the preceding line, but the traces on our tablet are best suited to *UM* and rule out *RA*.
- c.** Same spacing as in **65c**.
- 67b.** Restored after C ii 13.
- c.** Same spacing as in **65c**.
- 68b.** C ii 14 has *ka-tu-ú-um*.
- c.** No spacing between the two signs; the second half of the line blank.
- 69b.** C ii 15 has *mu-ki-id-du-um mu-kab-bi-rum*, the latter corresponding to our **95b**.
- 70a.** C ii 16 has *gab-nin*, unless one assumes that the scribe forgot in this case to reverse the order of the signs; see also below, *ad* **81a**.
- b.** C ii 16 *mu-ša-ag-gi-šum mu-ša-ap-pi-lum*, the former corresponding to our **108c**.
- 71b.** Restored after the Ugarit recension. C ii 17 has *a-wa-tum i-na KÁ É.GAL ta-ra-tu(?) tu-ut-te-du-um*, the last word quoted also in *CAD* VII 20b.
- 72b.** C ii 18 f. adds ⁴nin-é-gal, which is our line **4b**. The Ugarit recension has ⁴pap-sukal.
- 73b.** C ii 20 ⁴nun-gal; Ugarit recension ⁴ma-nu-gal (cf. K. Tallqvist in *StOr* VII 360). For our DN, see *ibid.* p. 261 and cf. the early PN at Šurupak: *bára-ḫÉ.PA(?)*-nu-di-di (*WVDOG* XLIII, No. 29 Rev. iii 14), *bára-ḫÉ-nu-di-di* (Jestin, *Šurupak*, No. 230 i 15); Ur: *bára-ḫÉ-nu-di* (*UET* II, No. 2, Fara period?); and Lagaš: *bára-ḫÉ-nu-di* (Urn. 21:10 = Sollberger, *Corpus*, p. 2), *bára-PA-nu-di* (*DP*, No. 132 vii 1, Lugalanda).
- 74b.** C ii 21. *CAD* III 202a gives *du-šu-ú*.
- 75b.** C ii 22 *tú-um-mu-mu-um*. *CAD* IV 259b gives *e-re-bu* and *ka-ša-šu*.

- 76b.** C ii 23 *šu-ud-du-lum*; CAD IV 157a *e-mu-qu*.
- 77b.** C ii 24 *nam-ri-a-tum*; CAD III 111a adds *da-ri-a-tu* (see also *ibid.* p. 112a).
- 78b.** C ii 25. CAD XXI 112b quotes *zi-ik-ru(-um)* and *qi-bi-tu*.
- 79a.** The standard *Silbenalphabet A* has *an-dùl-dùl*; C (ii 26) agrees with our text.
- b.** C ii 26 has *ši-lu-lum*; see also CAD XVI 194a.
- 80b-c.** C ii 27 has AN-*šu ra-bi* and AN *ya-ú-um*, the latter being a better rendering of *an-gá* (understood as *dingir-gá*) than *ši-il-lum* of our text and of the recension quoted in CAD XVI 189a, which, however, would accurately translate our lines **80c** and **78c** (if my restorations are accepted) and **78a**.
- 81a.** C ii 28 writes *an-kal*, in this order; see above, *ad 70a*.
- b.** *-ku-* is probably a scribal error for *-lu-*; CAD XVI 242a quotes *šu-lu-lum* for this line (inadvertently numbered 80). This may imply that some scribes understood *an-kal* as ^dlama; C ii 28 apparently understands it as *dingir kal(a)* with either of his translations, AN-*šu dan* and AN *wa-qar*.
- 82b.** C ii 29. CAD IV 2a adds *el-lu*.
- 83b.** C ii 30. CAD IV 2a gives only *eb-bu*.
- 84a.** Some texts (e.g. BM 98520 = Th. 1905-4-9, 26 = RA XVII 202) quoted by the CAD have ZAB for UD here and in **85a**.
- b.** C iii 1. The CAD lists *el-lu* (Vol. IV 102b), *eb-bu* (Vol. IV 2a) and (for *zab-ga*) *šu-lu-lu* (Vol. XVI 242a) and *za-ab-[gu-u]* (Vol. XXI 8a).
- 85a.** See above, *ad 84a*.
- b.** C iii 2. The CAD adds *e-lil-[. . .]* (Vol. IV 80b), *nam-ra e-ni* (Vol. VII 153b), *ú-du-u [x x]* (Vol. VII 21a, with the remark “obscure”) and (for *zab-zab-ga*) *za-ab-za-ab-[gu-u]* (Vol. XXI 10a). However, as *ú-du-u [x x]* is almost certainly from BM 98520, it should also be equated with *zab-zab-ga*.
- 86b.** C iii 3.
- 87b.** C iii 4 spells *-kum*.
- 88b.** C iii 5.
- 89b.** Written ^dgîr, as in C iii 6.
- c.** [x] = [ku]-?
- 90b.** C iii 7 has *ša-mu-ú pé-tu-tum*, which corresponds to our **91b**.
- 91b.** C iii 8 has AN *ša-mu-ú pe-tu-MU*, where AN probably repeats *šamū* and -MU is perhaps a scribal error for *-tum*.
- 92b.** C iii 9.
- 93b.** C iii 10 writes only one MUL but adds ^dnin-si-an-na.
- c.** Renders the *-zu* (= *idū*) of **93a**.
- 94b.** C iii 11 *mu-si-ik-kum*.
- 95b.** C iii 12 *mu-uk-tab-bi-rum*; see above, *ad 69b*.
- 96b.** C iii 13 *de-šu-ú-um*; see also CAD III 129b.
- 97a.** C iii 14 seems to write *-gál* for *-ga*.
- b.** C iii 14 has *du-uš-šu-ú-um*; see also CAD III 129b. This cannot be reconciled with the traces in our text, where the first two signs may be NA.GA.
- 98b.** C iii 15 *na-[sí-í]q-tum*.
- 99b.** C iii 16 *nu-[ús-s]ú-[u]q-tum(?)*.
- c.** x may be [L]I.
- 100a.** VAT 11514 and its duplicate K.13590 (= CT XIX, Pl. 6), quoted by Landsberger in “Notenschrift,” p. 176 k, give *ḫu-ur* and *ḫu-ri*. Here and in lines **101-3**, C (iii 17 ff.) has *ri-*, possibly a scribal error for *ḫu-*.
- b.** VAT 11514 *lil-lum*.
- c.** For Enlil = Lillum, see Tallqvist in *StOr* VII 296.
- 101b.** VAT 11514 *ma-ak-kan-nu-u*.
- 102b.** VAT 11514 *a-ku-u*; Ugarit recension *ba-ku-ú KUR-ti*.
- 103b.** VAT 11514 *a-ḫu-ru-u*.
- 104b.** Read *ri-id?*
- 105b.** Read *ri-id?*
- c.** This is one of the two instances where column *c* gives the “canonic” equation.
- 106a.** The standard *Silbenalphabet A* has *ú-ta*, though some texts agree with ours.
- 108c.** Cf. above, *ad 70b*.
- 109b.** ŠL IV 1, 135,2, lists a ^dtùr-sikil after WVDOG XLIII, No. 46 v 1, where *-sikil* is transliterated only; was it misread for *-zum?*
- 111c.** See above, *ad 27b-28b*.
- 112b.** The “Brussels Vocabulary” gives *ḫal-šu* for NI.NI glossed *ì-lí*; see Landsberger,

- “Notenschrift,” p. 176 m; also *CAD* VI 51a.
- 113b.** The same text gives *ru-ug-qu-ú*.
- 118c.** J. Nougayrol calls my attention to the occurrence of *lu-ša-nu* in Gilgameš (quoted in *CAD* XXI 120b without translation).
- 121a.** For the reading sa_{11} of DAR here and in the following lines, see Landsberger in *Schulbücher*, p. 101, n. 6(!).
- b.** VAT 11514 (Landsberger, “Notenschrift,” p. 176 n) has $^d i\check{s}-tar$, which corresponds to our **123b**.
- c.** VAT 11514 *za-ar-ri-qu* (and *ki-na*).
- 122a.** The standard *Silbenalphabet A* has $igi-sa_{11}-a$, but our variant is attested elsewhere (see Landsberger in *Schulbücher*, p. 101).
- b.** VAT 11514 has $^d \check{s}u\check{s}inak$, which corresponds to our **124b**.
- c.** VAT 11514 *za-ar-ri-ig-tú* (and *pa-an-[x]*).
- 123b.** VAT 11514 $^d [x]$.
- c.** VAT 11514 *pe-lu-u* (and *ki-n[a]*).
- 124b.** VAT 11514 has $^d la-ta-[rak]$ (cf. also Ugarit recension $^d la-ta-ra-ak$), which would correspond to our **121b**.
- c.** VAT 11514 *pe-li-tu* (and *la ta-kal-[la]*).

« VOCALISES » ET « SYLLABES EN LIBERTÉ » À UGARIT

JEAN NOUGAYROL

Paris

Au cours de plusieurs de ses campagnes à Ras Shamra, et en des points souvent fort distants les uns des autres, M. Cl. F.-A. Schaeffer a découvert de petits « centres d'études babyloniennes ». ¹ A peu près tous les types de textes scolaires attestés en Mésopotamie s'y retrouvent, depuis les manuels du « premier cycle » jusqu'aux compositions en partie originales de la classe de « rhétorique ». ² En ce qui concerne la phase élémentaire, les syllabaire et vocabulaire S^c, la liste (réduite) An de noms divins, le tableau des poids et mesures, paraîtront sous peu dans *Ugaritica* V. Nous en finissons avec cette phase—où nous manquent seulement encore les « lentilles » et « pages d'écriture » des écoliers—

en donnant ici une première idée de la forme sous laquelle le syllabaire en *u-a-i* et le (pseudo-)Silbenalphabet A, à une ou deux colonnes, ³ y étaient connus.

Dans ce domaine, comme dans tant d'autres et plus encore, nous ne pouvons avancer quelque peu qu'en mettant nos pas dans ceux du Professeur Landsberger. ⁴ Qu'il agrée donc, à titre d'hommage, ce qui n'est guère qu'une restitution, et qu'il veuille bien y associer à notre nom celui de M. Schaeffer qui, en nous autorisant exceptionnellement à pré-publier les documents ci-dessous, ⁵ tient à témoigner des mêmes sentiments que nous à son égard.

SYLLABAIRES EN *u-a-i*

COMPOSITION DU TEXTE				
RS 20.125	Face A	1-37	lignes 1-37	[“] ru ra ri
RS 20.155	Face A	1'-18'	lignes 27-44	“ mu ma mi
RS 22.225	Face B	i 1'-18'	lignes 7-25	10) “ du da di
		ii 1'-16'	lignes 33-48	“ tum tam tim
	Tr.		lignes 50-52	“ uḥ aḥ i[h] ⁶
RS 25.446		i 1'-8'	lignes 7-14	“ ur ar ir
				“ uz az iz ⁷
				15) “ ug ag ig
				“ gu ga gi
				“ ul al il
				“ uš aš iš
				“ šu ša ši

¹ Cf. (depuis les publications Virolleaud dans *Syria* X, Pls. LXXVI s., Thureau-Dangin dans *Syria* XII 225-66 et XIII 233-41, PRU III 211-14) les rapides indications fournies dans *CRAI*, 1954, p. 32; 1957, pp. 79 s.; 1960, pp. 166-69; 1963, séance du 10 mai.

² Sur le programme d'enseignement babylonien, cf. Landsberger dans Çiğ et Kızılyay, *Zwei altbabylonische Schulbücher aus Nippur* (TTKY, 7. ser., N° 35) pp. 77-116 (designé ci-dessous par *L 2*), en particulier pp. 97 s.; dans *Proceedings of the Twenty-third International Congress of Orientalists*, p. 126; et dans Kraeling et Adams (éd.), *City Invincible*, pp. 94 ss.; également Kraus dans *JCS* I 112 ss.

³ Le « Silbenalphabet » A à doubles colonnes, comme le vocabulaire S^c, n'appartiennent pas au cycle élémentaire (cf. ci-dessous): ils supposent trop de connaissances.

⁴ Nous nous référons, explicitement ou implicitement, par la suite, à Landsberger, « Die angebliche babylonische Notenschrift » (*AfO* Beiband I 170-78; désigné ci-dessous par *L 1*), et à *L 2* (cf. ci-dessus, n. 2).

⁵ Parmi les centaines de tablettes ou fragments « lexicographiques » mis au jour par M. Schaeffer—plus de 200 au cours de ses 20ème et 21ème campagnes, 75 au cours des 22ème et 23ème—il en est d'autres, certainement, qui seront rattachés un jour aux types en question ici, mais que nous n'avons pu encore, faute de temps, soit copier, soit identifier définitivement. Pour ces additions et toutes les autographies, nous nous excusons de renvoyer à un volume à venir d'*Ugaritica*.

⁶ Ainsi, dans RS 25.446 i 6'. Dans RS 20.125 Face A 12 et RS 22.225 Face B i 6': ḥi (cf. note suiv.).

⁷ Dans RS 22.225 Face B i 8': si (inversion graphique ou *lapsus calami*?).

- 20) “ um am im
 “ un an in₄
 “ ub ab ib
 “ gur gar gir⁸
 “ bur bar bir₅
- 25) “ ḥu ḥa ḥi
 “ u-bar-rum
 “ ib-[n]a-tum
 “ ib-ba-tum
 “ ib-ga-tum
- 30) “ ib-ni-ia
 “ ib-ni-^dEŠDAR
 “ a-na-tum
 “ a-ba-tum
 “ a-ga-tum
- 35) “ a-sa-tum
 “ a-da-mu
 “ a-ḥu-ni
 “ kur-da-tum
 “ kur-sa-tum
- 40) “ kur-di-ia
 “ kur-di-^dEŠDAR
 “ si-na-tum
 “ ud-la-tum
 “ ḥu-za-lum
- 45) “ na-ka-rum
 “ e-di-rum
 “ e-be-bu
 “ e-bi-rum
 [“ ia-ab(?)]-la-nu
- 50) “ ia-ku-i
 “ ia-te-nu

Commentaire.—L'ordre *u-a-i* a été relevé dans les textes scolaires en général par Ehelolf (ZA XXXIV 31) et Thureau-Dangin (*Mededeelingen en Verhandelingen «Ex Oriente Lux»* N° 8, pp. 16 s.). Schuster (ZA XLIV 225, n. 2) a précisé que tous les syllabaires en *u-a-i* étaient paléobabyloniens, à l'exception de EA, N° 350. Kızılyay (TTKY, 7. ser., N° 35, pp. 7 s., 12–18) a rassemblé les documents de ce genre provenant de Nippur et en a donné (*ibid.* pp. 59–65) une transcription d'ensemble. Elle y a reconnu plusieurs types (*a*, *b*, *ni* a *ni* *b*) selon l'ordre des syllabes-clés. AO 5399 (Thureau-Dangin, RA IX, 79 s.), EA, N° 350, et les témoins d'Ugarit ne suivent aucun de ces ordres,⁹ ni ne sont d'accord

⁸ Cette ligne manque dans RS 22.225 Face B i entre 16' et 17'.

entre eux sur ce point. D'autre part, ces témoins d'Ugarit ainsi que celui de Tell el-Amarna ont une présentation matérielle particulière: ils n'énumèrent pas comme les autres, en trois lignes successives, les éléments des divers groupes, pour les reprendre d'ensemble à une quatrième ligne, ils ne portent, en fait, que cette dernière ligne.

Enfin, le choix des syllabes retenues diffère. Pour les groupes CV, Nippur *a* épuise en 16 rubriques les combinaisons possibles de la graphie ancienne, c'est-à-dire, en ne négligeant que ^u et les consonnes emphatiques. La source ougaritique en écarte de plus les séries *u*, *wu*, et *pu* (distinct de *bu* pour les autres vocalisations). Les groupes VC, dont le total théorique se réduit à 10 rubriques, par suite des confusions *ub/p*, *ug/k*, etc., figurent au complet dans Nippur *a* et *b* conjugués, mais pas dans chacune de ces sources prise à part. Il n'y manque que *ud* dans la tradition d'Ugarit qui énumère donc, à cette exception près, tous les VC inverses de ses CV (sous réserve de l'indistinction des sonores et sourdes en position finale). Elle est pauvre, au contraire, en rubriques CVC—qui peuvent être rendues par la composition CV.VC. Comme d'autres sources, elle en retient *tum* et *bur* et, seule, *gur*.

A Ras Shamra, et peut-être à Tell el-Amarna, mais pas ailleurs apparemment, le syllabaire *u-a-i* se poursuit *immédiatement*—dans RS 20.125 sans trait de séparation—par une liste de mots à trois éléments, le plus souvent groupés en « acrostiche » et parfois même en double « acrostiche ». La plupart de ces mots, dès le premier coup d'œil, se révèlent comme des noms de personnes (cf. p. ex. Ubar(r)um, Ibqatum, Ibniija, Ibni-Ištar, Agatum, Asatum, Adamu, Aḥuni, Ḥuzalum, Qurdija, Qurdi-Ištar, Nak(k)arum, Eṭirum), et on peut penser qu'il en va de même des autres. On remarque cependant que ces noms propres, contrairement à ceux qui forment la base des « Silbenalphabet » (*L* 2, pp. 102–9), ne sont pas sumériens ou archaïques, mais accadiens ou accadisés, et quelques-uns, tout au moins, assez « récents » (cf. p. ex. le groupe Yaplanu, Yakui, Yatenu, qu'on retrouve encore sans doute dans l'onomastique d'Ugarit sous les formes *ypln*, *yky*, *ytn*). Il est donc possible que

⁹ Les cinq premiers groupes sont cependant les mêmes à Ugarit que dans Nippur *a*.

les lignes 26–51, et surtout 49–51, soient le fait de scribes de l'Ouest. Et cela amène à se demander si, dans le cas parallèle des « Silbenalphabet », les scribes ne gardaient pas quelque obscur souvenir de l'origine des « syllabes en liberté » (*L 2*, p. 115, n. 25).¹⁰

On remarquera que les syllabaires en *u-a-i* d'Ugarit partagent les tablettes où ils sont écrits

avec d'autres textes: les faces B de RS 20.125 et de RS 20.155 portent des « Silbenalphabet » A (à simple ou double colonne, respectivement).¹¹ Quant à RS 22.225, sa face A est réservée à un texte mythologique en ougaritique.¹² On peut supposer qu'un scribe, fort avancé dans cette écriture mais au premier stage des études babyloniennes, en est l'unique auteur.

« SILBENALPHABET » A, À COLONNES SIMPLES

COMPOSITION DU TEXTE		
RS 5.X (AO 18.893)		5) [ku.ku] [lu.lu]
Recto 1'–7'	lignes 55–61	[maš]
Verso 1–7	lignes 62–68	[maš.maš] [maš.dù]
RS 20.125 Face B ¹³		10) [maš.ni] [si.d]ù [s]i.ni [s]i.a u.bar
i 1'–44'	lignes 11–54	
ii 1'–19'	lignes 63–81	
ii 26'–38'	lignes 88–100	
iii 1'–18'	lignes 109–26	
RS 20.215 ¹⁴		15) bar.bar lal.lal šr.bar bar.šr šr.šr
Face A i 1–12	lignes 30–41 ou 42 ¹⁵	
ii 1–10	lignes 12–21	
iii 1'–5' ¹⁶	lignes 58–62	
Face B i 1'–10' ¹⁷	lignes 12–21	20) šr.šr.šr A.šr A.šr.šr me.a me.ni
ii 1'–8' ¹⁸	lignes 32–40 ¹⁹	
iii 1'–8' ²⁰	lignes 49–56	
RS 22.220		25) aš.ni aš.ur nun.ni nun.ur a.KU
i 1'–9'	lignes 40–48	
ii 1'–13'	lignes 110–22	
RS 24.77		30) LAGAB.a a.PAP PAP.a ²¹ A.AN AN.a
i 1'–14'	lignes 27–40	
ii 1'–7'	lignes 104–10	
RS 25.133		35) kur.ba
1'–16'	lignes 109–24	
Restitutions d'après <i>L 2</i> , pp. 100 s., ou les « Silbenalphabet » A à 2 colonnes d'Ugarit (ci-dessous).		
[me.me]		
[PAP.PAP]		
[a . a]		
[a.a.a]		

¹⁰ Sur leur étonnante fortune, cf. *L 1*, pp. 177 s.; *L 2*, pp. 115 s.; Gadd dans *Iraq* IV 33 s.; Laessle dans *BiOr* XIII 99; et la nostalgie musicologique de T. Baqir dans *Sumer* II 2, pp. 29 s., et de plusieurs autres.

¹¹ L'autre face du fragment RS 25.446 est anépigraphe, dans l'état actuel.

¹² Virolleaud dans *CRAI*, 1960, pp. 180 ss.

¹³ Pour la Face A, cf. ci-dessus « Syllabaires en *u-a-i* ».

¹⁴ Tablette d'exercice scolaire (« en long »).

¹⁵ Sans la ligne 39?

¹⁶ Trait de séparation après la ligne 58.

¹⁷ Trait de séparation après la ligne 21 (bas de colonne).

¹⁸ Trait de séparation après la ligne 40 (bas de colonne).

¹⁹ Sans la ligne 39.

²⁰ Trait de séparation entre les lignes 55 et 56 et après la ligne 56 (bas de colonne).

²¹ PAP.AN dans RS 24.77 i 6'.

	kur.u.ta		sil.tá ²⁷
	me.zu		é.tá ²⁸
	me.wa.zu		é.[gud] ²⁹
	wa.zu ²²	80)	an[.dùl]
40)	ì.zu		a[n.dùl.dùl]
	a.zu		[AN.gá]
	zu.zu		[AN.KAL]
	ì.ba		[tam.ma]
	ì.ba.ba	85)	[tam.tam.ma]
45)	a.ba		[UG ₄ .ga]
	a.ba.ba		[UG ₄ .UG ₄ .ga]
	ba.ba		GÀ[R(?).AN] ³⁰
	ba.ba.a ²³		AN[.GÀR(?)]
	ba.za	90)	AN[.Áš]
50)	ba.za.za		Áš.A[N]
	ni.a		an.b[a]
	e.ni ²⁴		AN.ba.ni
	tab.ni		an.ni
	KAS.ni	95)	an.ni.zu
55)	ni.ur.ba		dùg.ga
	be.NI		dùg.dùg.ga
	[be.]NI.HI		me.dùg
	GIŠ.be		me.dùg.ga
	nu.nu	100)	šI.ba.ni
60)	a.nu.nu		[šI.ba.ur]
	sag.k[ud]		[ḫu.ḫu]
	sag.k[ud].dā ²⁵ .a		[ḫu.ba]
	sag.AN		ḫ[u.ur]
	sag.AN.TUK	105)	ḫu[.ru]
65)	sag.mu		AN.ú
	sag.kur		[ú].a
	sag.kur.tā ²⁶		[ú].ta
	kud.da		PA.PA
	kud.da.a	110)	PA.gá
70)	GAB.GAB		PA.gá.gá ³¹
	GAB.GAB.a ²⁵		a.ur ³²
	nin.GAB		AN.ur.ur ³³
	nin.EZEN		NI.NI
	nin.SUKKAL	115)	NI.NI.a
75)	nin.SUKKAL.an.KA		NI.NI.NI
	pú.tá ²⁶		

²² Cette ligne ne figure pas dans *L 2*, p. 100, ni dans Baqir, *Sumer* II 2, Pl. 6, ni dans RS 20.215 Face B ii.

²³ Ba.ba.ba.a dans RS 20.125 Face B i 38'.

²⁴ Ainsi, dans RS 20.215 Face B iii 4', et, ci-dessous, dans RS 22.222 iii 8', tandis que le premier signe de RS 20.125 Face B i 42' est brisé. *L 2*, p. 100, plus normalement: a.ni (également Baqir, *loc. cit.*).

²⁵ Cette ligne ne figure que rarement dans *L 2* (cf. *L 1*, p. 172, var. à ligne 32). Elle n'est pas dans Baqir, *loc. cit.*

²⁶ *L 2*: pú.ta, également Baqir, *loc. cit.*

²⁷ *L 2*: sil.ta, également Baqir, *loc. cit.*

²⁸ *L 2*: é.ta.

²⁹ Cette restitution est douteuse pour Ugarit, malgré *L 2*, p. 100. Cf. ci-dessous RS 22.435 Verso 10' s.

³⁰ Les lignes 88 s. sont interverties par rapport à *L 2*, p. 101, et Baqir, *loc. cit.*

³¹ Rs 25.133:3': [PA.P]A.gá. Cf. ci-dessous, n. 65.

³² A.a.ur dans *L 2*, p. 101, dans Baqir, *loc. cit.*, et sans doute, dans RS 25.133:4'.

³³ AN.ur dans *L 2*, p. 101, Baqir, *loc. cit.*, RS 22.220 ii 4', et, peut-être, RS 25.133:5'.

- NI.NI.NI.a
 ab.ba
 ab.ba.mu
 120) ab.ba.ni
 ab.ba.a
 ab.ba.uru KI³⁴
 [ig]i.sa₁₁
 [igi].sa₁₁.sa₁₁
 125) [] sa₁₁
 [sa₁₁].sa₁₁.a³⁵

Commentaire.—Les variantes de la tradition d'Ugarit par rapport à la tradition de Babylonie

sont ici négligeables. Elles ne dépassent pas en ampleur celles qu'on peut relever entre les diverses versions mésopotamiennes (*L 1*, p. 172). Aux lignes 76–78 seules, elles présentent un caractère systématique: simple reflet furtif de l'application du syllabaire occidental.

Le *cadre* babylonien du « Silbenalphabet » A était donc très fermement maintenu à Ugarit. Une certaine initiative n'était sans doute laissée aux scribes locaux que dans le *remplissage* de ce cadre pour les « Silbenalphabet » A à doubles colonnes que nous allons maintenant examiner.

« SILBENALPHABET » A, À DOUBLES COLONNES (« Vocabulaires »)

COMPOSITION DU TEXTE

RS 17.41		
Recto 1–22		A lignes 1–22
Verso 1'–17'		F lignes 1'–17'
RS 20.155		
Face B ³⁶ i 1'–12'		D lignes 21'–32'
RS 22.215		
i' 1'–13'		C lignes 31 ^b –41 ³⁷
ii 1'–9'		D lignes 10'–13' ³⁸
RS 22.222		
i 1–40		B lignes 1–40
ii 1–40		C lignes 1–40 ³⁹
iii 1'–34'		D lignes 1'–34' ⁴⁰
iv 1'–5'		G lignes 1'–15'
RS 22.411		
Recto: traces des rubriques 11, 12, 13		entre B et C
Verso 1–14		E lignes 1–14
RS 22.435		
Recto 1–13		C lignes 1–13
Verso 1'–11'		D lignes 27'–37' ⁴¹

	A	B
me.me (1)	D[ING]IR-lum me-lu-lum ra-qi-dum ra-qa-dum	] ] -r]u(?) sa-ar-]ru

³⁴ Ab.ba.uru dans *L 2*, p. 101, Baqir, *loc. cit.*, et, sans doute, RS 25.133:14'. Cf. cependant la variante ab.ba.ki dans *L 1*, p. 172.

³⁵ *L 2*, p. 101, porte successivement igi.sa₁₁, igi.sa₁₁.sa₁₁.a, sa₁₁, sa₁₁.sa₁₁; Baqir, *loc. cit.*: igi.sa₁₁, igi.sa₁₁.sa₁₁, sa₁₁.sa₁₁, sa₁₁.sa₁₁.a.

³⁶ Pour la Face A, cf. ci-dessus « Syllabaires en u-a-i ».

³⁷ Avec les lignes b et c, mais sans la ligne 34.

³⁸ Avec les lignes b et c.

³⁹ Sans les lignes b et c.

⁴⁰ Sans les lignes b et c.

⁴¹ Dans la transcription qui suit, l'astérisque indique les équivalences « classiques », l'astérisque entre parenthèses, des équivalences tirées par dérivation ou synonymie des ces équivalences « classiques », l'astérisque entre crochets, les équivalences des vocabulaires « Silbenalphabet » qui se sont infiltrées dans des vocabulaires « normaux » (cf. *L 1*, pp. 174–76). Le « curieux syllabaire » de Genouillac dans *RA XXV* 124–26 est désigné ci-dessous par « Gen. ».

	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	
5)	<i>sa-ar-rum</i> ⁴² <i>šar-ra-qum</i> <i>ḥab-ba-tum</i> <i>mu-ut-ḥa-li-lum</i> <i>pár-šu ma-du-t[um]*</i>	<i>šar-ra-q]u</i> <i>ra-qa-]du</i> <i>ḥab-ba]-tum</i> <i>mut-taḥ-]li-lum</i> <i>^dla-ta-]ra-ak</i>	5)
10)	^d NISABA ^d GU.LA[*] ^d UMUN.KI	<i>pár-šu ma-]ʿ-du-tum*</i> ^d N]ISABA]ru ^d UMUN].KI	10)
PAP.PAP (2)	DUMU.SAL ^d PAP.SUKKAL* ^d NISABA[*] ⁴³	DUMU.SAL ^d (?)] PAP.SUKKAL* ^d N]ISABA	15)
15)	<i>nu-ku-ra-tum</i> (*)	<i>nu-ku-]ru*</i> <i>nu-ku-ra]-tum</i> (*)	
a . a (3)	<i>a - bi*</i> ^d GĪR.UNU.[GAL ^d NIN.[É.GAL[*] ^d [É . A(*) ⁴⁴	<i>a -] bu*</i> ^d G]ĪR.UNU.GAL.LA ^d NIN.É.GAL[*] ^d [É . A(*)	20)
20) a.a.a (4)	<i>a[-bi-a-bi*</i> ^d [É . A(*)	<i>a-]bu-a-bi*</i> ^d [É . A(*)	
ku.k[u (5)		^d]NIN.KILIM* <i>i](?)-ta-ad-du-ú*</i>	25)
[lu.lu (6)		<i>]šu-qa-al-lu-lum</i> ⁴⁵ <i>]du-uš-šu*</i>]LÚ SIPA*] ^d LUGAL.MAR.DA*	
[maš (7)		<i>]ma(?)]-šu-ú* ša A.ŠÀ</i> <i>ši - i]p(?) - ru*</i> <i>bi](?)-it-ru*</i>	30)
[maš.maš (8)		^d NIN]N.URTA*]GAR <i>ma-]šu-ú*</i>	35)
[maš.dù (9)		LÚ T]U ₆ .TU ₆ (*) <i>b]i-lum</i>]ILA ^d MÈŠ.LA]M.TA.È.A[*] <i>ša-bi-t]um*</i>	40)
	<i>C</i>		
lal.lal (16) ⁴⁶	<i>ma-tu-ú*</i> <i>ta-am-ti-ia-tum</i> (*) <i>iš-bi-bi-tum</i>		
šī.bar (17)	<i>nap-lu-sú*</i>		

⁴² Ce groupe (lignes 5–8) des malandrins se retrouve plus loin (C 9–12) avec l'équivalence normale šī.šī (lilib). Sans doute faut-il voir ici un jeu graphique šī(B).šī(B).

⁴³ ^dPAP.PAP pour ^dNISABA est employé plusieurs fois dans les colophons des textes « savants » d'Ugarit.

⁴⁴ La prononciation a-a pour ^dé.a a amené ailleurs les scribes

de Ras Shamra à donner Kušar comme équivalent à la « fiancée » du dieu-soleil.

⁴⁵ Sans doute LU.LU pour l'á'.l'á'.

⁴⁶ La partie C couvre le même domaine que Gen. i 4'–22'. A cette ligne, Gen. porte seulement na-ṭa-lum.

		C
5)		LÚ MÁŠ.ŠU.GÍD.GÍD(*) ⁴⁷
	bar.šI (18)	<i>ta-kà-al-tum</i> [*] ⁴⁸
		<i>i-li-it UZU IGI*</i>
	šI.šI (19) ⁴⁹	<i>za-a-ru(m)</i>
		<i>sà-ra-ru(m)</i> (*)
10)		<i>šar-ra-gum*</i>
		<i>ḥab-ba-tum*</i>
		<i>mut-taḥ-li-lum</i> (*)
	šI.šI.šI (20)	<i>nap-la-sà-tum</i> ⁵⁰
		KI.GUB.DINGIR
15)	A.šI (21)	<i>ú-ba-nu</i> (!) ⁵¹
	A.šI.šI (22)	KI.GUB DINGIR ⁵²
	me.a (23)	<i>ter-tum</i> ⁵³
		² <i>ú-ru</i> (*)
	me.ni (24)	KÁ É.GAL[*] ⁵⁴
20)	aš.ni (25)	^d É.A ⁵⁵
	aš.ur (26)	^d NIN.KI.AN.NA ⁵⁶
	nun.ni (27)	^d EN.LÍL ⁵⁷
	nun.ur (28)	^d NIN.LÍL ⁵⁸
	a.KU (29) ⁵⁹	ŠI GA A ŠI
25)	LAGAB.a (30) ⁶⁰	DIRIG.GA- <i>rum</i> ^d AN.NA
		<i>kír.šú ša LÚ BAḤAR₂*</i>
	a.PAP (31) ⁶¹	<i>a-ri-tum</i>
		LÚ MUŠEN.DÙ
	PAP.a (32) ⁶²	DINGIR.E.NE.MEŠ
30)		DINGIR.KUR.MEŠ- <i>tum</i>
		<i>ba-ni-ia-tum</i>
31b)		[.] ba(?) [.]
31c)		<i>r[u(?)-ub-bu-ú</i>
	A.AN (33)	(DINGIR.)(E.NE.)MEŠ ⁶³
		<i>ša(-a)-mu-ú</i> (*)
		<i>zu-un-ú + nu*</i>
35)		<i>za-na-nu*</i>
35b)		BE ŠUR

⁴⁷ RS 22.435 Recto 5 omet MÁŠ. Seule équivalence de Gen. pour šI.bar. Ici commence le groupe des cryptidéogrammes « hépatoscopiques ».

⁴⁸ Gen. seule équivalence: UZU.GAN, pour *takāltum*, « Poche (stomacale) » (du foie)??

⁴⁹ Gen. seule équivalence: *pa-da-nu-um*, « Chemin » (du foie).

⁵⁰ Gen. seule équivalence: *na-ap-la-ás(?) -tum*, « Regard » (du foie).

⁵¹ Gen.: *ubānum* (šU.SI), « Doigt » (du foie, du poumon).

⁵² Gen.: *ma-az-za-zum*, « Présence » (du foie). On voit qu'il s'agit là de la « Présence divine », qui se confond à peu près avec le « Regard » (ci-dessus, lignes 14-15). Cf. RA XLIV 3-5.

⁵³ Gen. seule équivalence: *tērtum* (Á.ÁG.GÁ).

⁵⁴ Le seul cryptidéogramme passé dans la graphie courante des haruspices (de même Gen.).

⁵⁵ Gen.: ^dEa (EN.KI).

⁵⁶ Gen.: NUN.KI (pour NIN.KI?). On remarque dans les lignes 20-24 les correspondances .ni, « dieu », .ur, « déesse » (père-rèdre).

⁵⁷ Gen.: ^den.šár(?).

⁵⁸ Gen.: ^dnin.šár(?). En.šár et Nin.šár figurent parmi les père-et-mère d'Anu ou d'Enlil, selon les sources. En lisant BIR, avec Gen., on ne s'écarte pas, non plus, de ce groupe divin.

⁵⁹ Gen.: *wa-aš-bu-um*, équivalent de KU.a en réalité.

⁶⁰ Gen. seule équivalence: *i-na naphari*-šú-nu*.

⁶¹ Gen.: *ra-bu-tum ra-aš-bu-ú-um*.

⁶² Gen.: SAG.GÁ *ku-ub-bu-ú-tum*.

⁶³ RS 22.215 i 3': DINGIR.MEŠ; RS 22.222 ii 32: E.NE.MEŠ (haplographie pour A.AN (DINGIR.)E.NE.MEŠ?). Gen.: *i-lu* pa-nu-tum i-lu* ba-nu-tum**.

	<i>C</i>
35c)	ŠUR BE <i>na-la-šu*</i> <i>e-de-šu</i>
AN.a (34) ⁶⁴	^d EŠDAR <i>ra-bu-tum</i>
40)	DINGIR.MEŠ []- <i>ia-tum</i> []- <i>tum</i>
	<i>D</i>
a.b[a (45)	
a.ba.ba (46)	<i>um-m[i</i>
ba.ba (47)	<i>a-a[(?)-um-ma(?)]</i>
ba.ba.a (48)	<i>pur-šu-mu</i>
5') ba.za (49)	BA.AN.ZA
ba.za(!).za (50) ⁶⁵	SAL BA.AN.ZA
ni.a (51)	<i>ši-ga-ru</i>
e.ni (52) ⁶⁶	<i>še-i-ḫu</i>
tab.ni (53)	<i>ma-ki-sú</i>
10') KAS.ni (54)	<i>ka-ra-šu</i>
10'b)	<i>t[a (?) . . .</i>
10'c)	?[
ni.ur.ba (55)	<i>še-qu-ú</i>
11'b)	[
11'c)	[
be.NI (56)	<i>gal-šu</i>
12'b)	[
be.NI.ḪI (57)	<i>gu-šu-ú</i>
GIŠ.be (58)	<i>a-ša-re-du</i>
15') nu.nu (59) ⁶⁷	<i>mu-du-ú</i> <i>kab-zu-zu</i> ⁶⁸ <i>ši-ib-ba-ru</i>
a.nu.nu (60)	<i>i-ri-iq-qa a-na É-ša</i>
sag.kud (61) ⁶⁹	NU.GIG
20') sag.kud.da.a (62)	NU.GIG AN.NA
sag.AN (63)	<i>a-ri-ra</i>
sag(.AN).tuk (64) ⁷⁰	<i>mu-ki-in-nu</i>
sag.mu (65)	<i>ša-ru-ru</i>
sag.kur (66)	<i>la-ap-nu</i>
25') sag.kur.ta (67)	<i>muš-kè-nu</i>
kud.da (68)	NU.GIG

⁶⁴ Gen.: *ša-ap-ra-tum dam-gá-tum*.

⁶⁵ Ecrit (RS 22.222 iii 6') ba.ba.za. Cp. Baqir dans *Sumer* II 2, Pl. 6 vi 6: PA.PA.gá pour PA.gá.gá; iv 76: an.an.dùl (aussi dans Gen.) pour an.dùl.dùl.

⁶⁶ Graphie apparemment ougaritienne pour a.ni (cf. ci-dessus, n. 24).

⁶⁷ Ici reprend Gen. (ii 1'), mais ses équivalences divergent presque toujours de celles d'Ugarit. Nous ne rappellerons ci-dessous que les convergences, au moins partielles.

⁶⁸ Ce mot se retrouve dans le paragraphe de « l'Ecole » (Gen. i 27'-32'). Dans le « Silbenalphabet » A à trois colonnes BM 13902 (Figulla, *Cat.* I 152; Sollberger, ici-même, p. 23, l. 43) i.ba.ba n'est pas rendu par *kab-zu-zu-um* mais par son synonyme *ta-al-mi-du* (cf. Landsberger dans Güterbock, *Kumarbi*, pp. 40 s.). VAT 11514 (*L* 1, p. 176) a, dans certaines de ses parties tout au moins, quatre colonnes « en puissance ».

⁶⁹ Cp. les lignes 19' s. aux lignes 26' s. Ici encore apparaît peut-être un « système ».

⁷⁰ RS 22.222 iii 22' porte sag.tuk.

		<i>D</i>		
	kud.da.a (69)	NU.GIG.AN.NA		
	GAB.GAB (70)	mu-ši-ú		
	GAB.GAB.a (71)	KI.SIKIL.LÍL.LÁ		
30'	nin.GAB (72)	^d SATARAN		
	nin.EZEN (73)	^d na-na-a		
	nin.SUKKAL (74)	^d PAP.SUKKAL ⁷¹		
	nin.SUKKAL.an.KA (75)	^d MA.NU.GAL		
	pú.tá (76)	sú-uk-ku-ku ⁷²		
35'	sil.tá (77)	tu-u[m]-mu-mu ⁷³		
	é.gud(?) (79)	na - ? - ku		
	é(?)g[í d(?)].d]a(?) (79b)	[] a []		
 <i>E</i>				
	[h]u.]ur (104) ⁷⁴	LÚ ⁷⁵ BUR[.G]UL ba-ku-ú KUR-t[í] la-a be-el-ti		
5)	[h]u.ru (105)	LÚ NAGAR + URUDU.SUD ⁷⁶ hu-ú-ru*(?) la-a ma-ga-r[um]		
	AN.ú (106)	LÚ BAḤA[R ₂] ri-mi-[]		
10)	[ú].a (107)	LÚ l[a(?)]-ku-ru-pu(?) ⁷⁷ a - ?[]		
	ú . ta (108)	[]		
	PA.PA (109)	[]		
	P[A.gá (110)	[]		
 <i>F</i> <i>G</i>				
	NI[.NI.a (115)			
	NI.NI[.NI (116)			
	NI.NI[.NI.a (117)			
	ab.[ba (118)			
5')	[
	ab.ba.mu (119)	[a-bu-ia* ši-[bu-ia*]	D]UB.SAR ⁷⁸] SAG ši-ib(?)]-šu	
	ab.ba.a (121)	a-b[u-* ši-bu[-*	] -šu ši-i]b(?)]-šu	5')

⁷¹ Gen., en seconde équivalence: ^dNIN.ŠUBUR (: ^dPAP.SUKKAL).

⁷² Gen., de même, sú-ku-kum.

⁷³ Gen., de même, tu-um-mu-mu-um.

⁷⁴ Texte parallèle, pour le paragraphe des hu., VAT 11514 (L 1, p. 176), mais la « colonne » qui y est ici conservée ne donne pas les mêmes équivalences que RS 22.411 Verso.

⁷⁵ D'après ce qu'il reste de E, il semble qu'en tête des équivalences venait un nom de métier et, quelquefois, à la fin, un mot négatif.

⁷⁶ Le nom du tréfileur(?) se retrouve çà et là, à Ugarit comme ailleurs (cp. Bottéro, ARMT VII 297 s., 359; Birot, ARMT IX 312, n. 3; Limet, Métal, p. 70).

⁷⁷ Cp. Bab. VII, Pl. IV (79-7-8, 253) col. iii 3. Sur les discussions concernant *nukarribu* // *lakuruppu*, cp. CAD XVI 239b, CAD XXI 79a, W. von Soden dans BiOr XI 207 et OLZ LIII 525 s., à CAD III 57b, Driver et Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* II 183 etc. Ici, n[u- ne paraît pas possible.

⁷⁸ Ab.ba pour a.ba?

	<i>F</i>	<i>G</i>	
10') ab.ba.ni (120)	<i>a-bu-ni</i>	<i>a-]bu-šu</i>	
	<i>ši-bu-ni</i>	<i>ši-ib(?)]-šu</i>	
ab.ba.uru (122)	<i>a-bu URU KI*</i>] ? MU	
	<i>ši-ib URU KI*</i>] ? <i>ši-ib URU KI</i>	
igi.sa ₁₁ (123) ⁷⁹	^d INANNA	] MIN X KI	10')
15') igi.sa ₁₁ .sa ₁₁ (124)	^d TIŠPAK	] TIŠPAK	
sa ₁₁ (125) ⁷⁹	^d NÍN.ŠÉŠ EN.L[ÍL ša ŠUŠAN KI]	] Š]ÉŠ	
sa ₁₁ .sa ₁₁ .a (126) ⁷⁹	^d la-ta-ra-ak	] ak-ku	
		] PI PI	
		] at-ta-ni	15')

Commentaire.—Si les découvertes de M. Schaeffer permettent ainsi de compléter, de façon appréciable, ce que nous connaissions jusqu'à présent du « curieux syllabaire », il n'en serait pas moins risqué de vouloir étudier à fond ce type de texte, tant que des documents importants comme VAT 11514, cité ci-dessus, demeurent pour leur majeure part inédits.⁸⁰ Nous nous bornerons donc à remarquer que, ni en Mésopotamie, ni à Ugarit, ne règne dans ce genre l'unité étroite que nous avons constatée entre les quatre tablettes en *u-a-i* provenant de Ras Shamra, ou dans l'ensemble de notre information concernant le « Silbenalphabet » A (à colonne simple). Ni l'ordre, ni le nombre, ni même le choix des équivalences proposées par *A* et *B*, *F* et *G*, ou par les diverses versions de *C* et *D*, ou encore, et surtout, par les rubriques communes à *C-D* et Gen., ne coïncident exactement. Les scribes, ici comme pour les vocabulaires *S^a*, devaient être autorisés, sinon invités, à « improviser » et à faire preuve ainsi d'une érudition ou d'une « ingéniosité » qui nous laisse souvent perplexes.

Des fragments tels que *EA*, N° 350, et *KUB* III, N° 114,⁸¹ suggéraient déjà que l'école babylonienne,⁸² parmi ses manuels élémentaires,

⁷⁹ Mêmes équivalences que dans la « 4ème colonne » de VAT 11514 (*L 2*, p. 176): Inanna, Inšušinak, Latarak.

⁸⁰ Une édition de BM 13902 est présentée par M. Sollberger dans ce volume (pp. 21–28).

⁸¹ Classé cependant dans la série erim.ḫus: *anantu* par Güterbock dans *RHA* LX 83. Cp. *L 1*, pp. 171 (*B*) et 176.

⁸² L'étude d'ensemble des textes scolaires d'Ugarit devrait permettre de préciser un peu ce terme, c'est-à-dire de serrer de

avait exporté à l'Ouest le syllabaire en *u-a-i* et les « Silbenalphabet » A. Ugarit nous en administre amplement la preuve. Ses « assyriologues » usaient de ces textes pour leur apprentissage, aussi bien que des syllabaire et vocabulaire *S^a*, et, dans la mesure où il existait là une tradition établie—principe d'analyse, tout au moins, dans les *u-a-i*, cadre des types *S^a*, unité rigoureuse du « Silbenalphabet » A servant aussi de plan au « vocabulaire » dérivé—ils s'y conformaient avec la même fidélité, parfois aveugle,⁸³ qu'à la tradition des HAR.ra: *hubullu*, par exemple.⁸⁴

Addition.—Bien que tous les témoins ougaritiens du vocabulaire-« Silbenalphabet A » transcrits ci-dessus nous soient parvenus à l'état de fragments, petits ou grands, nous pouvons présumer, d'après leur présentation, qu'ils proviennent tous de tablettes portant l'ensemble du texte, soit: plus de 120 rubriques, comme, originellement aussi, le « curieux syllabaire » Gen. Mais Ras Shamra nous a également livré, de même que pour le « Silbenalphabet A » à une colonne (RS 20.215), un exercice scolaire (« en long ») de ce type tout à fait intact: RS 20.11, dont voici la transcription:

plus près le premier problème posé dans *Syria* XXIX 32 s. Cf. *L 2*, pp. 98 s. et 114.

⁸³ On ne peut cependant oublier les développements « polyglottes » dont ils enrichissaient à l'occasion, le vocabulaire *S^a*.

⁸⁴ Cf. Landsberger, *MSL* VIII 2, p. 80. Plus frappantes encore sont leurs copies des tablettes 20–21 (noms géographiques) de cette série.

⁸⁵ Peut-être *šu-tù-qu*, d'après Gen. *šu-ud-du-lum*.

pú.tá (76)	<i>su-ku-ku</i>	
[s]il.tá (77)	<i>tu-um(?) - mu - mu</i>	
é.tá (78)	<i>šu-du-qu</i> ⁸⁵	LÚ <i>na-aš-ru</i>
é(?) .g[í]d(?) .da (79 ^b)	<i>n[a]m-ri-ia-tum</i> ⁸⁶	LÚ <i>mu-[du(?)] - u</i>
5)	<i>ši-hi-iṭ É*</i> ⁸⁷	
<hr/>		
[a]n.[dù]l (80) ⁸⁸	^d UTU*	<i>šu-lu-li*</i>
an.an.dùl (81) ⁸⁹	^d A.A	DAM ^d UTU
[A]N.gá (82)	^d É.A	
[A]N.KAL (83)	<i>la-ma-su*</i>	
<hr/>		
10) [t]am.ma (84)	<i>ka-lu-ú</i>	<i>eb-bu*</i>
tam.tam.ma (85)	^d A.A	DAM ^d UTU

P.S. du 20 Novembre 1964.—Au cours de mon tout récent séjour à Damas, la Direction des Musées Nationaux de Syrie a bien voulu mettre à ma disposition deux fragments découverts par M. Schaeffer en 1962 mais que je ne connaissais pas encore. Ces deux fragments appartiennent à

la même tablette que RS 25.446, et l'ensemble, qui porte désormais la signature (provisoire): RS 25.455* + X + RS 25.446 + RS 25.526*, donne, au moins en partie, les lignes 1-4, [. . .], 7-14, [. . .], 17-29, [. . .], 31-34, du Syllabaire en *u-a-i*, sans aucune variante.

⁸⁶ De même dans Gen.

⁸⁷ Soit: É.GU₄.DA.

⁸⁸ Ici, comme dans l'ensemble de nos transcriptions, nous

suivons à la lettre la répartition des capitales et des minuscules de *L 2*, p. 100 s., qu'elle demeure présentement justifiée ou non.

⁸⁹ Cf. ci-dessus, n. 65.

ADDITIONS TO SERIES B AND C OF PERSONAL NAMES FROM OLD BABYLONIAN NIPPUR

MUAZZEZ ÇİĞ AND HATICE KIZILYAY
Istanbul

Only a few of about 2,500 school tablets from Nippur that are in the tablet collection of the Istanbul museum have been published.¹ Some that contain parts of lexical texts were utilized by our revered teacher, Professor Benno Landsberger, in his *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon*. A very small number that contain Sumerian literary compositions were copied, partly by Professor S. N. Kramer, partly by us. Finally, we published the reconstructed text, based on some 400 tablets, of two series which served for the instruction of beginning students: Çiğ and Kızılyay, *Zwei altbabylonische Schulbücher aus Nippur*, mit einem Beitrage von B. Landsberger (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından, Seri VII, No. 35 [Ankara, 1959]; here abbreviated *ZSN*). The second of these two series, which we called "Silbenalphabet B," was recognized by Landsberger (*ZSN*, p. 111) as a list of personal names. He introduced the category "Personennamen-Liste B" in contradistinction to the lists of personal names published by Edward Chiera in *PBS XI* (1916-19). Of these, Landsberger designated the first (*PBS XI* 1), arranged in groups of three, as "List A" and a third category (published in *PBS XI* 2-3) as "List C." In this paper we shall use these same sigla for the three lists.

Landsberger (*ZSN*, p. 109) advanced the hypothesis that what he reconstructed as "PN-Liste B" may represent the continuation of Silbenalphabet B, reconstructed with 292 lines but with the end missing. But he also considered the possibility (*ZSN*, p. 109, n. 1) that recension B₁ of Silbenalphabet B (called "Abweichende Rezension" in *ZSN*, p. 76) might be identical with PN-Liste B. This second possibility is now confirmed by our new observations and by the dis-

covery of Ni.10482. The reverse of this tablet (see pp. 44-45) allows the restoration of lines 77 to about 135 of B₁, while the obverse, executed in a teacher's hand, is identical with *ZSN*, p. 110, Reihe c, lines 1-10. An attempt at reconstructing the rest of B₁ = PN-Liste B will be made later.

In *PBS XI* are published only Nippur tablets that are in the University Museum, Philadelphia. Since our Istanbul collection contains a large number of similar school texts which had been neither published nor studied, it seemed likely that a survey of these tablets would yield a systematic, if not a complete, edition of the three series of personal names, forming the curriculum of the Old Babylonian Nippur school, besides Silbenalphabet B, which likewise contains personal names exclusively. Although we had long planned such a study, we were forced by other commitments to postpone it. Now, however, the volume being prepared in honor of our teacher gives us a welcome opportunity to present to him these materials in which he has taken such lively interest.

It was not difficult to identify the school tablets listing personal names because Dr. F. R. Kraus had classified the Nippur school texts while he was at the Istanbul museum. Some 500 unclassified school texts were also examined. Among all these texts are about 300 that belong to the series called "List C" by Landsberger (*PBS XI* 2-3). Some of these are duplicates of texts published in *PBS XI* 2 and not only fill gaps there but also offer some variants (see pp. 47-56 below). In contrast, it is surprising that almost no additions to the lists published in *PBS XI* 3 were found and that even duplicates are extremely rare. And we found no tablet that forms a link between the various series.

There are, however, two tablets with the formula ^dn i s a b a - z à - m í. One of these, Ni.3695, was published in *ZSN*, pp. 104 f. (trans-

¹ "Etwa 2500 Schultexte" is the estimate of F. R. Kraus in his brief survey of the collection of tablets in Istanbul (*JCS* I [1947] 112-14). There, he distinguishes seven categories of school exercises. Quite recently he resumed this topic in *JEOL* No. 16 (1964) pp. 16-18.

literation of obverse). Only later did we notice that the last line published there as [i g i - ^dx] - š è can be restored as [i g i - ^dn i s a] b a - š è and is followed on the lower edge by the rather damaged line ^dn i s a b a - z à - m í. This whole section is in the handwriting of a teacher. The other example is Ni.10524 (see pp. 46–47), whose text differs from the first. In col. iii 6–7 it also has i g i - ^dn i s a [b a - š è] followed by the formula ^dn i s a b a - z à - m í. With these lines the list of personal names comes to an end, and what follows is a different topic. Is the formula at the end of the list of personal names due to chance only in these two examples, or does the series in fact come to an end after the names formed with i g i ?

Among the texts published by Chiera there are three more tablets with the same formula. *PBS XI 1*, No. 2, offers the end of the first tablet of List A; the reverse of No. 3 seems, according to the arrangement of the lines, to contain the end of the same series (see also *PBS XI 1*, p. 19). The end of Series C is represented by *PBS XI 3*, No. 70. Here, most remarkably and similarly to our passages, the end of the 200 lines of the sequence u r - is the following: u r - ^dNÁG (= Nisaba), u r - AN - ^dNÁG (to be read Ur-Nanibgal), u r - ^dh a - i a, then the eulogy ^dn i s a b a - z à - m í, two rules, and another topic (list of months). In this case we have to assume that these three lines, in which the scribes paid tribute to the patrons of their guild, form the end of Series C. The eight-column prism *PBS XI 3*, No. 74, is a duplicate; the name list starts with the element l ú - (cols. i–ii) and ends with u r - (cols. vi–viii). However, the last lines and the eulogy are not preserved. One may thus assume that List C ended at the point preceding the Nisaba formula.

Such reasoning, however, does not apply to signed tablets. Thus, Ni.5105 (*ZSN*, pp. 49 f.) has a horizontal rule after lines 140–42 of Silbenalphabet B, followed by the signature šu-mu-um-li-ib-ši; this side of the tablet is in the teacher's hand. *PBS XI 2*, Nos. 64 and 67, are two published examples of signed tablets. No. 64 seems also to be in the handwriting of a teacher. Chiera (*PBS XI 2*, p. 145) placed it as lines 1490–94. No. 67, according to *PBS XI 1*, pp. 18 f., represents a different name list and con-

tains lines 1578–86. If these attributions are correct, these two examples indicate that a signature does not necessarily mark the end of a series.

Although the foregoing observations have brought us closer to our goal of restoring the three series and establishing the difference between them, we offer here merely the texts of those tablets which either add to the published series or show different arrangement.

The first group presented below (pp. 44–47) consists of a few tablets which were found to belong to PN-Liste B. For example, Ni.4844 rev. i belongs to Reihe b of that list (see *ZSN*, p. 110), while Ni.10482 adds many lines to B₁ (see above). On the basis of Ni.10482 we were able to recognize a number of other, hitherto unidentified, tablets as belonging to the same series and to utilize them for restorations.

We offer here a tentative reconstruction of Series B, elaborating and amending Landsberger's attempt in *ZSN*, pp. 109–13. The reconstructed series is clearly divided into two parts, which can be roughly characterized by the absence of sequences of divine names in the first part. For both external and internal reasons it cannot be doubted that both parts are correctly reconstructed; it can only be doubted whether they both belong to the same series, but we follow Landsberger's principle that a fourth series should not be added to the three series of personal names already established as long as the necessity for such is not absolutely proved. Secondly, we find an inner link between the "first part" and the "second part" in the fact that the first begins and the second ends with lines borrowed from Silbenalphabet B. Common to both are the double rules drawn by some scribes when they changed from one element to another, for example in *PBS XI 3*, No. 50, between n i n and š e š (first part), as against *PBS XI 3*, No. 76.

As to the "first part," Landsberger's reconstruction, as noted above, has been confirmed by Ni.4844 and (when we change "B₁" to "PN-Liste B") by Ni.10482 (see below for both texts). This part offers the same kind of game ("Silbenspielerei") as the two "Silbenalphabetete" presented in *ZSN*, for example (from Ni.10482 rev. i) k u - k u, k u - k u - a, k u - d a, k u - d a -

d a, etc., and the same mixture of Sumerian and Akkadian; the rare element *ku-gud* or *gud-ku* occurs in the *arad*-sequences of Ni.4844 (which may be termed "Reihe b bis"), in Reihe d (see *ZSN*, p. 90; both times before *-ku-li*), and six times in the *gud*-sequence (Abschnitt β in *ZSN*, p. 76).

The "second part" is characterized by a short sequence of divine names in each group: *-Enlil*, *-Šin*, *-Ea*, *-Šamaš*, *-Adad*, and *-Nisaba* alternating with *-Ištar* and *(-Saggan)*.

The reconstruction of the "first part" is as follows. Lines 1–39 are identical with lines 1–39 of Silbenalphabet B (*ZSN*, pp. 66–67); lines 40–47 are as in *ZSN*, p. 76; lines 66–78 are as in *ZSN*, p. 76, but are now duplicated by Ni.10482 rev. i, Ni.3598, and Ni.4783; lines 77 to about 135 come from these new sources. The "alphabetic" order up to this point is as follows. Lines 1–33 are short "strophes" borrowed from Silbenalphabet A; lines 34 ff. include *ba-* (continued), *zu-*, *bi-*, *ku-*, *sag-*, *zu-*, *é-*, *da-*, *ti-*, gap. The *da-* section is parallel to, though not a duplicate of, "Abschnitt α " (*ZSN*, p. 75). The placing of the *gud*-sequence (*ZSN*, p. 75, Abschnitt β) is not certain. After another gap come *mu-* (only end preserved) and *arad-* (from Ni.4844 but omitted in *PBS XI 3*, No. 50; see *ZSN*, p. 110); these are followed by *nin-* (sister), *šes-* (brother), *Nin-* (lady), small gap, *eme₅* (=SAL + ĜUB), as given in *ZSN*, pp. 110 f., Reihe c-*f (no additions). Between *Nin-* (lady) and *eme₅* may be placed the sequence *lugal-* (partly preserved by Ni.1093) and then *kù-* (represented by Ni.10506). Here no continuous text is available.

For the reconstruction of the "second part" the newly discovered prism Ni.10524 yields, in addition to those in *ZSN*, pp. 104 f., the following sequences:

Gap α and sequence of 18 lines with the same first element, not exactly determined but in all probability *Ea-*.

Gap β , *Ištar-* (only end preserved), *arad-*, *ir-ra-* (deviating from ^d*Ir-ra-* sequence of *PBS XI 3*, No. 76), *šu-*.

Gap γ and *igi-* (end of series).

Gap α can be filled by *puzur₄-* (only end preserved), *nu-ur-* (complete in 7 lines), furthermore by *me-* (only end preserved) and *ša-at-* (complete in 8 lines). The replacement of *-Nisaba* by *-Ištar* in one recension of these stereotyped sequences is indicated in *ZSN*, pp. 104 f. Gap β is more than filled by [*aḫi-*], *aḫati-*, *aḫu-*.

We now offer the text of two sections of the "second part" of our series, maintaining the sigla of *ZSN*, pp. 104 f., namely *a* = Ni.3695, *b* = Ni.3697, *c* = *PBS XI 3*, No. 76, and adding to them *d* = *PBS XI 2*, No. 31, and *e* = prism Ni.10524. One section, lines 1'–20', fills gap β ; the other section, lines 35' ff., comprises the end of the "second part" (cf. p. 47).

1'	a-[x]-ma-'y ¹	c
2'	a-ḫa-ti	c
3'	a-ḫa-ti-ma(!)	c
4'	a-ḫa-ti-ri-me-at	c
5'	a-ḫa-ti-ri-ša-at	c, d
6'	a-ḫa-ti-dam-qá-at	c
7'	a-ḫa-ti-šar-ra-at	c, d
8'	a-ḫa-ti-šar-ḫa-at	c, d
9'	a-ḫa-ti-du-mu-uq-ni-ši	c, d
10'	a-ḫa-ti-ku-zu-ub-ni-ši	c, d
11'	a-ḫa-nu-ta	c, d
12'	a-ḫa-mar-ši	c
13'	a-ḫa-nir-ši	d
14'	a-ḫu	d
15'	a-ḫu-ma	d
16'	a-ḫu-DINGIR	d
17'	a-ḫu-be-l[í]	d
18'	a-ḫu-tāb	d
19'	a-ḫu-li-[bur]	d
20'	a-ḫu-li-[bur-ra-am]	d
35'	ir-ra-DINGIR	e ii 8
36'	ir-ra-be-lum	e ii 9
37'	ir-ra-ga-mil	e ii 10
38'	ir-ra-ga-še-ir	e ii 11
39'	ir-ra-an-dùl-lí	e ii 12
39a'	^d ir-ra-ní-[x]	c
b'	^d ir-ra-ní-gal-[x]	c
c'	^d ir-ra-ka-ši-id	c
d'	^d ir-ra-IGI.DU	c
e'	^d ir-ra-ur-sag	c
40'	šu- ^d EN-líl	c, e ii 13
41'	šu- ^d EN.ZU	c, e ii 14
42'	šu-é-a	c, e ii 15
43'	šu- ^d šamaš	c, e ii 16
44'	šu- ^d adad	c, e ii 17
45'	šu-ištar	e ii 18 (omitted in c)
45a'	šu- ^d Nisaba	c (omitted in e)

(rest as in *ZSN*, p. 105)

last line: igi-^dnisaba-šè a, e iii 6

(end of series)

Below are given transliterations of the newly identified tablets, arranged as follows: additions to PN-Liste B, first part (from line 66 on; cf. p. 43) on pages 44–46 [and second part (supplementing pp. 43 f.) on pages 46 f.; additions to List C, pages 47–56.

The arrangement of the names is based on that of the previous publications. Names already attested are preceded by the line numbers of those publications. Thus the additions are easily recognizable by the lack of such references. Lines between entries indicate places where the connection between individual tablets could not be established.

It is obvious that for a full treatment of these

name lists much more work is required. Since the true nature of a tablet often becomes apparent only after a prolonged study of similar material, the entire Nippur collection of school tablets should be re-examined not simply according to categories listed in the catalogues but on the basis of all the individual tablets. Furthermore, school tablets are also to be found among the Lagash and Sippar collections of the Istanbul museum—not to speak of other museums. We hope to be able to undertake such an over-all survey of the school tablets in our museum.

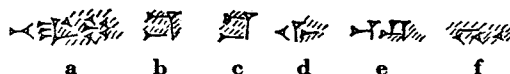
We would like here to express our sincere thanks to Professor S. N. Kramer, who was kind enough to send us the parts of *PBS XI* that were missing in the museum library, and to Professor H. G. Güterbock, who translated our manuscript from Turkish into English.

ADDITIONS TO PN-LISTE B TO FIRST PART²

PAGE & LINE
OF *ZSN*

	1	[]-bi	Ni.10482 rev. i		
	2	[x]-bi-x-x-x ^a	"		
76:66	3	[b]i-x ^b	"		
67	4	bi-x ^c -a	"		
68	5	[ku]-ku (= Silb. A 3a)	"		
70	6	[ku]-ku-a	"		
71	7	ku-da (cf. Silb. A 28a)	"		
	8	ku-da-da	"		
[72	9	ku-da-ni]	"		
73	10	ku-da-a (cf. Silb. A 28b)	"		
74	11	ku-da-mu		Ni.3598	Ni.4783
	12	sag-[x]	"	"	"
75	13	sag- ^d en-líl-lá	"	"	"
76	14	sag-dingir (= Silb. A 29)	"	"	Ni.4699
77	15	sag-an-tuku (= Silb. A 29)	"	"	"
78	16	sag- ^d nanna-tuku	"	"	"
	17	sag- ^d nanna-ì-zu	"	"	"
	18	sag-lugal-bi-zu	"	"	"
	19	sag-é-ki-ág	"	"	"
	20	sag-kur (= Silb. A 30)	"	"	"
	21	sag-kur-ta (= Silb. A 30)	"	"	"
	22	sag-[x]	"	"	"
	23	sag-[x-x-x]	"	"	"
	24	sag-nin-bi-zu	"	"	"
	25	sag-x ^d	"	"	"
	26	sag-x ^e	"	"	"

² The raised boldface letters in the transliteration refer to the imperfectly preserved signs shown at the right.



SERIES OF PERSONAL NAMES FROM OLD BABYLONIAN NIPPUR

45

PAGE & LINE
OF ZSN

PARALLEL TEXTS

	1	sag-x-x ^f	Ni.10482 rev. ii	
	2	sag-ur-sag	"	
	3	sag-ki	"	
	4	sag-ki-[x]	"	
	5	sag-ki-gal-[x]	"	
	6	zu-zu	"	
	7	zu-a	"	
	8	zu-zu-a	"	
	9	zu-la	"	
	10	zu-la-la	"	
	11	zu-la-a	"	
	12	zu-la-mu	"	
	13	zu-la-[x]	"	
	14	zu-[x-x]-a	"	
	12	é-zi ³	Ni.10482 rev. iii	
	13	é-zi-mu	"	
	14	é-zi-a	"	
	15	[x-x]-x	"	
	16	[x-x]-úr	"	
	1	[da]-ri	Ni.10482 rev. iv	
	2	da-ri-[b]	"	
	3	da-ri-[ba-am] ⁴	"	
	4	da-ri-[ša-am] ⁴	"	
	5	da-[x]	"	
	6	ti-ti	"	
	7	ti-ud	"	
110 b 1'	1	[mu]-bal	Ni.4844 rev. i ⁵	
2'	2	mu-bal-[la]	"	
	3	arad-arad	"	
	4	arad-da	"	
	5	arad-da-da	"	
	6	arad-da-da	"	
	7	arad-KU-gud	"	
	8	arad-KU-li	"	
	9	arad-l[ú-u _x (= URU)]	"	
	1	lugal-ad-gi ₄ -gi ₄	Ni.1093	
	2	lugal-ú-šim-e ⁶	"	
	3	lugal-nam-tar-ri	"	
	4	lugal-engar ⁷	"	
	5	lugal-engar-dùg ⁸	"	
	6	lugal-igi-gál	"	
	7	lugal-igi-ni	"	
	8	lugal-igi- ^f x ¹	"	
	1	kù- ^a utu	Ni.10506	PBS XI 3, No. 63

^f Preceded by 11 lines beginning with é.⁴ Reconstructed from Ni. 3599 (ZSN, p. 75).⁵ Rev. ii corresponds to ZSN, p. 110, Reihe d, lines 8-13. See p. 56 for obverse.⁶ Also PBS XI 3, p. 214, line 325 (Series C).⁷ Also *ibid.* p. 211, line 221 (Series C); line 201 (p. 209) not certain.⁸ Also *ibid.* p. 211, line 222 (Series C).

		PARALLEL TEXTS	
2	kù- ^d nin-gal	Ni.10506	<i>Ibid.</i> Nos. 50 and 63
3	kù- ^d nin-imma (= SIG ₇)	“	“
4	kù- ^d nanna	“	<i>Ibid.</i> Nos. 50 and 64
5	kù- ^d da-da	“	“
6	kù- ^d da-mu	“	“
7	kù- ^d ab-ú	“	“
8	kù- ^d ba-ba	“	“
9	kù- ^d nanše	“	“
10	kù- ^d en-líl-lá	“	“
	[kù- ^d iškur]	<i>PBS XI 3</i> , Nos. 50 (last line) and 64	
	traces only	<i>Ibid.</i> No. 64 (last line)	

TO SECOND PART

1	puzur ₄ - ^d [x-x]	Ni.10102 + 10107	
2	puzur ₄ - ^d da-gan	“	
3	puzur ₄ -ištar	“	
4	puzur ₄ - ^d en-líl	“	
5	nu-úr- ^d en-líl	“	
6	nu-úr- ^d sin (= ZU.EN)	“	
7	nu-úr-é-a	“	
8	nu-úr- ^d šamaš	“	
9	nu-úr- ^d nisaba	“	
10	nu-ur- ^d saggan	“	
<hr/>			
1	me- ^d EN.ZU	Ni.2571 ⁹	
2	me- ^d kal-kal	“	
3	ša-at- ^d en-líl	“	
4	ša-at- ^d EN.ZU	“	
5	ša-at- ^d šamaš	“	
6	ša-at- ^d adad	“	
7	ša-at- ^d nisaba	“	
8	[ša-a]t- ^d saggan	“	
9	[ša-a]t-ku-li	“	
10	[ša-a]t-ištar	“	
11	[ša-a]t- ^d kab-ta	“	
12	[ša-at- ^d ma]-mi	“	
<hr/>			
1	[é-a]-DINGIR	Ni.10524 ¹⁰ col. i	<i>PBS XI 2</i> , No. 13
2	[é-a]-be-lum	“	
3	[é-a]-šar-rum	“	
4	[é-a]-šar-ḥu-um	“	
5	[é-a]-ka-lu-ma	“	
6	[é-a]-na-ap-še-ra-am	“	
7	[é-a]-a-mu-de	“	
8	[é-a-t]a-a-a-ar	“	
9	[é-a]-maš-zu	“	
10	[é-a]-ḥé-gal	“	
11	[é-a]-ba-ni	“	
12	[é-a]-na-da	“	
13	[é-a-N]A.GAD	“	
14	[é-a-n]a-šir	“	

⁹ The text consists of the teacher's model (at left) and the pupil's copy of it.

¹⁰ Fragment of upper half of prism.

SERIES OF PERSONAL NAMES FROM OLD BABYLONIAN NIPPUR

47

15	traces only	Ni.10524 col. i
16	traces only	"
17	[e-a-tu]-kul-ti	"
18	[x-x-x]-x	"
19	[x-x]-DINGIR	"
<hr/>		
1	ištar-ri-im-ti-ì-lí	Ni.10524 col. ii
2	ṽarad- ^d en-líl	"
3	ṽarad-é-kur	"
4	ṽarad- ^d EN.ZU (= sīn)	"
5	ṽarad- ^d šamaš	"
6	ṽarad-ištar	"
7	ṽarad-DINGIR.IMIN.BI	"
8	ìr-ra-DINGIR	"
9	ìr-ra-be-lum	"
10	ìr-ra-ga-mil	"
11	ìr-ra-ga-še-ir	"
12	ìr-ra-an-dùl-lí	"
13	šu- ^d en-líl	"
14	šu- ^d EN.ZU (= sīn)	"
15	šu-é-a	"
16	šu- ^d šamaš	"
17	šu- ^d adad	"
18	šu-ištar	"

(ZSN, p. 105)

1	igi-[x-x]	Ni.10524 col. iii
2	igi-[x-x]	"
3	igi- ^d [x-x]	"
4	igi- ^d nin-[urta-šè]	"
5	igi- ^d n[usku-šè]	"
6	igi- ^d ni[saba-šè]	"
7	[nis]aba-zà-mf ¹¹	"
	(end of series)	

ADDITIONS TO LIST C

LINE IN PBS XI 2			
519	1	šamaš-ba-ni	Ni.5080 ¹²
520	2	šamaš-na-da	"
521	3	šamaš-NA.GAD	"
	4	šamaš-na-šir	"
555	5	šamaš-ṽa-qar	"
556	6	šamaš-ṽa-tar	"
557	7	šamaš-ṽu-súm	Ni.3918
	8	šamaš-nu-ri	"
	9	šamaš-BÀD-ri (= dūri)	"
	10	šamaš-nu-ub-ši	"
	11	šamaš- ^d UD-ši	"
	12	šamaš-DÙG (= ṽāb)	"
	13	šamaš-ṽa-b[u-um]	"
	14	šamaš-[x-x]	"
		(small gap)	

¹¹ Another topic is treated after this line.¹² Ni.5079 and Ni.5080 are parts of the same tablet but do

not adjoin each other. The exact distance between them cannot be established but seemingly was small.

LINE IN
PBS XI 2

	20'	ḏšamaš-ub-lam	Ni.5079 ¹²	Ni.5129
	21'	ḏšamaš-ba-bil	"	"
	22'	ḏšamaš-mu-tab-bil	"	"
	23'	ḏšamaš-za-ni-in	"	"
	24'	ḏšamaš-za-ni-in-ni	"	"
	25'	ḏšamaš-za-ni-in-šu	"	"
	26'	ḏšamaš-pa-a-ti ¹³	"	"
	27'	ḏšamaš-tu-kul-ti	"	
	28'	ḏšamaš-ba-aš-ti	"	
	29'	ḏšamaš-ba-la-ṭi	"	
	30'	ḏšamaš-la-ma-sf	"	
	31'	ḏšamaš-du-ni	"	
	32'	ḏšamaš-du-di	"	
	33'	ḏšamaš-sa-di-i	"	Ni.3918
	34'	ḏšamaš-sa-du-ni	"	"
	35'	ḏšamaš KAR ₇ -i (= karf)	"	"
	36'	ḏšamaš-KAR ₇ -ni	"	"
	37'	ḏšamaš-ne-me-di	"	"
	38'	ḏšamaš-ne-me-qt	"	"
	39'	ḏšamaš-[i]m-di	"	"
	40'	ḏšamaš-[s]i-im-[di] ¹⁴	"	Ni.4972
	41'	ḏšamaš-še-mi	"	"
	42'	ḏšamaš-ma-gir	"	"
	43'	ḏšamaš-ma-lik	"	"
	44'	ḏšamaš-ma-lik-ki	Ni.3910	"
	45'	ḏšamaš-ma-lik-šu	"	"
	46'	ḏšamaš-iš-me-a[-ni]	"	"
	47'	ḏšamaš-iš-m[a-na]	"	"
	48'	ḏšamaš-iš-t[i-gal] ¹⁵	Ni.5079 (see n. 12)	"
532	49'	ḏšamaš-iš-ta-mar	"	"
533	50'	ḏšamaš-iš-mu	"	"
534	51'	ḏšamaš-iš-mu-mu	"	"
535	52'	ḏšamaš-sfB	"	"
536	53'	ḏšamaš-ri-me-ni	"	"
537	54'	ḏšamaš-ri-ṣú-a	"	"
538	55'	ḏšamaš-ri-ṣú-šu	"	"
	56'	ḏšamaš-TAB.BA-e (= tappê)	"	"
	57'	ḏšamaš-TAB.BA-šu	"	"
	58'	ḏšamaš-(TAB.BA)-ṣe-di	"	"
	59'	ḏšamaš-i-te-e	"	"
	60'	ḏšamaš-i-ta-šu	"	"
	61'	ḏšamaš-i-din-nam	"	"
	62'	ḏšamaš-i-ša-qi-am ¹⁶	"	"
	63'	ḏšamaš-e-ri-ba-am	"	"
	70''	ḏšamaš-[e-ri-ša]-am	Ni.5080 (see n. 12)	"
	71''	ḏšamaš-lu-da-ri	"	"

¹² This element was correctly read by Chiera in *PBS XI 2*, p. 132, line 697: *é-a-pa-a-[ti]*. It always precedes *-tukulti* and is attested in *a-bi-* (*PBS XI 2*, No. 28 i 8), *a-ḥu-* and *a-ḥi-* (unpublished sources), *a-li-* (*PBS XI 2*, No. 56 i 13), *DINGIR-* (*ibid.* No. 2 ii 9), and *ḏnin-lil-* (*PBS XI 3*, No. 60:7), where it was consistently misread by Chiera as *-lip-ti* (see *PBS XI 2*, p. 160). In our additional texts it is attested in *[a]-bu-um-*

(Ni.4944), *ab-ba-* (Ni.4850), *ḏšamaš-* (Ni.5079), and *ḏen-lil-* (Ni.3481).

¹⁴ For *-simti*.

¹⁵ For *-tikal*.

¹⁶ Error for *i-ṣi-ša-am*.

SERIES OF PERSONAL NAMES FROM OLD BABYLONIAN NIPPUR

49

LINE IN
PBS XI 2

	72''	^d šamaš-lu-uš-tan-ni	Ni.5080	
	73''	^d šamaš-na-me-ir	"	
	74''	^d šamaš-mu-na-me-ir	"	
	75''	^d šamaš-da-mi-iq	"	
	76''	^d šamaš-mu-da-mi-iq	"	
[549		^d šamaš-ga-mi-il]		
[550		^d šamaš-mu-ga-mil]		
551	77''	^d šamaš-ša-lim	"	
552	78''	^d šamaš-mu-ša-lim	"	
[553		^d šamaš-zi-nu-ú-a]	PBS XI 2, No. 24 (line 5)	
[554		^d šamaš-zi-nu-ú-šu ¹⁷]	"	
[568		^d en-líl-ba-ni]	"	
[569		^d en-líl-na-da]	"	
[570		^d en-líl-NA.[GAD]]	"	
[571		^d en-líl-be-lum	"	
[572		^d en-líl-DINGIR]	"	
		<hr/>		
	1	[^d en-líl-du-d]i	Ni.10125 col. i	
	2	[^d en-líl-sa]-di	"	
	3	[^d en-líl-n]u-ri	"	
	4	[^d en-líl]-BÀD-ri	"	
	5	[^d en-líl]l-nu-uḫ-ši	"	
	6	[^d en-l]l ^d UD-ši	"	
	7	[^d en-líl-re-šú]-ú-a	"	
		<hr/>		
	1	^d en-líl-pa-a-ti	Ni.3481	Ni.10185
	2	^d en-líl-tu-kul-ti	"	"
	3	^d en-líl-ba-aš-ti	"	"
	4	^d en-líl-ba-la-ṭi	"	"
583	5	^d en-líl-la-ma-sí	"	
[584		^d en-líl-im-di]		
585	1	^d en-líl-sí-im-ti	Ni.5070	Ni.4889
586	2	^d en-líl-za-ni-in	"	"
587	3	^d en-líl-za-ni-in-ni	"	"
588	4	^d en-líl-za-ni-in-šu	"	"
589	5	^d en-líl-e-ri-ba-am	"	"
590	6	^d en-líl-e-ri-sa-am	"	
	7	^d en-líl-TAB.BA-e	"	
	8	^d en-líl-TAB.BA-šu	"	
602	9	^d en-líl-TAB.BA-ṽe-di	"	
603	10	^d en-líl-i-te-e	"	
[604		^d en-líl-i-ta-šu]		
		<hr/>		
	1	^d en-líl-[x-x-x]	Ni.10125 col. ii	
	2	^d en-líl-zi-nu-ú-a	"	
	3	^d en-líl-zi-nu-ú-šu	"	
	4	^d en-líl-ša-lim	"	
	5	^d en-líl-mu-ša-lim	"	
	6	^d en-líl-še-mi	"	
	7	^d en-líl-ma-gir	"	

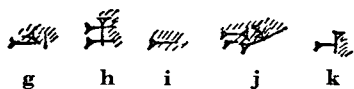
¹⁷ Following this line PBS XI 2, No. 24, has four lines (^dšamaš-na-[š-i-ir] of line 7 omitted in Chiera's transliteration) of the šamaš- sequence which comprise lines 4-7 of Ni.5080

(see p. 47). Although they could have been repeated because of carelessness, the most likely conclusion is that the sources do not agree.

LINE IN PBS XI 2			PARALLEL TEXTS	
	8	^d en-lfl-ma-lik	Ni.10125 col. ii	
	9	^d en-lfl-ma-lik-ki	"	
	10	^d en-lfl-ma-lik-šu	"	
	1	^d nin-lfl-du-ni ¹⁸	Ni.3964	
	2	^d nin-lfl-du-di	"	
	3	^d nin-lfl-sa-[di-i]	"	
	1	ur ₄ -si ₄ -si	Ni.10498	<i>PBS XI 3, No. 26 iii 11</i> (ur-si ₄ -si ₄)
	2	ur-sig-ga	"	<i>Ibid.</i> line 12 (ur-sè-ga)
	3	ur-e-pa ₄ -ri	"	<i>Ibid.</i> line 13 (ur-e-pa ₄ -ri)
	1	é-a-[]	Ni.10501	
	2	é-a-ḫa-[si-is]	"	
	3	é-a-še-[mi]	"	
696?	4	é-a-mu-[] (sequence not established)	"	
	1	é-a-x ^g -[]	Ni.10499 + 10505 ¹⁹	
	2	é-a-ba-[]	"	
	3	é-a-ga-[mil]	"	
	4	é-a-x ^h -[]	"	
	5	é-a-ma-x ⁱ -[]	"	
	6	é-a-mi-x ^j -[]	"	
	7	é-a-ib-[]	"	
	8	é-a-la-x ^k -[]	"	
	1	^d sin (= EN.ZU)-be-lum	Ni.3287	Ni.10493
	2	^d sin-ṭāb (-DÙG)	"	"
	3	^d sin-ṭà-bu-um	"	"
	4	^d sin-li-bur-ra	"	"
	5	sin-za-ni-in	"	"
	6	sin-ni-za-ni-in ²⁰	"	
	7	^d sin-za-ni-in-šu	"	
	1	^d sin-i-t[e-e] ²¹	Ni.3883	
	2	^d sin-i-[te-šu]	"	Ni.4791
	3	^d sin-še-[mi]	"	"
763	4	^d sin-ma-gir	"	"
764	5	^d sin-ma-[lik]	"	"
765	6	^d sin-ma-lik-ki	"	
766	7	^d sin-ma-lik-šu	"	
[767		^d sin-da-mi-iq]		
[768		^d sin-mu-da-mi-iq]		
	1	^d sin-du-[ni] ²²	Ni.5180	Ni.10185
	2	^d sin-d[u-di]	"	"
	3	^d sin-š[a-di-i]	"	"

¹⁸ This line and the next two lines must form lines 643–45 (missing in *PBS XI 2*) on the analogy of lines 1150–53.

¹⁹ The raised boldface letters in the transliteration refer to the following imperfectly preserved signs:



²⁰ For *-za-ni-in-ni*.

²¹ This line should come after a gap of 9 lines on the analogy of lines 1035 ff. and 1131 ff.

²² This line should come after a gap of 3 lines on the analogy of lines 1055 and 1229.

SERIES OF PERSONAL NAMES FROM OLD BABYLONIAN NIPPUR

51

LINE IN
PBS XI 2

	1'	[^d sin-e-ri-ba-am]	Ni.10939	
	2'	^d sin-e-ri-ša-am	"	
	3'	^d sin-l[u-d]a-ri	"	
		<hr/>		
	1	a-ad-da-sí[B]	Ni.3381	
	2	a-ad-(da)-ri-me-ni	"	
	3	a-ad-da-ri-ma-na	"	
961	4	a-ad-da-nu-[ri]	"	
962	5	a-ad-da-nu-ú[h -ši]	"	
		<hr/>		
	1	a- h u-[x-x-x(?)]	Ni.4827	
	2	a- h u-na- u i-[ir]	"	Ni.3955
	3	a- h u-mu-na- u i-ir	"	"
	4	a- h u-ba-ni	"	"
	5	a- h u-na-da	"	"
	6	a- h u-NA.GAD	"	"
	7	a- h u-na-šir	"	"
	8	a- h u-i-din-nam	"	"
	9	a- h u-i-qí-ša-am	"	"
	10	a- h u-e-ri-ba-am	"	Ni.3909
	11	a- h u-e-ri-ša-am	"	"
	12	a- h u- u a-qar	"	"
	13	a- h u- u -súm	"	"
	14	a- h u- u a-[tar]	"	"
		<hr/>		
	1	a- h i-ba-ni	Ni.4737	
	2	a- h i-na-da	"	
	3	a- h i-NA.GAD	"	
	4	a- h i-na-šir	"	
	5	a- h i-i-[te-e]	"	
	6	a- h i-[i-ta-š <u>u</u>]	"	Ni.4786
	7	a- h i-e-[ri-ba-am]	"	"
	8	a- h i-e-[ri-ša-am]	"	"
	9	a- h i- u a-qar	"	"
	10	a- h i- u a-tar	"	"
	11	a- h i- u -súm	"	"
1337	12	a-bi ²³	"	"
1338	13	a-bi-ma	"	"
1339	14	a-bi-DINGIR	"	"
1340	15	a-bi-be-[lum]	"	"
1341	16	a-bi-[tāb]	"	"
1342	17	a-bi-tā-bu-[um]	"	"
1343	18	a-bi-li-[bur]	"	"
1344	19	a-bi-li-b[ur-ra-am]	"	"
1350	1	a-bi-nu-ri	Ni.10930	
	2	a-bi-BAD-ri	"	
1351	3	a-bi-nu-u ^h -ši	"	
1352	4	a-bi- ^d UD-ši (= šamši)	"	Ni.4915
	5	a-bi-za-ni-[in]	"	"
	6	a-bi-za-ni-[in-ni]	"	"
	1	[a-bi-ub-la]m	Ni.4810	Ni.5115
	2	[a-bi-ub-ba-l]am	"	"
	3	[a-bi-ba]-bil	"	"

²³ That the *abi*- sequence follows the *a^hi*- sequence is evidenced by Ni.4737 and Ni.4786.

LINE IN
PBS XI 2

	4	a-bi-mu-ba-bil	Ni.4810	Ni.5115	
	5	a-bi-mu-tab-bil	"	"	
	6	a-bi-TAB.BA-e	"	"	
	7	a-bi-TAB.BA-šu	"	"	
	8	a-bi-TAB.[BA-ṽe-di]	"	"	
1363	9	a-bi-i-te-[e]	"	"	
1364	10	a-bi-i-[ta-šu]	"	"	
1365	11	a-bi-še-mi	"	Ni.5157	
	12	a-bi-KA[R ₇ -ni] ²⁴	"	"	
	13	a-bi-im-di	"	"	
	14	a-bi-sí-im-ti	"	"	
	15	a-bi-ne-me-qi	"	"	
	16	a-bi-da-mi-iq	"	"	
	17	a-bi-ga-mil	"	Ni.3889	
	18	a-bi-mu-ša-lim	"	"	
	19	a-bi-lu-da-[ri]	"	"	
	20	a-bi-lu-uš-da-[an-ni] ²⁵	"	"	
	21	a-bi-zi-nu-ú-[a]	"	"	
	22	a-bi-zi-nu-ú-[šu]	"	"	
	23	a-bi-iš-me-a-ni	"	"	
	24	a-bi-iš-ma-na	"	"	
	25	a-bi-iš-ti-gal ²⁶	Ni.4915	"	
	26	a-bi-iš-ta-mar	"	"	
	27	a-bi-iš-mu	"	"	
	28	[a-bi]-e-ri-ša-[am]	"	"	
	29	[a-bi]-ṽa-qar	"	"	
	30	[a]-bi-ṽu-súm	"	"	
	31	a-bi-ṽa-tar	"	"	
<hr/>					
1193	1	a-lí-tá-bu-um ²⁷	Ni.3451		
1247	2	a-lí-lu-uš-da-an-ni ²⁸	"	Ni.5171	
1248	3	a-lí-zi-nu-ú-a	"	"	
1249	4	a-lí-zi-nu-ú-šu	"	"	Ni.4806
	5	a-lí-iš-me-a-ni	"	"	"
1250	6	a-lí-iš-me-ni ²⁹	"	"	"
1252	7	a-lí-iš-ti-gal ³⁰	"	"	"
	8	a-lí-iš-ta-mar	"	"	"
	9	a-lí-iš-ti-i	"	"	"
	10	a-lí-iš-mu	"	"	"
	11	a-lí-iš-mu-mu	"	"	"
	12	a-lí-na-ṽi-ir	"	"	"
	13	a-lí-mu-na-ṽi-ir	"	"	"
	14	a-lí-ba-ni	"	"	"
	15	a-lí-na-da	"	"	"
1266	16	a-lí-NA.GAD	"	"	"

²⁴ PBS XI 2, No. 28, continues after line 1365 (col. ii 4) with 10 more lines (col. ii 5-14) to line 1375. On the analogy of lines 1058 ff. and 1154 ff. the continuation of our text should come 2 lines after line 1375.

²⁵ For *-luštanni*.

²⁶ For *-tikal*.

²⁷ The final *-um*, lacking in PBS XI 2, Nos. 52:6 and 56:7, is attested by Ni.3619, Ni.4766, and Ni.5353 and in traces also by Ni.3451.

²⁸ For *-luštanni*.

²⁹ Ni.5171: *a-lí-iš-me-ma-na*.

³⁰ For *-tikal*.

SERIES OF PERSONAL NAMES FROM OLD BABYLONIAN NIPPUR

53

LINE IN
PBS XI 2

	17	a-lf-na-šir		Ni.5171
	18	a-lf-i-din-AN		"
		<hr/>		
1295	1	a-bu-um-ma	Ni.4944	
1296	2	a-bu-um-ilum	"	
1297	3	a-bu-um-be-lum	"	
	4	a-bu-um-ṭāb	"	
	5	[a-b]u-um-ṭá-bu-um	"	
	6	[a-b]u-um-li-bur	"	
	7	[a]-bu-um-li-bur-ra	"	
	8	[a]-bu-um-pa-a-ti	"	
	9	[a]-bu-um-tu-kul-ti	"	
	10	[a]-bu-um-ba-aš-ti	"	
	11	[a]-bu-um-ba-la-ṭi	"	
	12	[a]bu-um-la-ma-sí	"	
	13	[a]-bu-um-nu-ri	"	
	14	[a]-bu-um-BĀD-ri	"	
	15	[a]-bu-um-nu-uḫ-ši	"	
	16	[a]-bu-um- ^d UD-ši	"	
	17	[a]-bu-um-za-ni-in-ni	"	
	18	[a]-bu-um-za-ni-in-šu	"	
	19	[a-bu-um-ub]-lam	"	
		[a-bu-um-ub-ba-lam] ³¹		
		[a-bu-um-ba-bil]		
		[a-bu-um-mu-ba-bil]		
		[a-bu-um-mu-tab-bil]		
		[a-bu-um-TAB.BA]		
[1308		a-bu-um-TAB.BA-e]	PBS XI 1, No. 38 obv.	
[1309		a-bu-um-TAB.BA-šu]	"	
[1310		a-bu-um-TAB.BA-ṽe-di]	"	
[1311		a-bu-um-e-ri-ba-am]	"	
1312	1	a-bu-um-e-ri-ša-am		Ni.4886
	2	a-bu-um-ma-[gir]		"
	3	a-bu-um-ma-lik		"
	4	a-bu-um-ma-lik-šu		"
	5	a-bu-um-KAS + KUR (= tillat)		"
	6	a-bu-um-KAS + KUR-ti (= tillati)		"
	7	a-bu-um-KAS + KUR-sú (= tillassu)		"
	8	a-bu-um-du-ni		"
		<hr/>		
	1	a-bu-um-KA[R ₇ -ni] ³²	Ni.3462 col. i	Ni.3431
	2	a-bu-um-im-di	"	"
	3	a-bu-um-sí-im-di ³³	"	"
	4	a-bu-um-ne-me-qi	"	"
	5	a-bu-um-da-mi-iq	"	"
	6	a-bu-um-mu-da-mi-iq	"	"
	7	a-bu-um-ša-li[m]	"	"

³¹ Five lines are reconstructed here on the analogy of lines 1133-37.³² Four lines should be inserted here on the analogy of lines 1152-55.³³ For *-simti*.

LINE IN PBS XI 2			PARALLEL TEXTS
	8	a-bu-um-mu-ša-lim	Ni.3462 col. i
	9	a-bu-um-ga-mil	"
	10	a-bu-um-mu-ga-mil	"
	11	a-bu-um-lu-da-ri	"
	12	a-bu-um-lu-uš-da-an-ni ³⁴	"
	13	a-bu-um-zi-nu-ú-a	"
	1	a-bu-um-na-da	Ni. 3462 col. ii
	2	a-bu-um-NA.GAD	"
	3	a-bu-um-na-şir	"
	4	a-bu-um-i-din-nam	"
	5	a-bu-um-i-qí-şam	"
1311	6	a-bu-um-e-ri-ba-am	"
	1	a-bu-um-[]	Ni.3369
	2	a-ab-[ba-]	"
	3	a-ab-[ba-]	"
	4	a-ab-[ba-]	"
	1	ab-ba-DINGIR	Ni.4850
	2	ab-ba-be-lum	"
	3	ab-ba-ṭà-bu-um	"
	4	ab-ba-li-bur	"
	5	ab-ba-li-bur-ra-am	"
	6	ab-ba-pa-a-ti	"
	7	ab-ba-tu-ku-ul-ti	"
	8	ab-ba-[ba-aš]-ti	"
	9	[ab-ba-ba-la]-ṭi	"
	10	[ab-ba-la-ma]-sí	"
	1	[a-ḫa]-tum-ma	Ni.10137 obv. i
	2	[a]-ḫa-ti-[na]-am-ra-at	"
	3	a-ḫa-ti-tà-ba-at	"
	4	a-ḫa-ti-ri-me-ni-a-at	"
	5	a-ḫa-ti-ri-me-it	"
	6	a-ḫa-ti-ri-ša-at	"
1002			
1061	1	a-ḫu-im-di	Ni.10137 obv. ii
1062	2	a-ḫu-sí-im-di ³⁵	"
1063	3	a-ḫu-ne-me-di	"
1055	4	a-ḫu-du-ni	"
1056	5	a-ḫu-du-di	"
1021	6	a-ḫu-síB	"
	7	a-ḫu-síB-ni	"
	8	a-ḫu-ri-şu-şu	"
1036	9	a-ḫu-ub-lam	"
1037	10	a-ḫu-ub-ba-lam	"
	11	a-ḫu-ba-qar	"
	12	a-ḫu-e-ri-ba-am	"
	1	a-ḫu-x	Ni.10137 obv. iii
	2	a-ḫu-a-a-ab	"
	3	a-ḫu-a-a-bi	"

OECT IV, No. 155 xi
12-18

PBS XI 3, No. 76 ii 4
(= line 1706)
Ibid. line 5 (= line 1707)

³⁴ For *-luštanni*.

³⁵ For *-simti*.

SERIES OF PERSONAL NAMES FROM OLD BABYLONIAN NIPPUR

55

LINE IN
PBS XI 2

	4	a-ḥu-ḥa-bi-it	Ni.10137 obv. iii
	5	a-ḥu-ḥa-iz-zi ³⁶	"
	6	a-ḥu-ka-lu-ab(?)	"
1026	7	a-ḥu-ba-aš-ti	"
1027	8	a-ḥu-ba-la-ṭi	"
1028	9	a-ḥu-la-ma-sí	"
1073	10	a-ḥu-zi-nu-ú-a	"
1074	11	a-ḥu-zi-nu-ú-ša	"
	12	a-ḥu-še-di	"
	13	a-ḥu-sa-ḍu	"
	14	a-ḥu-sa-ḍu-ni	"
1049	15	a-ḥu-ma-lik	"
	2	a-lí-[]	Ni.10137 obv. iv
	3	a-lí-ni-[šu-a]	"
	4	a-lí-ni-[šu-šu]	"
	5	a-lí-tu-[kul-ti]	"
	6	a-lí-šu-[]	"
	7	a-lí-KAL-[]	"
	8	a-lí-na-ka-[]	"
	9	a-lí-ši-ma-a[t]	"
	10	a-lí-mu-ta-[bil]	"
	11	a-lí-mu-ta-[ab-li]	"
	12	a-lí-mu-e-[]	"
	13	a-lí-mu-ba-[]	"
	14	a-lí-ba-[]	"
	1	é-a-[ga-mil]	Ni.10137 rev. i
	2	é-a-mu-ga-[mil]	"
	3	é-a-qur-da-a[]	"
	4	é-a-ḥé-gál [?] ³⁷	"
	1	^d nin-urta-e-[]	Ni.5082 + 10176 ³⁸ col. i
	2	^d nin-urta-e-ri-b[a-am]	"
	3	^d nin-urta-e-(ri)-ša-am	"
	4	^d nin-urta-da-mi-iq	"
	5	^d nin-urta-mu-da-mi-iq	"
	6	^d nin-urta-na-pi ₄ -iš-ti	"
	7	^d nin-urta-gál-la-ni	"
	8	^d nin-urta-la-ma-sà-[šu]	"
	9	^d nin-urta-á-maḥ	"
	10	^d nin-urta-lugal	"
	1	^d [e]n-ki-ta-lú	Ni.5082 + 10176 col. ii
	2	^d en-ki-nun-ki-šè	"
	3	^d en-ki-lugal	"
	4	^d en-ki-lú-ti	"
	5	^d en-ki-lú-sig ₆	"
	6	^d en-ki-á-daḥ-a-ni	"
	7	^d [en-k]i-me-DU	"
	8	^d [e]n-ki-mu-maḥ	"
		(traces in Ni.5082 + 10176 cols. iii and ix)	

³⁶ For -ḥāsis.³⁷ Five more lines beginning with é-a- follow.³⁸ Ni.5082 + 10176 is the lower left part of a newly joined10-column tablet. According to *PBS XI 3*, p. 256, names similar to those in our col. i are found only in CBS 14156; since this tablet has not been published, we could not indicate the duplicating lines.

1	nu-úr-ištar	Ni.4844 obv. ³⁹
2	nu-úr- ^d inanna	“
3	nu-úr- ^d ma-ma	“
4	nu-úr- ^d ma-mi	“
5	nu-úr- ^d ab-ú	“
6	nu-úr- ^d ba-ba ₆	“
7	nu-úr-ì-lí	“
8	nu-úr-ì-[x]	“

³⁹ For the reverse see p. 45. The first line of the obverse is found in *PBS XI 2*, No. 64, which contains also the 4 preceding lines.

THE PHILADELPHIA ONION ARCHIVE¹

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While working on the Sargonic material housed in the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania in the spring of 1963, I came across a group of texts, published and unpublished, dealing with the distribution of onions. Under the term "onions" I include not only onions proper but also other plants of the alliaceous family, such as garlic and leek. My initial interest in these texts was governed largely by their relative lexical and historical significance. As soon, however, as I became aware of their importance from the socio-economic point of view, I decided to study them more intensively as part of my long-range project on the structure of the most ancient Mesopotamian society.

The small Philadelphia onion archive consists of fifty-one texts, nineteen of which were published by Barton in *PBS IX* and thirty-two which have not been published heretofore. Even though Barton's texts have been known to Assyriologists since their publication in 1915, no study on these texts has ever been written or published, partly no doubt because of the unreliability of Barton's copies.

The texts vary in size from very small, containing several lines, to very large four-column texts (such as *PBS IX*, Nos. 19 and 88) containing, when fully preserved, perhaps one hundred lines and important summations at the end.

The onion archive belongs to the Sargonic period, specifically to the reign of Narâm-Sin, the fourth king of the Sargonic dynasty (ca. 2260–2223 B.C.). While none of the texts dealing with onions are clearly dated, they belong with other texts published by Barton and many more which remain unpublished, some containing dates of Narâm-Sin and/or references to that king. These are *PBS IX*, Nos. 15 and 25, and

JCS XV 20, No. 40 (N 236), among published texts, and N 49, N 609, and Phila. 182, among unpublished ones.

All the texts are written in Sumerian, not Akkadian, as is generally true of the administrative texts of the Sargonic period excavated at Nippur.

The Sumerian names of the plants of the alliaceous family and connected terms used in our texts are *sum*, *sum-sikil*, *sum-gaz*, *SUM.TU.LÚ*, and *ga-ra š^{SAR}*.

The exact meanings of these words are difficult to establish. Sumerian *sum*, Akkadian *šûmum*, is generally taken to be "garlic," not "onion," mainly, I believe, on the basis of etymology, since that word appears in the form *šûm* in Hebrew, *tûmā* in biblical Aramaic and Syriac, and *tûmun* in Arabic, regularly with the meaning "garlic." But neither etymology nor the evidence, if it exists, for the meaning "garlic" in later Akkadian can be safely applied to the Sargonic period. The meaning "garlic" for *sum* in the early periods is suspect because of the fact that *sum* is by far the most frequently mentioned plant of the alliaceous family in these texts, as it is in other texts of different periods before the Old Babylonian.

The Sumerian word *sum-sikil*, literally "pure *sum*," corresponds to the Akkadian *šušikillum*, which is generally translated as "onion." But if it can be proved that *sum* is "onion," then *sum-sikil* must be something else, presumably "garlic."

The word *sum-gaz* can be translated as "crushed *sum*," but even that meaning is not certain because of the occurrence of *sum-gaz* in connection with the measure *sa*, "bundle" (*PBS IX*, Nos. 65 and 112, N 565 and 568), which is discussed below. Perhaps, instead of translating *sum-gaz* as "crushed onions," we should take the term to stand for a kind of onion which was more suitable for crushing than other kinds. For the use of

¹ Version of a paper read at the meeting of the Midwest Branch of the American Oriental Society in Chicago in April, 1964; abbreviations as in "Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary," No. 3, pp. xv–xxiv.

^{as}k u m, "mortar," and g i š, "pestle," in connection with s u m - g a z, see the Ur III text published in Jean, *ŠA*, No. XXI.

The SUM.TU.LÚ sort of onion is mentioned nowhere else, and the meaning of the term is unknown. The form closest to SUM.TU.LÚ that I know of is SUM.TU.DA, listed with various other alliaceous plants in a Sargonic text of unknown provenience (*BIN* VIII, No. 231).

The Sumerian g a - r a š^{sar} (only in N 407) corresponds to the Akkadian *karašum*, usually translated as "leek."

For parallels and divergencies between the terms for onions used in our texts and those occurring in the pre-Sargonic texts from Lagash, see Deimel, "Der Gemüsebau bei den alten Šumerern," *Orient*. XVII (1925) 1-33, esp. pp. 24-33.

Various types of measures are used in the Philadelphia archive in connection with onions: measures of capacity for solids, of weight, and such terms as s a and n a g - k u d.

Of the two measures of capacity, the g u r and its subdivisions are well known and do not require discussion. This is the g u r A - g a - d è^{xi}, which corresponds to the later g u r l u g a l or g u r d š u l - g i and contains 5 p i (u l or b a - r í - g a) or 300 s i l à, roughly 300 quarts.

The other measure of capacity is written N I - g a, which can be read as n i - g a, l í - g a, ì - g a, or d i g - g a. The occurrences of x š e N I - g a at Fara and of x z í d N I - g a in the texts published in *PBS* IX were interpreted by Deimel (*Fara* III 15*, *Orient*. VII 29, and *ŠL* II 231, 167) as "Sesam" and "Sesammehl" respectively. To be eliminated is his reading "g^{iš}N I - g a" (*Orient*. VII 29, twice), which is probably due to some misunderstanding based on the conflation of ^{as}N I with N I - g a. In proposing the translation of N I - g a as "sesame" Deimel overlooked the fact that the *PBS* IX texts use N I - g a also in connection with z í z, "emmer" (No. 5 ii), and varieties of s u m, "onions" (Nos. 18, 66, etc.). The fact is that the two additional volumes of Fara texts published by Jestin (*TŠŠ* and *NTŠŠ*) and the volume of Nippur texts published by Pohl (*TMH* V) are full of occurrences of N I - g a in connection with š e, z í z, z í d, s u m, and even k u š, "fish"

(*TMH* V, Nos. 118 and 119), which make it clear that N I - g a cannot have the meaning of "sesame," nor, for that matter, of any other cereal or vegetable. The simple answer to what N I - g a is comes from the rule of complementary distribution. In noting the occurrences of N I - g a and g u r, we find that they are in complementary distribution, that is, when g u r occurs N I - g a does not occur, and when N I - g a occurs g u r does not. Thus N I - g a must have a meaning parallel or similar to that of the measure g u r. This conclusion was reached independently by Christian (*Orient*. n.s. XXXI [1962] 432 f.), mainly on the basis of the Nippur material.

The size of the N I - g a measure cannot be discussed here since that would involve a large amount of documentation, which would be out of place in this article. It is enough to mention that according to my calculations one N I - g a contains 4 p i (u l or b a - r í - g a) or 240 s i l à and is thus smaller by 1 p i than 1 g u r.

Another difference between g u r and N I - g a may be in the respective materials and forms of the two measures. If g u r is a clay vessel, N I - g a may be a wooden or reed basket, but this cannot be proved in the present state of our knowledge. The occurrence of x N I - g a in *Fara* III, No. 64 (without mention of the things measured), being distributed to different persons means that N I - g a, in this text at least, denotes some kind of implement or container.

Not to be confused with N I - g a, discussed above, is the writing N I . G A in Gudea Cyl. B x 6 and *CT* VII, Pl. 34 a rev. 14 f. (*ŠL* II 231, 167), also *CT* V, Pls. 25 ff., and *TCL* II, No. 5499, where N I . G A stands for ì - n u n g a - ħ a r, "butter (and) cheese."

The use of the term N I - g a for a container and measure dies out apparently in the Sargonic period. At least I do not know of a single example of N I - g a in any text, Sumerian or Akkadian, from the Ur III period onward.

The g ú, "talent," and m a - n a, "pound," used as measures of weight for onions, do not require discussion.

Of the two remaining terms for measures used in connection with onions, namely s a and n a g - k u d, the first has the well-known

meaning "bundle" (see Oppenheim, *CCTE*, pp. 45 f.), while the second has not yet been adequately interpreted.

The word *n a g - k u d* occurs from the pre-Sargonic to the Ur III period in contexts which make it clear that it denotes two related things: a component of the irrigation system and a wooden implement.

Oppenheim (*CCTE*, p. 113, n. 117) argued that *n a g - k u d* of the Ur III texts is not a "break in a dyke" or "a pond," as proposed by other scholars, but "a long-stretched reservoir." The measures of length, width, and depth—3,600 (really 360) by 2 by 3 cubits—which he assigned to the excavated *n a g - k u d* mentioned in *RTC*, No. 412 i 6 f., fit so well the meaning of a long canal or branch of a canal that I initially accepted that meaning as one which could well be applied as a measure for onions by assuming a semantic change from the meaning "branch" (of a tree) to the meanings branch or bunch of onions and branch of a canal. But a thorough study of the passage and of the rest of this important text showed that the measures adduced by Oppenheim refer not to the *n a g - k u d* but to the long fields (*a - š à*) excavated in preparation for the digging of canals (*e* in rev. i, ii, iii) and that the *n a g - k u d* themselves occupy a very small volume of excavated dirt situated alongside the excavated channels. Thus I was led to conclude that *n a g - k u d* means not a reservoir or channel but a trough attached to a channel. This meaning fits the correspondence of Sumerian *n a g - k u d - m a ḥ* with Akkadian *bu-tuq-tu(m) šur-du-tu(m)* (*BA V* 617, lines 9 f.), which can only denote a trough for draining water.

While the evidence which Oppenheim (*loc. cit.*) adduced in favor of the reading *n a g - k u d* (or *n a g - k u₅*), as against *n a g - t a r* for example, is not correct, since instead of his *n a g - k u₅ - d a U m m a^{KI} - k a* (*YOS IV*, No. 235:1) we should read *n a g - k u d* (or *n a g - k u₅*) *d a U m m a^{KI} - k a* (with double genitive) and translate "the *n a g - k u d* at the side of (near) Umma," the interpretation as *n a g - k u d* (and not *n a g - t a r*) can be proved by the variant spellings of *n a g - k u d* and *n a g - k u*, referring to the irrigation system, in a Sumerian literary text soon to be pub-

lished by Dr. Civil. For further evidence, derived from the occurrence of *ḡ^{IS}n a g - k u d* and *ḡ^{IS}n a g - k u* referring to an implement, see just below.

In the pre-Sargonic texts from Lagash we find frequent mention of an implement called *ḡ^{IS}n a g - k u* or *n a g - k u*, as in the following examples: 144 (or 6, 92, 16) *ḡ^{IS}n a g - k u* (*DP*, Nos. 432 iii, 433 iii, 446 i, 473 ii), 36 (or 4) *n a g - k u ḡ^{IS}ḥ a š ḥ u r* (*VAS XIV*, No. 157 i; *Orient. XVI* 14, No. 34 ii), 240 (or 46) *ḡ^{IS}n a g - k u ḡ^{IS}ḥ a š ḥ u r* (Nikolski, *Dok. I*, No. 282 ii; *DP*, No. 418 i), 61 *ḡ^{IS}n a g - k u ḡ^{IS}AM* (Nikolski, *Dok. I*, No. 282 i), and 3 *n a g - k u AM* (*Orient. XVI* 14, No. 34 ii). For other occurrences see Deimel in *Orient. XVI* 76 f. A unique reference to 11 *ḡ^{IS}n a g - k u d* in an Ur III text (*Orient. XLVII* 316, line 1) is important because it links the spellings *ḡ^{IS}n a g - k u d* and *ḡ^{IS}n a g - k u* for an implement.

The pre-Sargonic examples, just listed, show that *n a g - k u* was an implement made of wood, either *ḡ^{IS}ḥ a š ḥ u r*, "apple tree," or *(ḡ^{IS})AM* (not *(ḡ^{IS})geštin + kur*, as read by Deimel in *Orient. XVI* 7 and 14), which denotes a tree frequently mentioned in cuneiform texts (*ŠL II* 170, 6 and 579, 221 etc.); the meaning of *ḡ^{IS}AM* or *ḡ^{IS}A.AM* = Akkadian *adārum* is unknown. The translation "Bund, Bündel (von Schilf)," which Deimel (*ŠL II* 35, 8) assigned to the pre-Sargonic *n a g - k u*, is based on a misreading of *ḡ^{IS}m a - n u* for *ḡ^{IS}ḥ a š ḥ u r*. Christian (*Orient. n.s. XXXI* 433) read the Ur III occurrence as "*ḡ^{IS}n a g - TAR*" and interpreted it as "ein Behälter, etwa Schüssel."

The pre-Sargonic and Ur III occurrences of *ḡ^{IS}n a g - k u d* or *ḡ^{IS}n a g - k u* do not allow us to go beyond an interpretation as an implement for this word, but the translation "trough" which we assigned to the word *n a g - k u d* or *n a g - k u*, denoting a component of the irrigation system, makes it very likely that the implement called *ḡ^{IS}n a g - k u d* or *ḡ^{IS}n a g - k u* denotes a container, more specifically a trough. This is, then, the word *n a g - k u d* used for a container for onions in our texts.

The amount of onions in a *n a g - k u d* varies considerably. Such texts as *PBS IX*, Nos. 19, 73, N 248, 270, and 284, give 5, 9, 10, 15, 20, and 28 *sil à* per one *n a g - k u d*. In a num-

ber of cases *n a g - k u d* occurs without further information as to the amount of onions in *silà*, as in *PBS IX*, Nos. 18, 66, 67, 88, 96, 99, 101, etc.

The use of several different kinds of measures for onions, often by the same scribe and in the same text, is mystifying. We may note that two more measures are used for onions in the Sargonic period outside our texts, namely *GIŠ.GIGÍR*, "wagon" (*MAD* No. 1, No. 302:5; *RTC*, No. 119:2), and *birahhum* (*MAD* No. 1, No. 313:5), later *biriḫhum*, "string." In addition, a container called *nigín* is used for *sum-gaz* in one Ur III text (*RTC*, No. 317:14 and rev. 12), and *gu-lá*, "string," and *APIN*, "bed," are used with onions in the pre-Sargonic texts from Lagash (Deimel in *Orient.* XVII 26).

Onions were distributed to various persons and for various purposes: to individuals, for the table of higher dignitaries, as offerings to divinities, and on the occasion of trips.

The largest number of texts pertain to distribution of onions to individuals. The amounts vary considerably, from several *silà* to several hundred *silà*, apparently depending on the standing and prosperity of the individual. The issues of onions are not standard rations, such as for example *še-ba*, "the barley ration," which was issued in fixed amounts once a month, or *ì-ba*, "the oil ration," and *sig-ba* (or *túg-ba*), "the wool (or cloth) ration," which also were issued in fixed amounts but only once a year. The issues of onions in our texts represents provisions to free individuals, termed (*še-*)*kur₆-ra* in other texts, in contrast to (*še-*)*ba*, which represent regular rations for the working class.

The individual persons receiving onions are called *lú-en*, "lords," in N 284 and 245. With this term we may compare the *en-en*, "lords," who received quantities of onions etc. in the pre-Sargonic texts from Lagash (mentioned on p. 58 above). For an interpretation of *en-en* as statues for dead persons see Deimel in *Orient.* XVII 45-49.

Large quantities of onions were furnished for the *banšur*, "table," of high dignitaries, mainly the *ensi*, "governor" (*PBS IX*, Nos. 67 and 95, N 274, 551, and 574). Issues of onions for the table of *lugal*, "king" (*PBS IX*, No.

18 ii), and for *gìr.nita-ne*, "generals" (N 565), occur once each. A *banšur dūg-ga*, "good table," which is found in two texts (*PBS IX*, Nos. 65 rev. and 128), can be compared with ^{ans}*BANŠUR du-um-qi* of Mari (*ARMT XI*, Nos. 2:5 and 112:4).

Onions for *sá-duga*, ^d*Nin-urta*, "offering for Nin-urta," occur in N 574 and simply for ^d*Nin-urta* in N 274.

Very numerous cases of distribution of onions on the occasion of trips are found, almost all in unpublished texts, as in the following cases: *lugal IGI.NIM-ta ì-im-gin-na-a*, "(when) the king returned from the Upper Country" (N 551), and *lugal sig-ta ì-im-gin-na-a*, "(when) the king returned from the Lower (Country)" (N 551); *dumu lugal Mar-ḫa-ši ì-gin-na-a*, "(when) the son of the king went to Marḫaši" (N 581); *dumu-SAL lugal é* ^d*En-lil-[lá-šè]* *im-gin-n [a-a]*, "(when) the daughter of the king went to the temple of Enlil" (*PBS IX*, No. 128); *en₅-si A-ga-dè gin-a*, "(when) the governor went to Akkade" (N 547), and *en₅-si A-ga-dè^{ki} gin-ni*, "(when) the governor goes to Akkade" (N 579); *Ur^dGIŠ.BÍL-ga-mes URU + UD^{ki} ì-gin*, "(when) Ur-Bilgames went to URU + UD^{ki}" (N 191); trips of individuals to *A-ga-dè^{ki}* are noted in N 359, 400, and 526.

Onions were distributed by a person known either by his name, *Lugal-níg.BE.DÙG* (*PBS IX*, Nos. 65 and 67, N 277, 278, 280, 400, 565, and 579), or by his profession, *gal-sar* (*PBS IX*, Nos. 91, 92, and 113, N 191 and 526), or by both (N 396).

The profession *gal-sar* means "chief of SAR" or "man in charge of SAR." Although SAR stands occasionally in other texts for *GIŠ.SAR*, "orchard" (*ŠL II* 152, 33), SAR in *gal-sar* cannot mean "orchard" or "garden" because onions were grown in *gán*, "fields" (N 270, 279, 280, 284, 408, and 548), and the person in charge of the distribution of onions grown in fields can have nothing to do with orchards or gardens. That SAR in *gal-sar* means "vegetables" can be fully established from an Ur III text published by Barton (*HLC III*, Pl. 137, No. 362). This text deals with three kinds of onions, namely *sum-za-ḫa-din*, *sum-sikil*,

and *sum-gaz*, and one kind of fish, called *ku₆-izi*, all subsumed as *níg-gaz_x(šID)-ag ku₆-sar*, "the account of fish (and) vegetables," at the end of the text. It is clear that just as *ku₆-izi* is included under *ku₆*, "fish," so the three kinds of onions are included under *SAR*, "vegetables."

From the botanical point of view it should be made clear that what are onions (alliaceous plants) and vegetables to us are not the same things they were to the ancients. Deimel (*Orient. XVII* 24) called attention to the fact that according to the pre-Sargonic texts of Lagash the term *sum* includes not only onions proper but also such plants as *gu*, "flax," *gú-gú*, "beans," and *še.LÚ*, "coriander." The term *SAR* includes mainly onions but also such plants as *še.LÚ.SAR*, "coriander," *LU.SAR* or *LU.ÚB.SAR*, "turnip," and *ḫI.SAR* or *ḫI.IZ.SAR*, "lettuce," in the Sargonic and Ur III texts (*passim*, e.g. *RA LV* 94). Similarly, several Ur III texts list under *še*, "grains," not only grains proper but also *gú-gal-gal*, "beans," and *še.LÚ*, "coriander" (e.g. *CT X*, Pls. 18 f., or *BM 17782*, unpublished).

The reading of *SAR* as *ni-is-sa* was proposed by Civil (*RA LV* [1960] 94) on the basis of *CT XII*, Pl. 31, No. 38885, as reconstructed by Goetze (*JCS XIII* [1959] 126 and n. 35). Note, however, that twelve individuals, *šunigín 12 lú-sar-ra-me*, are named in connection with *gán en₅-si-ka*, "field of the *ensi*," in *N 279*. The latter term occurs in turn in the form *lú-sar-me* in an Ur III text listing personnel of the temples of Lagash (*HSS IV*, No. 4 and pp. 4 f.) and another one listing personnel of the household of a place called Babaz (Fish, *CST*, Pls. XLVII f.) and in the form *lú-sar* in a group of related Ur III texts (Reisner, *TUT*, No. 149 i 5, 6; Barton, *HLC I*, Pl. 2, No. 379 i 6, 7, etc.). A person with the profession *lú-sar* in a pre-Sargonic text from Lagash (*VAS XIV*, No. 141) is differentiated from a person with the profession *nu-sar*, "gardner," in another (*VAS XIV*, No. 144). Since the function of the *lú-sar-ra-me* (and parallels) cannot be established from the contexts, the question of their relation to *gal-sar* has to be left open. It appears plausible, however, to argue that, if *gal-sar* de-

notes the profession of the person in charge of vegetables, then *lú-sar* may denote the profession of persons working under *gal-sar*.

The distribution of onions was controlled by various persons with the title *maškim* (*PBS IX*, Nos. 65 and 66, *N 191*, 277, 526, 551, and 556). In these administrative texts the *maškim* performs the function of the controller or inspector rather than that of the court-bailiff, known from legal texts.

Among recipients of onions we find frequent mention of persons with the title *silā.šū.du₈* (*PBS IX*, Nos. 18 ii twice and 67 rev., *N 191* twice, 399, and 542) and of the title *silā.šū.du₈-gal* without the name of the person (*N 191*, 278, 661, and 565). Since they occur sometimes in connection with the *banšur*, "table," of high dignitaries (*PBS IX*, Nos. 18 and 67, *N 565*), it seems plausible to assume that the title includes not only the well-known functions of the cupbearer but also those of the waiter or butler.

We have had occasion above (p. 60) to refer to a text (Barton, *HLC III*, Pl. 137, No. 362) which is an account dealing with fish and onions. The use of the term *ku₆-sar* for the two commodities opened new possibilities for considering the extent to which fish were eaten together with onions or other vegetables in ancient times. I soon discovered that the term *ku₆-sar* in addition to occurring in the two Ur III texts quoted in *ŠL II* 589, 58 and Oppenheim, *CCTE*, p. 139, is found in a number of texts which deal with the assignment of workers to specific tasks, such as collecting straw or reeds and serving the king, and to specific places, such as the icehouse, the slaughterhouse, and the bakery. All together, twenty work-assignment texts, all from Lagash, are known, namely Barton, *HLC II*, Pl. 90, No. 96; *HLC III*, Pls. 104, No. 175, 124, No. 268, 127, No. 286, 131, No. 322; Chiera, *STA*, No. 30; *RA X* 66, No. 100; Nies, *UDT*, No. 41; Reisner, *TUT*, No. 173; *AnOr I*, No. 192; *CT VII*, Pl. 47 a; *ITT II*, Nos. 970 and 3503; *MCS III* 7-14 (6 texts); *BM 17771* (unpublished). The majority of these texts list the assignment of workers for *ku₆-sar*. This clearly involved work in the preparation and/or distribution of fish and vegetables. That the two things went naturally together in the

diet of the ancient Sumerians appears also from the two Ur III texts, one of which refers to oxen and sheep given at the occasion of *n í g - k u₆ - s a r - b i - š è* (*AnOr* VII 63, line 18) and the other to a ship loaded with *k u₆ - s a r* (*ITT* III, No. 5338). I should like also to refer to an unpublished Ur III text from Lagash (Ist. Mus. L.30290) which lists distribution of *k u₆*, "fish," and *LU.SAR*, "turnips," in the proportion of three fish to one bundle (*s a*) of turnips per person, and to the Ur III messenger texts, according to which a ratio of one fish to one bundle of onions was provided per person (*AnOr* I, Nos. 258, 259, 260, and *passim*). The eating of fish and onions was not limited to the ancient Near East, as I learned during the summer of 1963, when I observed people on the streets of Holland and Turkey buying and eating fried fish dipped in chopped raw onions.

The texts of the Philadelphia onion archive are instructive in several respects. They contain information about various kinds of onions

known in ancient times, about different measures used in handling them, about the techniques of distributing onions, about the fare of the "table" of high dignitaries, and about the travels of high dignitaries to different parts of the country. Above all, we learn that the ancient Mesopotamians ate large quantities of onions.

I have chosen this lowly topic as a modest expression of protest against such esoteric and, in the present state of our knowledge, seemingly fruitless pursuits as those devoted to the study of the resurrection of Tammuz and of the Sumerian beliefs in afterlife. This is not a question of the relative importance of studies devoted to grammar, lexicon, or material culture as against those dealing with theological and metaphysical matters. The question is simply that of priorities. As all man's ideas about things divine are human, it is my firm belief that we shall never know what was the nectar of the gods until we learn what was the daily bread of the people.

BEITRÄGE ZUM SUMERISCHEN WÖRTERBUCH

ÅKE W. SJÖBERG
ChicagoSumerisch $p a_4$, $a - p a_4$, akkadisch *arūtum*, "Rinne," "Tonröhre"

Sumerisch $p a_4$ (= PAP) hat u. a. die beiden akkadischen Gleichungen *arūtum* und *rātu*, "Rinne" (s. *MSL* II 130, Kol. iv 6–7). Ausser $p a_4 = arūtum$ ist auch $a - p a_4 = arūtu$ in *BA X* 1, S. 82, K.5970:17–18 = W 18828:10–11 (s. A. Falkenstein, *UVB* XV 36) bezeugt:

s a g - t a b s i l a š u b - š u b g i - d í m
m e s a g n u - t i - l a

r e - e š e - ť i m - m e m u r - t a p - p i - d i š á d u - ú - t ú l a
p a q - d u

a - p a₄ - k i - s è - g a p à - d a z à - k i - a -
n a g - g á - m u

pa-qí-du a-ru-tu ki-sè-ge-e a-šar ma-al-tuš (die Varianten sind von Falkenstein gebucht), "der (= Šamaš) dem dauernd umherlaufenden Totengeist, der keine Lebenskraft besitzt, hilft,

der das . . . der Totenopfer beaufsichtigt, wo er eine Tränkstelle hat."

In *Orientalia* NS XVI 441–42 hat W. von Soden das Wort *arūtu* behandelt; im Anschluss an E. Ebeling (*TuL*, S. 82, Anm. b, und 132, Anm. f), der *arūtu* mit "Ahnen" oder "Geister" wiedergibt, übersetzt W. von Soden das Wort mit "Schattenleib" (des Toten in der Unterwelt); so auch im *AHw*. Auf Grund der gleichen Belegstellen wie sie E. Ebeling und W. von Soden anführen, erklärte S. Langdon in *JRAS*, 1933, S. 860 f., *arūtu* als ein Wort für "Verwandte."

W. von Soden führt folgende Belegstellen für *arūtu* an: *BBSt.* Nr. 2:19 f., ^a*šamaš da-a-a-an ki-na-ti e-le-nu li(!)-ni-ir(!)-šu šap-la-nu a-ru-ta-šu mē^{meš} ka-šu-ti a-a ú-šam-ḥír*, "Šamaš, der gerechte Richter, möge ihn droben töten (und) drunten seinem . . . kein kühles Wasser zukommen lassen"; *TuL*, S. 132, Z. 50, *a-na a-ru-ti-ku-nu mē^{meš} ka-šu-ti lu-uq-qí* (Var. *lu-uš-qí*), "eurem

. . . will ich kühles Wasser spenden." Ausser diesen Belegstellen s. weiter *TuL*, S. 82, Z. 48 (in *AHw*. zitiert), *ina a-ru-ti eršetī^a mē^{meš} [ka-šu-ti a-a iq-qí]*.

Die hier zitierten Belegstellen für *arūtu* sind für die Bedeutung dieses Wortes nicht eindeutig; es geht aber deutlich hervor, dass *arūtu* in Verbindung mit Totenopfern steht. Beachte besonders das Nebeneinander von $a - p a_4 = arūtu$ und $k i - a - n a g - g á$ in dem oben zitierten Text *BA X* 1, S. 82, mit Dupl. Entscheidend für die Bedeutung ist die Aufzählung verschiedener Gefässe in *SLT*, Nr. 32 Rs. iii 1 ff. (= *MSL* VII 203 f., Z. 91 ff.): ^[dul]*ga - r a - a n - 'd u₇*, ^[dul]*ga - r u - t u m*, ^[dul]*ga - p a₄ - ḥ a l(!)*, ^[dul]*ga - p a₄*. Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, dass ^[dul]*ga - r u - t u m* ein Lehnwort aus akk. *arūtum* ist. *arūtum* (> ^[dul]*ga - r u - t u m*) ist also eine Rinne oder Tonröhre, in welche kühles Wasser bei Opfern für die Toten gegossen wurde.

In Verbindung mit Totenopfern (für einen verstorbenen Vater) steht $a - p a_4$ in Kramer, *Two Elegies*,¹ Z. 111: *a - p a₄ - z a k a š - k u r ú n - n i - d u₁₀ - g a m u š n a m - b a - a n - t ú m - m u*, "in deinem . . . möge süßes Bier niemals aufhören" (s. ferner *RA* XIX 185, Z. 28). Mit Totenopfer hat $a - p a_4$ in Gudea Zylinder B vii 2 nichts zu tun: *ú - l u₅ - š i - e a - p a₄ - s i r a_x (= sír) - g i m*, "ulušī-Bier . . . (reichlich) wie das Wasser des Pasira-Kanals," wo $p a_4 - s i r$ mit *a b z u - p a₅ - s i r - r a* (*SAKI*, S. 30, 6 a iv 7, und S. 32 f 36; Poebel, *ZA* XXXIX 163) und $p a_5 - s i r - r a^{k i}$ (*ŠL* II 60, 61) zu verbinden ist. $p a_5$ ($p a_4$) in $p a_5 - s i r - r a$ ($p a_4 - s i r$) ist m. E. zu $p a_4$, $a - p a_4 = arūtu$ zu stellen.

¹ *SEM*, Nr. 113, ist ein Duplikat zu *Two Elegies* (Vs. = Z. 1–14; Rs. = Z. 19–26). Einen weiteren Duplikattext bietet N.4205 (Vs. = Z. 14–15; Rs. = 16–18), das ein "join" zu *SEM*, Nr. 113, ist.

Enegi, die Stadt des Gottes Ninazu, wird im Tempellied Nr. 14:1 (= Kramer, *SLTN*, Nr. 88:24 mit Duplikattexten; s. Å. W. Sjöberg und E. Bergmann, *Tempelhymnen*) "grosses a-pa₄, grosses a-pa₄ der Erde (Unterwelt)" genannt; der Passus lautet (Z. 1-2):

e n e g i^{ki} a - p a₄ - g a l a - p a₄ - k i - a
 e r e š - k i - g a l - l a - k a
 g ú - d ù - a - k e - e n - g e - r a g ú - s i - n a m -
 l ú - u_x,

"Enegi, grosses . . . , . . . der Erde, der Ereš-kigalla gehörig,

'Gudua' von Sumer, wo alle Menschen gesammelt werden."

Statt g ú - d ù - a - k e - e n - g e - r a bietet ein Duplikattext (*STVC*, Nr. 45 Rs. iii 3; kollationiert) g ú - d u₈ - a - k e - e n - g e - r a, "Gudua von Sumer," d. h., Enegi trägt denselben Namen wie die Stadt Nergals, die öfters die Unterwelt bezeichnet. In übertragenem Sinne steht hier a-pa₄ mit Bezug auf die Stadt Enegi: die Stadt wird als eine Rinne, die Wasser zu den Toten in der Unterwelt führt, bezeichnet.

Eine andere Deutung dieses Passus gibt J. van Dijk in *SGL* II 73. Er übersetzt a-pa₄ mit

z a - n a - r u, eine Art Leier oder Harfe

Das Musikinstrument z a - n a - r u = z a - n a - r u (s. *CAD* XXI 46) kommt in den lexikalischen Serien an folgenden Stellen vor:

MSL VI 142, Hg. B II 166: g i š - s u r₉ (= ùzxBALAG) - r a = šU-u = [za]-na-ru;

Diri III 43 ff.: [z]a-an-na-ru GIŠ.ZA.MÙŠ = š[U], ušnarū, tindū, harhadū (s. *MSL* VI 119);

Hh. VIIB 81: g i š -IN[NIN] = [za-an-na-ru].

Ausserhalb der lexikalischen Texte kenne ich folgende Belege für z a - n a - r u:

Tempellied Nr. 14:183 (= Kramer, *SLTN*, Nr. 88:28, mit Duplikattexten; s. Sjöberg und Bergmann, *Tempelhymnen*; *SGL* II 73): g ù - n u n z a - n a - r u - b a š u - t a g - g a² a m a r

*š u - t a g, "spielen" (wörtlich "mit der Hand berühren"), ist ferner in *SRT*, Nr. 1 ii 4, und *KAR*, Nr. 16 Rs. 15-16 (= *lupputu*) belegt. Vgl. š u - t ú g mit derselben Bedeutung in *SRT*, Nr. 1 ii 7. Meine Übersetzung von š u - t ú g - t ú g als "spielen" in *ZA* LIV 51 und 53, Z. 10, mit Kommentar S. 61 zu Z. 10, ist unrichtig; s. *CAD* I, s.v. *allu-ḥappu*.

"Bewässerungsgraben"; für diese Bedeutung verweist er auf die späte Gleichung a - p a₄ - a m a - g a n - n a = ḫiršu šá^{da} -EDEN (*ŠL* II 579, 131 = Nabnitu 21, 226), "die Furche der Göttin Šarpanītu." J. van Dijk gibt zwar ḫiršu mit "Bewässerungsgraben" wieder, aber an der Bedeutung "Furche" ist nicht zu zweifeln. Auch macht die Gleichung a - p a₄ = ḫiršu, "Furche," eine Bedeutung wie etwa "Rinne" für (a -) p a₄ = arūtu wahrscheinlich.

Professor Landsberger hat in seinem (noch nicht publizierten) Kommentar zu Hh. XV 49 ff. das akkadische erūtu (arūtu) mit den sumerischen Äquivalenten u z u - g ú - t a l, (u z u -) g ú -TAR, u z u - l á -ḫI-b a l und g ú - b a l (Ugumu D9; wird in *MSL* IX publiziert) mit dem hier besprochenen arūtu in Verbindung gebracht. Gegen die Übersetzung "Rücken" (*AHw.* S. 248, a/erūtu), "back" (*CAD* IV 327, erūtu, arūtu), übersetzt er erūtu (arūtu) mit "Speiseröhre" (oesophagus); für arūtu setzt er jetzt die Bedeutung "gutter" an. Seiner Ansicht nach ist erūtu, arūtu (= u z u - g ú - t a l, u z u - g ú -TAR, u z u - l á -ḫI-b a l) identisch mit arūtu (= p a₄, a - p a₄). Zur Übersetzung von arūtu als "Rinne" sind wir unabhängig von einander gekommen.

a d - b a g ù - d i (Var. š a₆ - š a₆ für g ù - d i), "mit lauter Stimme spielt² er dort das z a n a r u -Instrument, er (= der Gott Ninazu in Enegi) singt mit der Stimme eines Kalbes"; 3NT 386:15 (Chicago): g i š - ḫ a r - ḫ a r z a - n a - r u d i - d è, "er (= Šulgi) spielt das ḫ a r ḫ a r - und das z a n a r u -Instrument" (vgl. *UET* VI, Nr. 81 Rs. 7 ff., wo sich König Šulgi rühmt, viele Musikinstrumente spielen zu können; eine Aufzählung verschiedener Musikinstrumente findet sich ferner in dem Eridu Hymnus *OECT* I, Tf. 2, Z. 28 ff.); C. J. Gadd, *Iraq* XIII 27, Kol. i 12-13: u r f^{ki} u r u - z à - è - k e - e n - g e - r a k i š u - t a g - z a - n a - r u, "Ur, die vornehmste Stadt in Sumer, der Ort, an dem das z a n a r u -Instrument gespielt wird" (gegen Gadd's Übersetzung "the high place created" für k i š u - t a g - z a - n a - r u; für eine andere Deutung dieses Passus s. *SGL* II 74, Anm. 42).

z a - n a - r u findet sich ferner in *z a - n a -

ru = ^diš-tar šá mātāte, "Ištar aller Länder (CT XXIV, Tf. 41, Z. 75); in CT XXV, Tf. 30, K.2109 Rs. i 15, ^dzannarū [^dINNIN], ist leider die akkadische Wiedergabe nicht erhalten. Die Wiedergabe von ^dza-na-ru durch ^dištar ša mātāte zeigt, dass die Bedeutung dieses Epithets der Göttin Inanna-Ištar den babylonischen Auslegern der Götterliste An = Anum unbekannt war.

Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, dass ^dza-na-ru mit giš-IN[NIN], "das (Musik)instrument der Inanna," in Hh. VIIB 81 zu verbinden ist. In hetitischen Texten ist ein giš-^dINNIN belegt; dieses Musikinstrument der Göttin Inanna entspricht dem proto-hattischen zinar, das mit za-na-ru = zannaru identisch ist (s. MSL VI 123, Z. 81 mit Anm. dazu). Einen Kontextbeleg für ^dza-na-ru bietet K.9955 + Rm. 613 (s. AfK I 22 und RA XXVI 24) ii 16: ^[d][z a] - n a - r u telīyatu [...], "die geschickte za-na-ru(-spielende) Göttin, [...]" (mit Bezug auf Ištar).

K. Tallqvist (StOr VII 483) übersetzte ^dza-na-ru (= Ištar) mit "die Oberste"; J. van Dijk (SGL II 74, Anm. 42) schlägt für za-na-

ru eine Bedeutung "klug" oder "Klugheit" vor (den oben zitierten Passus aus Tempellied Nr. 14:183, za-na-ru-ba šu-tag-ga, gibt J. van Dijk in SGL II 73 mit "mit... geschmückt" wieder; er liest za-na-ru). Tallqvists Übersetzung von ^dza-na-ru als "oberst" stützt sich wahrscheinlich auf ŠL II 586, 31, za-na-ru-pi = elīt uzni (= Nabintu L 177). Zu za-na-ru-pi (und za-na-pi) = elīt uzni siehe CAD IV 99 und AHw. S. 202, s.v. elītu in elīt uzni, "outer part of the ear," "äusseres Ohr." (Der Text Montserrat 502: 16 f., in CAD IV 99 zitiert, ist auch 'za'-na-pi-mu = elīt uzniya zu lesen; von M. Civil auf Photo kollationiert.) za-na-ru-pi = elīt uzni ist sicherlich mit dem hier besprochenen za-na-ru-Instrument zu verbinden (der Wechsel von za-na-ru-pi und za-na-pi ist allerdings schwierig zu erklären): die Gleichung za-na-ru-pi = elīt uzni deutet darauf hin, dass die Ohrmuschel einer charakteristischen Form des za-na-ru-Instruments ähnlich war. Eine Ansetzung za-na-ru = elītu, "Oberes," ist daher m. E. ausgeschlossen.

n í - s è - s è und s à - s è - s è = šummu

Neben der Gleichung šá-sè-sè-ga = šummu (Igidu short version, Z. 82; Lu Excerpt II 79; s. CAD XVI 92, s.v. šamāru lex. sect.) ist auch n í - s è - s è - g e und s á - s è - s è - g e bezeugt: CT XLII, Nr. 42 a ii 8 (mit Dupl.; Zwiegespräch zwischen Vogel und Fisch), u₄-bi-a ku₆-e mušen-ra n í im-sè-sè-ge (akk. Übersetzung ú-ša-mar; wie mir M. Civil mitgeteilt hat, bietet eine Variante s á statt n í), "an diesem Tag macht der Fisch Anschläge gegen der Vogel." (Dieser Passus ist in CAD XVI 92 zitiert.) In CAD XVI nachzutragen ist Sumer XIII 77, Pl. 5, Z. 5-6: du₁₀-ba d (mit Glosse du-ba-a d) du₁₀(?) ka š₄ [(x) n] í - s è - s è - g e s á i m - d è ^di n a n n a z a - k a m = pí-it pu-ri-di-im li-si-

im bi-ir-ki-im šú(!)-mu-rum ù ka-ša-du-um ku-ma eštar.

Folgende Belege aus sumerischen Texten sind uns bekannt: Inanna und Epih, Z. 5 (= Kramer, SLTN, Nr. 13:5 = PBS X 4, Nr. 9:5 = UET VI, Nr. 12:5 = STVC, Nr. 42:5 und unpubl. Texte), nin-gal ^di n a n n a š e n - š e n - n a s á - s è - s è - k e (Var. -ga(?) für -ke in UET VI, Nr. 12:5) gal-zu, "grosse Herrin Inanna, die es im Kampf versteht, ihren Plan durchzusetzen," und Tempellied Nr. 20:257-58, u r - s a g n a m - e n - n a s á - s è - s è - k e n a m - l u g a l - l a ù - m a g u b - g u b - b u, "der Krieger (Ningirsu), der als 'Herr' seinen Plan durchsetzt, der als König seinen Triumph erreicht."

kur-ku, ku-kur, "Flut," und kur-ku (kurku = KA.AN.NI.SI),
"Wunsch," "Ruhm," "Triumph," "(sich) rühmen(?)"

1. kur-ku als ein Wort für "Flut" ist in Proto-Izi 368-74 (von M. Civil rekonstruiert) bezeugt: I^a-gu-úZI, I^{pe}-en-zu-rumZI, I^{si}-ru-úZI, i-z i

(I.ZI) - h u - l u h - h a, a - m i, EN, kur-ku (Var. k u₁₀ - k u₁₀).

AHw. S. 17, s.v. agû I, "Tiara," "Krone," und

CAD I 157, s.v. *agû* B, "Flut," zitieren Antagal F 60 [š e] -ku = *a-gu-ú*, ferner Nabnitu X 131 f. *a-mi-a*, *še-ku* = *a-gu-ú* MIN (= *pa-a-ši*). Da aber *agû páši* Sumer. *giš-aga-tù*n entspricht (s. CT XII, Tf. 40, Kol. ii 45 = Nabnitu X 130; CAD I 158, s.v. *agû* C, und AHw. s.v. *agû* I 3), ist *a-mi-a*, *še-ku* = *agû páši* ein Fehler für *agû*, "Flut" (vgl. CAD I 157, s.v. *agû* B lex. sect.). Wir lesen deshalb *a-mi-a*, *kur(!)-ku* = *agû*, "Flut," und ergänzen Antagal F 60 [kur]-ku. Zu *kur-ku* = *agû* s. auch CT XIX, Tf. 30, Z. 33-34: [kur]-ku *a-gu-ú*, [x]-kur-ku = [II te]-bu-ú (auf Photo kollationiert).

Literarische Belege für *kur-ku*, "Flut," sind PBS XII, Nr. 40:4 (mit unpublizierten Duplikattexten): *ab-súr zi-ga kur-ku íl-la a-rá-bi lú nu-zu*, "zorniges Meer, das sich erhebt, Flut, die sich hoch hebt, deren Weg niemand kennt" (Ekur).

Die Schreibung *kur-ku* findet sich ausser in PBS XII, Nr. 40:4, auch in unpublizierten Texten (3NT 751, 3NT 919, 3NT 457, Ni.9879); der ebenfalls unpublizierte Text 3NT 725 schreibt aber *kur-kur* statt *kur-ku*.

Enki und die Weltordnung, Z. 303: *i-zi-ḥu-lu ḥ(!)-ḥa kur-ku-ab-ba [. . .] x [. . .]*, "die erschreckende Flut, die Flut des Meeres . . ." (als Epitheta der Göttin Nanše);

TCL XVI, Nr. 48:71 = Nr. 91 Rs. 9 = UET VI, Nr. 86:15 = PBS XIII, Nr. 21:7: *lugal m è-š è ku-kur-du₇-da-me-en*, "der König, der in die Schlacht (wie) eine tobende Flut (eilt), bin ich (= Lipitištar)."

Hierher gehört auch CT XII, Tf. 33 a Kol. ii 6 || b 7, *kur-ku* = *na-ka-pu šá a-mi-e*, wo *a-mi-e* eine ungewöhnliche Schreibung für *agê* (*agû*), "Flut," ist. Zu *du₇* (-*du₇*) = *nakāpu* in Verbindung mit "Flut" s. JCS I 10, Z. 42, *a-mi-a-gul-gul-dam* mit Var. (a) *a-mi-du₇-du₇-e*; CT XVI, Tf. 12, Kol. i 24 f.; OECT VI, Tf. 10, Z. 9 f.; CT XVII, Tf. 21, Kol. ii 102 f.; BA X 1, S. 109, Rs. 1 f.; SBH, Nr. 28 Rs. 15.

Schliesslich sei auf UM 29-13-609 (unpubl.) Z. 25 hingewiesen: *má-gur₈-ma ḥa-kur-ru₅-a*, wo *ku-kur* mit dem hier besprochenen Wort *kur-ku*, "Flut," identisch ist.

2a. *kur-ku* = *nizmatu*, "Wunsch," "Ver-

langen," "Begehren," "Ruhm," "Triumph"; s. A. Poebel, AS Nr. 14, S. 88 f., zum Ausdruck *šà-kur-ku-da* = *nizmat libbi*; s. auch RA XVII 133, K.4165 Rs. 7, *ka-šà-kur-ku* = *nizmatu*; CT XIX, Tf. 12, K.11394:7-8 (Nabnitu): *kur-ku* = *x[. . .]*, *ka-kur-ku* = *x[. . .]*. (S. Nachtrag.)

kur-ku im Sinne von *nizmatu* steht ferner in Enki und die Weltordnung, Z. 60 = Z. 86: *en-ki lugal-ab-zu-ke₄ ní-gal-na kur-ku sá zi-dè-eš na-e*. Für diese Zeile verweisen S. N. Kramer und I. Bernhardt, WZJ IX 253, Anm. 120, auf Poebels Ausführungen in AS Nr. 14, S. 88, zu *šà-kur-ku-da* = *nizmat libbi*; der Ansicht Kramers nach scheint aber *kur-ku* = *nizmatu* nicht in den Kontext zu passen. A. Falkenstein, ZA LVI 56 f., liest *ní-gal-na-kur.ku silim zidè-eš na-e* ("Enki, der Herr des Abzu, suchte grossen Schrecken zu gewinnen, preist sich selbst gebühlich") und deutet (im Anschluss an SRT, Nr. 6 iii 9 = Nr. 7:30) *silim-e* als Einleitung zur anschliessenden direkten Rede. Wir deuten aber *sá-e* im Sinne von *kašādu*: *kur-ku sá-e* entspricht *nizmata kašādu*, einem Ausdruck, der fast parallel zu *ù-ma sá-sá* (*sá-du₁₁*) = *irnitta kašādu* ist (s. CAD VII 178 f., s.v. *irnittu*; ZA LIV 66 mit Anm. 32 und 33). Eine Bedeutung "seinen Wunsch erreichen" (oder "sich preisen") in Enki und die Weltordnung, Z. 60 = Z. 86, passt m. E. sehr gut in den Zusammenhang.

2b. Für *kur-ku*, *KA.AN.NI.SI* = *kurku* sind uns folgende Belege bekannt:

Enki und die Weltordnung, Z. 403: *an-e ḥé-em-ma-gub KA.AN.NI.SI.A ḥé-em-ma-ab-bé*, "sie (= Nininsina) trat zu An, sprach (ihren) Wunsch aus";

Tempellied Nr. 26:319-20 (CBS 19767 Rs. vi 25 f. = STVC, Nr. 48 i 7 f. = CBS 13608:11 f. = UET VI, Nr. 112 Rs. 5 f. = UET VI, Nr. 113 Kol. x + 2:11 f.): *KA.AN.NI.SI(A) ad mi-ni-in-pà unú-zi-zu nu-gig-ge KA.AN.NI.SI(A) ma-ra-ni-in-ri*, "sie (= Inanna) hat dort (ihren) Wunsch ausgesprochen, deinem guten 'Heiligtum' hat die Hierodule für dich (ihren) Wunsch . . ."

Statt *KA.AN.NI.SI.A* in Z. 319 hat UET VI, Nr. 112 Rs. 5, am Rande die Glosse *ku-ur-ku*; statt *KA.AN.NI.SI.A* in Z. 320 schreibt UET

VI, Nr. 112 Rs. 7, *kur-ku*. Dadurch ist eine Lesung *kur-ku* (*kurku*) = *KA.AN.NI.SI* (.A) gesichert.

Tempellied Nr. 30:391 (CBS 7073 Rs. ii = CBS 19767 Rs. vii 29 = *STVC*, Nr. 48 ii 18 = *UET* VI, Nr. 113 Rs. Kol. x + 3:18): *KA.AN.NI.SI* (.A) *imin-e ad* [*mi-ni-in-pà*], "(Nininsina) hat dort die 'sieben' Wünsche ausgesprochen." Tempellied Nr. 16:202 (CBS 7073 Vs. iv = CBS 19767 iv 27): *KA.AN.NI.SI-imin-e igi-gál* (von Inannas Tempel in Uruk gesagt). Auffallend ist die Verbindung mit *igi-gál*, "sehen" (zu den "sieben Wünschen" s. ferner unter 2e).

Tempellied Nr. 16:206: *mùš KA.AN.NI.SI za-gìn (-na) ušumgal-nigìn-garra* (Epitheta der Göttin Inanna). *KA.AN.NI.SI* als Epithet der Inanna hat eine Parallele in *KA.AN.NI.SI* (wahrscheinlich mit Lesung *kurku*) = *istarān*, "der Gott Istaran" (s. unter 2e).

In unvollständigem Zusammenhang steht *KA.AN.NI.SI.A* in *HAV*, Tf. 20, Nr. 16 Vs. 8: *den-líl ʹnin-líl-bi KA.AN.NI.SI.A ḥé-muni-...*

2c. Zusammen mit dem Verbum *si-il* steht *KA.AN.NI.SI* in *Belleten* XVII, Tf. LXIII, Ni.9801 iii 19 (Kopie auch in *UMB* XVII 2, S. 24): *KA.AN.NI.SI-gim íb-ba si-il-la-za u₄-gim íb-ra-ra* (Subj. Inanna); Inanna und Epiḥ, Z. 143 (*TuM* NF III, Nr. 3 Vs. 6 = *PBS* XII, Nr. 47 Rs. ii 5): *KA-gal KA.AN.NI.SI-gim mu-un-si-il-e* (Var. *gù-an-na-si-a-g* [i m]; zur Lesung *gù-an-né-si* s. sofort unten und unter 2e); Lugale I 11 (alte Version, Kramer, *SLTN*, Nr. 7 i 11 mit Dupl.): *muš-e-eš eme è-dè KA.KA.AN.NI.SI-šè* (Var. -še) *si-il-lá*. Die späte Version bietet aber *kur-kur s* [i-il-lá] = *mušattir šadê*, "der die Bergländer aufreisst," statt *KA.KA.AN.NI.SI-šè si-il-lá*.

Hierher gehört auch Gudea Zylinder A ii 6: *i₇-dè ḥúl-la-e kur-ku₄ ì-si-il-e*.

Dieser Passus aus den Gudea Zylindern zeigt, dass neben einer Lesung *gù-an-né-si* (beachte die Var. *gù-an-na-si-a* in Inanna und Epiḥ, Z. 143) auch *kurku* (= *KA.AN.NI.SI*) möglich ist. Zu *KA.KA.AN.NI.SI* in Lugale I 11 (alte Version) vgl. *CT* XIX, Tf.

12, K.11394:8: *KA-kur-ku* = *x*[...] (oben zitiert).

Die eben angeführten Belegstellen für *KA.AN.NI.SI* (*kur-ku₄*) *si-il* sind schwierig zu übersetzen.³ Es unterliegt wohl aber keinem Zweifel, dass *KA.AN.NI.SI* und *kur-ku₄* dasselbe Wort ist wie das unter 2a und 2b. Es soll jedoch betont werden, dass die akkadische Wiedergabe *nizmatu* den sumerischen Ausdruck *kurku* nicht deckt.

2d. Ausser in Gudea Zylinder A ii 6 *kur-ku₄ ì-si-il-e* findet sich *kur-ku₄* in Gudea Zylinder A xx 17-18: *ama-lagaša^k i kù-^dg á-tùm-du₁₀-ge sig₄-bi kur-ku₄-a mu-ni-tu*, "die Mutter von Lagaš, die heilige Gatumdug, formte... den Ziegel." *kur-ku₄-a* etwa "(ihrem) Wunsch nach." Gudea Zylinder B ix 19, *é KA-kur-kur-ku₄ sá-da*, ist unklar. Wörtlich meint *KA-kur-kur-ku₄ sá* "... Wort(e) erreichen"; *kur-ku₄ sá* = *nizmata kašādu*.

kur-ku₄ erscheint ferner in L. Legrain, *Le temps des rois d'Ur*, Nr. 49:5, *gu₄-niga é-e nì-sum-ma kur-ku*, und in AO 5513 ii (see Landsberger, *Kult. Kalender*, S. 39) *siskur-kur-ku₄*. Was mit einem Opfer, das als *kur-ku₄* bezeichnet wird, gemeint ist, bleibt vorläufig unklar.

2e. *KA.AN.NI.SI* ist ferner belegt in *ama-*

³ Das Verbum *si-il* ist nicht eindeutig. In Verbindung mit *KA.AN.NI.SI* (*gù-an-né-si*), *kur-ku₄* möchte ich *si-il* als ein Verbum des Sagens od. dgl. deuten; siehe Nabnitu E 142f. *ka-ba, murúb-si-il = e-piš pi-i* (*CAD* VII 168, s.v. *ipšu* A lex. sect.; *AHw.* S. 385, s.v. *ipšu* 1); ferner *ka-tar-si-il = dalila dalālu*; Nungal, Z. 23 (*SEM*, Nr. 51 i 8 = *HAV*, Tf. 12, Nr. 10 Vs. 7, und unpublizierte Texte): **iš u-de-eš-bi muš-sag-KAL eme è-dè e-ne-PÀR si-il-si-il-dè* (Var.: *eme-e₁₁-dè; eme-min e₁₁-dè; si-il-dam*), "sein (des Ekur) Riegel ist eine...Schlange, die züngelt, die..."; derselbe Ausdruck in *SRT*, Nr. 6 i 34, *muš-ki-úš-a-gim e-ne-PÀR ì-si-il-e. e-ne-PÀR si-il(-si-il)*, bezieht sich wahrscheinlich auf das Zischen der Schlange. Wenn es zutrifft, bedeutet *muš-eme-si-il-lá* (= *šaršaru*, Hh XIV 30 = *MSL* VIII 2, S. 8) nicht "snake with forked tongue" (so *CAD* XVI 115, s.v. *šaršaru* C) sondern *si-il-lá* bezieht sich auf das Zischen der Schlange. Der unter 2c zitierte Passus aus Lugale I 11, *kur-kur s* [i-il-lá] = *mušattir šadê*, "der die Bergländer aufreisst," ist kein Beweis dafür, dass *si-il-lá* in der alten Version etwa "spalten" (= *šalātu*) bedeuten sollte; die junge Version hat *KA.KA.AN.NI.SI-šè si-il-lá* missverstanden. Insofern ist die junge Version von Bedeutung, als sie einen indirekten Beweis gibt, dass *KA.AN.NI.SI kurku* gelesen werden soll; *kurku* hat man dann als *kur-kur* verstanden.

KA.AN.NI.SI (a m a -KA.NI.SI); s. *SBH*, Nr. 48: 52 = 51:8, ^de n - á - n u n a m a -KA(.AN).NI.SI - k e₄, mit akk. Übersetzung *um-mi iš-ta-[ra-an]* in *SBH*, Nr. 50:21; *PBS* I 1, Nr. 5 Rs. 33, a m a -KA.AN.NI.SI - m è n; *VAS* II, Nr. 11 Rs. iii 1, ^de n - á - n u n a m a -KA.AN.NI.SI. Die Lesung a m a - k u r - k u ist durch *CT* XLII, Tf. 19, Z. 7, ^de n - á - n u n a m a -^dKA(!).NI.SI - m è n = *CT* XLII, Tf. 38, Z. 6, e n - n a - n u a m a - k u r - k u - m è n, und *PBS* X 2, Nr. 13 Vs. 2, e n - a - n u - u n k u - u r - k u - i m i n, gesichert (zu *kurku-imin* s. oben unter 2b: Tempellied Nr. 16:202 und Nr. 30:391). Siehe ferner *KAV*, Nr. 69:11: ^da m a -KA.AN.NI.SI; in *CT* XXIV, Tf. 47, Kol. i 22, wird derselbe Göttername ^da m a - k u KA.AN.SI geschrieben (vgl. F. R. Kraus in *JCS* III 76, Anm. 32). In *CT* XXIV, Tf. 21, K.4349D: 10 (s. dazu Kraus in *JCS* III 76 f.), hat [^de n - á - n u n = a m a - [KA.AN.NI.SI] die akk. Übersetzung [x] *iš-ta-ra-niš ša-su-u*, dessen Sinn aber dunkel bleibt. Hierher gehört auch *VAS* II, Nr. 4 i 33-34: e - g i k a - š a - <a n > - k u r ^{ur} - k u - k e₄ k a - š a - a n - k u r ^{ur} - k u - {RA} - k e₄.

Ich teile nicht E. Bergmanns Ansicht (*ZA* LVI 16 f.), dass in *ku-ur-ku*, *kur-ku* und *kur^{ur}-ku* eine syllabische Auflösung für *kur*, "Berg(land)," vorliegt, denn wie wäre dann die Schreibung *a m a -KA.AN.NI.SI* zu deuten?

Hierher gehört auch Proto-Diri 553-56:

[d i - m u] = KA.DÙG = *tēmum* (vgl. *ŠL* II 15, 289; *ZA* LIV 58, Anm. 15)

[.] = DUG₄.GA = *qibitum*

[.] = KA.AN.NI.SI = *iš-ta-ra-an* (Erg. wahrscheinlich [k u r - k u])

[.] = [KA.DI] = *iš-ta-ra-an*

[k u r - k u] = IŠIB.^dNISABA = [*išippum ša^dnisaba*] (Erg. nach Diri IV 69: k u r - k u = IŠIB.^dNISABA = *išip-pu ša^dnisaba*).⁴

Das Nebeneinander von *tēmum*, *qibitum* und *ištarān* in Proto-Diri 553 ff. zeigt m. E., dass wir

⁴ Vgl. Lu IV 21 [KA.A]N.NI.SI als Titel einer Priesterin (s. *CAD* VII 274 b 4, *ištarān*). Wie die beiden kultischen Titel *ku-ur-ku* = IŠIB.^dNISABA = *išippu ša^dnisaba*, "der Reinigungspriester der Göttin Nisaba," und KA.AN.NI.SI (eine Priesterin) zu erklären sind, bleibt unklar.

es auch hier mit *ku-ur-ku* = KA.AN.NI.SI im Sinne von *nizmatu* zu tun haben. Die Deutung von *iš-ta-ra-an* bereitet aber grosse Schwierigkeiten. *CAD* VII 274 b 4 deutet *ištarān* als (wörtlich) "the two goddesses"; es sei "perhaps the name of a goddess"; vgl. auch *AHw.* S. 399. "In the Proto-Diri ref., the second entry (KA.DI) is a variant or popular etymology of the name Sataran, god of Dēr. Possibly the first entry, as well as the other refs. where *ištarān* is equated with KA. a n . n i . s i , refers to another deity" (*CAD* VII 274 b 4). Es ist mir aber unverständlich, wie hinter *iš-ta-ra-an* zwei Gottheiten stecken könnten. Zu KA.AN.NI.SI als eine Bezeichnung für den Gott Ištaran⁵ vgl. Tempellied Nr. 16:206 (oben unter 2b zitiert), wo Inanna KA.AN.NI.SI genannt ist. KA.AN.NI.SI als etwa ein Epithet eines Gottes findet sich ferner in *CT* XLII, Tf. 3, Kol. v 2, ^dè r - r a - g a l KA.AN.NI.SI (g ù - a n - n é - s i) = *VAS* II, Nr. 11 Rs. iii 7, ^dè r - r a - g a l k ú - a - n u - s i - r a = *PBS* X 2, Nr. 13:7, e r - r a - g a - a l g u - s i - s a = *SBH*, Nr. 48:58, [^dè r] - r a - g a l g ú - á - n u - s á (vgl. *PBS* X 2, Nr. 13:6: ù - m u - u n - i - r i - g a - a l g u - s i - s a).⁶ In diesem Zusammenhang hat Bergmann in *ZA* LVI 23, auf *TCL* XV, Nr. 10:411, ^dk ù - a n - n é - s i (mit Glosse g ù - a - n u - [x?]), die Frau des Lugalgirra (*TCL* XV, Nr. 10:410) hingewiesen; sie erscheint auch in *CT* XXV, Tf. 6, Z. 17: ^dk ù (!) - a n - n é - s i. Beachte die Schreibung mit *k ù -*, die auch hier eine Lesung g ù - a n - n é - s i (= KA.AN.NI.SI) neben *kurku* (*ku-ur-ku*) bestätigt. Vgl. auch *CT* XXV, Tf. 4, Z. 25: KA^{su} - a - n u - s i (= Ereškigal). Trotz der Schreibung ^dg ú - a n - n é - s i - i [l] (= Ninurta; *CT* XXV, Tf. 13, Z. 35) und ^dg ú - a n - n é - s i - í l (= ^du ra š) mit Glosse *gu-an-ni-si-il-la-ku* gehören diese beiden Götternamen hierher. Bergmann in *ZA* LVI 17, Anm. 23, deutet allerdings *g ú* als eine andere Schreibung für *g u₄* (S. 17 zitiert er auch *BE* XXX,

⁵ Es muss aber hervorgehoben werden, dass wir *a m a -KA.AN.NI.SI - k e₄* = *ummi iš-ta-[ra-an]* kaum als "die Mutter des Ištaran" übersetzen können. (Beachte, dass in *CT* XLII, Tf. 19, Z. 7, KA.NI.SI mit dem Determinativ ^dingir steht.)

⁶ Beachte die Schreibung *k ú -* in *VAS* II, Nr. 11 Rs. iii 7. *g ú - á - n u - s á* und *g u - s i - s a* (= *g ú - s i - s á*; s. Bergmann in *ZA* LVI 22) sind m. E. fehlerhafte Volksetymologien oder nicht zutreffende Deutungen von *g ù - a n - n é - s i*.

Nr. 1 i 21, [x KA-a n-n é-s i-x-m u, das sicher, entgegen seine Deutung, zu dem hier besprochenen KA.AN.NI.SI gehört). Zu g ú-a n-n é-s i-i l (= KA-a n-n é s i-i l) vgl. oben unter 2c, KA.AN.NI.SI s i-i l.

2f. k u r-k u als Verbum ist in *SRT*, Nr. 21 i 10 (mit Dupl.) belegt: [d n i n]-u r t a d u m u-^en-l í l-l á-k e₄ i n-t i b í-i b-k u r-k u (= Lugale XIII 15); die junge Version hat á š à m-m i-n i-í [b-s a r-r e], "er [verflucht] ihn" (s. Nachtrag).

2g. OB Lu Part 20 II 7-11 (Text Jena; unpubl.):

l ú-n a m-k u₅-d u = er-re-r[u-ú], "einer, der verflucht"

l ú-n a m-k u₅-d u = ta-mu-[ú]

l ú-k u r-k u = mu-ta-x-[x]

l ú-KA-m u d-g á l = mu-ta-x-[x]

l ú-á š-b a l-b a l = er-re-r[u-ú].

Leider ist in Z. 9 die akkadische Wiedergabe von l ú-k u r-k u nicht mit Sicherheit zu lesen. Das Zeichen nach mu-ta-könnte (nach Photo) -a[l]- sein und die Ergänzung dann vielleicht mu-ta-a[l-lum], "stolz," "edel"; mutallu entspricht aber sonst Sumer. g i r i_x-z a l (s. ZA LV 1 ff.). Da l ú-k u r-k u hier zusammen mit errêrú (Z. 7 und 11) vorkommt, wäre eine Bedeutung "derjenige, der verflucht" möglich (vgl. vielleicht oben unter 2f); ich möchte aber lieber l ú-k u r-k u mit l ú-KA-m u d-g á l (Z. 10), "derjenige, der das Wort (KA = i n i m) entstehen lässt" verbinden (s. SGL II 114); allerdings ist diese Übersetzung etwas blass. l ú-k u r-k u bedeutet etwa "derjenige, der seinen Wunsch erreicht."

2h. k u r-k u mit akkadischer Übersetzung qūlu ist in *CT XVI*, Tf. 42, Z. 6-7, bezeugt: [. . .]-r a k u r-k u g a r-r a-m e-e [š] = x[. . .]-e-ti q u-l a i-n a m-d u-ú š ú-n u. Zu qūla nadū s. Šurpu VII 17: k i-š à-d i b-b a-d i n g i r-r e-e-n e-k e₄ e-n e-n e-n e s a g-s u m-m u s i l i g-s i l i g-g [a-a-m e š] = a-š a r k i-m i l-t i D I N G I R š ú-n u i-ḫ i-i š-š u-m a q u-l a i-n a [m-d u-u].

Nachtrag. k u r-k u = k u r-k u, siehe oben unter k u r-k u 1. "Flut" mit Hinweis auf *TCL XVI*, Nr. 91 Rs. 9, mit Dupl. k u-

k u r (= k u r-k u) und *UM 29-13-609:25*. k u-k u r ist ferner in Kramer, *SLTN*, Nr. 85 Rs. 27-28, belegt: u r-s a g k u-k u r-d u g u d(?) g a b a-r i-b i-š è n u-è e n ^dn i n-E Z E N k u-k u r-d u g u d(?) g a b a-r i-b i-š è n u-è, "starker Krieger, schwere Flut, der niemand zu begegnen wagt, Herr, NINEZEN, schwere Flut, der niemand zu begegnen wagt."

k u-k u r ist auch in *PBS V*, Nr. 25 Rs. vi 6, belegt. Vorhergehende Zeile hat n i-m e-g a r (= qūlu, qultu, rīšātu; s. A. Falkenstein, *SGL I 75 f.*). k u-k u r ist deshalb wahrscheinlich im Sinne von qūlu zu verstehen (s. *CT XVI*, Tf. 42, Z. 6/7, k u r-k u = q u l u, "Schweigen"): k u-k u r = k u r-k u = K A. A N. A N. N I. S I.

CT XIX, Tf. 12, K.11394:1-8 (Fragm. 4, Nabnitu b 1-8; Z. 7-8 oben unter 2a zitiert) ist im Ms. im Oriental Institute folgendermassen ergänzt worden: s ú r = [š a m-r u], ḫ u š = [š a m-r u], d a-d a-s í g = š[i- . . .], ḫ a r = š[i-m e-r u], ḫ a r. G Í R = x[. . .], š e-z i-b i-b i-t u m = š[i-i m-r u], k u r-k u = x[. . .], K A-k u r-k u = x[. . .]. Da dieser Abschnitt diejenigen sumerischen Wörter behandelt, die als akkadische Äquivalente Wörter, die die Konsonanten š-m-r enthalten, scheint nur eine Ergänzung k u r-k u = š[itammuru], "verehren," "rühmen," in Frage zu kommen. Eine Parallele zu Enki und die Weltordnung, Z. 60 = Z. 86, bietet *UET VI*, Nr. 17 Rs. 2 (mit unpubl. Dupl.): [. . .] n i-ḫ u š-n a k u-k u r s á z i-d è-e š n a-e (Var. k u r-k u). S. ferner Laḫar und Ašnan Z. 128-29 (*UET VI*, Nr. 35 Vs. 2-3 = *SRT*, Nr. 41 Rs. 5-6, mit unpubl. Duplikattexten; M. Civils Ms.): m u š-g í r l ú-l a-g a (Var. l ú-l u l-l a-k e₄) n i-e d e n-n a-k e₄ z i-z u a n-e d e n-n a k u r-k u m u-n i-i b-b é (Var. k u-k u r m u-n i-i b-è; k u-k u r-k u), "die . . . Schlange (und) der Räuber, die in der Steppe leben, werden auf der Hochsteppe nach deinem Leben trachten."

k u r-k u als Verbum ist ferner belegt in *UET VI*, Nr. 13 Rs. 1-2 = Nr. 14 Vs. 1-2 = *PBS X 4*, Nr. 9 Rs. 24-25 (Inanna und Epih

50-51 = 109-10): *kur-rein-ti-mu*
h -kur-ku (Var. *-ku-kur*) *ebi^{ki}*
ka-tar-mu h -si-il-e, "das Bergland
 m ge meinen 'Weg' . . . , Epi^h m ge mich hul-
 digen," wo f r *kur-ku* (*ku-kur*) eine
 Bedeutung "r hmen" in Frage kommen k nnte.

kur-ku in *dug-kur-ku-d * (s.
UET III, Ind. S. 74), *dug-ku-kur-d *
(OECT I, Tf. 4, Z. 2, mit Dupl.), geh rt wohl
 kaum weder zu *kur-ku* (*ku-kur*),
 "Flut," noch zu *kurku* (*kukur*), "Be-
 gehren," "Wunsch."

ABOUT THE SUMERIAN VERB

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A Hair perhaps divides the False and True—
Yes; and a single Alif were the clue—
Could you but find it.

The Sumerian verb may be said¹ to consist generally of an invariant, the root, which carries the lexical meaning, and variables, affixes, which carry grammatical meanings and serve to modify the lexical meaning of the root according to a limited number of grammatical categories.

The variables, the affixes, consist in their turn of pronominal, nominal, and relater (i.e., case-mark or "postpositional") components of various kinds joined together in partitive parataxis as for example -n d a-, "with him," analyzable as -n.d (a).a-, "inside (.a) of forearm (.d a.) of him (-n.)."

They relate as wholes to the root in predicate (nexal) relations specified by their relaters (case-marks) much as the members of a sentence relate to the verb governing them.

¹ The field of Sumerian grammar is not one in which one can move with much confidence. The Sumerologist who examines his presuppositions knows only too well how many unknowns enter into his slightest decisions, how unproven, perhaps unprovable, are even his most fundamental assumptions about the writing and about the spoken forms it can and cannot symbolize; and he knows how subtly these endless assumptions differ from one scholar to the next. The suggestions about the Sumerian verb which we present here can thus be no more than subjective guesswork. We have tried, however, to make educated guesses and to guess systematically. We have also sought to collect pregnant examples showing distinctive contrasts or variations in the hope that these examples may continue to be useful even if our guess from them should prove to be wrong. The compass of the article precludes any attempt at detailed correlation with other views; we assume that the reader will be familiar with the large and valuable literature on Sumerian grammar so that he will be able to judge for himself where we follow and where we depart from earlier results. Our debt to Thureau-Dangin and Poebel is manifest on almost every page, as is our debt to Benno Landsberger, to whom this volume is dedicated. We should have wished to offer to this master of the profound and unerring insight the sure decisive solution, a contribution less fraught with uncertainties, but we thought we could honor him best by honoring a promise made, as it were, under his aegis, the promise in *MSL IV 2* to attempt a study of the structure of the Sumerian verb.

They stand as wholes to one another in conjunctive parataxis and thus constitute a series of modifiers of the root joined, as it were, by "and."

They follow one another in the form according to a fixed order of rank² much as the members of

² In Sumerian, as in other languages, elements that go to make up a form may be seen to follow one another in the form according to a fixed order of rank. Such an order, embracing as it does the constitutive elements of all occurring forms, clearly lays to hand a valuable framework for morphological analysis and classification, one not imposed upon the language from outside but inherent in its own structure.

Observing the extant forms we may distinguish as rank prefix 1 (Pr. 1) all elements found to occur immediately before the root only, as rank Pr. 2 all elements found to occur immediately before the root or before an element of rank Pr. 1 only, as rank Pr. 3 all elements found to occur immediately before the root or before elements of rank Pr. 1 or Pr. 2 only, and so forth. Correspondingly we may distinguish as rank suffix 1 (Su. 1) all elements found to occur immediately after the root only, as rank Su. 2 all elements found to occur immediately after the root or after an element of rank Su. 1 only, and so forth (cf. Gleason, *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics* [New York, 1955] pp. 112 ff.).

It follows from the principles on which the rank classes have been distinguished that two elements belonging to the same rank can never occur together in a form; they are potential substitutes, "replacives" of one another, and so mutually exclusive.

It also follows that as the elements in a rank class are potential replacives of one another so will the meanings which they carry likewise be capable of replacing one another; and since a term can meaningfully replace another in a context only if it is relevant—not if it is irrelevant—the meanings of the elements in a rank class can be assumed to have a common relevance. This forms them into a class with the term of their common relevance constituting the class meaning.

The degree of certainty with which an underlying rank order can be recovered will clearly depend in large measure on how representative is the corpus of forms available for comparison. If the corpus is incomplete it may lack forms that would distinguish adjoining rank classes, and these classes may accordingly appear coalesced in the reconstruction. This is not a serious drawback, especially since the presence of two different class meanings in the thus coalesced rank will often furnish a clue that two separate ranks are involved. More serious is the fact that the distinction of two ranks may often rest on a few

a sentence follow one another in syntactical order only theirs is a morphological, fixed, order, a frozen syntax as it were.

They may be grouped into prefixes, such as precede the root in narrative forms of the verb, and suffixes, such as follow it. The prefixes can

be further subdivided into (1) profixes, that is, affixes that must begin the form in which they occur, (2) prefixes in the narrower sense, that is, affixes that may begin the form but do not have to do so, and (3) infixes, that is, affixes that cannot begin the form.

PROFIXES (Pr. 28)

The profixes must always begin the form in which they occur. Functionally they may be said to parallel modal sentence adverbs. They appear to convey will in the speaker to realize the event presented, but the kind of realization the speaker has in view can be either external realization in the outside world (injunctive use) or internal realization in the mind of the addressee (assertive use). The realization, further, may be ex-

pected to follow from the speaker's injunction or assertion simply, or it may be enjoined or asserted as outcome of other will. Besides this dimension of will to realization the profixes show another dimension, that of reality of the event. The reality can be affirmed, presumed, or negated. Diagrammatically the profixes may therefore be arranged according to the dimensions of will to realization and degree of reality as follows:

	INJUNCTIVE		ASSERTIVE	
	Simple	Of Outside Will	Of Outside Will	Simple
AFFIRMATIVE	Imperative √	Jussive d e/ _{a, u}	Contrapuntive š i/ _{a, u}	Indicative #
PRESUMPTIVE	Cohortative g a/ _{i, u}	Optative h e/ _{a, u}	Presumptive volitive n e/ _a	Presumptive negative l i/ _a
NEGATIVE	Frustrative n u š	Vetitive n a	Nolitive b a r a	Negative n u

It may be noted that the dividing line between injunctive and assertive is not a sharp one; h e- and n a- may both be used also assertively to express mere potentiality, and b a r a- can be used also injunctively with prohibitive force.

The presumptive, which stands midway between affirmative and negative, seems to indicate a degree of uncertainty in the speaker. In the injunctives this uncertainty seems due to clearly felt dependence on other will: in the cohortative on the will of the addressee, in the optative on outside will or simply on fate. In the assertives the uncertainty is rather about the data asserted as not open to direct experience by the speaker: state of mind in the subject (n a-) or negation

of matters outside the speaker's here and now, in the b areas (l i/_a).

In detail the profixes are the following.

AFFIRMATIVE

√-, the punctive root, mark of imperative, "do," as for example é - z u k a l a - g a - a b, "strengthen (k a l a g - a - b) your house" (Code of Lipiteshtar xiii 27). When the root moves to profix position from its normal place behind the infixes it gives the form imperative character as a demand for realization of the event it denotes. In profix position the root is incompatible with the prefix i/e- and with the stem-suffixes -e d- and -e-. The form which it introduces is a virtual second person but has overt mark of subject only in the plural (-e n)z e n). Only punctive roots can occur in profix position.

-d e/_{a, u}, jussive, "be it that," as for example u k ù ḡ á m a r - m a - a n - z é - e n í r - r a d a - m a r - r e - e n : ni-ši li-hi-šá-

forms or even a single form which may be open to doubt. In such cases we have on the whole tended to give credence to the evidence if it did not conflict with other known data, preferring to err on the side of overdifferentiation rather than on that of oversimplification.

Our reconstruction of the rank classes of the Sumerian verb is presented as a whole in the table on p. 102.

nim-ma tak-rib-tú liš-ša-kin, "People, hurry hither! Be it that I set up (d a - a - m a r - e n) a lament" (*SBH*, p. 31, lines 18 f.); *du₃-m u - u₃-š i - d u*, "O be it that you might march against me" (Kramer, *From the Tablets of Sumer* [Indian Hills, Colorado, 1956] Fig. 76, line 5). The element *de-* seems to enjoin—in semi-incantatory manner—the event itself to come into being, which explains the Akkadian preference for rendering it by a third neuter optative passive (for other examples see *GSG* § 666). It varies in use with *ga-*, "let me," and *he-*, "may" (cf. *GSG* §§ 651 and 666), and is predominantly found in Emesal context.

-š i/a, u, contrapuntive, "correspondingly," "he on his part," as for example [*u m u n í b - b a*]-*na a n m u - u n - d a - u r - u r* "Iškur súr-ra-na ki š i - i n - g a - t u k t u k", "the heavens tremble before the lord in his wrath, the earth on its part also shakes (š i - n . g a - t u k t u k) at Iškur in his raging" (IV R 28, No. 2:8 and 11). The prefix *š i-* indicates that the speaker presents the occurrence denoted by the verb as a parallel, corresponding, counterpart occurrence to something else.³

#, indicative. Absence of other prefix, zero-prefix, indicates indicative, statement of positive fact.

PRESUMPTIVE

ga/i, u, cohortative, "let me/us," as for example *ga - m u - r a - a b - d í m* : *lu-pu-ša-ku-um*, "let me make for thee (*ga - m u - r a - b - d í m*)" (*MSL* IV 71, line 90). The element gives the form the character of a plea for assent to an activity; it is incompatible with the prefix *i/e-* and with the stem-suffixes *-ed-* and *-e-*. The element also is incompatible with durative root. The form introduced by *ga-* is a virtual first person but has overt mark of subject only in the plural (*-(e n) d e n*). Its negative counterpart is *na-* of the vetitive.

he/a, u, optative, "may," as for example *hé - í b - d í m - m e* : *li-pu-uš*, "may he make

(*he - b - d í m - e*)" (*MSL* IV 70, line 88). The prefix *he-* indicates a favorable attitude in the speaker toward realization of the occurrence denoted by the verb. The realization which the speaker has in mind may be external realization, and his commitment may range from will to, or wish for, the occurrence (optative: "may he") to permission for it (permissive: "he may") or mere allowance for it as a possibility (potentialis: "he may"), which approaches use as an assertive. The realization of the occurrence which the speaker has in mind may, however, also be inner realization in the addressee, the acceptance of it as real by him. In the latter usage as a strong assertive *he-* is incompatible with the stem-suffixes *-ed-* and *-e-*; as example of it in this use may serve *n í ġ - e r í m n í ġ - á - z i k a - g e h é - m i - g i*, "(words of) enmity and violence I verily barred (*he - m i - g i*) at the mouths (that wished to speak them)" (Code of Lipiteshtar xix 12-13). The negative counterpart of *he-* is *bara-*.

ne/a, presumptive volitive, "(he) of his own," "(he) decided to," as for example *ge š t u g - g a - n i n a - a n - g [u b]*, "she took it into her head to set (*na - a - n - g u b*) her heart upon (lit. 'her ear toward')" (Inanna's Descent, line 1). The prefix *ne₆/na-* appears to indicate that the speaker projects himself by empathy into the subject and presents the act from inside as urged by will or wish or whim.⁴

⁴The existence of a prefix *na-* of positive statement was conclusively demonstrated by Falkenstein in *ZA* XLVII (1942) 181-223. As for the specific force of this prefix it may be noted that the grammatical texts which may be assumed to refer to it render it by *šū* and *šūāti* (*á-A* IV₂, *MSL* IV 194, line 163, *na - a*: *NA: šu-u*; *ea* IV 105, *MSL* IV 194, *ne - e*: *NA: šu-ú*; *AO* 17602, *MSL* IV 130-47, lines 9-21, in series *u, a, i, e, ul, al, il, ša, ši, na, ba, ab, ta* rendered by *šū-ú ri-qu KI-TA* [mistake?] and in lines 22-34 by *šū-a-[ti] AN-TA MURU[?]-TA*). From these data it seems possible to conclude that *na-* varied in pronunciation toward *ne-*—possibly in differentiation from vetitive *na-*—and that it has 3rd-person reference to subject (*šū*) or object (*šūāti*). This seems confirmed in some measure by its etymology since it would appear to consist of a 3rd-person pronominal element *-n-*, "he," "she," "it" (?), and a relater *-a*, "in," "for." Since *na-* ranks with the prefixes, i.e., with modal elements expressing the attitude of the speaker (1st p.) to the occurrence he presents, it would seem that its 3rd-person reference must be seen as contrasting with the inherent 1st-person reference of the other members of the prefix category and one may as-

³The prefix has been discussed in detail by Falkenstein in *ZA* XLVIII (1944) 69-118 on the basis of an extensive collection of examples. We base our suggestion about the meaning of the prefix on the remarkable frequency with which two entities are found in counterpart relation with each other in these examples.

li/a, presumptive negative, "not." The prefix li/a- takes the place of the negation n u- with verbal forms that show the area prefixes bi- and ba-, which indicate occurrences in area other than the speaker's here and now. It may be assumed to denote the degree of uncertainty connected with statements of matters out of view of speaker and hearer.

sume transfer—by empathy of speaker with subject or object—from 1st- to 3rd-person attitude to the action.

As actually used (see Falkenstein's careful presentation of materials in ZA XLVII 181-223) n a-, "within him," seems to present an act not objectively, in itself, "he did," but subjectively, in its psychological matrix of impulse, inner urge, decision to act, in the subject, "he saw fit to do." The following examples may serve to illustrate.

Impulse: e-n-e nīg-dur-e pa na-a-n-ga-à-mi-in-è, "the lord saw fit not only (n-ga) to let the proper things appear" (*ibid.* E.8; on construction of n-ga see n. 6 below); Ê-an-na-túm-me gal na-ga-mu-zu, "Eannatum also saw fit to make it (i.e., the oath sworn by Umma) greatly known" (*ibid.* E.4). Following this statement we are told how Eannatum sends animals as messengers to the deity by whom Umma swore. Clearest is Stele of the Vultures xix 16-20: [. . . ^dNi]n-ġír-zu-ka-ka šu e-ma-né-ba suhur^{ku} saġ-šè ġin-ġin-ba Ê-an-na-túm-me ka a-tar-re, "[Two suhur-fishes in the boundary canal of Ningirsu he set free (saying): 'Suhur-fish, go ahead! Eannatum is publicizing it.' (At whosoever's command etc.)."]

Inner urge: a-ma-ni ul-la mí na-mu-un-e, "his (Nanna's) mother, delighted, felt urged to praise him as follows (durative)" (*ibid.* B.2); ku₆ mudur šu-na na(!)-mu-un-ġál me . . . , ku₆ e-sír ġír-na na-mu-un-si me . . . , ku₆ izi ab-šà-ga na-mu-un-zalag me . . . , "she (the goddess of fishes, Nanshe) sees fit (by inner urge of her piscine nature) to put a fish as scepter in her hand . . . , sees fit to put fishes as sandals on her feet . . . , sees fit to light fishes as fires (to light the way) in the midst of the sea . . ." (*ibid.* B.10). The reference in the last line appears to be to phosphorescence.

Various: min-na-ne-ne ki ^dEn-líl-lá-ta húl-la na m-[ta]-è, "in joy the two of them felt ready to come out from Enlil (having obtained their wish)" (*ibid.* A.31). At times the volitive element almost fades out as it does, e.g., in English "will" used as a helping verb. In such cases "saw fit to" shades into simple "happened to," as e.g. en-na We-du-um-li-bur ù Nin-^dUtu-mu na-a-n-ga-ti-la-ni igi-ni-šè l-gub-bu, "as long as Wedum-libur, and also Nin-Utu-mu, will live (i.e., has it in him to live, is up to living) she will serve him" (*ibid.* F.2).

Of interest is also MSL IV 163, lines 12-15, where na m-ga- is translated as MIN (i.e., *tu-šá-ma*), "apparently," *mi-in-di*, "surely," *ap-pu-na*, "moreover," and *pi-qá-at*, "no matter whether . . ." We do not know of any occurrence of na m-ga- in these meanings in any connected text, but it would seem that they represent a usage in which the presumptive force of n a- for empathic projection into the subject's feelings is used hesitantly.

n u š, frustrative, "were it but that," used to express unrealizable wish, as for example n u- u š- m a- d a- ġ á l- l a, "(my *pukku*) which I wish were here with me (n u š- m a- d a- ġ á l- a) (but which could not so be)."

n a, vetitive, "may not," as for example m a- d a- n a s u h u š- b i n a- a n- g e- n é, "may he/she (a deity) not fix firmly (n a- n- g e- n- e) into his land its supports (lit. 'its legs')" (Code of Lipiteshtar xx 46). The prefix n a- indicates unfavorable attitude in the speaker toward the realization of the occurrence denoted by the verb and gives to the form the character of a plea for concurrence in a wish for non-realization or in allowing for the possibility of non-realization. In the latter use it serves as a negative *potentialis*. As example may serve i- l u n a- á m- e r- r a, "the wailing that he may not come (n a- m- e r- a)" (CT XV, Pl. 26, line 1). The prefix n a- is the negative counterpart of the cohortative g a-; cf. g a- à m- m a- s i g- g e- e- n- d è- e- n, "let us smite" (g a- a- m. m a- s i g- e- e- n- d e- n), and the corresponding n a m- b a- s i g- g e- e- n- d è- e- n, "let us not smite" (n a- a- m. b a- s i g- e- e- n- d e- n), in Gilgamesh and Agga, lines 8 and 14 (AJA LIII [1949] 7).

bara, nolitive, "must not." The prefix bara- indicates unfavorable attitude in the speaker toward realization of the occurrence denoted by the verb. If the speaker has external realization in view bara- indicates will to non-realization, prohibition, and serves as a prohibitive. If the speaker has in view internal realization in the mind of the addressee bara- indicates will to the addressee not entertaining the notion and serves as assertion of non-fact; as such it is the negative counterpart of assertive h e/a, u- and is, as the latter, incompatible with the stem-suffixes -e d- and -e-. As examples may serve k i- s u r- r a ^dN i n- ġ í r- z u- k a- k e₄ b a- r a- m u- b a l- e, "(for vast eons) he (i.e., the Ummean) must not cross hither (b a r a- m u- b a l- e (d)) over the boundary of Ningirsu" (Stele of the Vultures, obv. xx 17-19); u d- u l- l í- a- t a l u g a l- l u g a l- e- n e- e r b a- r a- a n- d í m- m a ^dU t u- l u g a l- ġ á g a l- b i h u- m u- n a- d ù, "what since days of yore a king among the

kings verily had not fashioned (b a r a - n - d i m - a) I verily built in grand fashion for my master Utu."

n u, negative, "not," as for example d u m u n u - u n - š i - i n - t u - u d, "she bore not unto

him (n u - n . š i - n - t u d) a son" (Code of Lipiteshtar xvii 11). The profix n u - serves to state negative fact and is the negative counterpart of zero-profix, indicative, which serves to state positive fact.

PREFIXES

The prefixes can begin a form but do not have to do so. They would seem to denote various aspects of time and place under which the lexical meaning of the root is to be viewed, so that functionally they may be said to parallel adverbs of time and place. In form the prefixes seem to be composites of pronominal (explicit or merely understood), nominal, and relater elements joined in partitive parataxis. As pronominal—or perhaps better pronominal-adverbial—elements occur zero, n, l, m, and b; as nominal element occurs g; as relater or case-mark elements occur u, a, i/e, and zero. The reference of the pronominal-adverbial elements appears to be—in order of their occurrence in the form—to the subject (#), to preceding verbal action (n) or phrase of time (m), to following verbal action (#), and to various areas (m, b) and points (n, l).

The prefixes group into six successive ranks, three looking most nearly to time and three to place.

ASPECTS OF TIME

The aspects of time relate to the degree of persistence of the action in time or to its location in time relative to other actions referred to by the speaker.

ASPECT OF PERSISTENCE (Pr. 27)

The persistence prefixes form a single rank and serve to indicate the degree of persistence of the occurrence denoted by the verb, its effect, in the subject. In form they may be analyzed as composed of an understood pronominal element referring to the subject and a relater or case element.⁵

⁵ In *GSG* §§542–44, Poebel, abandoning his earlier view, suggested that the prefix a- is merely a phonetic variant (Umlaut) of i/e-. Since no phonetic reasons for such a change are apparent in the materials, however, and since the Old Babylonian grammatical texts list separate a- and i- paradigms with separate meanings (cf. e.g. *MSL* IV 82, lines 97–99 and 100–102), the autonomy of the prefix a- is hardly open to doubt. The prefix u- is attested in imperative forms such as ġ e n - n u, "come" (*VAS* II, No. 31 ii 20; *ASKT*, No. 17 obv. 22–23), g a - n u : *al-kam* (*KAR*, No. 111 obv. 3),

u, mark of limited persistence. The prefix is so far attested in a few imperative forms only,

g u r - u : *nashiramma* (*SBH*, No. 82:27–28), ġ a r - ù, "set up (lament)" (unpubl. CBS 8318 i. 5 ff. and dupl. Genouillac, *Kich* II, Pl. 49, D.53), ġ á l - l u, "open up" (Kramer, *SLTN*, No. 35 ii 11; Inanna's Descent, line 75, cf. line 76), 'ġ á' - n u - u [m - z] é - e n : *al-ka-a-nim* (*MSL* IV 91, line 96, etc.), and in u n - ġ á s - ù - b í - t a b : *li-iš-šip ap-pu-na* (Elev. of Inanna; *RA* XI [1914] 144–45, line 11 and elsewhere).

The ranking of these prefixes after the modal prefixes and before the prefix n - g a - is indicated by forms such as h é - a n - d u (*UET* III, No. 51; h é - a . . . also to be restored in *MSL* IV 88, 1e and 1f, on the basis of an unpublished duplicate from Ur as Landsberger kindly informs me), h é - a b - s á (*ITT* III, No. 5213), h é - a n - š i - d í b (*ITT* IV, No. 6900), h é - à m (*passim*) n u - a l - t í l (*passim*) n u - a n - n a - á ġ - e (*BE* III, No. 10:8), n u - š i - i n - g a - m a - n i - i b - t ú m (i.e., n u š - i - n . g a - m a - n i - b - t u m) (*AS* No. 12, p. 28, line 101) and by the occurrence of these elements in imperative forms, which shows that they must belong to a rank different from that of the imperative (profix) and following it. For rank before n - g a -, see for u- the form u n - ġ á s - ù - b í - t a b, for i/e- the form n u - š i - i n - g a - m a - n i - í b - t ú m quoted above, for a- a n - g a - k a l a (g), "is as mighty" (Barton, *MBI*, No. 3 i 24; cf. n. 6 below).

As for the grammatical meanings carried by the prefixes u-, a-, and i/e-, we must obviously look for clues to cases in which Akkadian translation varies consonantly with them. Such a case is the Sumerian preterit form which Akkadian regularly translates with a permansive if it is formed with a- prefix, with a preterit if it is formed with i/e- prefix. Cf. e.g. *MSL* IV 82, lines 97–99, a b - ġ a r : *ša-ki-in*, a - ġ a r : *šaknāku*, e - ġ a r : *šaknāta*, but lines 100–102 have i - ġ a r : *iš-ku-un*, i - ġ a r : *aškun*, i - ġ a r : *taškun*; *ibid.* p. 108, lines 105–7, s á a n - d u _{II} : *ka-ši-id*, s á - a - d u : *ka(-aš-da-ku)*, s á e - d u : *kašdāta*; *ibid.* p. 111, line 20, a n - g u b : *na-zu-uz*, but p. 112, line 26, has i - g u b : *iz-zi-iz* etc. From this difference of translation we may conclude that the prefix a- has a force similar to that of permansive, i.e., that it indicates that the action persists in, and lastingly conditions, the subject. A particularly clear Akkadian example is *alík harrana* in *Gilgamesh Epic Yale* vi 24, which denotes not only that Enkidu has traveled the road but that he remains conditioned by that experience, knows the road, "is traveled." In contrast, the i/e- prefix forms, rendered as simple preterits, imply no such lasting conditioning; this prefix merely indicates that the subject underwent the occurrence denoted by the verb, coming out of it much as he was when he went in.

If the a- prefix with preterit thus indicates persistence in the subject, conditioning of him by a *past* occurrence, it may be assumed that the a- prefix with present/future form indicates similar conditioning of the subject by a *coming* occurrence: inclination toward it, obligation toward it, being des-

for example $\bar{g} \acute{a} l - l u$, "open up without delay ($\bar{g} \acute{a} l - u$)" (Kramer, *SLTN*, No. 35 ii 11; Inanna's Descent, line 75, cf. line 76). The suggestion that it denotes limited persistence, that is, dominance of the occurrence and its effects over the subject for a limited span of time only, fits both the contexts in which the extant forms occur and the meaning pattern of the rank as a whole.

a, mark of persistence. The prefix a- presents the occurrence denoted by the verb as persisting in the subject, who is dominated and lastingly conditioned by it. Accordingly forms with a- denoting past action are regularly translated into Akkadian as permansives, not preterits, as for example in $a n - g u b : na-zu-uz$ (*MSL* IV 111, line 20), $a b - g u b : na-zu-uz$ (*ibid.* p. 112, line 25, but $\bar{i} - g u b : iz-zi-iz$ in line 26); similarly, clauses with a- forms are preferentially rendered in Akkadian by participles—implying persistent tendency—and not by preterit subjunctive, for example $*i\check{s}k a k u r_5 \check{s} \grave{a} - g a a n - d a - a b - l \acute{a} - \grave{a} m : u - \check{s} u mu - \check{s} a k - k i r lib - b i u ha - \check{s} e - e$, "the arrow, nailer of lung and heart (i.e., the arrow, which—since that action

timed to it. That this is actually the case may be seen from examples such as $a n - t a - b a l - e - d a$, "who shall be minded to cross over it (i.e., the boundary canal)" (Entemena Cone A vi 16), $a b - h a - l a m - m e - a : \check{s} a . . . u - s a - z a - k u - n i$, "who shall be minded to destroy it" (Rimus b 12; Hirsch in *AfO* XX [1963] 68, rev. xiv 24 and xiii 20), $m \acute{a} \check{s} - d \acute{a} b i - f b - s a r - r e b u r u_5 - a a b - z i - z i : \check{s} a - b i - t a \acute{u} - k a - a \check{s} - \check{s} a - a d e - r i - b a i - d i - i k - k i$, "he is (obliged) to chase off the gazelles, (obliged) to scare the crows up (off the field)" (*MSL* I, Tf. 4 i 31-34), $M a r - t u t a - \grave{a} m a n - d u_{12} - d u_{12} - u n$, "why am I (destined) to marry Martu" (*SEM*, No. 58 iv 30), $k i - g u b - b a - b i \grave{a} m - z u k u m - e - d \grave{e} : m a n z a s s u a k a b b a s$, "I (a captive goddess) was (destined) to tread his premises (i.e., to be taken to the enemy's place to work there as a slave)" (*K.41* ii 10'; *PSBA* XVII [1895] Pls. I-II).

The implication of conditioning of the subject by a coming occurrence, of being destined, makes it easy to understand that the a- prefix is the preferred prefix with imperatives since they impose just such compulsion on the subject: e.g. $\bar{g} e n - n a$ (i.e., $\bar{g} e n - a$), "Go!" I.e., "you are (obliged, destined) to go!" It also, in so far as conditioning of the subject by the occurrence implies inclination, bent toward realizing it, explains why Akkadian in the translating of clauses with verbs in the a- form shows a marked preference for rendering with participles. For the Akkadian participle typically presents an agent as prone or inclined to an activity (active participle) or as conditioned by an act (passive participle). Examples are $g i s - k a k u r_5 - \check{s} \grave{a} - g a a n - d a - a b - l \acute{a} - \acute{a} m : u - \check{s} u mu - \check{s} a k - k i r lib - b i u ha - \check{s} e - e$, "the arrow, nailer of liver to lung (i.e., the arrow, which is so conditioned that it nails . . .)" (Elev. of Inanna; *RA* XII [1915] 74-75, lines 1-2), $z a - e a b - t i - l a - [b i - m e - e n] : a t - t a - m a mu - b a l - l i t - [s i - n a]$,

persists in it and dominates it—nails lung to heart)" (*RA* XII 74-75, lines 1-2). In forms with a- denoting future action the characteristic aspect of inner conditioning and domination of the subject by a future act serves to express obligation or general inner urge to realization of the action, for example $a n - l \acute{a} - e : i - \check{s} a q - q a l$, "he has to pay (the value difference in an exchange)" (*MSL* I, Tf. 4 iv 47), $a n - t a - b a l - e - d a$, "who is minded to cross over" (Entemena Cone A vi 16). In imperative forms, finally, a- is the preferred choice of prefix. The preference is a natural one since the prefix presents the action as conditioning and compelling for the subject, for example $z i - g a : t i - b i$, "rise ($z i g - a$)!" (*MSL* IV 76, col. i 1), more precisely "you are/have to rise!"

Note that the a- prefix is never explicitly rendered before second person singular ergative infix -e- but is left understood.

i/e, mark of transitory, non-conditioning aspect. The prefix i/e- presents the occurrence denoted by the verb as touching on the subject without inwardly conditioning him in any last-

$z a - e a b - s i l i m - b i - [m e - e n] : a t - t a - m a mu - \check{s} a l - l i m - [s i - n a]$, "you are their reviver, you are their preserver" (*IV R* 29, No. 1 rev i 5-8), $e n - e u_4 - d a a l - t i - l a : a - d i u - u m b a l - \check{t} u$, "as long as he is living" (*IV R* 20, No. 2 rev. 7 f.), $d i n g i r n a m - k \grave{u} - z u - a n - d i m - m e - a : b a - n i n e - m e - q i - i m$, "(personal) god, creator of know-how (less colloquial term: 'effective knowledge')" (*LIH*, No. 99:16-17).

As for the structure of the prefixes u-, a-, i/e- it may plausibly be suggested that we are dealing with an understood pronominal element followed by case-mark (relater) -u of tangitive, a of illative, and e of allative. The referent of the understood pronominal element, since the prefixes indicate a degree of conditioning of the subject, may be assumed to be the subject. On this analysis we may then interpret the prefix a- as denoting "into," i.e., "inwardly affecting, the subject," and i/e- as "externally touching on, but not affecting or lastingly conditioning, the subject." For the case-mark (relater) -u we assume a middle value between -e, "externally adherent," and -a, "included," namely "internally adherent," "position on inside of border," and call the relation one of "tangitive." See, further, notes 7 and 13 below and cf. Louis Hjelmslev, *La catégorie des cas* ("Acta Jutlandica" VII 1 [1935]) pp. 127-36 (Système sublogique), esp. pp. 128 ff. As member of a prefix rank denoting the degree of conditioning of the subject by the action we assume—as indicated above in the text—that understood pronominal element plus -u denotes restricted, temporary, conditioning (approximately: "instantly, without delay"). It is hardly necessary to stress that the value thus assumed for -u is hypothetical. In its favor is its relevancy in terms of the Sumerian case system and the considerable degree of unity it gives to the use of u throughout the verb.

ing manner. Forms with i/e- prefix denoting past action are therefore regularly translated by Akkadian preterits. Imperatives, since they imply some degree of inner conditioning of the subject, are not formed with i/e-. As example may serve *tukum-bilú-ù gud in-huġ*, "if a man hired (i-n-huġ) an ox" (Code of Lipiteshtar xx 49-51).

ASPECT OF CONJUNCTIVITY (Pr. 26)

The prefixes of conjunctivity serve to link the action denoted by the verb to an action mentioned earlier.⁶

n-ga, mark of general conjunctivity, "also," for example *niġ-ġá-e-i-zu-a-mu za-e in-ga-e-zu*, "what I know you also know (i-n-ga-e-zu)" (CT XVII, Pl. 26, line 62).

m-ga, mark of specified contemporaneity, "at this (just specified) time," for example *ud-5-ud-10-àm ba-zal-la-ba lugal-mu-i-si-iš Ki-en-gi-ra-ke₄ sá(!) nam-ga-mu-ni-ib-du₁₁*, "when five to ten days had passed, at this time (-m.ga) did the tears of Shumer happen (or 'see fit') to (n-a-) reach my king" (PBS X 2, No. 6 rev. i 16-20).

ASPECT OF PREVIOUSNESS (Pr. 25)

The prefix of previousness marks the occurrence denoted by the verb as previous and pre-conditioned to a subsequently stated occurrence.

⁶ Since Sumerian does not seem to have had initial consonantal clusters, it may be assumed that the sonors *n* and *m* of *n-ga* and *m-ga* were syllabic in nature and could begin a form. The existence of a syllabic *n* in Sumerian is suggested by variation between *ni/ñ* and *in* in the writing of the initial syllable of the city name Isin, presumably pronounced *ñsin*, and writings such as *-ni-in-i*, *...n-ne-i...*, and *e-en* for *ne* discussed below in n. 12 (end). Syllabic *m* may be suspected to underlie the writing *im*, contrasting with *i-im-* in the paradigm of *alākum* in *MSL* IV.

As for the use of *n-ga*, it may be noted that the pronominal element *n-* can refer, it would seem, to following as well as to preceding verb. The pattern *-n.ga-√₁...-n.ga-√₂...√₃* denotes "not only $\sqrt{1}$ and $\sqrt{2}$ but $\sqrt{3}$." As example may serve *lugal-mu za-gin_x a-ba an-ga-kalag a-ba an-ga-a-da-sá a-ba za-gin_x ša-ta ġeš-túg-pi-ga šu-daġal mu-ni-in-du₁₁*, "O my king, not only who is (as) mighty as you, and who rivals you, but who is from (mother's) womb (as) liberally endowed with intelligence as you?" (Barton, *MBI*, No. 3 (and TRS 13) i 22-27 and *passim*). Other examples of this construction are found at the beginning of the Myth of the Creation of the Pickax (cf. n. 4 above) and in the Kesh Hymn (*OECT* I, Pl. 42, lines 18-20 and *passim*).

u/a, i, mark of previousness, "when... (then)," for example *lú é a-ba-sun ù-un-dù mu-sar-ra-bi... ki-gub-ba-bi nu-ub-da-ab-kúr-re-a*, "the man who, when the house has grown old and he has rebuilt it does not change the place of its inscriptions..." (*UET* I, Pls. K and L, lines 26 ff.). The prefix occurs in the form *a-* before the prefix *ba-*, in the form *i-* before the prefix *bi-*. It is incompatible with the stem-suffixes *-ed-* and *-e-*. A form with this prefix is usually followed by a durative (pres./fut.) in *-e*.⁷

ASPECT OF PLACE

The aspects of place relate the action of the verb to a point or an area.

ASPECT OF PROPINQUITY I (Pr. 24)

The prefixes constituting the rank of Aspect of Propinquity I consist of a consonantal pronominal-adverbial element of place followed by zero mark of collative case, which denotes a relation of togetherness (see n. 13). Since it is unlikely that Sumerian had initial consonantal clusters we may assume that the pronominal-adverbial elements *m* and *l*—both sonors—were not true consonants but syllabic in nature and thus could begin a form as any other syllable (cf. n. 6).

m #, mark of propinquity to (zero mark for collative) the area of the speech situation (*m*). The prefix is neutral as to direction (accollative: "hither"; collative in narrower sense: "here"; decollative: "hence") of motion.⁸ As example

⁷ For rank after *n-ga-* see *un-ġá^{su}-ù-bi-tab: li-iš-šip ap-pu-na* (*RA* XI 144-45, line 11). The prefix may be analyzed as consisting of an understood pronominal element and case-mark (relater) *-u* of tangential. The referent of the pronominal element would seem to be the next action stated by the speaker, and the prefix thus indicates that the first action is a constitutive part of the second action, is "internally adherent" to it, or—*mutatis mutandis*—"subjunct" to it.

⁸ Etymologically the element *m* may well be related to the *m* of *me-a*, "where," and perhaps also to the *m* of *me*, "we," "us." On the close relation of the personal pronouns to adverbs of place see nn. 12 and 19. Cf. also as a parallel the use in Italian of the adverb *ci*, "here," for 1st plural in oblique cases, *ni* (see Otto Jespersen, *The Philosophy of Grammar* [London, 1924] p. 214). The most frequent use of *m #* is as accollative to denote cursive approach toward the speaker's area, "hither," e.g. *nin-zu^d Nin-lil-le i-im-du: be-lit-ka MIN* (i.e., ^d*Nin-lil-le il-la-ka*, "your

may serve an instance of the less frequent decollative use: ^dInanna kur-šè i-im-du,

mistress, this here Ninlil, is coming" (Myth of Enlil and Ninlil; *JRAS*, 1919, pp. 190-91), but use as decollative for movement away from speaker's area, "hence," is not uncommon. Besides the example quoted above note e.g. lú È-nin-nu-ta i-m-ta-a-b-è-è-a, "the man who shall take it (i.e., the statue) hence out of Eninnu" (Gudea St. B viii 6-7).

Special mention deserves the use of *m* in correlation with durative for nearness and cursive movement through time, approximately "were going on (doing)." As examples, may serve the story of Lahar and Ashnan, line 30, i-im-gu₇-ù-NE nu-mu-un-d-è-si-si-eš, "they (i.e., the Anunaki) were going on eating and did not become satiated with it," and line 33, i-im-naġ-naġ-NE nu-mu-d-è-si-eš, "they were going on drinking and did not become satiated with it," where the change in the prefix from non-contact *m*# to contact *mu*- correlates with that between durative and punctive suffix. A closely similar example is found *ibid.* lines 64-67: ġeštin nġ-d_{u10} i-im-naġ-naġ-NE kaš nġ-d_{u10} i-im-d_{u10}-d_{u10}-ge-[NE] ġeštin nġ-d_{u10} ù-mu-un-naġ-eš-[a-ta] kaš nġ-d_{u10} ù-mu-un-d_{u10}-ge-eš-a-ta, "They were going on drinking the good wine, they were going on regaling themselves with the good beer. When they had drunk the good wine, when they had regaled themselves with the good beer." Further examples are a mar-bi ġùd-ba-a i-im-sa, "its (i.e., Imdugud's) young one went on lying in its nest" (Lugalbanda Epic, line 93), and lú-huġ-ġá-a-ni ninda-ni-gu₇-e (sandhi for ninda a-ni-gu₇-e) t ú ġ à m-mu₄-mu₄: a-ġi-ir-[š_u] a-ka-lam ú-ša-k[al] ù ġu-ba-ta ú-lab-ba[-aš], "he is to feed his hired man and go on clothing him" (*MSL* I 83, lines 18-20).

The combination of cursive, accollative, *m* with a following regional contact prefix *mu*-, *ma*-, or *mi*- serves to render both motion and arrest. (On the translation of these forms by Akkadian *t*-forms see *MSL* IV 25.) An instructive example is *CT* XV, Pl. 8, rev. 39 ff. The lamenting goddess—presumably envisaged in bovine form—intends to hide from Enlil's "word" so that his neatherd will not find her. In her general statement (rev. 2-6) the form used is consistently *na-mu-pà-dè*, "may he not find me." In the following lines (7-8), however, she expresses hope that he will seek far away from her hiding place, and this envisaged distance produces a change from *na-mu-pà-dè*, "may he not find me," to *na-m-mu-pà-dè*, "may he not come over and find me": lú-ù ki-bí-kin-kin e-ne nam-mu-pà-dè e-ne (...) é-ri-a i-kin-kin e-ne nam-mu-pà-dè e-ne (...), "The neatherd will search the region, may he not come over and find me. (May) he (not come over and find me), in the desert he will seek, may he not come over and find me, (may) he (not come over and find me)." Instructive are also the verbal forms in Gilgamesh's advice to Enkidu in Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Nether World (Gadd in *RA* XXX [1933] 128-29, lines 57-71), in which all the verbs denoting a movement and following contact are formed with *na-m-mu-un*- whereas those which imply no such sequence show simple *na-an*-. The choice of *-mu-* to indicate contact is probably dictated by the speaker's (Gilgamesh's) sense of emotional closeness with Enkidu (see n. 11 below). When the narrator later relates what happened in Hades (Kramer, *From the Tablets of Sumer*, Fig. 70) he uses the more objective *im-ma-ni-in*-.

"Inanna was walking hence (i-m-d u) toward the Nether World" (Inanna's Descent, line 25). The prefix *m*#- is incompatible with prefixes of Aspect of Propinquity II and seems to combine with no infixes other than *-da-*, *-ta-*, and *-š i-*.

l#, mark of propinquity to (zero mark for collative) a point relatively remote from the speaker (*l*). The point referred to by *l*#- is rarely specified; usually it is rather an ideal point, an implied goal or fulfillment point of the action as such. "Goal-aimed aspect" describes perhaps the function of the prefix best. As example may serve *al-di-di-de-en nu-kúš-ù-dè-en ì-di-di-dè-en ù nu-ku-ku-me-en: a-tal-lak [ul a]n-na-ah 'a'-dal-ma [ul a-ša-al]-lal*, "I walk and walk and do not tire, I prowl around and cannot sleep" (*STVC*, No. 3 iii 11 ff., and *II R* 8, No. 3:37-40). In the first of these forms, the one with *l*#, the walking is seen as purposeful, directed to a goal; in the second, without *l*#, it is aimless and without any goal.⁹ The prefix *l*#- is incompatible with the Aspect of Propinquity II prefix and with all infixes.

ASPECT OF REGIONAL CONTACT (Pr. 23)

The prefixes constituting the rank of regional contact prefixes or "generally" locating prefixes may be analyzed as consisting of a pronominal-adverbial element denoting a region (*m*, *b*) and a relater or case-mark (*u* for tangentive, *a* for illative, *i/e* for allative). They serve to locate the occurrence denoted by the verb as in contact with a general region: internally adherent to border of it (*u*), included in it (*a*), and externally adherent to border of it (*i/e*). They are neutral with respect to achieving, maintaining, or ceasing from the position indi-

⁹ Cf. also *š i ġ i š i m m a r e n - n a 3 - k ũ š a l - s u k u d - e a a b - b a l - e*, "he is to water (a-b-bal-e) the palm trees as long as he is growing them toward the height 3 ells (a-l-sukud-e)" (*PBS* VIII 1, No. 21:13-15).

Ranking of *l*# after the *u* of previousness is indicated by forms such as *ù-ul-ġíd* (Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden*, No. 215:8) and *ù-ul-dím* (*ibid.* line 20). Ranking before the prefixes of regional contact is perhaps indicated by *al-bí-in-en-dè: i-tel-li* (Langdon, *BL*, Pl. VIII 8-9), but reading and analysis of the form are not very certain. The line *e-ne-ém-ma-ni ġaġgul-àm-ma-al-šú: a-mat-su kak-kul-lu ka-tim-tu* (var. *-ti*): *ki-ma ka-tim-ti kat-mat-ma* (var. omits *-ma*) in *SBH*, No. 8:64 f., is most likely sandhi for *ġaġgul-àm al-šú*, "is covered up as a *kakkullu*-pot."

cated, a neutrality that may in a measure be expressed as neutrality as to direction (hither/hence); essential to the prefix is only insistence on the fact of regional contact, whether that contact is coming, extant, or past.

The regions to which the regionally locating prefixes refer are two: the area of the speech situation, denoted by the component *m*, and the area of the event related as other than that of the speech situation, the "area in question," denoted by the component *b*. Approximately, *m* may be translated as "here," *b* as "the place in question," "there." It may be noted further that while *m* and *b* primarily denote place they tend to carry also connotations of time: *m*, "here and now," *b*, "there and then." It may be noted also that, while the indication of place is primarily a general one of region, the line between general and specific indication, between area and entity indication,

¹⁰ In diagram form the prefixes used for specific entity indication may be listed as follows:

	1st p. sg. "me"	Near 3rd neuter "it here"	Far 3rd neuter "it there"
Allative, "on"	<i>m u</i>	<i>m - m i</i>	<i>b i</i>
Dative, "for"	<i>m a</i>	<i>m - m a</i>	<i>b a</i>

¹¹ In briefest compass *m u-* may be said to denote "closeness" to the speaker if by closeness we understand not only closeness in space and time but also emotional closeness, empathy, involvement. The purely spatial indication of *m u-* is pinpointed, as it were, by the use of *m u-* in functional overlap for allative 1st person "on/at me"; its further implications of speaker empathy are seen most clearly from its preferential correlation with 1st and 2nd person goal and from variations in its use with 3rd person goal. In trying to illustrate its use we may begin with instances in which *m u-* seems used without stress on specific correlation with a pronominal goal.

m u-, "here"

The following may be mentioned as particularly instructive examples.

(1) The *ditilla* texts from Telloh are styled from the place in court of the court reporter. Outside of direct quotations *m u-* hardly occurs in them except in one special usage: in statements that documents, witnesses, or persons accused were brought into court, i.e., into the immediate presence of the recording scribe. As examples may serve *ITT* II, No. 3532, *d u b - b i k i d i - k u₅ - n e - š è D i n g i r - s a₆ - g a - a m u - t ú m*, "that tablet D. brought here to the place of the judges" (Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden*, No. 45:10-11), and *ITT* III, No. 6545, *m u - t u - m u - a*, "that he will bring him (a deserter) in." Similar instances are found in *ITT* III, Nos. 3547, 5246, 5286 iii, 6567, in *ITT* V, No. 6754, and in *Bab.* III (1910) Pl. VII, No. XIX.

(2) The Code of Lipiteshtar also uses *m u-* extremely

tends to blur in usage. Thus a degree of overlap in function between the general regional indication of the prefixes and the specific entity indication of the infixes is observable. It parallels the choice in English between general indication such as "thereon" in "he put his mark thereon" and specific entity indication such as "he put his mark there on it" for relation of position on near entity.¹⁰

m u, mark of location of the occurrence denoted by the verb on the inside border (*.u*) of the area of the speech situation (*m*). This is typically the place of the two participants, speaker and addressee, so that depending upon which of them the speaker has in mind *m u-* locates approximately as Latin *hic* and *iste*. It adds to this implications of emotional involvement of the speaker, of his being personally engaged.¹¹ As example may serve *m u - n a - d ù*,

sparingly in the body of the code. Exceptions are statements of entry into the house of the man with whom the paragraph deals; cf. col. xvi 27-29, *s a ġ - r i ġ₇ é - a d - d a - n a - t a m u - u n - t ù m - m a*, "the dowry she brought from her father's house," and col. xvii 26, *é - a n u - m u - u n - d a - a n - t u š*, "he will not let her dwell with her (his wife) in the house." In both cases the styling is from the house as if the paragraph was a clause in a contract written there.

(3) Building and votive inscriptions meant to be read *in situ* are styled from the place of the inscription, and *m u-* ("here where I am speaking to you") is accordingly the standard prefix for the central verbal forms recording the building (*m u - d ù*, *m u - n a - d ù*) or presenting (*a m u - n a - r u*) recorded. Characteristic change in the use of prefixes, noted by most scholars who have dealt with the subject, is found in Lugalkinshedudu's vase inscription A (*SAKI*, p. 156, line 36), where the acts (by Enlil) which led up to the state of affairs surrounding the dedication of the vase are told in *e-* forms, whereas that state and the dedication itself are told in *m u-* forms. Similarly, in the vase inscription of Lugalzaggesi the events leading up to the present fortunate state of the country are told in *e-* forms, while the description of the present state and of the dedication of the vase is in *m u-* forms. In Entemena Cone A likewise the events leading up to the canal-building operations which the cone commemorates are stated in *e-* forms, the commemoration in *m u-* forms. Often the distinction between *i-* and *m u-* sets off earlier works from those which the inscription commemorates; cf. e.g. Gudea Brick B 6-10, *l ú É - n i n n u^a N i n - ġ i r - s u - k a i n - d ù - a é Ğ i r - s u - k a - n i m u - n a - d ù*, "(Gudea) the man who built the Eninnu of Ningirsuk built here for him his Girsu house," or the clay nail of Gungunum (*SAKI*, p. 206, a) col. ii 7-9, *É - h i - l i - a - n i i n - d ù É - ġ i - n a - a b - t ù m - k ù - g a - n i m u - n a - d ù*, "he built her Ehili and built here her pure store for her."

(4) An interesting stylistic use of forms with and without *m u-* to indicate near and far occurs in a passage of an Ishme-Dagan hymn (*PBS* X 2, No. 14) and its duplicates: "May the Tigris and Euphrates bring to you (here: *h u - m u - r a - a b -*

“he built here for him (m u - n a - (n -) d u).”
In functional overlap m u - can occur as specific indication of allative first person singular, for example s a ġ - t ú m - m a m u - u n -

t ù m) the abundance of the carp flood, and may their canal tails (i.e., the far-reaches of the canals feeding from them) reach far for you (out into the desert: h a - r a - s u d - e), may their banks grow grass and herbs for you (here: h u - m u - r a - a n - m ú), and may joy stretch out for you (to far off: h a - r a - a b - l á), may your orchards (here around the town) range honey side by side with wine (k i h u - m u - r a - n i - f b - ú s) and may those good fields (far out beyond town) grow mottled barley for you (h a - r a - a b - m ú), may they heap up their grain piles for you (out there: h a - r a - d u b - d u b), may cattle pens be built for you (out there in the steppe: h a - r a - d ù - d ù) and sheepfolds broaden out for you (out there: h a - r a - d a ġ a l - d a ġ a l).”

m u -, “here with me/you”

Turning from these examples to cases in which the regional

ġ a r : m a - g i - i r - t a m i q - b i - a - a m but s a ġ - t ú m - m a i - n i - i n - ġ a r : m a - g i - i r - t a m a q - b i - š u m (MSL IV 72, lines 173-76).

m a, mark of location of the occurrence de-

reference of m u - is correlated with specific pronominal reference in the form we may conveniently begin with the data furnished by the *alākum* paradigm published by Landsberger in MSL IV, OBGT VII. Arranging the forms in parallel vertical columns according to the presence of 1st person, 2nd person, 3rd person or zero directive-dative pronominal goal of the action, we may set up the instructive paradigm given below.

Since present and preterit forms with 1st person singular goal are not given by the paradigm, we have listed instead the relevant imperative forms. To facilitate comparison we similarly list imperatives for present forms with 1st person plural goal and give the present form in the notes only. We have not included in the paradigm the corresponding forms of plural verb with plural goal (they are 1st p. pl. goal in lines 231, 239, 235, 234; 2nd p. pl. goal in lines 233, 241, 237, 245; 3rd p. pl. goal in lines 298, 310, 301, 313; no goal indicated in lines 141,

		VENTIVE			
		1st p. sg. goal	2nd p. sg. goal	3rd p. sg. goal	No pron. goal
I ₁ Imp./Pres.		[ġ á - a - m u - š è] [alkam ana šerīa]	60 m u - e - š i - d u illakakkum	49 à m - š i - d u illakaššum	à m - d u illakam
			88 m u - e - š i - ġ e n illikakkum	77 i - i m - š i - ġ e n illikaššum	74 i - i m - ġ e n illikam
I ₂ Imp./Pres.		16 ġ á - n a m - m u - š e allakam ana šerīa	58 à m - m u - e - š i - d u ittallakakkum	55 à m - m a - š i - d u ittallakaššum	52 à m - m a - d u ittallakam
			86 i m - m u - e - š i - ġ e n ittalkakkum	83 i m - m a - š i - ġ e n ittalkaššum	80 i m - m a - ġ e n ittalkam
		1st pl. goal	2nd pl. goal	3rd pl. goal	
I ₁ Imp./Pres.		191 ġ á - a - m e - a alkam niāši	208 m u - e - n e - d u illakam kunūši	262 [à m - n] e - d u illakam šunūši	
		211 i - i m - m e - ġ e n illikam niāši	213 m u - e - n e - ġ e n illikam kunūši	274 i - i m - n e - ġ e n illikam šunūši	
I ₂ Imp./Pres.		195 ġ á - n a m - m e - a allakam niāši	205 à m - m u - e - n e - d u ittallakam kunūši	265 à m - m a - n e - d u ittallakam šunūši	
	Pret.	215 i m - m a - m e - ġ e n ittalkam niāši	217 i m - m u - e - n e - ġ e n ittalkam kunūši	277 i m - m a - n e - ġ e n ittalkam šunūši	

* The form is reconstructed on the basis of the parallel ġ á - a - m u - š e - e n - z é - e n : a l - k a - a - n i m a - n a š e - r i - i a in line 102.

† The imperative form is given for comparison with the 1st person singular goal form. The corresponding present form occurs in line 199: à m - m e - d u : i - i l - l a - k a m n i - a - š i .

‡ The imperative form is given for comparison with the 1st person singular goal form. The corresponding present form occurs in line 203: à m - m a - m e - d u : i - t á l - l a - k a m n i - a - š i .

noted by the verb inside the area of the speech situation. The original meaning of the prefix is retained only in the sequence -m-m a-, which indicates appearance into view, "out here (be-

169, 147, 175) since they follow the singular forms with plural goal in their use of m u-.

It will be seen from this paradigm that a correlation exists between stated pronominal goal of the action and choice of prefix. Two sets of prefixes contrast m u-/m-m u- on one side, -m-/m-m a- on the other. Occurring forms are m u imperative/present/preterit I₁; à m-m u imperative/present I₂; i m-m u preterit I₂; à m present I₁; i-i m preterit I₁; à m-m a present I₂; i m-m a preterit I₂.

Of the two contrasting sets the set -m-/m-m a- may be considered the basic one since it is the one used when there is no stated pronominal goal in the form that could interfere with the choice of prefix. The basic -m-/m-m a- is found also with stated 1st person plural and 3rd person singular and plural pronominal goals, a fact which suggests that these goals do not—or need not—affect the choice of prefix. It is quite otherwise with stated 1st person singular and 2nd person singular or plural pronominal goals. These goals regularly call for the contrasting set of prefixes m u-/m-m u-. It will be noted that both m u-/m-m u- and -m-/m-m a indicate closeness to the speaker, "here," and that both sets are identically rendered in Akkadian by ventive. The difference between them must thus be sought in some difference of degree or quality of the "here" denoted, one such degree or quality preferred with 1st person and 2nd person singular goal, the other not.

m u-, "here" of emotional closeness

In looking for a clue to this difference we must look for instances in which the condition for the variation between the two prefix sets can be even more sharply pinpointed than in the paradigm, occurrences in contexts identical except for one single identifiable variant factor.

Such an instance is furnished, it would seem, by the phrase g ù à m-m a-d é-e, "it said to it as follows (durative)," which is part of the standard introduction of quoted speech in the Dispute of the Plow and the Hoe. The phrase has close counterparts in other stories where g ù . . . d é is similarly used in the formal introduction of quoted speech, but there the prefix chosen is m u-; cf. e.g. Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, line 68: En-m e-e-r-k á r d u m u a U t u-r a g ù m u-n a-d é-e, "She (Inanna) said to Enmerkar son of Utu as follows (durative)." The phrase is a standard one, and many other examples could be quoted. As will be seen, the two phrases differ from the forms of the paradigm given above by having a dative rather than a directional pronominal goal, 3rd person singular, and they differ from each other in that in one case, g ù à m-m a-d é-e, this goal is 3rd person neuter, a thing, and in the other, g ù m u-n a-d é-e, 3rd person personal, a person. Otherwise the contexts are exactly the same. In both cases the storyteller presents one of his characters as close by and spoken to, and one can hardly assume that the closeness with which a storyteller presents his main characters would vary in degree; rather, as suggested by the concomitant variation of neuter and personal, it must be a variation in kind of closeness. The closeness of m u- is not only spatial but also emotional, allowing empathy and identification; that of -m-m a- remains spatial and does not encroach upon the emotions. In other words we may say that

fore me)." As examples may serve é-n í ġ-g u r₁₁-r a-n a k i š l b b í-k ú r ġ i š i m-m a-t a-ġ a r, "he broke (lit. 'replaced') the seal on his storehouse, laid out here from it

m u- renders a subjective personally involved "here," while -m-m a- renders rather an objective merely observed "here."

The reference of m u- to personal pronominal goal was first noted by Falkenstein in his discussion of TCL XVI, No. 89 (OLZ XXXVI [1933] 303-4), where the approach of the evil eye to things is consistently described as b a-t e, to people as m u-n a-t e, and where the verbs describing the harm it does to things are formed with -m- (i m-), to people with m u-. A further example is Shurpu IX 119-28, where the form b í-i n-t a ġ is used of the water touching things (cedar, *hashurru*-tree), m u-u n-t a ġ of the water touching persons (An, Ki, En-ki, the man, son of his god).

Attempting to generalize from the examples discussed we would suggest that the speaker can indicate closeness to himself by means of prefixes formed with m. Within these prefixes he has (if we omit consideration for the moment of m i-, -m-m i-, and m a-) a choice between two sets, -m-/m-m a- and m u-/m-m u-. The first set indicates objective closeness, the second subjective closeness implying a degree of empathy and emotional involvement on his part. *Per se* either of these sets can be used with any one or with no stated pronominal goal of the action, but because of what they connote there is a pronounced tendency toward preference of m u-/m-m u- with the nearest pole of the pronominal axis, 1st person singular, goal in the speaker himself, and -m-/m-m a- for the farther pole of the axis, 3rd person neuter, which, as a thing, normally does not invite empathy. In the middle range of the axis, 3rd person personal, the choice will vary rather more, dependent upon the speaker's attitude toward the person involved.

A number of further examples of correlation of m u- with stated pronominal goal may be cited. They have been chosen for contrast with parallel forms without m u-.

(1) Comitative goal. Cf. ġ i-d u b-b a-z u e-d a-ġ á l: n a-š i-a-t a (2nd p. sg. goal: "is with you"), m u-d a-ġ á l: n a-š i-a-k u (1st p. sg. goal: "is with me"), a n-d a-ġ á l: n a-š i (3rd p. sg. goal: "is with him"); n u-e-d a-ġ á l: ú-ul n a-š i-a-t i, n u-m u-d a-ġ á l: ú-ul n a-š i-a-k u, n u-a n(!)-d a-ġ á l: ú-ul n a-š i (MSL IV 70, lines 58-64). Closely similar are the comitative infixes denoting ability in the subject: m u-d a-: e-l i-i, e-d a-: t e-l i-i, a n-d a-: i-l i-i (MSL IV 145, lines 400-402) and m u-d a-: q á-du-ú-a (MSL IV 143, line 357), e-t a-: q á-du-uk-ku (line 361), u-n-d a-: q á-du-uš-š u (line 364). Further examples are a-b a-a m u-d a-a n-n á, "who will lie down with me" (PBS I 1, No. 6:42), contrasting with z a-r a h é-d a-a n-n á (*ibid.* line 43), "with thee may lie down"; n a m-m u-d a-d u, "may not go with me" (Lugalbanda Epic, line 272), but n a-e-d a-d u, "may not go with thee" (*ibid.* line 274); u-r-e-b i m e-e n i b a-d a-t e e-n e n u-m u-d a-t e: (nak-ri š u-ú) a n a-k u a p-l a h-m a š u-ú u l i p-l a h-a n-n i, "I was afraid of that enemy, he was not afraid of me" (K.41 ii 7; PSBA XVII, Pls. I-II [cf. dupl. Langdon, BL, No. 71:31]).

(2) Allative goal. s a ġ-t ú m-m a m u-u n-g a r: m a-ġ i-i r-l a m i ġ-b i-a-a m but s a ġ-t ú m-m a i-n i-i n-g a r: m a-ġ i-i r-l a m a ġ-b i-š u m (MSL IV 72, lines 173-76); m u-u n-t i-t i: u-r e-š e-a n-n i, n u-m u-u n-t i-t i: ú-l a ú-r e-š e-a n-n i but a n-n i-i b-t i-t i: ú-r e-š i-š u l, n u-

(i - m - m a - t a - (n -) ḡ a r) lumber" (Gudea Cyl. A vii 13-14); n a m - e r í m - b i - t a i m - m a - r a - g u r - r a, "(because) he came back here (i.e., to the place of judgment) from the oath about it" (Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden*, No. 205 [ITT III, No. 5286] line 23). The sequence -m - m a- often carries connotations of time: "here and now," for example u d n a - a n - g a - m a m u š e n - e ḡ ù d - b i - š è ḡ u š u d i (KAXBULUḠ) u n - ḡ i₄ a m a r - b i ḡ ù d - b i - t a i n i m b a - n i - i b - ḡ i₄ i - b i - š è m u š e n - e ḡ ù d - b i - š è ḡ u š u d i (KAXBULUḠ) u n - ḡ i₄ a m a r - b i ḡ ù d - b i - t a i n i m n u - u m - m a - n i - i b - ḡ i₄, "any day when the bird had hailed its nest its young one answered it from its nest, now when the bird had hailed its nest its young one did not answer it from its nest" (Lugalbanda Epic, lines 75 ff.), where "any day" and "now" correspond with the prefixes b a- and -m - m a- respectively.

u n - n i - i b - t i - t i : ú - l a ú - r e - š i - š u in *MSL* IV 74, lines 232-35.

(3) Directional goal. š u t e - m u - š e - e b : m u - ú h - r a - a n - n i, "receive from me (lit. 'hold near the hand toward me')," but š u - t e - e n - š e - e b : m u - h u - u r - š u, "receive from him" (*MSL* IV 124, lines 2-3); á - m u - š è [h] u - m u - u n - a ḡ e š, "let them make for (i.e., go to) my side," in Gilgamesh and Huwawa (*JCS* I [1947] 12) line 51 but á - n i - š è b a - a n - a ḡ e š, "they made for his side," in line 53.

(4) Dative goal. ḡ u r - m u - n a - a [b] : [te-er-] 'ra-aš¹-š u, "return it here to him," but ḡ u r - r u - n a - a [b] : [te-er-š u, "return it to him" (*MSL* IV 124, lines 6-7).

Interesting differences in treatment of the 3rd person personal goal are exemplified in *RTC*, No. 19, which records an exchange of gifts between Barnamtarra and the wife of the *ishakku* of Adab and also tells of gratuities given to their respective messengers. The wife of the *ishakku* of Adab gave Barnamtarra's messenger Malgasu a gratuity in Adab (m u - n a - s u m), and later Barnamtarra gave a gratuity to the Adab messenger in Girsu (e - n a - s u m). The use of m u - n a - s u m for the giving to Malgasu, although that action was farther in space and time from the recording scribe than the giving to the Adab messenger, described by e - n a - s u m, is clearly dictated by the greater emotional closeness of Malgasu as being "from here" and "one of us" to the scribe. Also interesting is the variation in Stele of the Vultures, obv. iv. In telling about Inanna's naming of Eannatum the scribe shares, by using m u-, in Eannatum's gratification (m u - n i - p à). Shortly afterward (col. v 24-25) that same naming is again referred to in connection with a new naming of Eannatum by Ningirsu. Here the scribe shares in the import of the new naming (col. v 29: m u m [u] - n i - s a₄) and records the now less close earlier naming without m u: e - n i - s a₄ - a - n i. Later in the same text (rev. i 10) the scribe tells in objective historical narrative that Eannatum gave the Ummean the net of Utu and that the Ummean swore him an oath by it: n a m e - n a - t a - k u₅. The scribe's attention is on the net. Immediately afterward the oath itself is quoted and the

In functional overlap m a- occurs as specific indication of dative first person singular "for me," and this seems to be the only use of m a- when it occurs initially in the form, for example, m a - a n - s u m, "he gave me (m a - n - s u m)" (*RTC*, No. 295). In functional overlap m a- occurs also in the sequence -m - m a- and serves then as specific indication of near dative third person neuter "for it (here)," for example ḡ ù à m - m a - d é - e, "it said to it as follows (durative)" (Dispute of Plow and Hoe, line 20 and *passim*).

b a, mark of location of the occurrence denoted by the verb inside relevant area, not that of the speech situation, for example b a - ḡ e n : i t - t a - l a k, "he went away," that is, into some area not here (*MSL* IV 90, line 90), 1 m a - n a k ù - l u h - h a i ḡ i - n u - d u₈ - a š á m - š á m - d è U r - é - m u š t á m - k à r Ê - m u š - k e₄ b a - t ù m š à - b i - t a 1 ḡ i ḡ i - n u - d u₈ - k ù -

scribe's attention switches to Eannatum and to sharing in his triumph: l ú U m m a^k - k e₄ Ê - a n - n a - t ú m - r a n a m m u - n a - k u₅ - d u z i^a U t u . . . (rev. i 8-11), "The man of Umma swore here to (our) Eannatum: 'By the life of Utu . . .'"

Lastly a few examples of m u- with 1st person singular subject forms may be noted. In TRS 69.7-8 Inanna, boasting of her might, says a n a - b a - a i n - d ú b (?) ḡ á - e - m e - e n m u - u n - d ú b k i a - b a - a i n - . . . ḡ á - e - m e - e n m u - u n - . . ., "Who was making the heavens tremble? It was I here made them tremble; who was . . . ing Earth? It was I here . . . ed it." The use of m u- serves as does the emphatic form of the independent pronoun to focus attention on the speaker. In the Shulgi hymn *TCL* XV, No. 13 (dupl. Barton, *MBI*, No. 3), Enlil(?) promises to decide a fate for Shulgi and immediately proceeds to do so. The statement begins l u ḡ a l n a m ḡ i₄ - r í - í b - t a (r) - a r n a m - d u₁₀ ḡ ù - m u - r í - í b - t a (r) - a r, "King, let me determine a fate for you, let me here determine a good fate for you." The forms reflect transition from a general promise, indeterminate as to time and place, to decisive following-through, determining the fate "here." Finally, the variation of forms in the story of Shukallituda quoted by Kramer in *AOr* XVII 1 (1949) pp. 404 and 402, n. 16, deserves attention. Inanna in stating her determination to find Shukallituda uses the m u- form: l ú ḡ ù š - d u₁₁ - ḡ a - m u k u r - k u r - r a ḡ a - m u - n i - p à i m - m e, "She said: 'Let me find from out of all the lands the man who cohabited with me.'" In the following line the storyteller records that she was not finding him n u - u m - m a - n i - i n - p à - d è, using an -m - m a- form, and earlier the father of Shukallituda in suggesting that she would not find him (p. 402, n. 16) likewise used an -m - m a- form: n u - u m - m a - n i - i n - p à - d è - e n, "she will not find thee therein." The difference affecting the choice of prefix would seem to be that though all three forms look toward an ultimate confrontation of Inanna with Shukallituda this confrontation is in the last two forms seen from outside by speakers not directly involved, in the first form subjectively by the speaker as prospective participant.

14-gín-kam mu-ku₄ Ur-ki nu-giri₆-ke₄ ba-túm 1 saġ-nitah-kù- $\frac{1}{3}$ -ša-ma-na-kam mu-ku₄ Lugal-da siba-udu-siki-ka-ke₄ ba-túm 1 igi-nu-du₈-kù-14-gín-kam mu-ku₄ An-a-mu nu-giri₆-ke₄ ba-túm, "1 mana refined silver to buy orchard workers (lit. 'blind ones') did Ur-Emush, merchant of Emush, take away (ba-(n)-tum). Out of it 1 orchard worker (to a value) of 14 shekel he brought in here (mu-(n-)kur). Urki, the orchard man, took him away (ba-(n)-tum). 1 male slave (to a value) of 20 shekel he brought in here (mu-(n-)kur); Lugal-da, the shepherd of the wool sheep, took him away (ba-(n)-tum). 1 orchard worker (to a value) of 14 shekel he brought in here (mu-(n-)kur); Anamu, the orchard man, took him away (ba-(n)-tum)" (Nikolski I, No. 293). As will be noted, the taking of the silver away "into relevant area," that is, to the appropriate markets, is expressed by ba- prefix. The return with the persons bought to the speaker's area is expressed by mu- prefix. The taking of the bought persons away "into relevant area," that is, to their respective places of work, is again expressed by ba-. A very similar example is ud é-gal-e ba-ab-túm-ma-ta igi nu-ni-du₈-a ud [igi ì-f]b-du₈-a m[u-túm-mu-a] šeš Ur-^d[Ba-ba₆] nam-erím-[àm], "that he had not seen him (a deserter) since the government (lit. 'the palace') took him away (ba-prefix) and that when he sees him he will bring him in here (mu- prefix) did the brother of Ur-Baba swear" (Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden*, No. 190:46-49 [ITT III, No. 6545 iii 8-13]).

In functional overlap ba- occurs as specific indication of more remote dative third person neuter, for example šu-na ba-a-n-sum-ma, "which he had given into his hand" (*BE* VI 2, No. 42), ki-sur-ra ^dMes-lam-ta-è-a A-bí-ak^ki-e inim ba-a-n-gi-in Ur-^dNammulugal-e, "Urnammu the king confirmed the boundary of Meslamtaea for (the city) Abiak" (Kraus in *ZA* LI [1955] 46 ff., A ii 20-23; cf. B rev. iv 29-32); contrast dative third person personal a-šà ^dNu-muš-da Ak₂-tab^ki-kam ^dNu-muš-da-ra inim in-na-gi-in Ur-

^dNammulugal-e, "Urnammu the king confirmed the territory of Numushda of Aktab for Numushda" (*ibid.* A i 13-16).

The prefix ba- often carries connotations of time, "there/then" denoting a degree of distance in time (see example given under ma-).

mi, mark of location of the occurrence denoted by the verb outside, on the outer border of, the area of the speech situation, "right over there." As example may serve na₄ kisal-mah-a mi-rú-a-né, "unto his stele which he erected over there (mi-(n-)ru-a) in the main court" (Gudea Cyl. A xiii 8 f.). The scribe apparently begins his enumeration of the steles with the one nearest to him; the following ones are described with prefix bi-. Another example is ^dAma-ušumgal-an-na kalam-ma mi-né-a-ra dingir-ud-te ša-mu-sa₆(!)-ge kur-re ba-íl kur ša-mu-u₈-da-húl-la-àm, "in Amaushumgalanna coming forth right over there (mi-n(i)-e-a) in the country, it (i.e., the country) on its part takes pleasure in him (as) the god who makes daylight approach; he rises over the mountains yonder (ba-íl) while the mountains rejoice in him, they on their part" (*CT* XXXVI, Pl. 33, lines 15-16; cf. the parallel lines 13-14). The prefix mi- is used with the country, ba- with the far-off mountains.

In functional overlap the prefix mi- serves in the sequence -m-mi- as specific indication of near third person neuter allative and causative. It often carries connotations of nearness also in time. As example may serve ì-mi-du₁₁, "he said (in answer) to it," in Entemena Cone A iv 83, which reports a fairly recent answer given by Urlumma to Entemena. When at a much later date Urukagina reports the same event he uses the prefix bí- (Oval Plaque iv 9: bí-du₁₁). Very similarly Gudea in relating his dream to Nanshe makes frequent use of -m-mi- since the dream experience is still vivid in his mind and "close" to him, while Nanshe in repeating his statements uses bí- since to her the dream experiences are at a distance; note the parallel statements gi-dub-ba kù-NE-a šu-im-mi-du₁₁ in Cyl. A iv 25 but gi-dub-ba kù-gi šu bí-du₈-a in col. v 22, dub mul-an-du₁₀-

ga im-mi-ġál in col. iv 26 but dub mul-du₁₀-ga bí-ġál-la-a in col. v 23, li-um za-ġin šu im-mi-du₈ in col. v 3 but li-um za-ġin šu bí-du₈-a in col. vi 4, é-a ġiš-hur-bi im-ġá-ġá in col. v 4 and, for a change, é-a ġiš-hur-bi im-mi-si-si-ge in col. vi 5. In Nanshe's last statement she is apparently reporting what is going on among the gods as she speaks: "he is copying thereon the plan of the house." Note also her use of ù-mi-kúr in Cyl. A vi 6; she foresees action in the near future. The scribe reporting the execution long afterward uses bí:bí-kúr (Cyl. A vi 13). The prefix is incompatible with infixes of the a-series.

bi/e, mark of location of the occurrence denoted by the verb outside, on the outside border of, the relevant area, not that of the speech situation, "at that region," for example me-a bi-ù-tu-da-me-eš, "where were they born" (CT XVI, Pl. 42, line 82).

In functional overlap bi- occurs also as specific indication of third person neuter allative and causative, for example mu-sar-a-ba

šubí-fb-ùr(re)-a, "who will wipe the hand over (bi-b-ur-e-a) its inscription (to erase it)" (Gudea St. C iv 8), and this has become the normal use of the prefix. It also carries connotation of time "then" as relatively remote (examples given above under mi-).

The prefix bi- is incompatible with infixes of the a-series.

ASPECT OF PROPINQUITY II (Pr. 22)

The prefixes constituting the rank of Aspect of Propinquity II consist of a consonantal pronominal-adverbial element of place followed by zero mark of collative case. The consonantal element, n, may be assumed to have been syllabic in nature.

n#, mark of propinquity to (zero mark for collative) an autonomous area within that of the speech situation other than those of speaker and addressee. The prefix can occur in functional overlap as replacement for the subject element third person singular transitive active preterit as shown in MSL IV 43* and note on p. 106, lines 73-75: sá ba-a-n-na-du₁₁ in third person singular but sá ba-na-du₁₁ in first and second person singular.

INFIXES

The infixes cannot begin a form but must always follow a profix or prefix. They denote relations of the occurrence denoted by the verbal root to specific entities explicit or implicit in the conveyed content, case relations such as those in which the verb governs the various indirect objects in a sentence.

In form the infixes are composites of pronominal, nominal, and relater elements joined in that order in partitive parataxis. The pronominal elements occurring or to be understood are singu-

lar: first person #, second person -e-, third person -n-, third person neuter -b-; plural: first person -me-, second person -ene-, third person -ne-.¹² The nominal elements are r,

in the ergative ranks only singular pronominal element seems so far attested. These marks are 1st person # ranking perhaps directly before the a-series, 2nd person e ranking directly before the e-series (see n. 15), and 3rd person personal n, 3rd person neuter b, both ranking directly before the root. In the 1st:2nd person pair #:e the marked form, e, is restricted to denoting 2nd person singular and the unmarked form, #, can denote both 1st and 2nd person; or we may state this in the form that # denotes the larger class of "participant in the speech situation," e its narrower subclass "addressee." As example may serve the paradigm ġar: šakānu in MSL IV, OBG T VI. The marked 2nd person singular form occurs in lines 97-99, ab-ġar: ša-ki-in, a-ġar: ⟨šaknāku⟩, e-ġar: ⟨šaknāta⟩, and in lines 118-20, in-ʿna¹-an-ġar: iš-ku-un-šum, i[n-n]a-ġar: ⟨aškunšum⟩, [i]n-na-e-ġar: ⟨taškunšum⟩, but the rule of the paradigm is to use the unmarked form for both 1st and 2nd person as e.g. in lines 136-38 and *passim*: mu-na-a-n-ġar: iš-ku-un-šum, mu-na-ġar: ⟨aškunšum⟩, mu-na-ġar: ⟨taškunšum⟩.

(3) Outside the ergative, i.e., when the pronominal element (infix component) occurs with accollatively used zero-case or with any other case, the pronominal elements seem more

¹² See GSG §§ 487, 491, and 494; Falkenstein, *Grammatik*, § 63a-b. The data presented by the texts are, however, rather more varied and complex than the traditional listing given above would lead one to expect. A few points may be mentioned here.

(1) Outside the ergative (zero-case) ranks understood pronominal element—absence of explicit mark of pronominal reference—is common with all singular forms. It seems to be mandatory for all but the first of infixes of the same subseries if they occur together in a form. Since infixes of the form P + a and P + i rank first in their respective subseries they are less susceptible—perhaps not susceptible at all—of occurring with understood pronominal element.

(2) As for the occurring explicit marks, it may be noted that

[Footnote 12 continued]

broadly used with considerable overlap of function. The mark *e* occurs not only as expected with 2nd person singular reference (cf. *GSG* §§ 487, 491a, 494a) but also with 1st person, 3rd person, and 3rd neuter singular reference. The mark *n* seems compatible not only with 3rd person singular reference (cf. *GSG* §§ 487, 491a, 494-96) but also at times with 1st and 2nd person singular reference. Examples of such usage are the following.

(A) *e* with 1st person singular reference: *z a - e* 'gá'-*a - r a k i m u - e - a - é g - a - t a*, "ever since you (felt) love for me (*m u - e - a - (e -) e g - a - t a*)" (Kramer, *From the Tablets of Sumer*, Fig. 76, line 22); *É - k u r m a h - m u d a l l a m u - e - a - è*, "you made my great Ekur stand forth splendidly for me (*m u - e - a - (e -) è*)" (*SRT*, No. 11:41); *á - š è m u - e - d a - a - i (A - A) - á g*, "you gave me commission (*m u - e - d a - e - a g*)" (3NT 311; unpubl.); *g e n - m u - e - d a*, "come with me" (*RA* VIII [1911] 164, obv. ii 46; cf. photo on plate facing p. 161); *m u - e - d a - g á l - l a - à m : n a - š á - k u - [m a]*, "I carry (lit. 'it is with me')" (Angin III 24, 25, 26); *n í m u - e - d u : ú - p a r - r i - d a - a n - n i*, "he frightened me" (K.41 ii 5; *PSBA* XVII, Pls. I-II); *m u - e - t ú m - m u - u n - n a m*, "if it is you bring her unto me (*m u - e - e - t u m - e n* or *m u - e - # - t u m - e n*)" (Enki and Ninhursag, line 224); *a - n a - a š n u - m u - u n - e - š i - f b - š e - g e - e n : a m - m i - n i m (!) l a t a - m a - g a - r i - n u*, "why do you not accede to me (*n u - m u - n - e - š i - b - š e - g - e n*)" (*SBH*, No. 69 obv. 16-17); *g i - p á r - k ù - g á h u - m u - e - š i - i n - k u - r e* (var. + *- e n*), "may you come in to me in my pure Giparu" (Ninmeduga, line 66).

Assimilated to a preceding vowel this 1st person singular *e* occurs in *m u - ù - d a - g u b - a - b i*, "the one of them who has waited for me (*m u - e - d a - g u b - a - b i*)" (Barton, *MBI*, No. 3 vi 11; cf. line 13), *š u b a - m u - u s*, "release me (*b a - m u - e - e*)" (*PAPS* CVII [1963] 409, line 9), and *š u b a - à m - m u - u s*, "release me (*b a - a - m - m u - e - e*)" (*ibid.* p. 509, line 36).

(B) *e* with 3rd person singular reference: *l ú k i - s i k i l n e - e n s a - g a - r a n e - e n m u l - l a - r a : a r - d a - t u š á k i - a - a m d a m - q á t k i - a - a m b a - n a - a - a t*!, *l ú g i š n a - e - d u*, *l ú n í - s u - u b - [s u] - 'u b*! - *b a : m a n - m a - a n a i i r - h e - e - š i m a n - m a - a n a i i š - š i - i k - š i*, "With a girl so nice, so fair, would not a(ny) man cohabit, would not a(ny) man kiss?" (Myth of Enlil and Ninlil; *JRAS*, 1919, p. 191, lines 20-21). To the allative in the verb, *e*, which stands for *e.e*, corresponds in the noun the personal dative *-ra*, which usually replaces allative *-e* with nouns denoting persons (cf. *GSG* § 496; Falkenstein, *Grammatik*, § 123d). For the presumably more original construction of the noun with *e* cf. *l ú - t u r - s a - g a - e n e n u - m u - u n - s u - u b - b i*, "Shall I not kiss the nice child?" (Myth of Enki and Ninhursag; *BASOR* "Supplementary Studies" No. 1, p. 14, lines 92 and 112; cf. lines 95 and 115). Instructive for the interpretation of *e* in *g i š n a - e - d u* and *n e n í - s u - u b - [s u] - 'u b* as allative infix 3rd person singular is the parallel *n i n - g a l* ^e*E n - l í l* ^e*N i n - h u r - s a g - r a g i š m u - n i - d u*, *n e m u - n i - s u b*, (*EREN* + *UH*; cf. later *m u n s u b*), "with Ninhursag the great lord Enlil cohabited, kissed" (Barton, *MBI*, No. 1 xi 5-8), which shows construction with the allative infix 3rd person singular *n i*. A further example of *e* with 3rd person singular reference is *S E M*, No. 77 ii 10: ^e*E n - l í l n í g n a m - š è m u - e - t a r - r a - [š è]*, "Enlil (in response) to what had been decided for him (lit. 'on him') as doom (left town)." The later version (*JRAS*, 1919, pp. 190-91) has here *m u - u n - t a r - r a - š è*.

(C) *e* with 3rd person neuter singular reference. Far more frequent than 3rd person personal singular is 3rd person neuter singular reference of *e*. The corresponding cases of the noun are *-a* and, more rarely, *-e* and *-š e*. In the inscriptions of Gudea *e* is regularly assimilated to preceding *a* in contact; in later periods this assimilation does not seem to take place. When *e* occurs before the root *e* the writing shows a vowel *a* between *e* and the root, possibly as mark of hiatus.

As examples from the inscriptions of Gudea may be quoted *š e g*, *a n - n a h é - d a - a - g i*, *a k i - a h é - d a - a - g i*, "may the rains be held back in Heaven under him, may the waters be held back in the Earth under him" (St. B ix 19-20); *é - a d ù - b a m u l - k ù - b a g ù m a - r a - a - d é*, "he spoke to you about the pure star of (i.e., announcing) the building of the house" (Cyl. A vi 1-2); *g a r z a - g á m u l - a n - k ù - b a g ù g a - m u - r a - a - d é*, "I shall speak to you about the pure heavenly star of my rites" (Cyl. A ix 10); *u d s i s k u r - r a m u - n a - a - g á l*, "the dawn found him (lit. 'the day came into being for him') in prayer" (Cyl. A xiii 28); *u d i m - z a l a m u - a - t u s*, "the day passed, he bathed in water" (Cyl. A xviii 3); *É - n i n n u a n - k i - t a t i l - b i g i - a m u - n a - a - g á l*, "Eninnu, finished from top to bottom (adv. of manner in *-b i*), was here for him before (his) eyes" (Cyl. A xx 10); *u r u - n a ú - š u b - n i z à - b i - a m u - d a - a - n á - à m*, "in the (outlying) border districts of his city (both) the strong man and his underling could lie down to sleep (the latter not having to keep watch)" (Cyl. B xviii 10); *š u - z i m a - r a - a - g a r*, "I have put hand truly unto it for you" (Cyl. B ii 20); *i t i é - b a b a - a - k u*, "the new moon entered into its house" (Cyl. B iii 7); *n í g - b a - g á b a - a - g i - g i - d a*, "who will come back to (i.e., contest) my grants" (St. B viii 19-20). For occasional construction with *-š è* rather than with *-a* cf. *š i g i g i r - z a - g i n - š è m u - n a - a - s i l i m*, "they (i.e., two kinds of wood) seemed sound to him for the pure chariot" (Cyl. A vii 19).

As examples from texts of Old Babylonian and later times may serve [*š u - í l*] *a - m u a n - n é b a - e - ú s* [*m e - r i j*] *m a - a l - l a - m u k i - e b a - e - ú s*, "my raised hand I (Inanna) press against Heaven, my implanted foot I press against the Earth" (*VAS* II, No. 28:10); cf. *A S K T*, No. 21, where the construction with allative (*e*) of the noun is exemplified. More usual is construction with *-a* in the noun as e.g. in [*a i a - m u A n*] *l u g a l a i a d i n g i r - r e - e - n e u n - e* [*b a r*] *á - k ù - g a b a - e - t u š a m a - m u* ^e*U r a š n i n - d i n g i r - r e - e - n e A n - d a k i - n ú - k ù - g a e - n e - s ù - g a l - b a - e - d u*, "my father, king An, father of the gods, sits (enthroned) above the people on a pure throne dais, my mother Urash, queen of the gods, grandly disports herself with An on a pure couch" (*SRT*, No. 6:85-88); *u r é - t ù r - r a h u l - ù n á - a - b a l a g n a m - b a - e - š u b - e : k a l - b a š á i n a t a r - b a - š i r a b - š u l i m - n i š k u r - b a n - l a t a - n a - a s - s u k* (Nergal Hymn, line 25; Zimmern in *ZA* XXXI [1917/18] 112-17), "do not viciously throw a lump of earth at the dog in the cattle pen when it has lain down (lit. 'in its having lain down'—construed 'the dog which lies in the cattle pen' in the Akkadian translation); *s a g - g i - g a i g i - 'g á l* *m u - e - g á l*, "the black-headed people are before me" (*S E M*, No. 51 ii 9; dupl. *P B S* I 2, No. 104 rev. 9, has *m u - u n - g á l*); *d i n g i r d i - g á l a - b a - e - g u b*, "no god sat (as judge, lit. 'stood') in my case (*P B S* X 2, No. 6 rev. i 33); *n í g K i - e n - g i - r a b a - a - g u - (u l) - l a k u r - r a g a - à m - m i - f b - g u - u l*, "what it has destroyed in Sumer let me destroy in the highland" (Barton, *MBI*, No. 3

[Footnote 12 continued]

vi 22-23); *tilla-a nam-ba-e¹-gub-bu-dè-en*, “do not stand around in the square” (*SEM*, No. 70:12; dupl. *BE* XXXI, No. 51); *mu-ur-ra ud ba-e-zal: ina gu-šu-ri a-bit*, “I passed the day (Akkadian: ‘the night’) on the beams (of the ceiling)” (K.41; *PSBA* XVII, Pls. I-II); *é-bi Ni-na-ab^ki-a ga-su_s-en-[dè-en] ga-ba-e-su_s-en-dè-¹eⁿ!*, “to that house in Ninab let us proceed, thereunto let us proceed” (*SEM*, No. 58:20). As examples of construction with -šè and of alternance with infix -n-ši-may serve *ga-an-ši-su_s-dè-en Umma^ki-a sig₄ Kur-šà-ga-šè ga-an-ši-su_s-dè-en* (var. *ga-e-su_s-dè-en*), “let us proceed toward it, toward brick-built Kurshaga in Umma let us proceed” (Inanna’s Descent, line 312); *ga-e-su_s-en-dè-en Bad-Tibirakⁱ-a Ê-muš-kalam-ma-šè ga-an-ši-su_s-en-dè-en* (*ibid.* line 322), Text M adding the line *Bad-tibira Ê-muš-kalam-ma-šè ġir-ni-šè ba-e-su_s-eš*, “they proceeded at her heels (lit. ‘toward her feet’) toward Emushkalamma and Badtibira”; *ga-e-su_s-dè-en ġišhashur-gul-la edin Kul-ab^ki ġišhashur-gul-la edin Kul-ab^ki ġir-ni-šè ba-e-su_s-re-eš*, “let us proceed, at her heels to the destroyed apple tree in the Kullab desert, (to) the destroyed apple tree in the Kullab desert they proceeded” (*ibid.* line 331); *kur-šè ga-e-su_s-en-¹dè-en*, “let us proceed to the highland” (*TUM* n.F. III [1961] No. 5:15). It should be mentioned that a possible variant interpretation of the examples with *su_s* is to assume a root *ere* written *e-re₇* or *e-re₇-re*.

Instances of *e* separated from the root *e* by a written *a* are *En-si₁₁-ga an-na ba-e-a-è₁₁-dè* (Lugalbanda Epic, line 253), *kur-ra ba-e-a-è₁₁* (Inanna’s Descent, lines 5 ff.).

(d) *n* with 1st person singular reference. Examples in which the pronominal infix component *n* seems to occur with 1st person singular reference are *umun šà-zu ma-da nu-mu-un-da-ġál-e:be-lum šá lib-ba-ka ‘la te’ep-ta-a*, “Lord who opened not thy heart for me (n.d.a)” (*SBH*, No. 44:10-11); *un-ni-in-rig_s*, “when he had granted unto me (n.i)” (Hammurabi; *OECT* I, Pl. 18, col. i 11); *saġ-e-eš hu-mu-ni-rig_s*, “as a gift may she grant unto me (n.i)” (Warad-Sin; *UET* I, No. 127:49); *a-ba mu-un-da-ab-sá-a . . . a-ba mu-un-da-ab-si-ge:man-nu i-šá-an-na-an-ni [ia]-ti man-nu ú-maš-šá-la-[an-ni] ia-ti*, “who competes with me (n.d.a), who compares with me (n.d.a)” (*SBH*, No. 56:1-3); *ní-gal hu-mu-un-da-ri* (var. *h é-d a[?]-ri*): *nam-ri-ir-ri lu ra-ma-ku*, “a great splendor is verily upon me (n.d.a)” (Angin IV 17); *šu-[ni] mu-un-ši-in-ir: [q]a-ti-šu úb-lam-ma*, “he stretched out his hand toward me” (K.41 ii 5-6; *PSBA* XVII, Pls. I-II [cf. dupl. Langdon, *BL*, No. 71:29-30]; older text *CT* XV, Pl. 25, lines 6 and 7, has *mu-ši-in-ir*); *lú-lul l-me-a mu-un-na-ab-bé-e-[NE]:šá sar-rat-mi i-qab-bu-ni*, “they tell to me (n.a): ‘she is the one who is false’” (*ASKT*, No. 21:53-54).

(e) Examples in which *n* occurs where 2nd person pronominal infix component *e* is expected are *LIB-BAR in-na-ab-a-ġe-NE: ú-pa-qu-ka*, “(the people) watch you (n.a)” (hymn to Utu; IV R 17, lines 19-20); *kur-ra gun-ġur-ru gun h é-en-na-an-ġur-ru: šá-du-na-aš bil-ti bil-tú liš-ši-ka*, “may the tribute-bearing highland carry tribute to you (n.a)” (IV R 18, line 5; cf. lines 10-11, 12-13, 14-15, 16-17); *za-e sila zi-da šu àm-mi-ni-[ib-m ú]-m ú: ka-a-šu su-le-e kil-tum i-kar-rab-ki*, “the

righteous street salutes you (n.i)” (*SBH*, No. 53:7-8); *‘ù’ nu-mu-un-na-ku-ù-NE: ú-la i-ša-al-la-ki*, “they cannot sleep because of you (n.a)” (*RA* XXIV [1927] 36, obv. 15 and rev. 17); *En-líl-le igi-zi mu-un-ši-in-bar*, “Enlil looked truly toward you (n.ši)” (Iddin-Dagan hymn *TCL* XVI, No. 88:11-13; dupl. *PBS* V, No. 64 [with var. *e* for *u*]; *SRT*, No. 52).

To explain this broad use of *e* and *n* is not easy, but one might consider the possibility that they are basically elements of spatial indication so that *e* would denote essentially “the one where you are” and *n* “the one where he is.” While “the one where you are” would normally serve to denote “you,” it could as needed be used also for “I (here) where you are” and “he/it where you are.” In favor of such an assumption is the obvious relation of *e* to the demonstrative pronominal suffix -e, which seems to have much the same range as to grammatical person. With clear 2nd person reference it occurs in variation with -zu in *izi C 25-26* (VAT 9714; unpubl.), *ki-zu-neⁿ-neⁿ: it-ti-ku-nu*, *ki-e-ne-ne: MIN* (= *ittikunu*), and in its use in address, e.g. *lugal-e ud me-lam-bi ni-r-ġál*, “you king here, a storm the glory of which is noble” (see *JNES* V [1946] 132 f., n. 9, for further examples). With 3rd person and 3rd neuter reference it is translated *anná*, “this,” in Old Babylonian and *šū*, “the one in question,” in Old Akkadian (see *GSG* §§ 223-26), and the full gamut of personal reference would be covered if—as seems highly probable—we may identify it with the *e* of the full form of the personal independent pronouns *ġa.e*, “I,” *za.e*, “thou,” *a.ne*, “he,” “she.”

(4) The 2nd person plural pronominal infix component occurs in the *alākum* paradigm in *MSL* IV consistently as *e-ne*. As noted in *MSL* IV 10 and *JNES* XXII (1963) 18 f., the infix shows explicit case-mark (.a) only in the imperative forms, and it is not clear whether the *e-ne* which occurs in indicative represents a contracted form of *e-ne-a* or a variant *e-ne-#* with zero case-mark rather than -a. The Neo-Babylonian grammatical texts list *e-ne-a: ku-nu-ti* (*MSL* IV, NBGT I 149) with *e-ne-ne-a* (*ibid.* line 150), *e-ne-šè: a-n[a] ku-nu-ti AN-TA* (*ibid.* line 156) with *un-ne-šè*, *an-ne-šè*, *in-ne-šè*, *en-ne-šè* (*ibid.* lines 157-60), and similar series with case-marks -da and -ta (*ibid.* lines 161-70). Also NBGT II gives *e-ne: ku-nu-[ti]* in line 206 and *e-ne-a: ku-nu-šim¹(?)* in line 207. In context *e-ne* occurs in Lugal-e X 26 as variant of the form with doubled *n*: *en-ne* in *ní-me-lám-mu ba-e-en-ne-en-dul* (var. *ba-e-ne-en-dul*): *pu-luh-ti mé-lam-mi-ia ik-tum-[ku-nu-ti]*, “my splendor and glory (Akkadian: ‘fear of my glory’) covered you,” and in line 25 in *giriš-gin_x šu ha-ba-e-en-zé-en(?) -sīg(?)* (var. *ha-ba-e-ne-e[n-sīg]*): *ki-ma kur-šip-ti e-mi-iš-ku-nu-[ti]*, “as a moth I crushed you.” Note, further, Lugal-e XIII 10: *a-ba šu in-[n]e-ši-in-túm: man-nu qat-su ub-lak-ku-nu-ši*, “who stretched out a (helping) hand toward you?” The form of the pronominal element, although we have here read it consistently as *e-ne*, can, unfortunately, not be considered altogether certain. The reading *e-ne* allows explanation of the variants *en-ne* and *in-ne*, i.e., prefix *i* + (*e*) *nne*, as due to lengthening of the *n* only; it also gives a higher degree of unity to the paradigm since the reading of the pronominal infix component 3rd person as *ne* is certain. Accordingly *e-ne*, “you,” might be interpreted as “thou” (*e*) + “they” (*n* *e*). None of these considerations seems altogether decisive, however, and a reading *e-*

d, š, t. The relater elements are .a, "inside of" (illative), .e, "on surface of" (allative), and zero, "in propinquity to" (collative).¹³ Depending upon how many partitive parataxis relations they contain, compounds formed from these kinds of components will thus have reference to (1) the whole (pronominal element + zero), (2) a part (pronominal element + relater denoting "inside" or "on surface"), and (3) a part of a part (pronominal element + nominal element denoting some part of it + relater denoting "inside" or "surface" part of the part) of a pronominally indicated entity.

Consonantly with the grammatical categories

dè with variant en-dè must still remain a possibility.

As competitor to the 2nd person plural pronominal infix component e-ne seems to occur also the element enzen. In the rather badly preserved form found in Lugal-e X 25 (quoted above), šu ha-ba-e-en-zé-en(?) -siğ(?), enzen seems to take the place of e-ne as infix. More frequently, however, it seems to be used as a suffix in forms with 2nd person singular infix changing the singular reference of the infix to plural, much as the addition of the plural suffix -eš to a form with 3rd person singular subject-infix of transitive active preterit changes the singular reference of the subject-infix to plural. Examples of such usage seem to occur in Inanna's Descent, lines 261-62 (cf. the parallel lines 239-40): dingir hé-me-en-zé-en inim ga-mu-ra (var. F: -ri) -an-du₁₁-en-zé-en (var. E omits -en-zé-en) lú-u_x he-me-en-zé-en nam-zu ga-mu-ri-ib-tar-en-zé-en (var. F omits en-zé-en; var. E: dè-eb-...-re), "If you be gods let me speak a word with you, if you be men let me decide for (lit. 'on') you thy (sic!) fate" (PAPS CVII 512). The text is unfortunately in bad state of preservation, as is also that of Lugal-e XII 30-31, where traces in the various versions seem combinable into similar forms: ha-ra-an-x-sub-zé(!)-en and mí zi-[dè-e]š hé-en-du₁₁-en-[zé(?)-en. Such combination must, however, for the present be considered highly questionable.

(5) The 3rd person plural pronominal infix component occurs as ne in the *alākum* paradigm in *MSL* IV and in the Neo-Babylonian grammatical texts as e-ne, e-ne-ne, un-ne-ne, an-ne-ne, un-ne, an-ne, in-ne, etc. (see *MSL* IV, NBGT I 185-201 and NBGT II 234-55). The reading as ne—probably representing ñe with long n tending to form syllable top—can be shown from forms in which it occurs contracted with following a and is written with the unambiguous sign na rather than with NE/DÈ.

As examples of infix ne.a contracted to nã written either ne or na may serve mu-ne-dù, var. mu-na-dù, "he built for them," and kib mu-na-dù, var. mu-ne-dù (Sollberger, *Corpus*, Ent. 45-73). For other examples see Sollberger, *Le système verbal dans les inscriptions "royales" présargoniques de Lagaš* (Genève, 1952) pp. 74 f. From the Ur III period note e.g. PN₁ ù PN₂-ra ù-ne-a-du₁₁ (*ITT* V, No. 6975) besides PN₁ ù PN₂-ra ù-na-a-du (*YOS* IV, No. 119), and hé-ne-sum-mu (*ITT* IV, No. 8002) besides hé-ne-a-b-sum-mu

governing for their components the infixes are ordered in ranks according to person and gender (inherent in the pronominal component), case (expressed by the relater component), and relative quantity or size (conveyed in the nominal component).

The ordering by person establishes in the series of infix ranks three successive points of division, a first person point, a later second person point, and a last third person point. Since the category of person is narrowly applied—to persons as complete entities, to whole persons, not to parts—the ordering affects only infixes in which the primary reference is to the person as

(*ITT* II, No. 2751) and hé-na-ab-sum-mu (*YOS* IV, No. 134), "may you give to them." In texts of the Old Babylonian period the writings ne and na continue; cf. e.g. íd a-ba mu-ne-ba-ne, "they gave them the river in its (stage of being full of) water" (Inanna's Descent, line 264; cf. line 265 and see also lines 241-42), besides šu-ne-ne-a in-na-su-m, "she gave him to them into their hands" (*ibid.* line 342), and ur-sağ-bi-ne-er gù mu-na-dé-e, "said to its (i.e., Kullab's) warriors as follows (durative)" (Gilgamesh and Agga, line 52; *AJA* LIII 8). Frequently, however, length of the n of ne is indicated by double writing and occasionally its function as syllable top is shown by the writing nin rather than nn; cf. mu-un-ne-dè-en-ku, "she entered therewith to them" (*SRT*, No. 6 obv. ii 7), nam-hé-en-ne-ib-tar-re, "may she decide as fate unto them" (*SAKI*, p. 220, eii 13), sağ-e-eš mu-ne-in-rig₅-eš, "they granted to them as a gift" (*SRT*, No. 36:41), inim in-ne-en-du₁₁-ga, "the word he spoke to them" (Lugalbanda Epic, line 238), and mu-un-ne-ši-in-hal-hal-la: i-zu-us-su-nu-ti, "he divided among them" (*CT* XVI, Pl. 19, lines 62-63) besides sig₄ É-kur-ra-ke₄ sa₆-ga-zu ^dEn-líl-^dNin-líl-ra hu-mu-ni-in-ib-bé, var. hu-mu-un-ne-ib-bé, "may the brickwork of Ekur speak favorably of you to Enlil and Ninlil" (*TCL* XVI, No. 88 iv 9-12), where ne is rendered alternately as ni-in-i... and ...n-ne-i.... Note also ba-an-du₁₁-ni-ib-ku₄-re-eš-a (var. ba-an-di-ni-ib-ku₄-re-eš-àm and ba-e-en-di-ni-ib-ku₄-re-eš-àm), "they entered therewith (ni) away from them (ne-di > ñ.di), in Lugalbanda Epic, line 84, where ne.di > ñ(e).di is written alternately ...n-du, ...n-di, and e-en-di.

¹³ The system of case-marks (relaters) occurring in the affixes of the verb is presented in diagram form on p. 88 (the pronominal element involved being symbolized by "P" or by a square, the part of it affected in the case relation being indicated by shading).

The dimensions within which this system operates are generally those of (1) "degré d'intimité" or "cohérence-incohérence" and (2) "direction" or "rapprochement-éloignement" as defined by Hjelmlev in his study *La catégorie des cas* ("Acta Jutlandica" VII 1) pp. 128-36 (Système sublogique).

The particular form which the dimension of "cohérence-incohérence" takes in Sumerian is that of "inhérence-adhé-

a whole, that is, infixes of the form pronominal element plus zero. These infixes distribute into rank classes at the first person singular point comprising the first person singular element zero plus zero, at the second person singular point

comprising the second person singular element -e- plus zero, and at the third person singular point comprising the third person singular element n plus zero.

Concurrent with the ordering by person runs

rence"; it seems statable as one of contrast between interiority and surface relations. The particular form which the dimension of "rapprochement-éloignement" takes seems to be one of degree of closeness in a contrast whole:part (internal:external). Hjelmslev's alternative over-all term for this dimension, "direction," is therefore not so suitable; rather, the Sumerian cases appear to show essential neutrality as to direction as such. They focus attention on a relation but do so without specific indication as to whether the relation is coming into being, exists, or has ceased to be; in spatial terms that amounts to saying that "to" and "from" the relevant position are not explicitly distinguished.

The four basic cases are collative (#), illative (a), allative (i/e), and tangential (u).

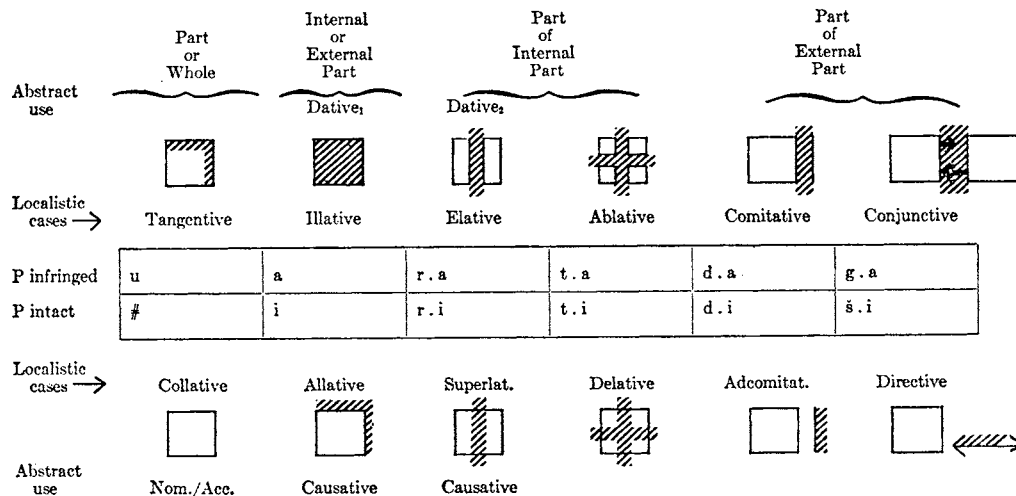
The collative, distinguished by zero mark, appears to denote a togetherness of two entities amounting to complete coincidence, immanence of one in the other. The entities are engaged in this relation as wholes. As illustration of the collative relation may serve *igi zid mu-š i-b a r*, "he opened the eye truly toward him" (Gudea Cyl. A i 3; cf. *GSG* §§ 392-93). The relation here expressed by the zero-case after *zid* (*adverbialis*) holds between *zid* and the verb and is that of the togetherness, immanence, of a quality ("truly") and the bearer of the quality (the act of opening). Very similar is the use of zero-case (collative) with the subject of intransitive verb. The togetherness, immanence, here expressed is that of the action and its performer. As we have mentioned, the Sumerian cases can express equally well the existence of a relation or either its coming into being or its having ceased, and we may distinguish these latter uses of the collative as accollative and decollative respectively. As accollative the zero-case appears with the infixes *n #* and *b #* of intransitive verbs, e.g. in *DU-n u d u m u - m u k i - t a - m u - š è t u š - a - a b : a l - k a m a - r i t i - š a b i n a š a [p - l i - i a]*, "come, my child, sit down below me" (*KAR*, No. 111 obv. 3 and rev. 3). The relation expressed is one of incipient togetherness of the action ("sitting") and a place

("below me") and as means serve with the infix *b #* the zero-case used as accollative, with the noun the directional case *-š è* indicating "approach toward." As accollative we may consider also the zero-case in its use to mark the direct object of a transitive active verb. It denotes there the coming into being of the togetherness of the action and the undergoer of the action, and it serves very much the same function when used with subject of a passive verb. As decollative, denoting that a relation of togetherness or immanence has ceased, the zero-case occurs, as far as we can see, only in the ergative infixes which denote subject of transitive active preterit, such as e.g. *n #* and *b #*. The action has left the agent, the subject, to lodge in the undergoer of it, the direct object. This use of the zero-case is not found with the noun.

The use of the illative, which has the case-mark *a*, is sufficiently well known to call for little comment. The relation it denotes corresponds closely to that denoted by the Akkadian preposition *ina*, "into," "in," "from within." As an example of the last of these meanings may serve *k i - a : i š - t u e r - š e - t i m*, "from within the earth" (*Lugal-e VIII 26*).

The allative, which has the case-mark *i/e*, denotes a relation to surface or border: "at," "on." It too can denote "to at," "at," and "from at." The last of these meanings seems to underlie its use with the noun to denote the subject of active transitive verb as the departure point of the action.

The tangential, lastly, has the case-mark *u* and appears to denote an internal relation to surface or border. It is not used with the noun but seems to survive in the possessive pronominal suffixes (see below). In the verb it occurs in several of the prefixes, most clearly perhaps in the prefix *m u*. As the other cases it is essentially neutral as to direction since it can denote equally well the coming into being, the existence, and the having ceased of the relation. As illustrations may serve *š u - n i m u - š i - i n - i r*, "he stretched out his hand toward me" (*CT XV*, Pl. 25, line 7), where direction is toward the speaker's place (*m u*-), and *t ú g - m u m u - u n - k a r*, "he



a corresponding ordering by case. This ordering also divides the infix series into three: a series of infixes in .a (illatives), a following series in .i (allatives), and a series in zero. The two

took away my clothes" (*ibid.* line 9), where direction is from the speaker's place (m u-).

Besides the four basic cases, for which simplex markers are characteristic (#, a, i/e, u), a number of cases with more complex markers occur. These complex marks are generally formed with simplex mark a or i/e, so that the simplex mark stands in partitive parataxis with a preceding substantival element which then in its turn is in partitive parataxis with the stem of the word or element that takes the case-mark.

There appear to be eight such complex case-marks used in the verb. They establish relations to the interior (r a) or exterior (r i) of a vertical median, to the interior (t a) or exterior (t i) of a horizontal (or vertical) median, to the interior (d a) or exterior (d i) of a lateral zone, to the interior of a lateral zone of interplay (g a), and to a line of direction (š i/š e).

A clear example of r a (elative) in its basic localistic use occurs in m u-n a-r a-d é-e, "he pours out (wine) for her" (*SRT*, No. 1 iv 39-40; cf. Falkenstein in *ZA* XLV [1939] 187). Note also its use for "out of" with the noun in such cases as l u-g a-l l u-g a-l-e-n e-e-r, "a king out of the kings" (*LIH*, No. 58:37; cf. Poebel in *OLZ* XVIII [1915] 134-35). A clear example of r i (superlative) is found in i m-m i-r i-b a-l-b a-l, "he crossed over it (a mountain range)" (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, line 171), and note its occurrence with nouns, respectively clauses, in m u-5-à m m u-10-à m b a-z a-l-[l a]-r i, "after (lit. 'over and across') that 5 to 10 years had passed." For other examples see *AS* No. 12, p. 96. The essential neutrality as to direction of these and the other complex-mark cases is suggested by the use of r a also for personal dative, which suggests underlying "down into," "inwardly affecting," as a possible meaning besides "out of," and the similar use of r i for "unto you." For d a (comitative), "from with" besides "with" and "to with," see Falkenstein, *Grammatik*, § 34 a 2, and note the value "amidst" besides "from" for t a (ablative). That š è can denote not only "toward" but also "away" is shown by m u-u d-b i-t a-b i e-š è-ġ a-r, "its earlier name he discarded (lit. 'set away from it')" (Urukagina Cone B + C xii 34-35; cf. col. viii 7-9), and perhaps by a m-t i-l a š u-b i-š è i-i m-l á, "a live wild ox hung from its (Imdugud's) talons" (Lugalbanda Epic, line 65). Essential for the relation expressed by š i/š è (directive) is thus apparently the fact of direction as such, not whether "to" or "from."

The original meanings of the substantival elements which form part of the complex case-marks seem relatively transparent, and one may perhaps venture the guess that d of d a/d i is cognate with d a, "arm," so that d a, "with," is originally "in the arm of," d i "at the arm of," and that š i/š è (full form e š e) is cognate with e š e, "rope," "line," so that e š e, "toward," is originally "on the line of." In the case of t a/t i the Akkadian translations of t a by (*w*)ištum, "(from) in the middle," qereb, "in midst" (*ŠL* II 140, 13), and ina qabal, "in midst" (*ŠL* II 139, 19), suggest strongly a meaning "middle" for the element t. Only in the cases of the r of r a/r i and the g of g a is there no clear indication. Whether in all of these cases we are dealing with original consonantal roots or rather with contracted forms on the

orders, by person and by case, are so correlated that the a-series follows the first person singular plus zero rank, the i-series follows the second person singular plus zero rank, and the zero

pattern d a-a > d á > d a and d a-i/e > d ê > d e we prefer to leave undecided.

The oppositions of meaning in which the various cases stand within the system are, it will be noted, very frequently—perhaps generally—those of class and subclass, such as e.g. rectangle and square, not those of class and class, such as e.g. rectangle and circle. (On this feature of grammatical opposition see e.g. Roman Jakobson, "Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kasuslehre," *Travaux du Cercle linguistique de Prague* VI [1936] 246 f., and Hjelmslev, *La catégorie des cas*, pp. 112 f.) As example may serve the opposition between t a, denoting relation to internals of a median (horizontal or vertical) and r a, denoting relation to internals of a vertical median only.

Besides the localistic use to designate relatively concrete spatial relations some of the cases have developed also a more abstract use to serve as so-called "logical" or "grammatical" cases. In our discussion of the collative or zero-case we have already dealt with such abstract use of it as subject case (nominative) and object case ((accusative) and have seen this use as based on original localistic use for "togetherness." Similarly, the illative (a) and the elative (r a) develop "abstract" use as datives, probably over their use to indicate the coming into being of relations "into" and "down into" as "inwardly affecting." The first of these (a-dative) can be used in the verb for all persons; the second (r a-dative) seems restricted to use with 1st and 2nd person singular although one late case of use with 3rd person singular seems attested (see p. 92 below, Pr. 19). (Outside the verb a is used as dative after possessive pronouns, r a as personal dative with both nouns and pronouns.)

The allative (i/e) and superlative (r i), finally, develop "abstract" use as causatives to mark the person caused to act. Outside the verb the allative in -e develops ergative function as mark of subject of transitive active verb. Of the two causatives, r i seems restricted to use in the verb and to use with 2nd person singular.

Comparison of the case system of the verbal affixes thus outlined with the case system found outside the verb in the pronoun and in the noun shows rather close affinity with the case system of the pronoun, less affinity with that of the noun. Since the verbal affixes are generally pronominal in nature this is only natural.

The case system of the independent personal pronoun shows, as does that of the verbal affixes, a collative in # which serves to mark subject of intransitive and transitive verb, both active and passive (nominative), as well as to mark object of transitive active verb (accusative). (For the forms of the personal pronouns see Poebel in *GSG* §§ 173-205 and *ZA* XXXIX [1930] 134 ff. and Falkenstein, *Grammatik*, §§ 12-13. That the final e of ġ a e, z a e, and a n e is part of the stem, not a case element, was shown by Poebel in *GSG* § 177.) The case system of the noun differs here significantly in that it restricts the collative in # to use as a kind of *casus patiens* for subject of intransitive and passive verb merely and for object of transitive active verb. For *casus agens*, subject of transitive active verb, the case system of the noun uses not collative in # but rather allative in e.

Both the case system of the pronouns and that of the verbal affixes use the illative case in -a for personal dative (note esp. this use with possessive pronouns in the Ur III d i t i l l a

series coalesces with the third person singular plus zero rank into one single rank immediately before the root.

The successive series of the ordering by person and case—except the zero series—are further divided according to the gender of explicit or

understood pronominal element into a subseries with personal and a following subseries with neuter pronominal reference. As to explicit or understood pronominal reference, it would appear that explicit pronominal reference can only occur with the first of several elements belonging

a(-CASE) SERIES

Personal (Gender) Subseries						Neuter (Gender) Subseries						
Erg. 1st p. sg.	a-Dat.	r a-Dat.	Abl.	Comit.	Dir.	*Erg. 1st n. sg.	a-Dat.	Elat.	Abl.	Comit.	Dir.	
P ₁ -#	P-a	-r.a	-t.a	-d.a	<-š.a>	<N ₁ -#>	N-a	-r.a	-t.a	-d.a	<-š.a>	(cont.)

e/i(-CASE) SERIES

Personal (Gender) Subseries						Neuter (Gender) Subseries						
Erg. 2nd p. sg.	All.	Sup.	Delat.	Adcom.	Dir.	*Erg. 2nd n. sg.	All.	Sup.	Delat.	Adcom.	Dir.	
P ₂ -#	P-i	-r.i	-t.i	-d.i	-s.i	<N ₂ -#>	N-i	-r.i	-t.i	-d.i	-š.i	(cont.)

ZERO(-CASE) SERIES

Personal (Gender) Subseries		Neuter (Gender) Subseries	
Erg. 3rd p./n. sg.	Zero Collat.	Erg. 3rd n. sg.	Zero Collat.
P ₃ -#	P-#	N ₃ -#	N-#
↑		↓	
← collapsed into →			

texts; see Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden*, No. 31, n. 12'). The case system of the noun differs from them by preferring allative in -e (Falkenstein in *ZA* XLV 181-83) for such use. All the systems use the elative (r a) for personal dative, but in the verb this use is largely restricted to 1st and 2nd person singular.

Both the case system of the pronouns and that of the verbal affixes use the case-mark u, which does not occur in the case system of the noun. In the verb, u occurs in relatively clear tangential function, e.g. in the prefix mu-, where it indicates location on the inside border of the speech area (m). In pronouns it occurs in "abstract" rather than localistic use in the possessive pronominal suffixes ġu, "my," and zu, "thy." For the understanding of this extension of usage of the tangential, Roman Jakobson's analysis of the genitive (specifically the Russian genitive) as a limiting case (*op. cit.* pp. 255 f.) is instructive. Jakobson points out that the genitive "stetz die Grenze der Teilnahme des bezeichneten Gegenstandes am Sachverhalte der Aussage ankündigt" and that "Der G. an sich besagt nur, dass der Umfang der Teilnahme des Gegenstandes am Sachverhalte der Aussage geringer als sein gesamter Umfang ist." To express this limiting function of the genitive, respectively of the possessive, the tangential was obviously well suited.

Points on which the case system of the pronouns agrees with that of the noun against the case system of the verbal affixes are primarily the use of the genitive -a k (actually hardly a proper case element since it is not mutually exclusive with the case elements) and the simulative -g i n_x, which do not seem to be used in the verb. Conversely, the conjunctive g a does not seem to appear with pronoun or noun, where the Akkadian loanword u, "and," fulfills its function. That di and ti have so far not been found with pronouns and nouns may be due to accident only; the superlative ri is attested with the

noun in the meaning "after" (lit. "over and across"; see above).

It may also be noted that as illative (a) in the verb more and more comes to be used for dative its purely illative function is taken over there in some measure by the allative (i / e); note especially the use of the infix -n i- for both "in" and "on it." In the noun, on the other hand, illative (a) not only tends to maintain itself in its illative function but to take over from allative (e), which is becoming relatively rare. Allative (e) also appears to lose out to dative -r a in the noun with words denoting persons, presumably because a relation of "on" or "at" a person would tend to affect him emotionally or "inwardly," so that dative is preferred. It maintains itself with words denoting non-personals.

The causative, which in the verb is expressed by allative (i), has in the noun completely coalesced with dative and is expressed by dative (-r a) with personals, by allative (e) with neuters.

Provisionally the differences of usage of the three case systems may be shown in diagram form as follows:

	Noun	Pronoun	Verb
u	.....	(Tangential) Possessive	Tangential
#	Collative (adverbialis) → Object case → Subject case intr. pass.	(Collative) → Object case → Subject case →	Collative Object case Subject case
e/i	Allative → Subject case tr. act. Causative (neut.) → Dative (pers./neut.)	Allative → Causative (pers./?) →	Allative + Illative use Causative (pers./neut.)
a	Illative → + Allative use	Illative → Dative (pers./?) →	Illative Dative (pers./neut.)
ra	Elative → Dative (pers.) → Absorbs allative (pers.) Absorbs causative (pers.)	Elative → Dative (pers.) →	Elative Dative (1/2 pers. sg.)

to the same subseries if they occur together in a form; for the others the pronominal reference must be left understood.

Lastly, within the subseries, the various infix ranks are ordered according to relative quantity conveyed by the partitive nominal component. After the ranks of infixes referring to the pronominal element as a whole (pronominal element + zero) and the following rank denoting a part of it (pronominal element + relater *a* or *i*) follow the ranks of infixes denoting a part of a part of it, beginning with the rank of infixes with component *r*, then—presumably in this order—those with component *t*, those with *d*, and those with *š*.

Representing personal pronominal component by “P,” neuter by “N,” using index figures when a rank has only first, second, or third person pronominal element, and showing the pronominal elements only with the first two ranks of a subseries, we may express in diagram form (see p. 90) the ordering here discussed.¹⁴

¹⁴ A few further comments on the ranking of the infixes may be in order.

(1) As may be seen from *e-bé Íd-nun-ta Gú-edin-na-šè íb-ta-ni-è*, “he led its (i.e., the boundary’s) ditch out from the Idnun canal to Guedinak” (Entemena Cone A ii 1-3), the order of the infixes is infix ending in *a*, *ta*, preceding infix ending in *i/e*, *ni*. This order will be found to be generally observed in the Sumerian verb; the infixes in *a* all rank before those in *i/e*.

(2) The subdivision into infixes with personal and infixes with neuter pronominal reference, the former preceding the latter in the form, is seen particularly clearly in cases where the same infix occurs twice in a form and differently ranked. This difference in rank, which must reflect a difference in function, can be attributed to the difference of personal and neuter reference. An example is *[nam-é]-hul-a-na mun-na-te a-nir-gig-ga-bi im-da-ra-da-gá-gá*, “the fate of his (i.e., Nanna’s) destroyed house she (i.e., Ningal) presented (lit. ‘brought close’) to him, a bitter lament for it (lit. ‘its bitter lament’) she was setting up with him (*da*) anent it (*ra*; lit. ‘(arising) out of it’) besides it (*da*)” (*AS* No. 12, p. 26, line 85). Similar is *nin-e gù eme-gin_x ne-a im-ma-da-ra-da-[dé-e]* (*PBS* X 4, No. 6 obv. 12), “the lady (i.e., Ninmara) cries out because of this (i.e., the defiling of her treasures stated in lines 10-11) to him (*da*; i.e., Enlil, mentioned in lines 5-7) besides them (*da*; i.e., the defiled treasures) like a . . .(?)” The *-a* of *ne-a* and the infix *-ra-* which resumes it in the verb both denote “(arising) out of” = “because.” A further example is *ud ki-šár-ra ma-ra-ta-è-a dingir-zu 4Nin-giš-zi-da ud-gin_x ki-ša-ra ma-ra-da-ra-ta-è*, “the daylight which issued out for you from the horizon was your personal god Ningishzida, he is able (*da*) as is the daylight to issue

a-CASE SERIES

PERSONAL REFERENCE SUBSERIES

(1) First Person Singular Ergative (< Decollative) (Pr. 21)

P₁-#, that is, *##*, mark of first personal singular ergative, that is, of first person singular subject of transitive active preterit form. The

out for you (*ra*) anent it (*ra*; lit. ‘(arising) out of it,’ i.e., the temple building) from the horizon (*a* resumed by *ta* in the verb)” (Gudea Cyl. A v 19-20). The passage states that Gudea’s personal god can emerge from the ground—he is a chthonic god—in faraway regions and exert his powers to bring the needed building materials for the temple. Other cases are *èš-za sahar-ta ma-ra-ra-an-fl-la*, “in your mansion, in what he has raised up for you (*ra*) from out of the dust (*ta* resumed by *ra* in the verb)” (Lugal-e; *SRT*, No. 21 iii 12), and *níg(!)-bar(!)sur-ra ma-ra-ra-ra’an-e₁₁-ne*, “they bring it (i.e., the upholstery of the plow) up for you (*ra*) out of (*ra*) the mangle” (Plow and Pickax, line 110 [*BE* XXXI, No. 50:4, restored from unpubl. 3NT 529]). Note also the varying order of *a-bi dug-šè ù-mu-e-ni-š_i-in-gi_i*: *me-e šu-nu-ti ana kar-pa-ti ti-ir-ma*, “when you (*e*) have made him (*ni*) return that water to (*šè* resumed by *š_i* in the verb) the pot (Akkadian simplifies to ‘return that water to the pot and . . .’),” in *CT* XVII, Pl. 32, rev. 9-11, where *ni* with personal reference (causative) precedes *š_i* with neuter reference, and *4Nin-urta á-zág-e kur-ra gír mu-e-š_i-ni* (var. *+ib*) -*gub-gub*: [*MIN A-sak-ku ina šadi-li ú-qa-a-ka*, “Ninurta, the Asakku awaits you (*eš_i*) in the highland (*a* resumed by *ni* in the verb)” (Lugal-e IV 4), and *zi šà mu-š_i-ni-gál*, “(you are . . .-grain rooted in great waters) and thereby (*a*, contracted with nominalizing *a* of *dù-a* in line 12, resumed by *ni* in the verb) you have made be unto me (*š_i*) life’s breath and courage (lit. ‘heart’)” (Gudea Cyl. A iii 13), where *š_i* with personal reference precedes *ni* with neuter reference.

(3) The order of the infixes within the gender subseries seems, to judge from the forms *ma-ra-da-ra-ta-è* (*P.ra-P.da-N.ra-N.ta*) and *im-da-ra-da-gá-gá* (*P.da-N.ra-N.da*), to be *-ra-ta/da*, the mutual order of *ta* and *da* remaining uncertain. In the formula *iti-ta ud-XXII ba-ta-ra-zal* (Schneider, *AnOr* VII 84, lines 11-12; cf. Falkenstein in *ZA* XLV 193 f.) one may assume gender differentiation and translate “out of the month (*ta* resumed by *ra* in the verb) 22 days had flown by for (lit. ‘from,’ *ta* infix) me” if the passage is not, as suggested by Falkenstein, a conflation of two variant formulas. As the mutual order of *ta* and *da* remains uncertain, so also does that of *-a* and *-ra*. We assume that *a* preceded. That in the *i/e* series *i* preceded *ri* seems indicated by *PBS* X 4, No. 14 obv. i 11-12: *4En-ki-ke₄ á-ni ba-š_i-in-du girin sug 4ba(!)-ni-gir_s-gir_s-e 4En-ki-ke₄ mud-me-dím-ní-te-a-na šà-bi 4giš-túg₁-pi-ta ù-mu-e-ni-ri-gi*, “Enki reached out his arm, pinching off a pinch of clay from the Apsu, when Enki in (*a* resumed by *e* in the verb) a tremor (lit. ‘his tremor’) making the limbs tremble had reflected (*gi*: *malāku*; *ŠL* II 85, 45) with (*ta* resumed by *ri* in the verb) understanding upon (*e* resumed by *ni* in the verb) its meaning (he said to his mother Nammu etc.).”

rank is hypothetical and is postulated for systematic reasons only. For all we know it might be ranked just as well with second or third person singular element; so far no distinctive mark of first person singular ergative has been isolated in any relevant form. Cf. for example *i-n-a¹-a-n-gar:iš-ku-un-šum*, *i[n-n]a-gar: <aškunšum>*, *[i]n-na-e-gar: <taškunšum>* (*MSL* IV 83, lines 118–20).

(2) Personal a-Dative (< Illative)
(Pr. 20)

P-a, mark of personal a-dative. Occurring forms are singular first person -e.a-, “for me,” second person -e.a-, “for thee,” third person -n.a-, “for him/her.” The basic, concrete, spatial meaning “into me/you/him/her” is not attested. Instead, the abstract, “grammatical,” meaning “inwardly,” “emotionally affecting,” prevails, so that the rank comes to serve as a *dativus commodi et incommodi* as for example in *m-u-n-a-a-n-gar:iš-ku-un-šum*, “he placed for him (m-u-n-a-n-gar)” (*MSL* IV 83, line 136).

(3) Personal r a-Dative (< Elative)
(Pr. 19)

P-r.a, mark of personal r a-dative. Occurring forms are singular first person #.r.a, “for me,” second person e-r.a, “for thee,” as for example *i-r-a-a-n-gar:iš-ku-un-kum*, “he placed for thee (i-(e).r a-n-gar)” (*MSL* IV 86, line 211); *n-r.a*, “for him,” seems to occur once in a late text: *dingir da-ga-na gar-mu-un-ra-ab: i-la-am/il-šu a-na i-di-šu šu-ku-un*, “place a (personal) god at his side for him (gar-mu-n.r a-b)” (IV R 17, lines 55–56).

(4) Personal Ablative (Pr. 18)

P-t.a, mark of personal ablative. Occurring forms are so far only singular third person n.t.a, “from (out of) him,” as for example *kù-Lugal-bà-n-da tu-ra-ni mu-un-ta-ab-è-dè*, “the illness of pure Lugalbanda left him” (*SEM*, No. 1 iv 24, restored from *OECT* I, Pl. 5, col. i 9).

(5) Personal Comitative (Pr. 17)

P-d.a, mark of personal comitative, contemporaneitive, *potentialis*, etc. Occurring forms

are singular first person (e.)d.a, “with me,” second person (e.)d.a, “with thee,” and third person (n.)d.a, “with him/her.” In addition to its use as comitative, “with,” for both stationary and moving comitative relation as well as incipient (“to with”) and ceasing (“from with”) aspects of the relation, the infixes of this rank serve to denote contemporaneitive “under him,” “at his time,” and, negated, the relation “before,” “(when) not yet.” They can also serve to denote ability in the subject: “is/were able to.” As examples of simple comitative use may serve *i-n-d-a-gar:iš-ku-un-šu*, “he placed with him (i-n.d a-(n-)gar)” (*MSL* IV 82, line 112), and *lú na-e-da-du*, “no man shall go with you (n a-e.d a-du)” (*Lugalbanda Epic*, line 274).

NEUTER REFERENCE SUBSERIES

(6) First Person Neuter Singular Ergative
(< Decollative)

N-#, that is, . . .-#, hypothetical mark of first neuter singular ergative. It must seem possible, though highly unlikely, that Sumerian distinguished a first person neuter singular element for address by animals and things. More likely, but so far not attested outside late grammatical inventories, is a first plural ergative element *m e #*, “we,” which may be assumed tentatively to have had this rank. Until further evidence can be adduced this rank must therefore be considered as hypothetical and as posited for systematic reasons only.

(7) Neuter a-Dative (< Illative)
(Pr. 16)

N-a, mark of neuter a-dative. Occurring forms are plural first person *m e(.a)*, “for us,” second person *e n e(.a)*, “for you,” third person *n e(.a)*, “for them,” as for example *hé-ne-ab-sum-mu*, “may you give to them (h e-n e.a-b-s u m-e(n))” (*ITT* II, No. 2751). In illative meaning, presumably the original meaning of the rank, N-a is replaced by N-i/e, which serves for both allative and illative.

(8) Neuter Elative (Pr. 15)

N-r.a, mark of neuter elative. Occurring forms are only singular third neuter (b.)r.a, “out of it,” as for example *k a-a-k i-a-DU-DU-t a*

a-d_{u10} ki-ta mu-na-ra-túm, "from the mouth of the waters flowing in the earth sweet water was brought for him out of it (mu-na-(b.)ra-tum) from below" (Enki and Ninhursag, line 56), umbin-?-ni mu-tur, ba-ra-an-túm, "dirt from under his nail he brought forth" (Inanna's Descent, line 219). Possible members of this rank—plural first person me-ra, "out of/for us," second person ene-ra, "out of/for you," and third person ne-ra, "out of/for them"—are not to our knowledge attested.

(9) Neuter Ablative (Pr. 14)

N-t.a, mark of neuter ablative, locative, and *instrumentalis*. Occurring forms are singular third neuter (b.)ta, "from it," "in it/them," "by means of it." As example of ablative use may serve lú É-nin nu-ta íb-ta-ab-è-è-a, "the man who will eject it (a statue) from Eninnu (i-b.ta-b-e-e-(e-)a)" (Gudea St. B iv 5-6).

(10) Neuter Comitative (Pr. 13)

N-d.a, mark of neuter comitative. Occurring forms are singular third neuter (b.)da, "with it," as for example ù-mu-na-da-ku₄-re, "when you have entered with it (i.e., a harp) before him (u-mu-na-(b.)da-ku₄-re(n))" (Gudea Cyl. A vii 2).

e/i-CASE SERIES

PERSONAL REFERENCE SUBSERIES

(11) Second Person Singular Ergative (< Decollative) and Accollative¹⁵ (Pr. 12)

P₂-#, that is, e#, mark of second person singular ergative, that is, second person singular

¹⁵ In departing from the traditional view which ranks the 2nd person singular subject element e of transitive active preterit immediately before the root and assigning to it instead a rank immediately after the infixes of the a-series and before those of the i/e-series we base ourselves on passages in which this e is seen to occur earlier in the form than such infixes as ni and ši and later than such infixes as da and ta. Examples are su kalam-ma mu-e-du₁₀ níġ-si-sá ka-ka mu-e-ni-ġar, "the muscles of the nation you eased, righteousness you placed in all mouths" (Iddin-Dagan hymn *SRT*, No. 52 ii 9'-11', and dupl. *TCL XVI*, No. 88 iii); níġ-si-sá Ki-en-gi-ki-Uri mu-e-ni-ġar, "you established righteousness in Sumer and Akkad" (Lipiteshtar hymn *TCL XVI*, No. 87 iv 1-3, and dupl. *UMB XVII 2* [Dec. 1952] p. 25); ka-zu ka-ġá um-me-te šu-um-du-um-mu ka(!)-za ù-ba-e-ni-dab, "when you have neared your mouth to my mouth, when you

subject of transitive active preterit form, as for example in-na-e-ġar: <taskunšum>, "thou didst place for him (i-n-na-e-ġar)" (*MSL IV* 83, line 120).

(12) Personal e- Allative and Causative (Pr. 11)

P-e, mark of personal allative and causative.¹⁶ Occurring forms are singular first person #e,

have seized my lip in your mouth" (*SRT*, No. 31:23-25); saġ-e-eš ù-mu-e-ni-riġ, "when you have granted it to him as a gift" (*CT XXXVI*, Pls. 31-32, rev. 18); a-ġi-n-ġen-mu-šè èn mu-e-ši-tar: ki-ma a-na a-la-ki-ia taš-ta-lu, "how you gathered intelligence (lit. 'asked') about my campaign" (*Lugal-e XII* 15); lú-siskur-ra-ke₄ mu-gub-ba-bi (var. +-ir) iġi zi ù-mu-e-ši-bar, "when you have looked truly toward the man of prayer and . . ." (*AS* No. 12, line 431); and (with contraction of i-m-ma-e- to im-me) lú-tur-mu ud um-me-ši-niġin ud um-me-ši-lá, "my little one, when you have rounded up the storms here for it, when you have hitched the storms here to it (i.e., the chariot of Ishkur)" (*CT XV*, Pl. 15, line 16). For occurrence of e after na, da, and ta note a-ġi-n_x mu-un-né-du₁₁ (var. mu-ne-du₁₁), "how could you say to him (n é/n e rendering contracted -na-e-)" (*Lugalbanda Epic*; *OECT I*, Pl. 7, line 37, and dupl. *SEM*, No. 1 v 35), ġiš-ši-ġar-ku₄-anna-ke₄ nam-ta-e-ġál: ši-ġar šame-e ellūti (KÜ-MEŠ) tap-ti, "you (Utu) have opened the pure bolts of Heaven" (*IV R 2*, lines 2 f.), ⁴Mu-ul-lil-le mu-ġan-á-ur im-da-e-[us], "Enlil, you rode the harrow thereover" (*KAR*, No. 375 obv. ii 46, and dupl. *VR 52*, No. 2 obv. 8' f.).

At variance with these passages—most of them Old Babylonian in date—is, as far as we know, only one text, the late grammatical text *MSL IV*, NBGT II 267 ff. (Bertin's Text). Its late and isolated testimony can hardly outweigh the consistent evidence of the earlier data.

Localistic accollative use of e# is probably to be reckoned with, but in most cases the form is difficult to distinguish from allative since contracted e-e and e# will both be written e. For possible examples see the discussion of e as pronominal element above in n. 12; we have in almost all instances considered interpretation as allative, contracted e-e the more probable one.

¹⁶ On the use of the i/e- allative form as a causative, i.e., as mark of the agent object in a causative relation, see our remarks in *MSL IV* 28 ff. The paradigm which can be set up for these forms includes both infixes and prefixes used in functional overlap. Starring conjectural or otherwise uncertain forms we may state the paradigm as follows:

		CAUSATIVE			
		Prefix	Infix	Prefix	Infix
Sg. 1 p.	mu			Pl. 1 p.	me
2 p.			*ri	2 p.	*ene
3 p.			ni/n #	3 p.	*ne/ni
3 n.	bi				

The paradigm may have to be extended to include mi and -m-mi for close neuter causative agent object. The

"on me," second person e.e contracted to e, "on thee" (for occasional third person reference "on him/her" see p. 85, note 12, 3 B), third person n.i, "on him/her." The first person singular allative is usually replaced in functional overlap by the prefix m u-. Examples of allative use are n í m u - e - D U : ú - p a r - r i - d a - a n - n i , "he terrified me" (K.41 ii [PSBA XVII, Pls. I-

conditions governing choice between n i and n # for 3rd person singular and n e and n i for 3rd person plural are not yet clear.

In the case system of the noun the causative seems to contract syncretism with the dative, so that the corresponding case-marks are there - r a for personal, - e for neuter causative agent object.

A few examples of causatives of the verb g u₇ : a k ā t u , "to eat," causative "to feed," "support," literally "to make someone eat," may serve as illustrations of the use.

1st person singular causative: imp. ġ e n - n a k i n - d u ù - m u - a g (var. ù - m u - e - a g) n i n d a g u₇ - ù - m u - u b , "go, when you have done work support me (on your earnings; lit. 'make me eat bread')" (PBS I 2, No. 103 rev. 7 [dupl. TCL XVI, No. 45]).

3rd person singular causative: imp. n i n d a g u₇ - n i - i b , "feed him" (VAS X, No. 204 vi 10); pres. n i n d a a n - n i - í b - g u₇ - a , "she will support her" (BE VI 2, No. 4:15; cf. the sandhi writing l ú - h u ġ - g á - a - n i n i n d a - n i - g u₇ - e : a - g i - í r - [š u] a - k a - l a m ú - š á - k [a l] , "he will support his hired man," in MSL I, Tf. 6 iii 18-20); m u - n i - í b - g u₇ - ù - N E , "they were feeding him" (Lugalbanda Epic, line 250); pret. a - b i l u - k ú r - r a ù - m u - n i - n a ġ , "when he has made a stranger (dative r a resumed by causative n i in the verb) drink that water" (Falkenstein, *Haupttypen*, p. 60); ù - m u - n i - g u₇ ù - m u - n i - n a ġ^l - ġ á^l - t a i - n í ġ - d i r i - g a g a - m u - n a - r a - a b - š u b , "after I have made him eat and made him drink I shall leave in excess of it (r a) a surplus (of) cream for him" (SRT, No. 3 iii 12-13). Construction with n # for n i occurs in ^dE n - k i - k e , u n u - e N i b r u kⁱ - à m a - a - n i ^dE n - l í l - r a n i n d a m u - n - g u₇ - e , "Enki at the sanctuary in Nippur was feasting (lit. 'making eat bread') his father Enlil" (OECT I, Pl. 4, lines 5-6).

3rd person neuter causative: u k ù - e ú n i r - ġ á l b í - g u₇ - m e - e n , "I (Urnammu) am the one who fed the people princely food" (TCL XV, No. 12:75; cf. Falkenstein in ZA L [1952] 85); á - d a m n u - š e - g a - n i s [u g - g] e₄ b í - i [b] - g u₇ - e , "you make the swamp swallow up the settlements not obedient to him" (TCL XV, No. 19:45; cf. Falkenstein, *Götterlieder* I 41).

1st person plural causative: n i n d a - m u h é - ġ á l n i n d a - z u g a - g u₇ (var. g a - m e - g u₇), "let my bread be, let me eat your bread (var. 'let me feed us,' lit. 'make us eat your bread')" (Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs*, No. 1:8).

3rd person plural causative: l ú z a - e - g i n_x k i n - d u ù - m u - a g a m a - n e - n e ù a d (!) - d a - n [e - n e] n i n d a a n - n i - í b - g u₇ - ù - N E , "men like you when they have done (collective) work support (on their earnings; lit. 'make eat bread') their mothers and fathers" (PBS I 2, No. 103:9-10); m u n u s - e l ú - I G I - N I Ğ I N - n e n i n d a e - n e - g u₇ - a , "which the queen fed (lit. 'made them eat') to the retainers" (DP, No. 166; cf. [l ú] - I G I - N I ~ I N : b a²ulātu in ŠL II 449, 230).

II] with first person singular allative #.e) m u n u s - e ġ i š g a - e - d u₁₁ m u - n a - a b - b é , "woman there, let me cohabit with thee (g a - e . e - d u g), 'he said to her'" (Myth of Enlil and Ninlil; Barton MBI No. 4 i 16, restored from unpubl. 3NT 294), K A i n - n i - ġ á - Ğ Á R - a r , "he laid claim to him (i - n - n i - (n -) ġ a r)" (ITT III, No. 6439). As example of causative use may serve n i n d a g u₇ - n i - i b , "have him eat (i.e., feed him) bread (g u - n . i - b)" (VAS X, No. 204 vi 10).

(13) Personal Superlative (Pr. 10)

P-r.i, mark of personal superlative. Occurring forms are so far only singular second person (e.)r i , "upon you," often also "upon/in it by thee" and in causative forms "caused to . . . at thee." Examples are d u₅ - n a š u - m u s á n u - m u - r i - i b - d u₁₁ : š a l - t i - i š q a - a - t i l a i k - š u - d a - k a , "my hand relished not seizing you (lit. 'to reach unto you') amain" (Lugal-e XI 41; cf. JNES XIX [1960] 110, n. 12), k u r - k u r ú - s a l - l a m u - e - r i - n ú , "all lands have lain down in pastures under thee (m u - e . r i - n u ; lit. 'have lain down on it by thee')" (TCL XVI, No. 88 and dupl.), [g] a - m u - r i - í b - ġ a r : l u - š a - a š - k i - n a - a k - k u m , "let me have (it) put here with you (g a - m u - (e.)r i - b - ġ a r)" (MSL IV 80, line 54).

(14) Personal Delative (Pr. 9)

P-t.i, mark of personal delative, "from P." The rank is so far hypothetical; no occurrences are known to us.

(15) Personal Adcomitative (Pr. 8)

P-d.i, mark of personal adcomitative. Occurring forms are singular first person #.d i , "with me," second person (e.)d i , "with thee," third person (n.)d i , "with him/her," as for example b a - e - d i - h u - l u h - e , "she shudders at you (b a - e . d i - h u l u h - e (d))" (CT XV, Pl. 15, line 14).

(16) Personal Directive (Pr. 7)

P-š.i, mark of personal directive. Occurring forms are singular first person #.š i , "toward me," second person (e.)š i , "toward thee," third person (n.)š i , "toward him/her," as for example i n - š i - ġ e n : i l - l i k - š u m , "he went toward him (i - n . š i - ġ e n)" (MSL IV 90, line 71).

NEUTER REFERENCE SUBSERIES

(17) Neuter Allative-Illative (Pr. 6)

N-i, mark of neuter allative-illative. Occurring forms are singular third neuter n.i, "on/in it (here)," as for example m u - n a - n i - i n - d ù, "he built in it (i.e., in a city) for her (m u - n a - n i - n - d u)" (*LIH*, No. 61:40).

(18) Neuter Superlative (Pr. 5)

N-r.i, mark of neuter superlative. Occurring forms are singular third neuter (b.)r.i, "beyond it," "over it," as for example i m - m i - r i - b a l - b a l, "he crossed over it (i.e., a mountain range) over there (i - m - m i - (b.)r i - b a l - b a l)" (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, line 171).

(19) Neuter Delative (Pr. 4)

N-t.i, mark of neuter delative. Occurring forms are singular third neuter n.t.i, "over it/them," as for example i n - t i - b a l - e - N E, "they were crossing over it (i - n . t i - b a l - e - N E)" (Gilgamesh and Huwawa, line 61).

(20) Neuter Adcomitative (Pr. 3)

N-d.i, mark of neuter adcomitative. Occurring forms are singular third neuter (b.)d.i, "with it," plural third person n.d.i, "with them," as for example i n i m - b i - d a A n - r a ^dE n - l í l - r a k ù ^dN i n - i n - s i - n a k i - m a h - a - n a m u - u n - n e - d è - e n - k u ₄, "with these matters pure Nininsina comes in to An and to Enlil to her high seat (m u - n - n e . a) - (b .) d e - n - k u r)" (*SRT*, No. 6 obv. ii 7), A n ^dE n - l í l - d a b á r a - g i ₄ - s i - a - n a a d m u - u n - d i - n i - i b - g i ₄ (! ?) - g i ₄, "with An and Enlil, seated on her throne dais, she advises (m u - n . d i - n i - b - g i - g i)" (*CT XXXVI*, Pl. 28, obv. 14).

(21) Neuter Directive (Pr. 2)

N-š.i, mark of neuter directive. Occurring forms are singular third neuter (b.)š.i, "toward it," plural third person n.e.š.i, "toward them," as for example m u k ù - g a - š è P N - r a b a - a n - n a - š i - ġ a r, "was placed (at disposal) for PN (as security) for the silver (b a - n - n a - (b .) š i - ġ a r)" (Reisner, *Telloh*, No. 125), and m u - u n - n e - š i - i n - h a l - h a l - l a : i - z u - u s - s u - n u - t i, "he (i.e., Enlil) apportioned to them (m u - ñ e . š i - n - h a l h a l a)" (*CT XVI*, Pl. 19, line 62).

ZERO-CASE (COLLATIVE) SERIES

(22) Third Person/Neuter Ergative (< Decollative) and Accollative (Pr. 1)

P/N-#, mark of singular third person personal and neuter ergative (i.e., subject of transitive active preterit) and of accollative. Occurring forms are singular third person n.#, "he," "in accollative relation to him," third neuter and collective b.#, "it," "they," "in accollative relation to it/them," plural third person n e . #, "they," "in accollative relation to them." As examples may serve i n - ' n a ' - a n - ġ a r : i š - k u - u n - š u m, "he placed for him (i - n - n a - n - ġ a r)" (*MSL IV 83*, line 118), k i - t a - m u - š è t u š - a - a - b : t i - š a b i n a š a [p - l i - i a], "sit down below me" (*KAR*, No. 111 obv. 3 and rev. 3).¹⁷

¹⁷The infixes n and b which rank directly before the root we analyze as n # and b #, i.e., as consisting of a pronominal element followed by case-mark zero, which marks the collative case. Structurally they are thus identical with the other collative infixes—the zero infix 1st person singular ergative # # before the a- series, the e infix 2nd person singular ergative e # before the e- series—as well as with the suffixes of subject and object indication which we likewise analyze as ending in zero-mark. They differ from the corresponding collative prefixes in having a pronominal component denoting an entity rather than an adverbial component denoting area (m, b) or point (l, n).

The pronominal elements n and b are used with 3rd person reference (for exceptions see n. 12 above) and differ from each other in that the indication of b seems to be exclusively anaphoric, that of n not exclusively so. In addition there is a dominant tendency, noted already by Poebel (*GSG* § 447), to restrict n to personal, b to neuter and collective reference. As 3rd person elements n # and b # contrast with the 2nd person element e #, ranking before the e- series, and with the 1st person element # #, tentatively ranked before the a- series. The contrast is fully operative, however, only when these various infixes serve to denote the subject of transitive active preterit, i.e., when the collative is used abstractly as ergative, and even then the zero-infix (# #) is frequently used for both 1st and 2nd person (see n. 12, section 2). In other, localistic, use of these infixes the contrast of person is less sharp, and e # may conceivably appear (see n. 15, end) with 3rd person and 3rd neuter reference interchangeably with n # and b #.

The zero-mark of collative case, which the infixes n # and b # share with the infix e # and the zero-infix # #, was defined above as denoting a relation of togetherness of two entities amounting to coincidence, immanence of one in the other. As all Sumerian cases it can indicate the coming into being of the relation (accollative), the existence of it (collative proper), and the ceasing of it (decollative), but in the verb these uses are so distributed that transient uses (accollative and decollative) are found only in affixes preceding the root, prefixes, and infixes, existential use (collative proper) only in suffixes following the root.

Distinction may be made also between the collative in its

THE ROOT (0)

The root has normally punctive singular force. A few roots differ, however, and are on lexical grounds restricted to durative and/or plural meaning. Reduplication of the root or tripling or quadrupling indicates plurality of the

occurrence, that is, iterative or plurality of subject or object. A special curtailing reduplication in which the root elides its final consonant (e.g., $\bar{g}\acute{a}$ - $\bar{g}\acute{a}$ from $\bar{g}ar$) serves to lend it durative ingressive force.

basic localistic use and in more abstract use as a "logical" or "grammatical" case.

Examples of its localistic use are fairly common. We may consider, first, instances of localistic use of $b\#$ and $n\#$ and choose as examples mainly imperatives of intransitive and passive verbs since here the subject is a virtual 2nd person singular and there is no direct object, so that "grammatical" use of $b\#$ and $n\#$ (for subject or direct object element) does not come into consideration. Such examples are $ur-g_e7-re sar-ra-ab-z\acute{e}-en$, "chase the dog (e)" (*PBS* I 1, No. 135:34-35), $na_4-\acute{s}am m\grave{e}-ta \acute{g}i\acute{s}tukul-ta ur-g_e7-re ninda siba-tur-ra sar-ra-ab:\acute{s}am-mu-i-na ta-ha-zi ki-ma kal-bu \acute{s}a ka-par-ri \acute{u}-ka\acute{s}-\acute{s}i-du-\acute{s}u$, "shammustone, from the battle with weapons be chased (as) a dog (e) out of the bread (ninda.a) by the shepherd boys (e assimilated and contracted after *tura*)" (*Lugal-e* X 15; Akkadian translation very free: "they chased the *shammustone* from the battle like the dog of the shepherd boys [understood: 'is chased away from their food']"), $l\acute{u}-lil(?) -l\acute{a}-ke_4 sar-ra-ab-z\acute{e}-en$, "chase away the tempter to vagrant fancies (e; lit. 'the man of the idle wind')" (*Kramer in JAOS* LXIX [1949] 202, line 31; for lil : *zaqiqu*, "wind," "spirit," "phantasy," cf. *CAD* XXI, s.v. *zaqiqu*; central meaning "wind" is clear from the synonyms *meh\acute{u}* and *\acute{u}lt\acute{a}nu* and is extended as in "spirit" related to *spirare*, "to breathe," "to blow"), $\acute{g}i\acute{s}illulu \acute{u}s-sa-ab$ (var. $\acute{u}s-sa-\grave{a}m$), "follow the throw-stick (e assimilated and contracted after *illulu*)" (*Gordon, Sumerian Proverbs*, No. 1:145; sense seems to be: "follow through with the attack and make your mother happy by your bravery, or make your personal god happy, i.e., follow your own inclination, and run away"), $\acute{s}en-\acute{s}en-na \acute{u}s-sa-ab:re-de-e qab-lu$, "follow the battle advance (e, normal with $\acute{u}s$, replaced by \acute{a} ; see n. 13 above)" (*RA* XII [1915] 74-75, line 4), $du-nu dumu-mu ki-ta-mu-\acute{s}\acute{e} tu\acute{s}-a-ab:al-ka ma-ri ti-\acute{s}ab ina \acute{s}a[p-li-ia]$, "come, my child, sit down below me ($\acute{s}\acute{e}$)" (*KAR*, No. 111 obv. 3 and rev. 3), $\acute{a}-zi-da-mu-\acute{s}\acute{e} \acute{g}en-na-ab:ina im-ni-ia a-lik$, "walk to my right ($\acute{s}\acute{e}$)" (*CT* XVI, Pl. 7, line 264), $am-gal-l\acute{u}-s\acute{a}r-ra-gaz-za-gin_x n\acute{i}-ba-bi-\acute{s}\acute{e} \acute{g}ar-ra-ab:ki ri-mi rabi-i \acute{s}a ma-du-tu i-du-ku-\acute{s}u a-na zi-\acute{u}l-ti na-a\acute{s}-ki-in$, "as a great wild bull killed by a multitude be set out into portions ($\acute{s}\acute{e}$)" (*Lugal-e* X 14), $tur-tur-bi til-la-ab:ina \acute{s}u-uh-hu-ri nag-mir$, "be finished in manner of diminishing ($\#$ modal *adverbialis*)" (*Lugal-e* XI 26), $gaz-e-d\acute{e} til-la-ab:i-na pu-su-si na-ag-mir$, "be finished in manner of grinding ($\#$ modal *adverbialis*)" (*Lugal-e* X 13).

As will be seen, there is in all of these examples only one case relation in the sentence which the verbal infix $b\#$ could resume, that to the single noun which the verb governs. In the noun this relation finds expression not only as in $b\#$ by accollative, zero-case, but also by directive ($\acute{s}\acute{e}$) and by allative (e). Common to all these cases is their ability to indicate approach to impending contact, so that one is led to

assume this meaning, accollative, establishing of a relation of togetherness, for the zero-case of $b\#$, which correlates with all of them. For the particularly close relation in meaning between the zero-case in modal *adverbialis* function and the directive note the well-known variation of $igi-zid\# \dots bar$ and $igi-zi-d\acute{e}-e\acute{s} \dots bar$ (*GSG* §§ 392-93).

Very much the same usage is found with the element $n\#$. Without restricting ourselves as we did with $b\#$ we may quote $l\acute{u}-\acute{a}-zi-ga-b\acute{e}$ "Nanna $s\acute{a} h\acute{e}-en-e$, "may Nanna reach that evildoer (e)" (*STVC*, No. 52 rev. ii 11 [dupl. *TCL* XVI, No. 50]), $\acute{e}n-lil i-du \acute{a}Nin-(lil in)-\acute{u}s:MIN$ (i.e., Enlil) *\acute{u}l-la-ak MIN* (i.e., Ninlil) *i-re-ed-di*, "Enlil was walking along, Ninlil followed him ($n\#$)" (Myth of Enlil and Ninlil [*JRAS*, 1919, pp. 190-91, col. ii 7] as restored from duplicates *MBI*, No. 4, and *SEM*, No. 77), $d\acute{u}-a-b\acute{e} an-s\acute{u}-b\acute{e} \acute{u}-ni-s\acute{u} \dots$ " (Civil in *RA* LIV [1960] 62 f., lines 109-10), "he is to suck on all of it (e); when he has sucked on it (ni) \dots " and $e_4-b\acute{e} an-tu_x-tu_x e_4 \acute{u}-ni-tu_x$ (*ibid.* lines 123-24; see also lines 136-37), "he is to bathe in that water (e); when he has bathed in the water (e resumed by ni in the verb) \dots " Further examples are $\acute{u} i-bi-la Du-du-ke_4-ne du_{11}-ga-ne-ne-a ba-ni-ge-ne-\acute{e} \acute{e}\acute{s} mu dug_4 i-bi-la-ne-ka ba-an-ge-na-\acute{s}\acute{e} \dots$, "and the heirs of Dudu confirmed it by their statement (a resumed by ni), because it was confirmed by the statement (a resumed by $n\#$) of the heirs \dots " (Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden*, No. 99 [*ITT* III, No. 5279] lines 28-30, where the infix ni suggests original construction with e replaced as often by a ; see n. 13 above). Similar cases are $du_{11}-ga-na ba-an-ge-in$ (Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden*, No. 125:7), $dug_4 Ur-\bar{g}AR-ka ba-an-ge-in$ (*ibid.* No. 174:9), $dug_4-ba ba-an-ge-in$ (*ibid.* No. 186:10'), $sig_4 nam-tar-ra \acute{g}i\acute{s}\acute{u}-\acute{s}ub-ba ma-an-\acute{g}\acute{a}l$, "the predestined brick was in the brick mold (a) for me" (Gudea Cyl. A v 7), $igi \acute{a}Nanna-ka h\acute{e}-en-sa_6$, "may he prosper before Nanna (a)" (*UET* I, No. 71:38-39), $\acute{g}i\acute{s}gu-za-gub-ba-na suhu\acute{s}-bi na-an-ge-ne$, "may she (Inanna) not fix securely into the throne he sets up (a) its legs" (Gudea St. C iv 13-15). Examples with directive in the noun are $\acute{g}i\acute{s}ma-gur_x-\acute{s}\acute{e} da-an-u_5 me-e \acute{e}-\acute{s}\acute{e} da-an-u_5$, "let me mount up on the boat ($\acute{s}\acute{e}$), me, let me mount up to the cabin ($\acute{s}\acute{e}$)" (*VAS* X, No. 199 iv 13; cf. line 14), $\bar{g}i\acute{s} LA[G]AB-mu kur-\acute{s}\acute{e} mu-da-an-\acute{s}ub$, "my *pukku* fell from me toward the Nether World" (*BE* XXXI, No. 35:5, with Kramer's collations in *JAOS* LX [1940] 246 f.). In these examples the zero-case of $n\#$ seems, as that of $b\#$, to serve as accollative resuming a directive ($\acute{s}\acute{e}$) or allative (e), though the latter is frequently replaced by a . Of interest is the variation of $n\#$ and ni shown by the examples of Civil in *RA* LIV 62 f. and Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden*, No. 99. It would seem that ni (contact infix) is the preferred one with precise statement where attention is on the actuality of completion of the action ("they confirmed," "when he has sucked on it"), whereas with more incidental

SUFFIXES

The suffixes follow the root. They may be subdivided into such as must always close a finite form in which they occur—we may call them postfixes—and such as may close a finite form—we might call these suffixes in the narrower sense—and such as cannot close a finite form—we may call them stem-suffixes since they rank closest to the root. The stem-suffixes serve to

reference or with coming action the less precise non-contact form (n #) is sufficient.

As further examples of b # in localistic use may be mentioned the forms $\bar{g}ar-\bar{a}m-ma-\check{s}\bar{e}-[ib]$: *na-aš-ki-na-aš-šu[m]* and $\bar{g}ar-\bar{a}m-ma-\check{s}\bar{e}$: *na-aš-ki-na-aš-šu* in *MSL* IV, OBGT VI 67 and 70. As will be seen, presence and absence of b # in the Sumerian corresponds to variation of suffix in the Akkadian between *-šum* and *-šu* and therefore indicates that b # must have reference to the goal point of the verbal action since that is the reference of the Akkadian suffixes. Furthermore, since both Sumerian forms imply direction ($\check{s}\bar{e}$), it must seem probable that the difference between them has reference to eventual contact. With this agrees that as used elsewhere in the paradigm *-šum* seems to look toward contact rather more than *-šu*, it renders Sumerian *-na-* and *-še-* while *-šu* renders the non-contact comitative *-da-*. Interpretation of b # as accollative, direction to impending contact, would thus seem to fit the case.

As for the use of the zero-case in n # and b # abstractly as a "grammatical" case, there is no need to offer examples of these infixes in their use for subject elements 3rd person personal and neuter transitive active preterit. For their factitive use as indicators of explicit or implicit direct object the clearest examples are pairs of imperatives such as *zi-ga-ti-bi*, "rise," contrasting with *zi-ba-ab*: *šu-ut-[bi]*, "raise," and *zi-ga-an*: *šu-ut-[bi]*, "raise," in *MSL* IV, OBGT IV i 1, ii 1 (cf. *GSG* § 521). The rule that addition of b # gives the verb factitive force holds in almost all cases, and exceptional "deponent" forms are exceedingly rare.

As far as we can see, interpretation of n # and b # as direct object elements must still rest on these cases pointed to

denote the relative places in time of the occurrence (the action) and the subject at the moment contemplated by the speaker;¹⁸ the suffixes in the narrower sense serve to denote the person in whom the occurrence is seen as embodied, usually the subject but in transitive active preterit the direct object. The postfix rank, finally, denotes degree of reality or irrealty attributed to

by Poebel. Instances of n # and b # elsewhere, e.g., in transitive active present future where direct object reference can seem plausible, are by no means unusual, but full certainty about the interpretation is usually difficult to obtain. It would be helpful if we could demonstrate that in such forms n # and b # vary consonantly with their respective preference for personal and neuter-collective reference, according to whether the direct object involved is of personal or neuter gender. Such demonstration, however, does not seem possible with any degree of certainty.

Lastly, mention may be made of the use of b # as substitute for causative-allative 3rd person *-ni-*. Relatively clear instances are furnished by the paradigms *MSL* IV, OBGT VI, VIII, and IX. In these paradigms causative is regularly formed with infix *-ni-*. When the form contains the infix *-ri-*, however, this causative *-ni-* and also the 3rd person transitive active preterit subject element seem to be suppressed, and in their place b # occurs, conceivably as a decollative (#) indicating emanation of the action from both subject and causative agent object (b, "them"). The pattern of occurrence may be seen from the diagram below, which contrasts the non-causative I and I₂ forms with *-ra-* and *-ri-* infix with the corresponding III and III₂ forms. The expected causative infix *-ni-* and ergative (subject 3rd person singular transitive active preterit) which are replaced by b # are shown inclosed in parentheses.

¹⁸ The stem-suffixes differ in an important respect from the other suffixes and from infixes, prefixes, and profixes (except *nu-*); they alone can occur with non-finite forms of the verb, infinitive and participle. Their function of indicating the relative places (point and duration) in time of action and subject

	I		III
216	$ma-ra-an-\bar{g}ar$ <i>iš-ku-na-ak-kum</i>	217	$ma-ra-ni-in-\bar{g}ar$ <i>ú-ša-aš-ki-na-ak-kum</i>
58	$ka s_4$ $mu-ri-in-du_{11}$ <i>il-su-ma-[kum]</i>	62	$ka s_4$ $mu-ri-(ni)ib(-n)-[du_{11}]$ <i>ú-ša-al-si-ma-k[um]</i>
128	$s á$ $mu-ri-in-du_{11}$ <i>ik-šu-da-ka</i>	130	$s á$ $mu-ri-(ni)ib(-n)-du_{11}$ <i>ú-ša-ak-ši-da-ka</i>
	I ₂		III ₂
60	$ka s_4$ $im^1-ma-ri-i[n-d]u_{11}$ <i>il-ta-ás-ma(!)-[kum]</i>	64	$ka s_4(!)$ $im-ma-ri-i(ni)ib(-n)-du_{11}$ <i>uš-tál-si-ma-k[um]</i>
120	$s [á$ $im-ma-ri-in-du_{11}$ <i>ik-ta-aš-da-kum</i>	122	$s á$ $im-ma-ri-(ni)ib(-n)-du_{11}$ <i>uš-ta-ak-ši-da-ku</i>

the statement. Functionally the stem-suffixes may thus be said to parallel adverbs of time, the suffixes in the narrower sense pronouns in subject and direct-object case, and the postfixes sentence adverbs, adverbs of manner referring to the sentence as a whole.

STEM-SUFFIXES OF TIME
PRE-ACTIONAL ASPECT (Su. 1)

-e d-, mark of pre-actional aspect indicating prospectiveness of the action as present at the point in time the speaker has in mind. Attention is thus not on the action as future but on its prospectiveness as present. As example may serve u d G e m é - ^aL a m a b a - u g ₅ - g e - a - d a - a, "on (-a) the day that (.a-) Geme-Lama will (-e-d.) die" (Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden*, No. 7:15), k u r ₆ - b i ú - u l - g í d t u k u m - b i ì - l á l ú - 3 k u r ₆ - b i ì - l á - a b a - a b - t ù m u t u k u m - b i í b - s i L ú - š a - l i m - e b a - a n - t ù m u, "when their fief has been measured if it will prove smaller (i-l a - (-e d)) the three men will take (-b - t u m - e (d) with third person collective subject infix b.#) their fief which (-a) proved smaller (i-l a), if they made it (too) full Lushalim will take (-n - t u m - e d with third person singular subject element) it (i.e., that which they had taken in excess)" (*ibid.* No. 215:3-8), l ú . . . d i - k u r ₅ - a - ġ á š u ì - í b - b a l - e - a n í ġ - b a - ġ á b a - a - g i ₄ - g i ₄ - d a, "the man . . . who subverts my judgments or who will (i-d.) contest (lit. 'come back to') my grants" (Gudea St. B viii 12-20).

DURATIVE ASPECT (Su. 2)

-e-, mark of durative aspect. The durative in -e- is often used, much as is the Akkadian "present" or "fientic durative," to denote a simple

at the moment contemplated by the speaker may be expressed graphically if we symbolize the subject by "S," the occurrence denoted by the verb (the action) as a line —, and duration in time by dots. We use our usual symbols √ for the root and # for zero in a given rank:

Form	Description	Position in Time of Subject and Action
√ - # - #	: Post-actional	Punctive : _____ S
√ - e d - #	: Pre-actional	Punctive : S _____
√ - # - e	: Intra-actional	Durative : . . . S . . .
√ - e d - e	: Pre-actional	Durative : . . S . . _____

present/future in which the degree of durative stress is not always clear. As example may serve e n - n a b a - u g ₅ - g e - a, "until he is dying" or "until he dies" (Enki and Ninhursag, line 219, and Gudea St. B viii 12-20, quoted above under -e d-, where, as Poebel pointed out in *AJSL* L [1933/34] 154, the durative -e- and the prospective -e d- stand parallel). More clear is the durative force—again as with the Akkadian present—with use for past action. As examples may serve g a b a - r i ì - p à - d è g a b a - r i i n - p à d, "he was finding (i-p a d - e) the answer, he found (i-n - p a d) the answer" (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, line 240), and Ē - n i n n u i m - t a - s i k i l - e - n e i m - t a - z a l a g - z a l a g - g e - e š, "(with tamarisk and . . .) they were cleaning (i-m - t a - s i k i l - e - n e) and made it pure (i-m - t a - (n -) z a l a g - z a l a g - e š)" (Gudea Cyl. B iv. 11-12). In both examples durative presents the action as ongoing process, preterit as complete, as entity. For further examples see note 8 above. Standard is the use of durative—as of Akkadian present—in *verba dicendi* introducing direct quotation since the action of speaking is seen as process enduring throughout the quotation. As example may serve G ù - d é - a a l a m - e i n i m i m - m a - s u m - m u, "Gudea was giving (i-m - m a - s u m - e) the message to the statue (as follows:)" (Gudea St. B vii 21-23).

When the durative -e- follows the root directly it may be said to give the form intra-actional force; attention is directed to a sequence within the total duration of the action. When the durative -e- occurs after a root modified by the prospective -e d- it serves to stress duration not of the action as such but of the prospectiveness of it and may be said to give the form pending-actional force. As examples may serve m u n u s - e a - n a b í - i n - a g - e a l - g a z - e - d è, "what can a woman do in the matter (b í-) and be under the shadow of being executed" (Nippur Murder Trial; *Analecta Biblica* XII [1959] 135, lines 40-41), m a - a b - d ù - d a - a - ġ á : b a - a - n i - i, "(the beard) of my one who is about building for me (m a - b - d u - e d - e - a)" (*PAPS* CVII 494, line 43; Akkadian gloss: "my builder"), k i s l a h (κΙ-UD) - z u a l - t a g é - m u l ú ì - b u r u - d è, "your plot lies abandoned, someone is going to break

into (i-buru-ed-e) my house" (Code of Lipiteshtar xiii 25-26).

The difference between $\sqrt{-ed}$ and $\sqrt{ed-e}$ may be rendered as the one between English "he expects to do" and "he is expecting to do" if "expect" is taken as pure indication of prospectiveness of the action in disregard of its implications for the emotional state of the subject.

¹⁹ The suffixes which make up the rank of subject and object elements may be analyzed as consisting of a pronominal-adverbial deictic core followed by the zero-mark of collative case.

The collative serves here to denote existence of the collative relation only, not also its coming into being (accollative) or having ceased (decollative). Accordingly the subject and object elements denote the subject with intransitive verb, passive verb, and transitive active verb durative (pres./fut.) only. With transitive active punctive (pret.) verb, where the action is no longer "together" with, immanent in, the subject but has lodged in the object they denote the object.

Structurally the deictic core of the subject and object elements may be seen as consisting of a central pronominal-adverbial element denoting an entity in the area of the speaker (sg. #, pl. de) or addressee (sg. e, pl. ze). The reference to speaker's area can be further emphasized by addition of a prepositive en (*hic*), that to addressee's area by addition of a postpositive en (*iste*). The system of contrasts thus created is fairly complex; it seems to move—perhaps under the influence of Akkadian—toward a simplified pattern: singular 1st person -en, 2nd person -en, 3rd person #, plural 1st person -enden, 2nd person -enzen, 3rd person -de (durative) and -eš.

In diagram form the underlying original contrasts may be shown as follows. We use as approximate renderings for the central elements indicating entity in speaker's area "this one" and "these ones," for those indicating entity in addressee's area "that one" and "those ones"; and we use "here" (*hic*) for prepositive en, "there" (*iste*) for postpositive en.

	<i>hic</i>		<i>iste</i>		
Sg. 3rd p.		#		"this one"	= "he"
1st p.	en	#		"this one here"	= "I"
2nd p.		e	en	"that one there"	= "thou"
	<i>hic</i>		<i>iste</i>		
Pl. 3rd p. punctive		eš		"yonder ones"	= "they"
durative		de		"these ones"	= "they"
1st p. exclusive	(en)	de		"these ones (here)"	= "we"
inclusive	en	de	en	"these ones here and there"	= "we"
exclusive		de	en	"these ones there"	= "we"
2nd p.	en	ze		"those ones here"	= "you"
	en	ze	en	"those ones here and there"	= "you"
		ze	en	"those ones there"	= "you"

In detail the following points may be noted.

Singular 1st person. The basic meaning of -en#, "this one here," seems to survive in occasional use of -en# as

SUFFIXES IN THE NARROWER SENSE
SUBJECT AND DIRECT-OBJECT
ELEMENTS (COLLATIVE) (Su. 3)

P/N-#, mark of subject and in transitive active preterit of direct object. Occurring forms are singular first person -en#, second person -en#, third person #, plural first person -enden#, second person -enzen#, third person -eš#, and, after durative element -e-, -NE.¹⁹

mark of (near) 3rd person. Note e.g. *egi-re šà-ba-a-ni še-ša, nu-uš-gul-e-en: ša ru-ba-tum lib-ba-ša da-ma-ma ul i-kal-la*, "the queen's heart cannot hold back (its) mourning" (ASKT, No. 17 rev. 25), and the Old Babylonian examples *i-ni-in-ku-re-en*, "he brought (a statue) into it," and *šu in-na-bar-re-en*, "he released for him," listed by Falkenstein in *Bagh. Mitt.* II (1963) 8, n. 28.

Singular 2nd person. Analysis of the 2nd person mark as e+en was considered by Thureau-Dangin on the basis of the orthographical distinctions in AO 5403 between 2nd person *i[n]-na-te-'e-en'*: [*te-et-h*]i-šu-u[m] and 1st person *in-na-te-en: e-et-hi-šum* (obv. 2-3) and the similar 1st person *ba-an-na-te-en: e-tè-hi-šum*, 2nd person *'i[n]-na-te-e-en: te-et-hi-šum* and 2nd person *[i]n-da-gá-re-e-en: ta-ša-'ka'-áš-(šu)-um* (Thureau-Dangin in *RA XI* [1914] 43; *MSL IV*, OBGT V). In favor of such analysis is the occurrence of a 2nd person element e in the ergative and in *izi C iii 25-26* (VAT 9714 unpubl.): *ki-zu-ne¹-ne¹: it-ti-ku-nu, ki-e-ne-ne: MIN* (i.e., *itti-kunu*) as also the parallel #:de, e:ze in the paradigm.

Plural 3rd person punctive. The mark eš is restricted to use with punctive. The usual assumption that this element is related to the numeral eš, "three," is not supported by the earlier orthography which writes it éš.

Plural 3rd person durative. The mark de is restricted to use with durative. The reading of this element as de rather than as ne, the customary reading, seems to be advocated by syllabaries and variant writings. (1) The lexical series *á-A:náqu VII 110-12* (*MSL IV* 196) indicates reading de of the sign NE/DÈ when it is used to write plural mark: (de-e): DÈ: *ma-du-tum, i-na, a-na, ma-ri-tum* КИ-ТА, "plural, in, to, durative suffix." (2) de rather than (e)ne as the form of the 3rd person plural durative mark is indicated by variant writing with de₄ (TE) in the form *i-sil-e-NE: idallu*, "they will publicize," in an Old Babylonian bilingual text (Genouillac, *Kich II*, Pl. 3, C. 1 rev. 19 ff.): *erin-e kalam-e i(?)-si-le-dè: ša-bu ù ma-tum da-li-li-ka i-da-la-lu, nam-á-gal-zu dingir-gal-gal-e-ne (i-)si-le-de₄: li-ú-ut-ka i-lu ra-bu(!)-u₄-tum i-da-lal-la-lu*, "the people and the country will spread (publicize) your praises, the great gods will spread the word about your power." As indicated, we consider the writing *dingir-gal-gal-e-ne-si-le-de₄* sandhi for *dingir-gal-gal-e-ne i-si-le-de₄*. (3) Writing with da for NE/DÈ of the 3rd person plural durative mark occurs in *dingir-gal-gal-e-ne nam ha-ba-ra-tar-ru-da* (var. *nam-ha-ba-da-an-tar-ru-dè*): *ilānimeš rabūimeš li-ru-ru-šú*, "may the great gods curse him" (*CT XVII*, Pl. 34, lines 39-40), and in *e-ne ma-an-ma-ma-da: šū-lnu! i-šak-ka-nu-ni*, "they were establishing for me" (*SBH*, No. 47:27-28).

Since the vowel e of the verbal suffixes generally tends to

[Footnote 19 continued]

develop into a in post-Sumerian times (see *GSG* § 476), the writing with *d a* apparently reflects such a phonetic development of the 3rd person plural durative mark from *d e* to *d a*.

Plural 1st person exclusive -(e)n d e. Use of simple 3rd person plural durative *d e*, "these ones" = "t h e y," also for 1st person plural exclusive "these ones" = "w e," is well attested. The occurrences suggest an original contrast between exclusive 1st person plural ("we" = 1st p. + 3rd p.) represented by *d e* and *e n d e* and inclusive 1st person plural ("we" = 1st p. + 2nd p. (+ 3rd p.)) represented by *d e e n* and *e n d e e n*. The distinction, which has no counterpart in Akkadian, seems, however, to have been lost by Old Babylonian times.

For *d e*, "we" (excl.), cf. *m e - d è m e - e n - z é - e n - b i*: *n i - n u ù a t - t u - n u*, "we and you" (*MSL* IV, OBGT I 467), where the context shows that *d e*, "we," of *m e - d è* (< (i) - *m e - d è*) cannot be meant to include the addressee. Particularly instructive is the parallel set of forms *g a - b a - a b - t ú m - m u - d è*, "let us carry (him) off" (1st p. pl. cohortative), and *g a - a n - š i - s u s - d è - e n*, "let us proceed toward it" (1st p. pl. cohortative) in Inanna's Descent, lines 296 and 312. The distinction between *-d è* (excl.) and *-d è - e n* (incl.) is carefully observed also where the forms recur in lines 317 and 322 and in lines 327 and 331 and so must be considered intentional on the part of the scribe. We cite the text as given by N = CBS 13902 (*PBS* V, No. 22; photo published by Kramer in *PAPS* LXXXV [1942] Pl. 9) for lines 296, 312, 317, and 322 and by O = CBS 15162 (*PAPS* LXXXV, Pl. 10) for lines 332 and 327. For line 331 we have only M = YBC 4621 (*JCS* IV [1950] 212-13). On the usage in this last text see below. Phonetic or orthographical reasons for the distinction are not apparent since the environments of the two forms seem to be much the same; in both cases the suffix follows a stem in *u* and is in its turn followed by a new word beginning with a consonant (*k ù* in lines 297, 318, 328, *B a d - t i b i r a k i - a* in line 322, *š i š h a š h u r* in line 331). In terms of meaning, however, it will be noted that the 1st person plural of *g a - b a - a b - t ú m - m u - d è*, "let us carry (him) off," is exclusive, for the carrying is to be done by the speaker and his fellow-demons and Inanna, the addressee, is to be left to proceed alone to her city, whereas the 1st person plural of *g a - a n - š i - s u s - d è - e n*, "let us proceed toward it," is inclusive, for the proceeding is to be done by both the speaker and his fellow-demons and by the addressee, Inanna.

That the suggested distinction tended to be lost in Old Babylonian times is indicated by variants in which it is not observed. Thus in the case of the contrasting forms in Inanna's Descent one version (M = YBC 4621) shows indiscriminate variation: *b a - a b - t ú m - d è - e n* (line 296), *g a - b a - a b - t ú m - m u - d è* (line 317), *g a - b a - a b - t ú m - m u - u n - d è - e n* (line 327) and *g a - e - s u s - e n - d è - e n* (line 322), *g a - e - s u s - d è - e n* (line 331). To this scribe the distinction must have ceased to exist.

For the form *-e n d è*, "we," likewise exclusive, may be quoted *MSL* IV, OBGT I 466, *m e - e n - d e ù m e - e n -*

z é - e n : n i - n u ù a t - t u - n u, which precedes *m e - d è m e - e n - z é - e n - b i* with same translation in line 467. Other occurrences are *PBS* X 2, No. 11:26, *m e - e n - d è G a - š a - a n - a n - n a* ⁴*L a m m a - s a s - g a - m e*, "as for us, Inanna is our kindly guardian angel," where the speaker contrasts herself and her group with another addressed one (*m e - e n - z é - e n*) in line 28. Note also the late text *SBH*, No. 73:12, *m e - e n - d è š à - a b u m u n - e n a - m u - u n - h u ḡ - e - e n - d è : n i - n u l i b - b i b e - l i i n u - n i - i h*. As in the case of *d è*, the function of *-e n d e* within a distinction between exclusive and inclusive seems later to have been lost. Note that *PBS* X 2, No. 11:21, shows variant *m e - e n - d è - e n*.

Plural 1st person inclusive *-e n d e n*. The basic meaning of *-e n d e n*, "these ones here (with me) and there (with you)," seems to survive in occasional use of *-e n d e n* as mark of (near) 3rd person plural. An example of such use is furnished by the beginning of the Myth of Enlil and Ninlil (*JRAS*, 1919, pp. pp. 190-91, lines 1 ff.): *D u r - a n - k i u r u - n a - n a m* (< *u r u - a n e n e - à m*) *à m - d ú r - r u - n e - e n - d e - e n : i n a m i n* (i.e., Duranki) *à l i - š u - n u š u - n u ú - š i - b a*, "In Duranki, their city, they (our city deities) settled." Note also its use in Lahar and Ashnan as 3rd plural direct-object suffix: ⁴*E n - k i* (var. + *k e*) ⁴*E n - l í l - b i* (var. *- r a*) *d u₁₁ - k ù - g a - n e - n e* ⁴*L a h a r* ⁴*A š n a n - b i* *D u₆ - k ù - t a i m* (var. omits) *- m a - d a - 'r a l - [a b - è] - d è - e n - d è - e n* (*MBI*, No. 8, with dupl. *BE* XXXI, No. 15), "Enki and (var. 'for') Enlil with their pure word had Lahar and Ashnan come out of Duku." The form is common in inclusive use as e.g. in Gilgamesh's injunction to Enkidu: *ḡ á - n a m - m a g a - a n - š i - s u s - r e - d è - e n - d è - e n*, "come let us proceed toward him" (Gilgamesh and Huwawa, line 112). Many similar examples may be found in Falkenstein's article on the cohortative in *ZA* XLV 169-80.

Plural 1st person inclusive *-d e e n*. An example of *-d è - e n* in inclusive usage contrasting with exclusive *-d è* is *g a - a n - š i - s u s - d è - e n*, "let us proceed toward it" (Inanna's Descent, line 322; discussed above). As with the other 1st person plural elements discussed, the contrast of inclusive with exclusive seems to have been lost in Old Babylonian times; the difference "here": "not here" may have been slightly more resistant. For use of *-d è - e n* although the context calls for exclusive 1st plural cf. *TCL* XVI, No. 80, where the spokesman for the three men of Adab in explaining to the king what they do for a living uses *i - a g - e - d è - n a m*, "we (exclusive!) do (not here)"; compare *a g a - n a ḡ - e n - d è - e n - e - š è*, "let us (incl.) drink (here and now) water," later in the same text. Compare also *m e - d è - e n*, "we" (excl.), in *LKA*, No. 76 obv. 5-21.

Plural 2nd person *-z é e n*. The form *-z é - e n* seems regularly to replace *-e n - z é - e n* as 2nd person plural mark in imperatives after *b*, as e.g. *d u₁₁ - g a - n a - a b - z é - e n* (Inanna's Descent, lines 234 and 243). The reasons for this use are not clear. More suggestive is the use of *z é e n* in the ventive forms of the *alākum* paradigm in *MSL* IV, OBGT VII:

114	<i>ḡ e n - n a -</i>	<i>a n - z é - e n : a l - [k a]</i>
96	<i>ḡ á¹ - n u - u [m -</i>	<i># - z] é - e n : a l - k a - a - n i m</i>
99	<i>ḡ á¹ - a - m u - u [n] - š e - e n - z é - e n :</i>	<i>a l (!) - k a - n i - i š - s u [m]</i>
102	<i>ḡ á - a - m u -</i>	<i>š e - e n - z é - e n : a l - k a - a - n i m a - n a ṣ e - r i - i a</i>
120	<i>ḡ e n - b a -</i>	<i>a n - z é - e n : a t - l a - k a</i>
105	<i>ḡ á - n a m - m a -</i>	<i># - z é - e n : a t - l a - k a - a - n i m</i>
108	<i>ḡ á - n a m - a n -</i>	<i>š e - e n - z é - e n : a t - l a - k a - n i - i š - š u m</i>
111	<i>ḡ á - n a m - 'm u -</i>	<i>š e - e n - z é - e n : a t - l a - k a - n i m a - n a (ṣ e) - r i - i a</i>

POSTFIXES OF MODE

IRREALIS (Su. 4)

- \bar{g} iš en, mark of *irrealis*, "were it that."

The rank of \bar{g} iš en, the last rank in the finite verb proper, is followed by a rank Su. 5 which comprises the nominalizing suffixes a

As will be seen, -z é - e n replaces - e n - z é - e n in the forms translated as imperative ventive when no specific goal (infix) is present in the form. The simplest explanation would seem to be the assumption that the first e n of e n . z é . e n implies location in the unspecified ventive range, i.e., opposite the speaker. Persons already so located (e n . z é . e n) will not be ordered to go there; only persons not already so located (# z é . e n) will be so ordered. Conceivably, therefore, -z é . e n denotes 2nd person at greater remove from the speaker than - e n . z é . e n. Consonant with such differentiation would seem also the use in the difficult passage *PBS V*, No. 1 vi 1-2: z i - a n - n a z i - k i - a i - p à - d è - e n - z é - e n z a - z u - d a h é - i m - d a - l á ^dE n - l í l z i - a n - n a z i - k i - a i - p à - d è - z é - e n z a - d a - n e - n e i m - d a - l á, "You (gods) will swear by the life of Heaven, by the life of Earth, may he be joined with you and yours; Enlil, you (and yours over there) were swearing by the life of Heaven, by the life of Earth, he has been joined to you!"

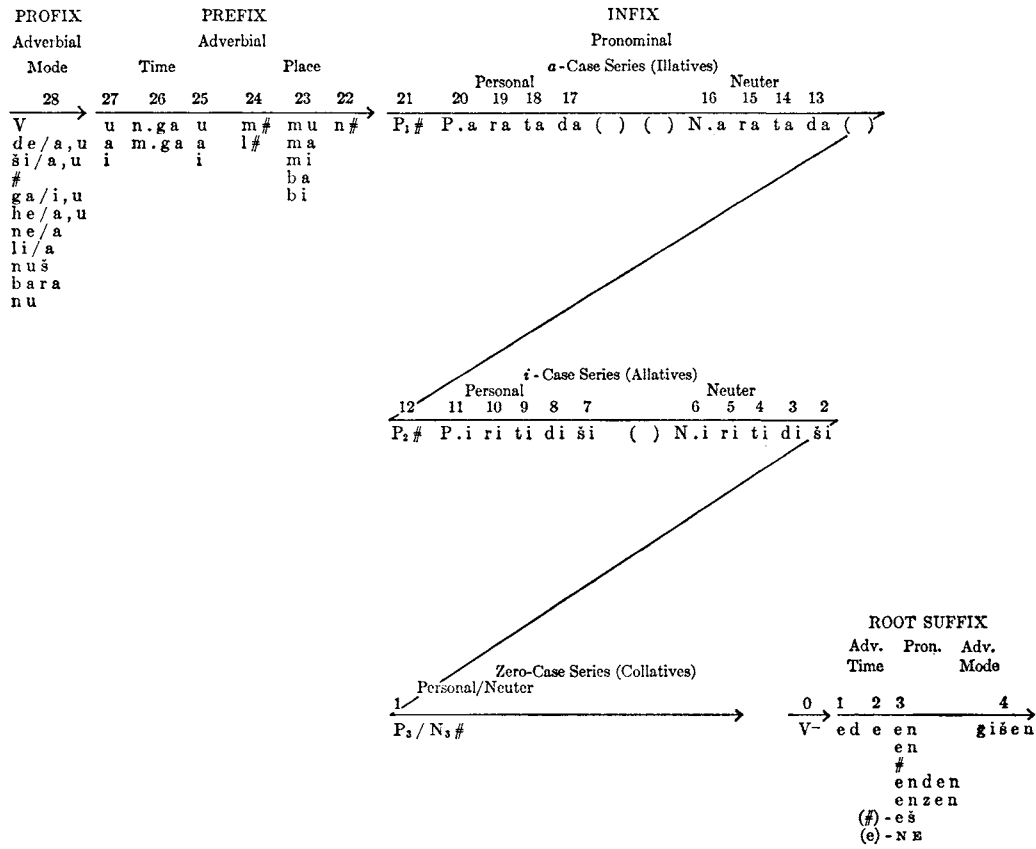
²⁰ Reasons for positing a nominalizing element zero besides the nominalizing element a are many. We may mention first that Sumerian has not only a verbal noun in a (*nomen actionis*) but also one in zero (*nomen agentis*). Here belong also the two forms of the adjective, one in a and one in zero, since the Sumerian adjective is actually merely the intransitive

and #²⁰ and the suffix e š e of direct quotation, all of which serve to change the sentence in which the finite verb occurs into a clause which can substitute for a noun and take the various nominal suffixes in their characteristic rank order.

nomen agentis. Nominalizing zero may also be assumed for the enclitic verbal forms - m e n, "I am," - m e n, "you are," - à m, "he is," etc. in their appositional use (see Poebel, *AS* No. 3 [1932] pp. 3 ff.) as e.g. with H a m m u r a b i . . . - m e n, "I Hammurabi," since their function here is that of a noun, respectively of an independent personal pronoun. Similarly, the late development of enclitic - m e - e š, "they are," into simple mark of plural is more easily understood if we can postulate besides, e.g., l u g a l - m e - e š, "they are kings," a nominalized zero form l u g a l - m e - e š . #, "they who are kings," as intermediary to l u g a l - m e - e š, "the kings."

As examples of clauses in zero besides such in a may serve e.g. l u g a l ^dE n - l í l - l e k i - á \bar{g} - š à - g a - n a i n - p à, "the king whom Enlil envisaged in his loving heart" (*Šū-Sîn* Pivotstone A; *SAKI*, p. 200, b 5-7; cf. *ibid.* c 3-5, d 7-9, etc.), and E n - a n - e - d u , e n ^dN a n n a n a m - g a l - n a m - e n - n a š à - k ù - t a n a m - š è a n - n a - t a r (see photo), "Enanedu, *entu*-priestess of Nanna, for whom from a pure heart he determined as destiny the great destiny of *entu*-ship" (Gadd in *Iraq* XIII [1951] 27), í d - d a ^dN a n n a - g ú - g a l m u - b i, "the canal the name of which is Nanna-gú-gal" (enclitic i - m (e), not expressed in writing, to be analyzed as i - m (e) . #, i.e., 'of which canal its name is . . .,' rather than as i - m (e), 'of the canal its name is . . .')" (*Ur-Nammu* clay cone B; *SAKI*, p. 188, i col. i 10-11).

DIAGRAM OF THE SUMERIAN VERB



The affixes are listed in order of their place in the form. The ranks recognized are numbered from the root backward in the case of the prefixes, forward in the case of the suffixes. Affixes occurring in the same vertical column under a number are mutually exclusive. "P" stands for personal, "N" for neuter pronominal component; P₁ stands for first person, P₂ for second person, P₃ for third person of such component; √ stands for the root.

DAS AKKADISCHE T-PERFEKT IN HAUPT- UND NEBENSÄTZEN UND SUMERISCHE VERBALFORMEN MIT DEN PRÄFIXEN BA-, IMMA-, UND U-

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Infolge der ausserordentlich hohen Ansprüche, die er an das Mitdenken des Lesers stellt, wurde Benno Landsbergers grundlegender Aufsatz über "Die Eigenbegrifflichkeit der babylonischen Welt" (*Islamica* II [1926] 355–72) weithin mehr bewundert als wirklich aufgenommen. Daran vermochte auch die Übernahme der wichtigsten seiner Beobachtungen zum semitischen Verbum in die *Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen* von G. Bergsträsser (1928) nicht viel zu ändern. Ich habe dann in meinem *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (GAG, 1952) versucht, einige der Gedanken meines Lehrers weiterzuführen und auch für den Unterricht fruchtbar zu machen. Da ich infolge der Beanspruchung durch das *Akkadische Handwörterbuch* (AHw.) leider noch für längere Zeit nicht in der Lage sein werde, zentrale grammatische Probleme monographisch zu behandeln, darf ich auf die Nachsicht des Altmeisters unseres Arbeitsgebietes hoffen, wenn ich im folgenden einige Beobachtungen nur in skizzenhafter Form vortrage, die eine weitaus gründlichere Behandlung verdienten. Es geht dabei um die von ihm erstmals festgestellte (*op. cit.* S. 361), nur dem Akkadischen eigentümliche Verwendung des *ta*-Infixes beim Verbum auch zur Ergänzung des altsemitischen "Tempus"-Systems. Landsberger hatte damals für die Formen *iptarras*, *uptarris* usw. in temporalem Gebrauch die Bezeichnung "punktuelles Präsens" vorgeschlagen, die später auf Widerspruch stiess. Da sie in der Tat nur für den kleineren Teil der jetzt festgestellten Verwendungsweisen passt, habe ich nach Durcharbeitung von mehreren Tausend Belegen die Bezeichnung Perfekt gewählt, obwohl sie angesichts des aus dem Stativ entwickelten westsemitischen Perfekts *qatal(a)* zu Missverständnissen Anlass geben kann. Ich fand aber in der grammatischen Terminologie keinen

anderen passenden Ausdruck. Da ich mich in GAG auf eine deskriptive Behandlung im Rahmen der Formenlehre (§ 80¹) und der Syntax (vor allem §§ 156, 161, 164e, 165h, 170–74, 185) beschränken musste, möchte ich hier vor allem auf einige historische Fragen eingehen.

Ausser dem einer anderen Sphäre des verbalen Ausdrucks zugehörigen Stativ, über den hier nicht zu sprechen ist, übernahm das Akkadische aus dem voreinzelsprachlichen Altsemitischen das Präteritum *iprus* und das Präsens *iparras* und die mit diesen beiden Formen gegebenen Möglichkeiten, die Darstellung des Geschehens (Handlungen an Objekten und Vorgänge) zu differenzieren. Die früher übliche und auch heute noch gelegentlich wiederholte Meinung, dass nur im Akkadischen diese beiden Formen einander gegenüberstanden, lässt sich ja nicht mehr aufrechterhalten, weil **japarras* nicht nur im äthiopischen "Indikativ" *j^oqattel* seine Entsprechung hat, sondern auch in verschiedenen altkanaänischen und hebräischen Formen (vgl. dazu zuletzt R. Meyer, *OLZ* LIX [1964] 123 f.). Das mit dem westsemitischen Imperfekt *jaqtulu* nicht gleichzusetzende Präteritum hat sich als "Jussiv" in allen älteren semitischen Sprachen²

¹ Die Gelehrten, die nach Landsberger wichtige Beiträge zur Erkennung bestimmter Gebrauchsweisen des Perfekts geleistet haben, nennt GAG § 80a (s. noch F. X. Steinmetzer, *ArOr* XV 87–92). Da sie alle nur Teile des Problems z. T. sehr fruchtbar behandelt haben, erscheint eine Auseinandersetzung mit ihnen heute, wo uns der Tempusgebrauch in allen Dialekten und Sprachperioden vor Augen steht, nicht mehr sinnvoll. Die Erörterung einiger schwieriger Einzelfragen gehört in eine Monographie.

² Dass ich die von den arabischen Nationalgrammatikern (für die ganz andere Kategorien bestimmend waren als für unser Denken) übernommene Auffassung des Jussiv als Modus neben Indikativ und Subjunktiv (*jaqtula*) nicht anerkennen kann, habe ich auf dem Int. Orientalistenkongress in München 1957 zuerst ausgeführt (vgl. den Vortragsauszug in den *Akten des 24. Int. Or.-Kongr.* S. 263–65). Zusätzlich sei bemerkt, dass einzelne Präteritum-Formen nach *wa-* im Altaramäischen beo-

und als Präteritum in den meisten von ihnen mindestens für längere Zeit noch erhalten.³ Man hätte nun denken können und hat es in der Tat lange als gesichert unterstellt, dass das Akkadische mit diesen beiden "Tempora" hätte auskommen können. Da für den Ausdruck von Aktionsarten wie z.B. den Ingressiv als zusätzliche Ausdrucksmittel die abgeleiteten Verbalstämme zur Verfügung standen, gab es doch auch ohne ein weiteres "Tempus" schon mannigfache Möglichkeiten, den verbalen Ausdruck im Bereich des Fiens zu variieren.

Die Schaffung einer neuen "Tempus"-Form mithilfe des Infixes *-ta-* zeigt, dass die Akkader die vorhandenen Möglichkeiten frühzeitig als nicht ausreichend empfunden haben. Sieht man die in *GAG* festgestellten Gebrauchswesen des Perf. an, so ist leicht zu sehen, dass diese nicht dem ursprünglichen Bereich des Prs. angehören, sondern dem des Prt. Das Differenzierungsbedürfnis entstand also im Bereich des Prt. und führte zu einer Einschränkung seiner so mannigfachen Verwendungsweisen. Der ebenfalls recht mannigfaltige Verwendungsbereich des Prs. blieb, wenn ich recht sehe, im wesentlichen unverändert. Es ist wohl noch zu früh, nach einer Erklärung für diese sehr auffällige Tatsache zu suchen. Eine solche müsste auch sehr subjektiv bleiben, solange die Grundfunktionen von Prs. und Prt. im ältesten Akkadischen, das für uns durch Schriftdenkmäler noch nicht bezeugt ist, ungeklärt sind. Mit vereinfachenden Antithesen wie vollendete (Prt.) und unvollendete (Prs.) Handlung mag man in vielen Fällen

bachtet wurden (H. Donner-W. Röllig, *Kan. u. Aram. Inschr.* S. 208). Der auf der Basis des Prät. gebildete Prekativ (akk. *liprus* usw.) ist altaram. öfter zu belegen, so in bibl.-aram. לְהַוֵּה (*leh·wē*, "es sei!"), in Namen wie *Adad-lam-tu-ru* (unpubl.; nach freundlicher Mitteilung von K. Deller), *Tammeš-li-in-tár*, "T. möge schützen" (*PBS* II 1, S. 36 u. ö.), אֲדַנְלָרָם, "Der Herr erhebe!" (Donner-Röllig, *op. cit.* S. 211, mit abweichender Deutung; s. noch *ibid.* S. 222). Damit ist das Prät. auch für das früheste Aramäische erwiesen.

³ Teilweise bekanntlich nur in besonderen Gebrauchswesen wie nach dem sogenannten *Waw consecutivum* im Hebräischen und nach der Negation *lam* im Arabischen; vgl. meinen in Anm. 2 genannten Vortrag. Für das Altsüdarabische scheint vorläufig nur der Prekativ (Jussiv) mit *l*-Präformativ nachgewiesen zu sein. Fr. Rundgren, "Der aspektuelle Charakter des altsemitischen Injunktivs" (*Orientalia Suecana* IX 76-101), hält die Injunktiv(Jussiv)-Funktion beim Präteritum für die ursprüngliche, geht dabei aber von theoretischen Erwägungen und nicht von der Beobachtung aus.

auskommen, alle schon in den frühen Sprachperioden bezeugten Verwendungsweisen lassen sich so nicht erklären. Vielleicht werden wir die Funktionen von Prs. und Prt. einmal besser gegeneinander abgrenzen können, wenn wir über die Neubildung des Perf. mehr Klarheit gewonnen haben.

Die "temporale" Funktion des *ta*-Infixes muss sich aus der verbalstammodifizierenden entwickelt haben. Eine Zurückführung des *ta* des Perf. unmittelbar auf das *ta* des reziproken Gt-Stammes (s. dazu *GAG* § 92) erscheint ebenso undenkbar wie die Annahme, dass die passiven *t*-Stämme Dt (*uptarris*) und Št (*uštapis*) den Ausgangspunkt bildeten. I. J. Gelb vertrat in *BiOr* XII 110 die Ansicht, dass sich das temporale *ta* aus dem bei Verben der Bewegung bezeugten separativen *ta* z.B. in *ittalak*, "er ging weg," entwickelt habe, und er hat wahrscheinlich recht damit. Wir müssen nur daran denken, dass auch das separative *ta* bisher nur im Akkadischen nachgewiesen ist, dass die Entstehung des Separativs also ebenso der Erklärung bedürftig ist wie die des Perf. (zur Umkehrfunktion des *-ta-* vgl. *GAG* § 92c, e). In den ältesten uns bekannten altakkadischen Texten begegnen, freilich in sehr kleiner Zahl, sowohl *ta*-Separative als auch *ta*-Perfekte (s. I. J. Gelb, *MAD* Nr. 2 [2. Aufl.] S. 174 f.); anhand der Quellen können wir also das erste Auftauchen solcher Formen nicht feststellen. Es entzieht sich auch unserer Kenntnis, ob das *ta*-Perfekt ebenso wie das separative *ta* zunächst nur bei Verben gebraucht wurde, die bestimmten Bedeutungsgruppen angehören. Aus den ganz wenigen Belegen, die Gelb gibt, wird man keine Schlüsse ziehen dürfen, da Perfekte von manchen Verben für die altakk. Zeit vielleicht nur zufällig nicht bezeugt sind und nicht wenige Formen mit *ta*-Infix etwa als Folge des zerstörten Zusammenhanges von uns überhaupt noch nicht in eine der bekannten Kategorien eingeordnet werden können. Trotzdem dürfte es kaum ein Zufall sein, dass die Zahl der sicher oder wahrscheinlich als Perf. oder Separativ zu deutenden *ta*-Formen aus altakkadischen Texten und Namen so klein ist. Vor allem zur Zeit der Dynastie von Akkade wurden *ta*-Formen offenbar noch nicht so viel gebraucht wie im Altbabylonischen und Altassyrischen.

Die Ausbildung des Separativs im Akkadischen stand gewiss in enger Wechselwirkung mit der Gebrauchserweiterung der Dativ-Suffixe *-am* und *-nim*, "mir," zum Ventiv, dessen besondere Funktionen auch wieder Landsberger als erster erkannt hat (ZA XXXV [1923] 113 ff.). Auch der Ventiv hat ja in den anderen semitischen Sprachen keine genaue Entsprechung, da der westsemitische sogenannte Energicus auf *-an(na)* nicht dasselbe ist. Meine These ist nun die, dass die Ausbildung aller dieser besonderen Formen beim akkadischen Verbum eine Folge des engen Zusammenlebens von Sumerern und Akkadern im Raum Babylonien seit etwa 3000 v. Chr. ist. Das sumerische Verbum verfügte mit seinen verschiedenen Präfixen und Infixen über eine ungewöhnlich grosse Zahl von Möglichkeiten, die verbale Aussage zu modifizieren; trotz der überaus imponierenden Leistung der Sumerologen sind diese Möglichkeiten sicher erst unvollständig erkannt. Die Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten des akkadischen Verbums mussten demgegenüber jedenfalls in manchen Bereichen als unzureichend erscheinen; die genaue Übertragung sumerischer Wendungen ins Akkadische konnte oft nicht so gelingen, wie es erwünscht war. Eine unmittelbare Übernahme sumerischer Bildungselemente kam angesichts des grundverschiedenen Baus beider Sprachen nicht in Frage. Es konnte nur darum gehen, die im Akkadischen bereits angelegten Bildungsmöglichkeiten da, wo es als notwendig empfunden wurde, reicher zu entfalten. Ich sagte, wo es als notwendig empfunden wurde. Denn es gab neben der reicheren Entfaltung in anderen Bereichen auch ein Verkümmernlassen von Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten, die ursprünglich vorhanden waren. Diese Verkümmern betraf im Bereich des Verbums vor allem die Modusdifferenzierung, die durch das Gegenüber von Indikativ und finalem Subjunktiv (*jaqtulu:jaqtula*) im Semitischen gegeben war.⁴ Das Sumerische kannte keine *jaqtula* analogen Subjunktivformen. Daher verkümmerte der Gebrauch des finalen Subjunktivs im Akkadischen sehr früh; nur in der Dichtung scheinen sich einige Ver-

⁴ Auf die Thesen von B. Kienast (Or. NS XXIX 151 ff.) zum semitischen Subjunktiv und dem Modus relativus des Akkadischen kann ich hier nicht eingehen. Ich kann sie mir nicht zu eigen machen.

wendungsweisen da und dort noch erhalten zu haben.⁵ Die Kategorie dieses Subjunktivs ging dem Akkadischen verloren.

Ehe ich nun auf das Verhältnis des akkadischen Perf. zu bestimmten sumerischen Verbalpräfixen etwas näher eingehe, ist eine kurze methodische Besinnung notwendig. Wir sind bei der Vergleichung sumerischer und akkadischer Formen und Ausdrucksweisen zu einer gewissen Zurückhaltung gezwungen, weil wir für beide Sprachen keine Quellen aus der Zeit vor dem Einsetzen der engen Berührungen zwischen ihnen besitzen. Wir wissen nicht, wie das System der sumerischen Verbalpräfixe etwa zur Zeit der Festsetzung der Sumerer in Südbabylonien aussah, und ob die Funktionen der einzelnen Präfixe den aus späterer Zeit bekannten im wesentlichen entsprachen. Die Möglichkeit ist nicht ganz auszuschliessen, dass es im Sumerischen der Zeit etwa von Ur-Nanše bis Urukagina nicht nur akkadische Lehnwörter gab, sondern dass auch der Gebrauch der sumerischen Verbalformen und Kasus da und dort durch das Akkadische beeinflusst war. Soweit ich sehen kann, besteht vorläufig kein bestimmter Anlass, solche Beeinflussungen anzunehmen. Als undenkbar dürfen wir sie aber nicht bezeichnen. Für das Akkadische der Zeit vor den ersten uns bekannten akkadischen Texten ist die Lage insofern etwas günstiger, als die vergleichende Betrachtung der semitischen Sprachen einige Rückschlüsse auf die vorgeschichtliche Zeit erlaubt; wir müssen uns aber hüten, mit solchen Rückschlüssen zu weit zu gehen. Dass es in der Sprache der frühesten Akkader ein *ta*-Perfekt nicht gab, finale Subjunktivformen aber wahrscheinlich gebräuchlich waren, meine ich erschliessen zu dürfen. Ob es neben dem Präsens *iparras* eine dem westsemitischen Imperfekt *jaqtulu* entsprechende Form gab, wissen wir jedoch nicht. Zur Zeit der Dynastie von Akkade gab es im Akkadischen nicht nur sumerische Lehnwörter, sondern es hatte sich auch die sumerische Wortstellung mit dem Prädikat am Satzende schon weitgehend durchgesetzt. Es ist also nicht unvernünftig, mit sumerischen Einflüssen auch in anderen Bereichen noch zu

⁵ Vgl. dazu vorläufig meine Notiz in "Studi Semitici" IV (1961) 52, Anm. 43.

rechnen, wenn das Studium der Texte uns Anlass gibt, solche zu vermuten. Und einen solchen Anlass habe ich bei der Prüfung der ältesten Belege für den Gebrauch des Perfekts gefunden.

Die Mehrzahl der von Gelb in *MAD* Nr. 2 (2. Aufl.) S. 174 aufgeführten Belege für Perfektformen stammt aus Texten der Ur III-Zeit. Auf die Akkade-Zeit geht, abgesehen von nicht eindeutig zu interpretierenden Formen wie *ir₁₁-ti-ab* (*ITT* I, Nr. 1103:1), der älteste Beleg für den Namen *A-tá-na-ah* (Manistusu Obelisk C iv 6), "Ich bin nun müde geworden," zurück. In den mit *anāhu* gebildeten Namen wechselt auch in jüngeren Sprachperioden das Perf. *Ātanah*-, *Ītanah*- mit dem Prt. *Ānah*-, *Īnah*- (s. J. J. Stamm, *MVAG* XLIV 163 und 368; *UET* V 32a und 46b); altass. kenne ich nur das Prt. (s. H. Hirsch, *AfO* Beiheft 13/14, S. 12, 19, 41; *ICK* II 10a, 12b, 14b; Kienast, *ATHE*, Nr. 8:5! u. ö.). Mit dem Sinn des Perf. in diesen Namen und anderen wie *Ātamar-Sîn*, der auch mit *Āmur-Sîn* wechselt, beschäftigt sich Stamm, *op. cit.* S. 94, und sagt, das Perf. "geht im Namen auf das unmitttelbare Erlebte." Da die wenigen Perfekt-Namen in sich nicht ganz eindeutig sind und daher verschiedene Deutungen offen lassen, kann nur eine Überprüfung der altbab. literarischen Texte weiterhelfen. In ihnen sind Perfektformen mit Ausnahme der altbab. Gilgamešdichtungen ziemlich selten. Wo sie auftreten, kennzeichnet der Dichter mit ihnen Handlungen, die dem Geschehen eine manchmal überraschende neue Wendung geben. Beispiele: *ip-ta-ah-ru*, "da versammelten sich (die Götter)," *VAS* X, Nr. 214 v 14 (Agušaja-Lied), nämlich um Ištar's Überheblichkeit zu dämpfen, von der davor die Rede war (vgl. noch *ibid.* Z. 27 ff.); ^d*en-lil-lu-tam i-te-ki-im*, "da nahm er (Anzu) die Enlilschaft weg" (*RA* XLVI 88, Z. 1, am Anfang einer neuen Tafel; s. noch Z. 3 ff. und 19 f.). Im Gebet an die Götter der Nacht (*ZA* XLIII 306) leitet *i-te-er-bu-ú*, "da traten (die Götter) ein," in Z. 7 und ^d*Šamaš i-te-ru-ub* in Z. 13 jeweils eine neue Episode im nächtlichen Geschehen ein (vgl. dazu noch *i-te-ru-ub* im Klagelied *VAB* VI, Nr. 89:9). Das oben erwähnte *Ātanah*- bzw. *Ātamar*- in den Namen dürfte entsprechend zu deuten sein (auf Situationen bei der Geburt?).

Nun finden sich Perfektformen, die wir in

ähnlicher Weise mit satzeinleitendem "da (mit einem Mal)" vor dem Verbum wiedergeben können, auch in altbab. zweisprachigen Texten. In ihnen aber entspricht das Perf. sumerischen Formen mit den Präfixen *ba*- oder *imma*-. Beispiele: *e-le-pa-šu it-te₄-bu* (|| *ba-da-sù*), "sein Schiff ging nun unter," und *si-ka-an-šu it-te-eš-bi-ir* (|| *ba-da-kuš*), "da wurde sein Ruder zerbrochen" (Lambert, *BWL*, S. 274, Z. 12 und 14; s. auch Z. 18); *i-nu-šu* . . . ^d*Šamaš . . . it-ta-aš-ka-an-šum* (|| *im-ma-na-ni-ib-gar*), "damals wurde Šamaš . . . für es eingesetzt" (*RA* XXXIX 7, Z. 31).

Aus jüngeren Kopien, die für sich allein weniger bedeutsam wären, nur folgende Beispiele aus den alten Ninurta-Epen: *ik-tan-šu-uš* (|| *ba-an-gúr-ru-uš*), "da beugten sich vor ihm (die Götter)" (*AOTU* I 281, Z. 31 f.); s. *ur-tap-pi-iš* (|| *ba-tál-tál*) *ibid.* Z. 19 f. Dazu noch die häufige Entsprechung *ib-ta-ni* (|| *ba-dù* bzw. *ba-dím*), "sie schuf," in *CT* XIII, Tf. 36 f.

Die Wiedergabe sumerischer Verbalformen mit den Präfixen *ba*- und *imma*- durch akkadische Perfektformen wird hier nicht zum ersten Mal konstatiert. A. Poebel zitierte in *Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik*, § 598, zahlreiche Beispiele, und noch viel zahlreicher sind die Beispiele, die sich aus den altbab. grammatischen Texten in *MSL* IV 76 ff. zusammentragen lassen. Th. Jacobsen hat in seiner Einleitung zu *MSL* IV mehrfach gebührend darauf hingewiesen.⁶

A. Falkenstein in seiner grundlegenden Behandlung der Sprache Gudeas erwähnt in Band II 185, Anm. 3, diese Tatsache auch, sieht in ihr aber "eine wahrscheinlich vom Akkadischen her beeinflusste Konstruktion der altbabylonischen Schulen" und meint weiter: "Bei der Behandlung der Sprache Gudeas wird man sie (d. h. die Entsprechungen zwischen *ba*- und dem Perf.) wohl ausser Betracht lassen dürfen." Ich meine, dass gerade einige Beispiele aus den Inschriften Gudeas die in den grossen Listen von Verbalformen in *MSL* IV zum Ausdruck kommende Auffassung der babylonischen Ge-

⁶ Auf eine Auseinandersetzung mit seiner Erklärung der sumerischen und der akkadischen Formen muss ich hier verzichten, da sie nicht beiläufig in wenigen Sätzen durchgeführt werden kann.

lehrten und Schulmeister bestätigen. *Ibid.* S. 185, Anm. 2, stellt Falkenstein einige Formen der Verben *igi-zi-bar*, "getreulich anschauen," *gin*, "gehen," und *è*, "hinausgehen," zusammen, die mit verschiedenen Verbalpräfixen gebildet sind, aber, wenn man sie aus ihrem Kontext herauslöst, "gleichwertig" (so Falkenstein) erscheinen. Sehen wir in den Text, so stellen wir fest, dass die mit *ba-* beginnenden Formen unter diesen eine neue Wendung im grossen Geschehen der Tempelbauunternehmungen kennzeichnen, während die entsprechenden Formen mit *mu-* oder *i-* dieses nicht immer tun. *igi-zi mu-ši-bar* in Cyl. A i 3 steht inmitten einer Schilderung der alten Zeit; *igi-zi ba-ši-bar* in Cyl. A xiii 18 und xix 5 kennzeichnet einen neuen Akt Gudeas. *im-ši-gin* in xix 25 steht in einer Situationsschilderung, *ba-ši-gin* in xvii 23 und 25 berichtet über neue Handlungen des Fürsten; den in Z. 28 folgenden Satz *hú-l-la-gim im-ma-na-ni-íb-gar* übersetzt Falkenstein in *Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete*, S. 155, selbst "Da überkam ihn volle Freude," also ebenso, wie ich hier verschiedene Perfektformen wiedergegeben habe; in gleicher Weise hätte xiv 6 übersetzt werden sollen. *ba-ta-è* in xxiv 14 wäre entsprechend zu übersetzen "da liess (Gudea) hervorgehen" (es folgen in Z. 15 ff. die Formen *mu-mú*, *ba-gub*, *mu-š₄-š₄* und gestalten die bei gleichbleibender Verwendung eines Präfixes etwas eintönige Rede lebendig abwechslungsreich); *im-ta-è* in Statue B iv 4 hingegen ist wieder ein nicht besonders hervorgehobenes Glied in einer Kette von Handlungen, also mit *ba-ta-è* nicht ganz gleichwertig. Nach diesen Gegenüberstellungen, die sich bei genauer Analyse der ganzen Bauhymne sicher noch vermehren lassen, werden wir dem Schreiber Samuilunas, der den eben auch für Gudea belegten Satz *hú-l-la-gim im-ma-na-ni-íb-gar* an der schon erwähnten Stelle (*RA XXXIX 7, Z. 30 f.*) durch *ki-ma hi-du-tim it-ta-aš-ka-an-šum* wiedergab, unsere philologische Anerkennung nicht versagen. Seine Übersetzung ist um so beachtlicher, als die altbab. Königsinschriften (wie übrigens weithin auch die jüngeren) Perfektformen nicht oft gebrauchen.

Es wäre nun sehr reizvoll, die sumerischen

epischen Dichtungen auf die Verwendung von mit *ba-* bzw. *imma-* präfigierten Verbalformen zur Einleitung neuer Episoden durchzugehen, doch ist das in dem hier gegebenen Rahmen nicht durchführbar. Immerhin darf darauf hingewiesen werden, dass ich bei einer Durchsicht einiger sumerischer epischer Dichtungen wie Inannas Unterweltsfahrt, Enki und Ninħursag, dem Enmerkar-Epos usw. verschiedene Verbalformen fand, bei denen *ba-* und *imma-* anscheinend auch die periodengliedernde Funktion hat. Vielleicht findet einmal ein Sumerologe die Zeit, dieser Frage mithilfe der ihm verfügbaren Belegsammlungen weiter nachzugehen. Um Missverständnisse auszuschliessen, sei hier ausdrücklich bemerkt, dass ich aus den hier vorgetragenen Beobachtungen nicht den Schluss ziehe, dass die von Falkenstein und anderen erarbeiteten Erkenntnisse über den Gebrauch von *ba-* und *imma-* nicht zuträfen. Wir müssen nur vor allem in Dichtungen die Präfixe nicht nur auf ihre Funktion im einzelnen Satz hin ansehen, sondern auch auf ihre Funktion im Rahmen der Strophen, Perioden usw. achten. Manche bisher nicht befriedigend zu erklärende Verwendung von *ba-* usw. wird dann verständlich, und wir gewinnen zugleich auch einige Einblicke in die Sprachgestaltung sumerischer Dichtungen.

Wie bereits erwähnt, finden sich in den altbab. Gilgamešdichtungen besonders viele Perfektformen. Die meisten unter ihnen folgen im gleichen Satz auf ein Prt. und kennzeichnen in ihm die Nachzeitigkeit der zweiten Handlung gegenüber der ersten. (S. dazu *GAG* § 80d, wo im letzten Satz auch schon ein erster Hinweis auf den hier besprochenen besonderen Gebrauch des Perf. gegeben ist; den Satz "wenn die neue Handlung sich aus der früheren ergibt," würde ich heute streichen.) Auf jüngere Dichtungen kann ich hier nicht eingehen.

Neben dem Gebrauch des Perf. in erzählenden Hauptsätzen steht ebenfalls schon in altakk. Texten (freilich erst der Ur III-Zeit, soweit bisher erkennbar) der in den mit *šumma* eingeleiteten Bedingungssätzen (vgl. dazu *GAG* § 161e-h). Die hier oft erkennbare Verwendung des Perf. zur Kennzeichnung hypothetischer Bedingungen ist gewiss aus der Verwendung des Perf. zur Hervorhebung der Nachzeitigkeit in-

nerhalb der Sphäre der Vergangenheit entstanden. Die beiden altakk. Belege, die in *MAD* Nr. 3, S. 256, genannt sind, lassen freilich eine hypothetische Bedingung nicht klar erkennen; die Möglichkeit muss offen bleiben, dass die Verbindung von *šumma* mit dem Perf. ohne ein vorausgehendes Prt. damals nicht auf die hypothetischen Bedingungssätze beschränkt war. Gegen eine solche Annahme kann man einwenden, dass der Sprachgebrauch des Altassyrischen und des Altbabylonischen in dieser Hinsicht ziemlich gleichartig gewesen zu sein scheint. Da sich das aus der Grundfunktion des Perf. nicht von selbst ergibt, ist es wahrscheinlich, dass er durch das Altakkadische bereits vorgeprägt war. Eine Klärung können erst weitere altakk. Belege für das Perf. in *šumma*-Sätzen herbeiführen.

Dass das Perf. in altass. und altbab. *šumma*-Sätzen überall da, wo es nicht nach einem Prt. eine spätere Handlungsstufe von einer früheren abhebt (vgl. *GAG* § 161e), die Bedingung als nur hypothetisch kennzeichnet, lässt sich im Einzelfall natürlich nicht immer beweisen. Altass. *šu-ma . . . la uš-té-bi₄-lam*, "wenn er nicht senden sollte" (EL, Nr. 323:21 f.) k ö n n t e man auch übersetzen "wenn er nicht sendet," also ebenso wie eine Prt.-Form nach *šumma*. In altass. Briefen gibt es *šumma*-Sätze, die man als Temporalsätze verstehen könnte (z.B. *šu-ma ha-ra-nu-um . . . i-ta-áp-té . . . ez-ba-ma . . . áb-kà-nim*, "wenn bzw. sobald als der Weg geöffnet wird, lasst . . . und führt her!" [*CCT* II, Tf. 25, Z. 30 ff.]). Nur eine das ganze Belegmaterial erfassende Einzeluntersuchung wird klären können, ob bzw. wann altass. *šumma* vor dem Perf. babylonischem *kīma*, "sobald als," vor dem Perf. entsprechen kann. Übrigens sind die Grenzen zwischen konditionalen und temporalen Nebensätzen auch in anderen Sprachen, z.B. dem Deutschen, fließend.

Hier möchte ich eine andere Beobachtung kurz erörtern. In *Or. NS* XIX 386, Anm. 2, und in *GAG* § 161h habe ich darauf hingewiesen, dass der in den babylonischen und assyrischen Gesetzen schon vorher z.B. von L. Oppenheim beobachtete Wechsel zwischen Gesetzen mit dem Prt. nach *šumma* und solchen mit dem Perf. nach *šumma* darauf schliessen lässt, dass man Tatbestände vor allem im Strafrecht in Form

von realen Bedingungssätzen ("wenn jemand etwas tut") und von hypothetischen Sätzen ("wenn jemand etwas tun sollte") darstellen konnte. In den sogenannten sumerischen Familiengesetzen, die uns durch die 7. Tafel der Serie *ana itti-šu* überliefert sind, geben Perfektformen nach *šumma* sumerische Verbalformen mit dem Präfix *ba* - wieder. *tukum-bi . . . ba-a-n-na-a-n-du₁₁* wird also übersetzt durch *šum-ma . . . iq-ta-bi*, "wenn er sagen sollte" (*MSL* I 101-3 oft). Ebenso entspricht *MSL* I 103, Z. 16 ff., das Perf. zur Kennzeichnung einer späteren Handlungsstufe sumerischen Formen mit *ba* - . Sehen wir nun in die einsprachig sumerischen Gesetze, so lesen wir zwar in dem dürftigen Rest, der uns von den Gesetzen Ur-Nammus erhalten ist (S. N. Kramer-A. Falkenstein, *Or. NS* XXIII 40 ff.) nur Formen mit *i*- nach *tukumbi*, in den Gesetzen Lipit-Istars aber neben einer Mehrheit von Gesetzen, die nach *tukumbi* *i*- verwenden, eine kleinere Zahl, die wie die sumerischen Familiengesetze *ba* - gebrauchen. So finden wir, teilweise auch im Nachsatz, *ba* - in den §§ 12, 14, 21, 26 und 28 (Ausgabe von F. R. Steele in *AJA* LII und "Museum Monographs" [1948]). Nicht alle in diesen Gesetzen bezeugten *ba* - Formen—*ba* - Passive lasse ich hier ausser Betracht—mögen das gleiche Gewicht haben, weil Formen mit *i*- nicht immer wahlweise verwendet werden können. Hier werden noch Einzeluntersuchungen vonnöten sein. Die Parallelität zwischen dem Wechsel von *i*- und *ba* - im Sumerischen und dem Nebeneinander von Prt. und Perf. in den akkadischen Bedingungssätzen kann aber kein Zufall sein, zumal da wir das Perf. als Entsprechung von *ba* - auch in Hauptsätzen schon kennen gelernt hatten. Vorläufig nicht sicher beantwortbar ist die Frage, ob die Babylonier auch in der Gesetzessprache die Schüler der Sumerer waren. Wenn die sumerischen Familiengesetze wirklich, wie oft angenommen, zur Zeit der 3. Dynastie von Ur formuliert wurden, wäre es mindestens wahrscheinlich, dass die Sumerer auch hier die Lehrmeister waren.

Wir konnten feststellen, dass akkadische Perfektformen in verschiedenen Gebrauchsweisen sumerische Formen mit den Präfixen *ba* - und (seltener) *imma* - wiedergaben bzw. ähnlich

wie diese verwendet wurden. Daraus dürfen wir nicht eine völlige Funktionsgleichheit der sumerischen und akkadischen Formen erschliessen; šu ba(-an)-ti, "er nahm," entspricht z.B. dem Prt. *ilqe*. Eine auf möglichst vollständige Erfassung der Verwendungsmöglichkeiten beider Formen ausgehende Untersuchung wird sicher manche Unterschiede aufzeigen können. Meine oben aufgestellte These, dass das Akkadische die Kategorie des mit *ta*-Infix gebildeten Perf. unter dem Einfluss sumerischer Formen mit *ba*-Präfix ausgebildet hat, setzt aber eine Funktionsgleichheit beider Formen in allen Verwendungsarten nicht voraus. Die These dürfte durch die aufgezeigten Parallelen soweit erhärtet sein, dass sie mindestens als fruchtbare Arbeitshypothese gelten kann.

Die Paragraphen in *GAG* über die früher nicht beachtete Tempusfolge in temporalen Satzgefügen (§§ 169–72) haben noch eine weitere Verwendungsweise des Perfekts aufgezeigt, nämlich die als Futurum exactum zur Kennzeichnung der Vorzeitigkeit gegenüber Handlungen oder Vorgängen, die in der Zukunft liegen oder nur gewünscht oder angeordnet werden. Den dort aufgeführten Beispielen fügt mein *AHw.* in den Artikeln *inūma* (unter A 2), *ištu* (unter C 2 a), *kī* (unter C 1 b) und *kīma* (unter C 1 b) eine ganze Anzahl weiterer zu; vgl. ferner etwa altbab. *i-nu-ma . . . ni-ta-am-ru lu-ša-ra-ki-iš-ši*, "wenn wir . . . gesehen haben werden, will ich sie zu dir führen lassen" (*CT XLIV*, Nr. 58:11); jungbab. *iš-tu . . . tuš-tam-nu-šu . . . taqabbi*, "nachdem du ihn hast rezitieren lassen, sagst du . . ." (*KAR*, Nr. 357:32). Nach wie vor kann ich das Perf. der Vorzeitigkeit in solchen Temporalen im Altassyrischen nicht belegen; zur Möglichkeit, dass dort *šumma* an die Stelle von *kīma* tritt, vgl. S. 108. Auch altakkadische Belege fehlen. Die ältesten datierbaren altbab. Belege, die ich nachweisen kann, stammen aus der Zeit kurz vor *Ḫammurabi*. In der akkadischen Inschrift des *Kudurmabuk* (*RA XI* 92 ff.) lesen wir (i 26 ff.) *ša bi-it a-gu-ur-ri-im šu-a-ti i-nu-ma il-ta-bi-ru la ú-da-an-na-nu-šu*, "wer diesen Backsteinbau, wenn er alt geworden sein wird, nicht verstärkt," und in der diplomatischen Note des Anam von Uruk an *Sîn-muballit* von Babylon: *iš-tu . . . ni-ta-ap-lam ta-ia-ar-ta-ni a-na še-ri-ka-a-ma*, "nachdem wir . . . geantwor-

tet haben werden, wird unsere Rückkehr zu dir (erfolgen)" (so ist *Bagh. Mitt.* II 56, Z. 21 f., zu übersetzen!). Es ist natürlich möglich, dass sich noch ältere Belege finden werden; vorläufig aber sieht es so aus, als ob der Gebrauch des Perf. in Temporalen jünger wäre als der in Haupt- und Bedingungssätzen. Im Sumerischen würde anstelle des Perf. nach temporalen Subjunktionen der Prospektiv nach dem Präformativ *u-* stehen, der nach Falkenstein (*AnOr XXVIII*, § 76; *Das Sumerische* § 34e) vor futurischen Formen die Funktion eines Futurum exactum hat. Ob man in zweisprachigen Texten sumerische Prospektive durch das Perf. nach einer temporalen Subjunktion wiedergeben konnte, müsste noch nachgeprüft werden; ich habe mir bisher keine Belege dafür notiert. Aber auch ohne eindeutige Belege aus zweisprachigen Texten ist es wahrscheinlich, dass die Verwendung des Perf. als Futurum exactum in Temporalen durch den *u*-Prospektiv mindestens gefördert wurde. Ob sie durch ihn verursacht wurde, das bliebe noch zu untersuchen. Die altbekannte Tatsache, dass Prospektive oft durch den akkadischen Imperativ wiedergegeben werden—auch in der Briefeinleitungsformel *ù-n a-d u₁₁*, der *qí-bi-ma* entspricht—ist kein entscheidendes Gegenargument gegen unsere Vermutung, sondern zeigt nur, dass keine akkadische Form dem Prospektiv in allen seinen Verwendungen entsprach.

In den Briefen und bestimmten Erlebnisschilderungen steht seit der mittelbab. bzw. mittelass. Zeit das Perf. als Behauptungsform (Affirmativ) dem Prt. als der Form für den nüchternen Bericht (vor allem in Urkunden, doch auch sehr viel in den Königsinschriften) gegenüber (s. *GAG* § 80 f). Dieses Affirmativ-Perf. verhält sich zum Prt. ähnlich wie das sumerische Konjugationspräfix *mu-* zu *i-* (vgl. dazu Falkenstein, *AnOr XXIX* 113 f.). Als Ursache dafür darf man vermuten, dass in der nachaltbabylonischen Zeit das Gefühl für die besonderen Funktionen von *ba-* in der Periode geschwunden war, während man für die eigentümliche Funktion von *mu-* gegenüber *i-* ein sicheres Gefühl behielt. Es ist eigenartig, dass vor etwa 1500 v. Chr. weder in Assyrien noch in Babylonien eine besondere Form für Behauptungen engagierter Sprecher entwickelt wurde, dass sich danach

aber das Perf. in seiner neuen Hauptfunktion in beiden Ländern durchsetzte. Die darin zum Ausdruck kommende Wandlung des Sprachgefühls kann nicht durch die Schule verursacht worden sein, da der durch die Schule bestimmte Sprachgebrauch des Jungbabylonischen viel mehr durch das Altbab. als durch die jüngeren Sprachformen beeinflusst wurde. Es scheint eher, dass sich das Affirmativ-Perf. unter dem Einfluss des in der Volkssprache noch wirksamen sumerischen Substrats aus dem alten Perf. zur Kennzeichnung einer gerade erst abgeschlossenen und noch gegenwartswirksamen Handlung weiterentwickelt hat. Ob dabei in Babylonien auch Einflüsse eines kassitischen Superstrats als Folge der Kassitenherrschaft und in Assyrien Einwirkungen von seiten des Churritischen des Mitannireichs Bedeutung gewannen, entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis, weil wir über das "Tempus"-System beider Sprachen viel zu wenig wissen. Jedenfalls hat das Akkadische die Unterscheidung zwischen dem Affirmativ-Perfekt und dem Präteritum nie wieder aufgegeben, auch nicht in der Spätzeit, in der das Assyrische und noch mehr das Babylonische überwiegend von Menschen aramäischer Muttersprache geschrieben wurde.

Die hier ganz kurz vorgetragenen Beobachtungen über die Einwirkungen des Sumerischen auf die Durchbildung des akkadischen "Tempus"-Systems ergänzen die Erkenntnisse, von denen ich zuletzt in meinem Vortrag *Zweisprachigkeit in der geistigen Kultur Babyloniens* (Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., Philos.-hist. Kl., "Sitzungsberichte," 235. Bd., 1. Abh. [1960]) gehandelt habe, in sehr willkommener Weise. Erneut

wird sichtbar, und nun in einem Bereich, den ich damals noch weniger beachtet hatte, wie fruchtbar die sumerisch-akkadische Symbiose in Babylonien geworden ist. Die Voraussetzung für diese war, dass sich beide Völker trotz aller Gegensätze, die sich oft genug auch in Kriegen entluden, anscheinend nie gegenseitig verneint haben, sondern füreinander offen waren. So konnten sie aneinander wachsen, ohne dass die Semiten geistig zu blossen Trabanten der Sumerer wurden. Nur eine extrem oberflächliche, heute allerdings nicht selten anzutreffende Geschichtsbetrachtung kann die von Landsberger zuerst so meisterhaft skizzierte Eigenbegrifflichkeit der (semitisch-)babylonischen Kultur übersehen. Die Zusammenfassung der beiden so grundverschiedenen Sprachen unter den Begriffen sum. *e me - ħ a - m u n* und akkad. *lišān mithurtim*, "Sprachen der gegenseitigen Entsprechung, der Harmonie," zeigt, wie früh sich Sumerer und Akkader bewusst wurden, dass sie aufeinander angewiesen waren, wenn dieses Bewusstsein auch nie in theoretischen Erörterungen Gestalt gewann, sondern nur in seinen Auswirkungen sichtbar wird. In Gestalt einer Skizze lediglich konnte ich einige dieser Auswirkungen im sprachlichen Bereich hier zeichnen. Die Skizze auszuführen und aus der Sprachbeobachtung noch differenziertere, geistesgeschichtlich mehr in die Tiefe führende Erkenntnisse zu gewinnen, bleibt eine Aufgabe für die Zukunft. Diese Aufgabe anzugreifen lohnt, und der Blick wird dabei von selbst nicht nur in die ferne Vergangenheit gehen, sondern sich auch der Gegenwart und Zukunft öffnen.

DIE STÄMME DES ALTBABYLONISCHEN VERBUMS IN IHREM OPPOSITIONSSYSTEM

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I

Grammatiken semitischer Sprachen pflegen das System der Verbalstämme¹ in Tabellen mit zwei Koordinaten darzustellen. Horizontal erscheinen bestimmte paradigmatische Formen eines Stammes und vertikal die verschiedenen Stämme oder auch umgekehrt.² Dies ist zweifellos die für die Veranschaulichung des morphologischen Befundes geeigneteste Darstellungsweise.

Nach ihrer morphologischen Struktur lassen sich im Akkadischen bekanntlich vier Stämme ohne Infixe feststellen, G, D, Š, N,³ und acht Stämme mit Infixen, Gtn, Gt, Dtn, Dt, Štn, Št₁, Št₂,⁴ Ntn.⁵ Welche dieser Stämme stehen in einer

¹ "Stamm" ist nach herkömmlicher Bezeichnung die Summe der Verbalformen, die ein gemeinsames morphologisches Charakteristikum haben (einfache Ausbildung der "Wurzel" oder grundsätzliche Längung eines der Radikale oder Präfigierung bzw. Infigierung von Morphemen oder Kombination dieser Möglichkeiten) und denen eine gemeinsame Bedeutung anhaftet, sei diese nun spontan (von einem anderen Stamm aus) gebildet oder erstarrt, "lexikalisiert."

² Vgl. z.B. W. von Soden, *GAG*, S. 12*–13*, "Die Stammformen des starken Verbums," oder C. Brockelmann, *Arabische Grammatik* (12. Aufl.; 1948) tabula V, "Paradigma stirpium verbi sani."

³ Infixlos (ohne die Morpheme /TAN/ oder /TA/; s. unten III 4) sind auch der R- und der ŠD-Stamm gebildet. Wir lassen diese beiden Stämme in dieser Untersuchung aus zwei Gründen ausser Betracht. 1) Wir sind nicht sicher, ob sie in der altbab. Zeit zum produktiven System gehörten. Das Material ist ziemlich beschränkt. 2) Auf die Literatur zu R und ŠD und die daran anschliessenden Fragen einzugehen, würde den zugebilligten Umfang dieses Artikels beträchtlich überschreiten. Doch sie hier vermerkt, dass sich R und ŠD nach ihrer Bildungsweise grundsätzlich in das System privativer morphologischer Oppositionen einfügen, wie wir es unten, III 4, zu beschreiben versuchen.

⁴ Št₁ = *uštāpras*, Št₂ = *uštāparras*. Ausserhalb des "Durativ-Präsens" sind die beiden Stämme morphologisch nicht verschieden.

⁵ I. J. Gelb, *BiOr* XII (1955) 110, ad *GAG* § 92 rügt die Nichterwähnung eines Nt-Stammes, ohne aber selbst eindeutige Fälle anzuführen. W. von Soden, *AHw*, S. 213b, s.v. *emēdum*, erwägt für eine Reihe von t-Formen "Ntn (oder

Wechselbeziehung zueinander und welche nicht? Die Anordnung im Koordinatensystem zeigt zwar den morphologischen Befund, nicht aber, wie sich die Funktionen der Stämme zueinander verhalten. Ein Beispiel: Formen von *magārum* Gt (*mitgurum*) stehen einerseits Formen von *magārum* G, andererseits von *magārum* Št₂ (*šutamgurum*) gegenüber. *imtaggarū*, "sie willfahren einander," *imaggerū(-šu)*, "sie gewähren (ihm)," *uštāmaggarū*, "sie veranlassen, dass (A und B) einander willfahren." Der reziproke Gt-Stamm von *magārum* hat also zwei Beziehungen, Gt:G und Gt:Št₂, wobei Št₂ Kausativ zum reziproken Gt ist.⁶ Mit andern Worten, es bestehen zwei Oppositionen, Gt:G und Gt:Št₂.⁷

Je nach Stamm ist die Anzahl möglicher Beziehungen—selbstverständlich können sie nicht von jedem Verbum aus frei gebildet werden—verschieden gross. Sie schwankt zwischen einer (Št₂:Gt) und fünf (G:Gtn, G:Gt, G:D, G:Š, G:N). Soweit ich sehe, hat man bisher nicht versucht, die Wechselbeziehungen in ihrem Gesamtsystem darzustellen und dieses System graphisch zu verdeutlichen. Fig. 1 (unten S. 115) versucht, eine Alternative zu dem üblichen Koordinatensystem zu bieten. Fig. 2 (unten S. 119) versucht, die morphologischen Oppositionen zu veranschaulichen (s. dazu III 4).

Die folgende Untersuchung beschränkt sich soweit möglich auf die in sich ziemlich geschlossene altbabylonische Dialektgruppe; es ist—*cum grano salis*—eine synchronische Studie. An

Nt?)." Man fragt sich, welche Funktion Nt hätte haben können. Ein passiver t-Stamm scheidet in all den Fällen aus, in denen N selbst intransitiv oder passiv ist. Ein reziproker Nt-Stamm entfällt ebenfalls. In einigen Fällen ist bereits N reziprok (s. Anm. 22). Separatives Nt käme allenfalls bei Verben wie *naprušum*, "(auf)fliegen," in Frage: Nt, *"(weg)fliegen"; aber die Form ist m.W. nicht belegt.

⁶ Zu dieser Funktion von Št₂ s. *GAG* § 94d.

⁷ "Privative morphologische Oppositionen"; s. unten III 4.

einem völlig homogenen Material, etwa dem Mittelteil des KH, können wir die Untersuchung nicht durchführen, da die Textbasis nicht breit genug ist, um alle Beziehungsmöglichkeiten aufzuzeigen. Immerhin ist die altbab. Sprache so gut bekannt, dass wir mit einiger Sicherheit annehmen dürfen, das System sei für alle Texte dieser Sprache repräsentativ. Nur wenn uns altbab. Belege fehlen,⁸ greifen wir auf andere Sprachstufen und Dialekte des Akkadischen zurück.

Die jeweils oppositionellen Beispiele (a-b, c-d usw.) sind aus phraseologisch möglichst ähnlichem Kontext ausgewählt. Es werden nur präfigierende Verbalformen und Imperative zitiert, keine Stative (Permansive). Denn für den Stativ mit seiner Ambivalenz des "genus verbi"⁹ trifft das Beziehungssystem nur beschränkt zu (vgl. III 6). Die Stämme werden in der Reihenfolge G, Gtn, Gt, D, Dtn, Dt, Š, Štn, Št₁, Št₂, N, Ntn abgehandelt.

II

1) G:Gtn. a) [k]aršī-ja ūkulakkum, "er hat mich bei dir verleumdet" (ARM II, Nr. 66:7). b) karšī-ja ana bēli-ja ammānim ūtanakkalū, "warum verleumden sie mich immer wieder bei meinem Herrn?" (ARM II, Nr. 115:9-11).

c) mA aran-ša tanašši, "sie wird ihre Strafe erleiden" (KAV, Nr. 1 i 20). d) aran dānim šuāti ittanašši, "er wird die für diese Rechtssache jeweils (vorgesehene) Strafe erleiden" (KH vi 3-5).

Gtn drückt hier das wiederholte (a-b) oder distributiv gedachte (c-d) Vorkommen der durch G beschriebenen Handlung aus.¹⁰

2) G:Gt. a) aššassu ul iṣabbatū, "sie werden seine Ehefrau nicht ergreifen" (KH ix r 43). b) iṣṣabtū-ma, "sie packten einander und . . ." (Gilg. P vi 5).

Gt drückt hier das Reziprokverhältnis zu der durch G beschriebenen Handlung aus.¹¹

⁸ Die Beispielsammlung in II beruht nicht auf einer erschöpfenden Durchsicht der altbab. Quellen.

⁹ Ausführliche Darstellung des Stativs (Permansive) bei M. B. Rowton, *JNES* XXI (1962) 233-303. Rowton streicht die bisher nicht genügend gewürdigte aktive Bedeutung von *paris* heraus.

¹⁰ Für die Funktionen der Stämme mit infigiertem Morphem /TAN/ vgl. *GAG* § 91. Ausführlich für das Altass. demnächst K. Hecker, *Die Sprache der altass. Texte aus Kappadokien* (Diss. Freiburg i.B., 1961) § 65.

3) G:D. a) imāt ul iballūt, "er wird sterben, nicht am Leben bleiben" (Goetze, *LE*, A i 40). b) šarrum warassu uballāt, "der König wird seinen Sklaven am Leben erhalten" (KH v r 51-52).

c) PN idninam ummāmi, "M. (ist mir stark geworden =) ist vor mir energisch aufgetreten und hat gesagt . . ." (ARM VI, Nr. 71:5'-6').

d) šipir-šu lā udannin, "(wenn . . .) er seine Arbeit nicht solide gemacht hat" (KH xix r 66-68).

e) likrubam, "er bete für mich" (KH xxv r 47). f) kajjāntam šībūt ālim . . . ana bēli-ja u ummānātīm ša bēli-ja ukarrabū, "die Stadtältesten . . . beten beständig für meinen Herrn und für die Truppen meines Herrn" (ARM III, Nr. 17:17-20).¹²

g) erretam ša abnim abtuq, "ich habe den Steindamm durchbrochen" (ARM VI, Nr. 1:22-23). h) nakrum butuqātim ubattaqakkum, "der Feind wird dir (Durchbrüche durchbrechen =) zahlreiche Deiche durchstechen" (YOS X, Nr. 46 iv 46).

D drückt bei (b) und (d) ein Faktitiv zum intransitiven Zustandsverbum (G) aus. Bei (f?) und (h) steht es einem transitiven Verbum (G) gegenüber. D bezeichnet hier die Pluralität des Objektes und zwar sowohl des direkten (h) wie des indirekten (f).¹³

4) G:Š. a-b) ša . . . šum-šu lā šatram iṣattaru ū ušaštaru, "wer . . . seinen Namen, der nicht dasteht, hinschreibt oder hinzuschreiben veranlasst" (*Syria* XXXII 16, Kol. iv 24-v 5).

Š drückt hier das Kausativ zu der durch G beschriebenen Handlung aus.¹⁴

5) G:N. a-b) ina ON bīt G[N i]nneppe[š

¹¹ Die Funktionen der Stämme mit infigiertem Morphem /TA/ sind zahlreich, und sie lassen sich schwerer auf einen Nenner bringen als die der Stämme mit /TAN/. Grundfunktion nach *GAG* § 92c, "richtungsändernd," nach Gelb, *BiOr* XII 110, ad *GAG* § 92, "basic meaning reflexive-reciprocal." Wir haben uns bei G:Gt auf ein Beispiel beschränkt. Produktiv scheint bei intransitiven Verben der Bewegung die Bildung eines separativen Gt gewesen zu sein, z.B. *allukum*, "weggehen," zu *alākum*, "gehen."

¹² "Vereinzelt aB für G" laut *AHw*. s.v. *karābum* D. Sollte *kurrubum* analog zu den Verben für "beten," *suppām*, *sullām*, *šullām*, gebildet worden sein (Anregung von L. Matouš), wäre das Beispiel 3 e-f zu streichen.

¹³ Vgl. A. Poebel, *AS* Nr. 9 (1939) S. 66, und Gelb, *BiOr* XII 110, ad *GAG* §§ 88 f.

¹⁴ Zu anderen Funktionen von Š vgl. *GAG* § 89; s. noch unten III 3 c und d.

b]itam šāti šū [l]īpuš, "In Šubat-Enlil soll das Haus des Enlil gebaut werden; dieses Haus möge er bauen!" (ARM II, Nr. 2:20-23).¹⁵

N drückt hier ein Passiv zu der durch G beschriebenen Handlung aus.¹⁶

6) Gtn:G s. G:Gtn (oben 1).

7) Gtn:Dtn. a) jB I amīlu ina šubti-šu igdannallu[t], "wenn der Mann in seiner Wohnung immer wieder erschrickt" (CT XLI, Tf. 33, Rs. 23). b) jB I ditto (ina bīt amīli) ditto (eṭemmu) ugdanallat, "wenn im Hause des Mannes der Totengeist immer wieder (jemanden) in Schrecken setzt" (CT XXXVIII, Tf. 26, Z. 27).

Gtn:Dtn verhalten sich wie G:D, wobei D faktitive Funktion hat.

8) Gtn:Štn. a) ina tērētīm ittanazzaz, "er tritt immer wieder zu den Orakeln" (Studies Robinson, S. 104, Z. 24-25). b) mB [m]ārī šipri ina šiti ammīni ultanazzazū, "warum lässt man die Boten immer länger im Ausland bleiben?" (VAB II, Nr. 16:43-44).

c) lītterrubu, "sie sollen jeweils eintreten" (ARM IV, Nr. 10:11'). d) aAK būlam ana ālim šutarrīb, "bringe das Vieh von überallher in die Stadt hinein!" (JRAS, 1932, S. 296, Z. 21).

Gtn:Štn verhalten sich wie G:Š. Die Funktion der -tan-Stämme ist in den Beispielen (a-b) iterativ-habitativ, in (c-d) distributiv.

9) Gtn:Ntn. a) [š]īr šumim ittaddā, "(die Orakel . . .) haben jedesmal (Fleisch des Namens geworfen =) ein bemerkenswertes Ergebnis erbracht" (ARM I, Nr. 60:26). b) ana pī šābim ittanaddē[m], "er wird beständig dem Gerede der Leute (hingelegt =) preisgegeben" (ARM II, Nr. 31:5').¹⁷

Gtn:Ntn verhalten sich wie G:N.

10) Gt:G s. G:Gt (oben 2).

11) Gt:Št₂. a) mātum itti mātīm ūtakkal, "zwei Länder werden einander fressen" (YOS X, Nr. 35:26). b) 5 itti 5 šutākil, "(veranlasse, dass 5 und 5 einander essen =) multipliziere 5 mal 5!" (MCT, S. 57, Ec 3).

¹⁵ Zur Ergänzung s. A. Falkenstein, *BiOr* XI (1954) 115.

¹⁶ "Passiv" lässt sich in einer synchronischen Studie über das Altbab. vertreten. Die historische Problematik (Medium, Mediopassiv) und die Tatsache, dass keine semitische Sprache ein einheitliches Zeichen für das—sekundäre—Passiv benutzt, sollen hier nicht diskutiert werden. Zu eindeutig nicht-passivem N s. unten III 1 und 3 c-d sowie Anm. 22.

¹⁷ Zur Ergänzung s. W. von Soden, *Or. NS XXII* (1953) 197.

c) *atta u nakir-ka taššabbatā-ma*, "du und dein Feind, ihr werdet einander packen" (YOS X, Nr. 50:8). d) *kilattī-šina tuštašabbatī*, "du veranlasst, dass die beiden (Frauen) miteinander streiten" (RA XXIV 36, Rs. 6 = J. van Dijk, *La sagesse suméro-accadienne*, S. 92).

Gt:Št₂ verhalten sich wie G:Š.¹⁸

12) D:G s. G:D (oben 3).

13) D:Dtn. a) *narkabāt nakri-ka tutār*, "du wirst die Streitwagen deines Feindes (als Beute) zurückführen" (YOS X, Nr. 44:26). b) *ammānim milik-šu [ana šēri]-ja tuttanarram*, "warum (lässt du ihren Rat immer wieder [auf] mich zurückkommen =) wendest du dich wegen dieser (Stadt) immer wieder [an] mich um Rat?" (ARM IV, Nr. 11:11).¹⁹

D:Dtn verhalten sich wie G:Gtn, Š:Štn oder N:Ntn.

14) D:Dt. a) *šumma ON ana PN tuwaššar*, "wenn du dem A. die (Stadt) [Naḥ]ur überlässt" (ARM II, Nr. 62:5'). b) *nīš ilim izakkarma ūtaššar*, "er soll den Gotteseid leisten und wird dann freigelassen werden" (KH ix 11-13).

c) s. Beispiel 3 h. d) *butuqā[tum] ubtatta[qā]*, "viele Deichbrüche werden (durchbrochen werden =) entstehen" (YOS X, Nr. 26 iii 29).

D drückt hier ein Passiv zu dem durch D bezeichneten Vorgang aus. In den Beispielen (a-b) steht D in seiner faktitiven, in (c-d) in seiner die Pluralität des Objektes betonenden Funktion. D:Dt verhalten sich wie G:N oder Š:Št₁.

15) Dtn:Gtn s. Gtn:Dtn (oben 7).

16) Dtn:D s. D:Dtn (oben 13).

17) Dt:D s. D:Dt (oben 14).

18) Dt:N. a) *butuqā[tum] ubtatta[qā]*, "viele Deichbrüche werden entstehen" (s. schon oben 14 d). b) *butuqtum ibbattaq*, "ein Deichbruch wird entstehen" (YOS X, Nr. 16:5, 17:62, 25:34).

¹⁸ Für Št₂ als Reziprokform zu einem D-Stamm s. unten III 3 b. Gegen Beispiel 11 b könnte man einwenden, *šutākulum* sei mathematischer Terminus und insofern lexikalisiert. Aber angesichts des vielfältigen idiomatischen Gebrauchs von "essen" im alten und modernen Vorderen Orient möchte man doch wieder annehmen, dass bei *akālum* noch eine lebendige Vorstellung von einer Wechselbeziehung Gt:Št₂ bestand.

Zu einer möglichen Opposition Gt:Dt, die wir aber noch nicht mit Sicherheit in das produktive System einzubeziehen wagen, s. unten III 3 a. Zum Ersatz von Gt:Št₂ durch N:Št₂ bei bestimmten Verben s. unten III 3 d.

¹⁹ Zur Ergänzung s. W. von Soden, *Or. NS XXII* 203.

Dt:N verhalten sich wie D:G, wobei D in seiner die Pluralität des Objekts betonenden Funktion zu verstehen ist.²⁰

19) Š:G s. G:Š (oben 4).

20) Š:Štn. a) *lū rēša[m] lū amtam . . . ušēše*, "er wird sei es einen Sklaven, sei es eine Sklavin . . . hinausgehen lassen" (YOS X, Nr. 33:28–30). b) *pirišti šarrim ana māt nakrim ušteneše*, "er wird das Geheimnis des Königs immer wieder zum Feindesland hinaustragen" (YOS X, Nr. 25:31).

Š:Štn verhalten sich wie G:Gtn, D:Dtn oder N:Ntn.

21) Š:Št₁. a) nB *ana ON ultahliq-šu*, "er liess ihn nach I. entkommen" (t-Perfekt) (ABL, Nr. 1169:10). b) nB *kī ultahlaqu šarru . . . lišal-šu*, "da er veranlasst werden könnte zu fliehen, . . . möge ihn der König verhören" (ABL, Nr. 472 Rs. 10).

Š:Št₁ verhalten sich als Aktiv:Passiv wie G:N oder D:Dt.²¹

22) Štn:Gtn s. Gtn:Štn (oben 8).

23) Štn:Š s. Š:Štn (oben 20).

24) Št₁:Š s. Š:Št₁ (oben 21).

25) Št₁:N? Ich finde kein Beispiel für diese theoretisch konstruierbare Opposition. Konnte zu N "das Haus wurde gebaut" ein Kausativ "das Haus wurde zu bauen veranlasst" gebildet werden? Ein Beispiel wie a) *itti . . . innamir*, "er hat sich mit . . . getroffen" (ARM II, Nr. 120:7), b) *itti . . . uštāmīr-šu*, "ich habe ihn veranlasst, sich mit . . . zu treffen" (ARM V, Nr. 73:5'), gehört nicht hierher. 1) N hat hier nicht die Funktion eines Passiv sondern ist reziprok; 2) Št ist nicht als Št₁ sondern als Št₂ aufzufassen.²²

²⁰ Nur diese Funktion kommt in Frage. Wenn D Faktitiv zu einem intransitiven G ist, so kann zwar davon ein passives Dt gebildet werden (z.B. *danānum* Dt, "verstärkt werden"; s. *AHw.* s.v.); aber dieses Dt hat keine Wechselbeziehung mit N, da ja das intransitive G kein passives N bildet.

²¹ Št₁ ist ziemlich selten. Ich habe kein altbab. Beispiel für eine Opposition Š:Št₁ gefunden. *UD.KUR.ŠÈ illiam-ma utattar!*

²² Hecker, *op. cit.* (oben in Anm. 10) § 64, führt für das Altass. drei N-Stämme mit reziproker Funktion an: *nāmurum* (altbab. *nanmurum*), "einander sehen" = "sich treffen mit (*išti/itti*)"; *našbutum*, "einander packen" = "miteinander streiten (*išti*)," und *namgurum*, "sich einigen." Altbab. kommt *emēdum* N (*nenmudum*), "einander stützen" = "sich zusammen tun mit (*itti*)," hinzu. Vgl. auch *GAG* §§ 90 f. Für Št-Kausative zu reziprokem *amārum* und *emēdum* N vgl. oben II

26) Št₂:Gt s. Gt:Št₂ (oben 11).

27) N:G s. G:N (oben 5).

28) N:Dt s. Dt:N (oben 18).

29) N:Št₁(?) s. Št₁:N(?) (oben 25).

30) N:Ntn. a) *eperū likkašdū*, "das Erdwerk soll (erreicht =) bewältigt werden" (VAB VI, Nr. 135:29). b) *jB napistī lā ittanakšadu*, "mein Leben möge nicht immer von Neuem (erreicht =) überwältigt werden" (KB VI 2, S. 136, Z. 2).

c) *UD.KUR.ŠÈ tuppāt . . . innammarā illiānima ša PN*, "(wenn) künftig die Tafeln . . . auftauchen und gesichtet werden, so gehören sie dem E." (VAB V, Nr. 281:34–35). d) *jB upšašū . . . ša ana kāša . . . ittanabšū . . . ittanamarū*, "die Behexungen . . . , die gegen dich . . . immer wieder entstehen . . . (und) immer wieder sichtbar werden" (*Šurpu* VIII 45–46).

N:Ntn verhalten sich wie G:Gtn, D:Dtn oder Š:Štn.

31) Ntn:Gtn s. Gtn:Ntn (oben 7).

32) Ntn:N s. N:Ntn (oben 30).

Wir haben folgende Wechselbeziehungen von Verbalstämmen festgestellt, bei denen wir glauben, dass sie zum produktiven System gehören: 1) Fünffach ausgebildet G:Gtn/Gt/D/Š/N. 2) Vierfach ausgebildet Gtn:G/Dtn/Štn/Ntn. 3) Dreifach ausgebildet a) D:G/Dtn/Dt; b) Š:G/Štn/Št₁; c) N:G/Dt/Ntn. 4) Zweifach ausgebildet a) Gt:G/Št₂; b) Dtn:Gtn/D; c) Dt:D/N. 5) Einfach ausgebildet a) Št₁:Š; b) Št₂:Gt.

Zu weiteren Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Stämmen s. unten III 3. Es handelt sich dort aller Wahrscheinlichkeit um Fälle, die wir als stellvertretend für einen der oben angeführten Fälle betrachten können.

Wir haben die Stämme in Fig. 1 in Kreuzform angeordnet. Aufeinander zulaufende Pfeile deu-

25 und unten III 3 d. Beachte, dass weder *amārum* noch *emēdum* ein reziprokes Gt bilden.

Da bei Verben primae aleph Št₁ *uštāpras* und Št₂ *uštāparras* nicht morphologisch unterschieden werden, können wir die N gegenüberstehende Št-Form zwar zunächst nicht auf Št₁ oder Št₂ festlegen. Dagegen vgl. oben II 11 c-d, wo *šabatum* Št₂ Kausativ zu reziprokem *šābatum* Gt ist, und beachte, dass reziprokes *šābatum* N mit Gt grundsätzlich gleichbedeutend ist, wenn auch N zu "streiten" (nicht mehr konkret "einander packen") eingengt ist. Von hier aus können wir im Analogieschluss *amārum* und *emēdum* Št, soweit Kausative zu reziprokem N, als Št₂ definieren. N:Št₂ steht demnach stellvertretend für Gt:Št₂; s. noch unten III 3 d.

ten an, dass zwischen zwei Stämmen eine Wechselbeziehung besteht, d.h. dass sie zueinander in Opposition stehen.

III

Aus Abschnitt II ergeben sich eine Reihe von Fragen. Sie können hier nur in knappster Form diskutiert werden. Spätere Untersuchungen müssen die Diskussion vertiefen.

“(auf)fliegen,” N lexikalisiert wird. Wenn zu *naprušum* ein Kausativ *šsuprušum*, “auffliegen lassen,” gebildet wird, dürfen wir die sekundäre Opposition N:Š nicht als integrierenden Bestandteil des Systems betrachten. Wir brauchen sie daher auch nicht als “systemstörend” aufzufassen (s. III 3 c).

D von Verben, die in G von einem Stativ aus gebildet sind (*damiq*, “ist gut,” *idammiq*, “wird

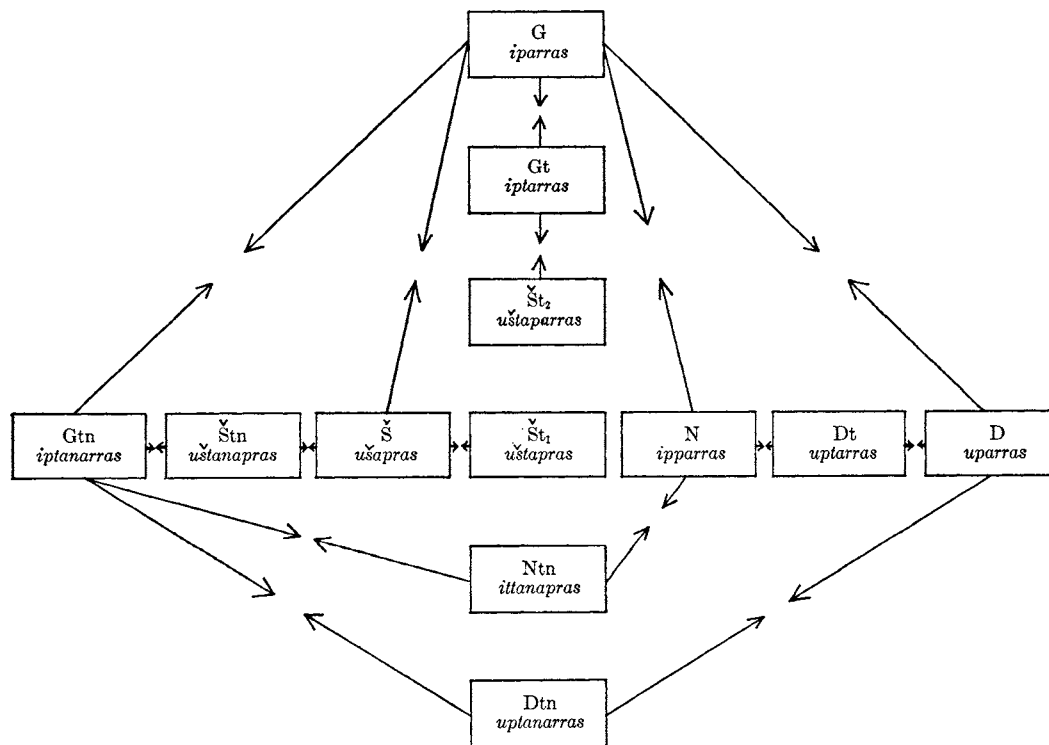


FIG. 1

1. PRODUKTIVE BILDUNGSWEISE UND LEXIKALISIERUNG VON STÄMMEN

Fig. 1 stellt das System der Verbalstämme und ihrer Wechselbeziehungen paradigmatisch dar, wobei üblicherweise das Verbum *parāsum* verwendet wird. Von keinem akkadischen Verbum aber lassen sich Formen aller Stämme frei bilden. Die Einschränkung hat ihren Grund hauptsächlich in der Bedeutung jedes einzelnen Verbuns. Der G-Stamm eines intransitiven Verbuns bildet normalerweise keinen N-Stamm, da die Funktion von N überwiegend die eines Passivs zu G ist. Wo trotzdem G (intransitiv) und N nebeneinander bezeugt sind, handelt es sich um eine andere Opposition als die von Aktiv und Passiv.²³ Auch ist Verdrängung von G durch N möglich,²⁴ wobei, wie im Falle *naprušum*,

gut”; sog. Zustandsverben), hat gewöhnlich die Funktion eines Faktitivs: *dummuqum*, “gut machen.” Diese Stammbildung ist weitgehend produktiv. Aber es gibt eine gut bekannte Ausnahme. D *rubbūm* hat seine allgemeine Bedeutung “gross machen,” “grösser machen” eingebüsst und ist in der Bedeutung “grossziehen” lexikalisiert.²⁵ Das zu erwartende Faktitiv ist

²³ Vgl. GAG § 90g: Ingressive Funktion des N-Stammes von Zustandsverben. Abweichend demnächst Hecker, *op. cit.* (oben in Anm. 10) § 64.

²⁴ Vgl. GAG § 90g.

²⁵ Der Begriff “Lexikalisierung” ist mit Vorsicht zu gebrauchen (vgl. auch oben Anm. 13), da das deutsche Sprachgefühl das Selbstverständnis des akkadischen Wortes verschleiern kann. Immerhin ist der Fall *rubbūm* klar. Wir wissen, dass “ein Haus vergrössern” auf keinen Fall **bitam rubbām* heisst.

durch Š ersetzt worden. *rubbûm* verhält sich also nicht mehr zu *rabûm* wie *dunnunum*, "verstärken," zu *danânum*, "stark werden."

Die Möglichkeit, von einem transitiven G aus D zu bilden, das die Pluralität des Objekts ausdrückt, ist wohl stark eingeschränkt gewesen. So ist von dem häufigen *dâkum*, "töten," kein D **dukkum*, "viele töten," bezeugt, wohl aber z.B. von *tabâhum*, "schlachten," D *tubbuhum*, "viele (Tiere) schlachten."²⁶ Um ein Bild zu gewinnen, wie weit D-Stämme dieser Art gebildet wurden, bedarf es näherer Untersuchung.

Von Natur aus beschränkt sind wieder reziproke Gt-Stämme zu transitivem G. Nur bei bestimmten Verben ist ein Vorgang "A wirkt auf B ein, während zugleich B auf A einwirkt" denkbar.²⁷

Am ehesten lässt sich von den Stämmen mit Infix -tan- sagen, dass sie wohl von der überwiegenden Mehrzahl der Verben frei gebildet werden konnten. Aber eine statistische Untersuchung wäre trotzdem vonnöten.

Schliesslich ist ein Faktor zu berücksichtigen, der an sich mit der Produktivität des Verbalstammsystems nichts zu tun hat. Konvention, die in jeder Sprache (synchron) vorwaltet, hat auch im Akkadischen ganz ohne Zweifel der theoretisch möglichen Bildbarkeit von Verbalstämmen Schranken gesetzt. Dies an einer Sprache nachzuweisen, in der kein Sprecher mehr getestet werden kann, ist freilich eine sehr schwierige Aufgabe.²⁸

2. GLEICHE BILDUNGSWEISE VON FORMEN IN VERSCHIEDENEN STÄMMEN

In Fig. 1 habe ich mit Bedacht Formen des Durativ-Präsens²⁹ eingesetzt. Nur diese sind nämlich in allen Stämmen morphologisch unterschieden. Ausserhalb des Präsens sind die Formen von Dtn und Dt grundsätzlich und die Formen von Štn, Št₁ und Št₂ bei den meisten Verben

²⁶ Delitzsch, *HWb*, s.v.

²⁷ Für N anstelle von Gt s. Anm. 22 und III 3 d.

²⁸ Ein Beispiel aus dem Arabischen: Der "Orientalist" heisst *mustašriq* (akt. Part. des X. Stammes), der "Arabist" *musta'rib*. Als ich einmal im Gespräch mit grammatisch gebildeten Arabern die Formen *mustatrik*, "Turkologe," und *mustahnid*, "Indologe," bildete, wurden sie zwar verstanden, doch wirkten sie erheiternd.

²⁹ Gemeint der Aspekt *iparras*, *iptanarras* usw., der "kursive Aspekt" in F. Rundgrens Terminologie.

nicht unterschieden. Ein Präteritum *uptarris* kann sowohl zu Dtn *uptanarras* als auch zu Dt *uptarras* gehören; der Imperativ *šutapris* zu Štn *uštānapras*, Št₁ *uštāpras* oder Št₂ *uštāparras*.³⁰ Aus dem Satzzusammenhang lassen sich die jeweiligen Stämme meist unschwer erschliessen, und im System der Sprache dürfte die Formengleichheit kaum Missverständnisse erzeugt haben.

W. von Soden hat die Formengleichheit sicher zurecht als rhythmisch-strukturelle Analogiebildungen nach Gtn erklärt.³¹ Beachtenswert ist (vgl. dazu III 4), dass durch den Zusammenfall von Formen keine morphologischen Oppositionen aufgehoben wurden. Weder gibt es ja eine Opposition Dtn:Dt noch Štn:Št₁ oder Štn:Št₂ oder Št₁:Št₂.

3. Gt:Dt, Dt:Št₂, N:Š, N:Št₂. UNVOLLSTÄNDIGKEIT DES ENTWORFENEN SYSTEMS?

a) Gt:Dt. *kašārum* Dt (*AHw.* s.v.) bedeutet "sich zusammenrotten, -ballen" (Subjekt Menschen, Wolken). *GAG* § 93c bucht dieses Verbum als seltenen Beleg für reziprokes Dt. Wie ist diese Funktion zu erklären? Wir stellen fest, dass *kašārum* Gt, "ineinander fügen," "verflechten,"³² normales reziprokes Gt zu G *kašārum*, "knoten," ist. Subjekt und zugleich Objekt von

³⁰ Verben primae aleph unterscheiden Štn einerseits, Št₁ und Št₂ andererseits. Vgl. die Paradigmen 15 und 17 in *GAG*. Orthographisch eindeutige Fälle sind freilich selten. Vgl. altbab. Part. Štn Stativ *muštahhiz*, "immer wieder ergreifen lassend" = "ansteckend (Krankheit)" (*AHw.* s.v. *aḥāzum*); eindeutig nicht **muštāhiz!* Vom Part. aus lässt sich das Punktual-Präteritum *uštahhiz* rekonstruieren. Jungbab. Prekativ Štn *lištālilū*, "sie mögen immer wieder zujubeln" (*AHw.* s.v. *alālu* III; *CAD* I 332a); eindeutig nicht **lištālilū!* Davon Prät. *uštālil* zu rekonstruieren. Altbab. Imperativ Štn *šutarriḥ*, "beeile dich sehr!"; eindeutig nicht **šutarriḥ!* (daher in *AHw.* S. 63b "Št" wohl zu streichen). Altbab. Prät. Štn *tušta'dir*, "du hast immer wieder in Furcht gesetzt" (*AHw.* s.v. *adārum*), ist dagegen als "stark" gebildete Form *tuštāpris* für die Diskussion nicht verwertbar.

Die einzige mir bekannte Form, die von der Orthographie her eindeutig die Vokal- und Konsonantenquantität von Št bei Verben primae aleph erkennen lässt, ist der mittelass. Stativ Št₂ *šutāmakū* (*šu-ta-a-ma-ku*), "ich bin am Überlegen" (*AHw.* s.v. *awām*); eindeutig nicht **šutamāku!*

Analog zu primae aleph sind Štn und Št dann auch bei primae w unterschieden. Vgl. *GAG*, Paradigma 25.

³¹ *GAG* § 91a. Der Umfang rhythmischer Analogiebildungen in der Morphologie des Akkadischen wäre auch sonst eine eigene Untersuchung wert.

³² Ausser einem Imperativ in einem lexikalischen Text (*AHw.* s.v. *kašārum*) sind nur Stative belegt.

kašārum Gt sind nach den bisherigen Belegen die Finger der Hand (Finger verschränken) oder Tierschweife (umeinander schlingen). Sollte Dt eine zahlen- bzw. mengenmässige Steigerung von Gt ausdrücken? Dann wäre Gt:Dt bei *kašārum* eine G:D entsprechende Opposition (D in seiner die Pluralität des Objektes betonenden Funktion). Da es mir an Parallelen fehlt, wage ich nicht, den Fall bereits in das System der produktiven Verbalstambbildung einzuordnen. Formal liegt die zu erwartende privative morphologische Opposition vor (s. III 4).

b) Dt:Št₂. Hier kann ich ebenfalls nur einen Fall buchen. Zu D *lummunum*, "schlecht machen," "Böses tun," gibt es einen Št₂-Stamm "einander Böses antun" (vgl. *GAG* § 94d). a) D *awassu lilemmīn*, "(Ninlil . . .) möge (vor Enlil) seine Rechtssache schlecht machen" (KH xxvi r 90). b) Št₂ jB *šarrū uštelemmēnū-ma*, "die Könige werden einander Böses antun und . . ." (*CT XXVIII*, Tf. 46, Z. 12). Erzwingt dieses Beispiel eine Erweiterung des Systems? Wohl nicht. Št₂ steht hier stellvertretend für ein reziprokes Dt. Die Opposition ist virtuell = D:Dt. *lemēnum* Dt hat man offenbar vermieden, weil **šarrū ultemmēnū* geheissen hätte "die Könige werden schlecht gemacht werden" entsprechend der fast ausschliesslichen Funktion von Dt als Passiv zu D. D:Št₂ braucht nicht als "systemstörend" empfunden zu werden; beachte, dass auch keine privative morphologische Opposition vorliegt (s. III 4).

c) N:Š. Wir haben den Fall *parāšum* schon in III 1 berührt. a) N jB *iššūriš ippariš*, "er flog auf wie ein Vogel" (Lie, *Sar. Z.* 153; *OIP* II 35, Kol. iii 65). b) Š jB *arāniš ušapriš*, "ich liess wie Adler auffliegen" (Lie, *Sar. Z.* 409). Da N G verdrängt hat, lässt sich die Opposition N:Š virtuell als G:Š beurteilen. N:Š ist nicht "systemstörend"; beachte, dass auch keine privative morphologische Opposition vorliegt (s. III 4).

d) N:Št₂. a) *šābu-ka . . . itti šābi-ja linnemid*, "deine Truppen . . . mögen sich mit den meinen zusammentun" (*ARM* II, Nr. 62:20'). b) (*šābam . . .*) *itti . . . šābim [š]utēmīd*, "veranlasse, dass sich (die Truppen . . .) mit (diesen 400 Mann) Truppen zusammentun!" (*ARM* I, Nr. 23:23-24). Zu *amārum* N:Št₂ s. oben unter II 25 mit Anm. 22. Wie schon in Anm. 22 ausgeführt, ist Št₂ Kausativ zu einem reziproken

N-Stamm, der seinerseits virtuell = Gt ist.³³ Die Opposition N:Št₂ wäre demnach virtuell als Gt:Št₂ zu beurteilen. Sie wirkt nicht "systemstörend"; beachte, dass auch keine privative morphologische Opposition vorliegt (s. III 4).

4. DAS SYSTEM DER AKKADISCHEN VERBALSTÄMME EIN SYSTEM PRIVATIVER MORPHOLOGISCHER OPPOSITIONEN

Wie verhält sich die morphologische Struktur in den Stämmen, die jeweils zueinander in Wechselbeziehung stehen? Zur Demonstrierung wählen wir G:N. In *iparras:iparras* ist der N-Stamm gegenüber G durch ein Morphem (Lautkomplex, dem eine Bedeutung zugeordnet ist) gekennzeichnet, das wir als /N/ bezeichnen können. /N/ setzen wir für ein dem folgenden Konsonanten assimiliertes /n/. An anderen Stellen im N-Stamm erscheint das Morphem als /na/, z.B. im Infinitiv *naprusum*. /N/ und /na/ sind Varianten ein und desselben Morphems, das wir unter dem Zeichen /NA/ subsumieren können. Wir schreiben formelhaft *iparras:i-NA-parras*. Es ist dies eine privative morphologische Opposition, in der *iparras* das merkmallose, *i-NA-parras* das merkmalhafte Glied ist.³⁴ Um noch genauer anzudeuten, weshalb *iparras* merkmallos ist, können wir auch *i-0-parras:i-NA-parras* schreiben. Wollen wir nicht nur Durativ-Präsens-Formen berücksichtigen, sondern G und N in ihrem gesamten Formenbestand, müssen wir die Opposition in der abstrakten Formel *0-prs:NA-prs* ausdrücken.³⁵ Diese Opposition

³³ So wenigstens in synchronischer Betrachtungsweise, auf die allein es uns hier ankommt. Das schliesst nicht aus, dass sich der reziproke N-Stamm historisch gesehen tatsächlich aus einem Passiv "gesehen werden" entwickelt hat, wobei die Präposition *itti*, "mit," den Übergang zur reziproken Auffassung fördern konnte. Neben A *itti* B kann allerdings auch A u B konstruiert werden: *šābī u šābī nakrim innammarū*, "meine und des Feindes Truppen werden einander ein Treffen liefern" (*YOS* X, Nr. 52 iv 18).

³⁴ Zur Terminologie vgl. grundsätzlich Graf N. S. Trubetzkoy, *Grundzüge der Phonologie* (Prag, 1939) S. 60 ff., 66 ff. Demonstrierung *in usum semitistae* bei F. Rundgren, *Das althebräische Verbum: Abriss der Aspektlehre* (Stockholm, 1961).

³⁵ Genau genommen ist nämlich z.B. *iprus:ipparis* (*i-NA-paris*) keine privative Opposition, da sich ja die beiden Glieder an mehr als nur einer Stelle (/0/:/NA/) voneinander unterscheiden. Wir können uns jedoch damit behelfen, dass wir sämtliche Formen von G als Varianten des Morphems /PRS/ und sämtliche Formen von N als /NA/ + Varianten des Morphems /PRS/ erklären.

hat noch eine weitere Eigenschaft. Sie ist nicht "isoliert" (wie etwa *šū:šī*, "er": "sie") sondern, da bei zahlreichen Verben realisierbar, "proportional": *išattar: iššattar*, *ibanni: ibbanni* usw.

Wir versuchen, auch die übrigen in Abschnitt II ermittelten Wechselbeziehungen von Stämmen als Oppositionen zu analysieren. Vorweg die Erklärung einiger Zeichen. Die Längung eines der Radikale in D, Dtn und Dt³⁶ stellen wir durch /L/ dar: *p-L-rs* meint *uparras* usw., *p-0-rs:p-L-rs* die Opposition G:D.³⁷ Die infigierten Morpheme bezeichnen wir durch /TAN/ und /TA/.³⁸ Das für den Š-Stamm charakteristische Morphem geben wir durch /ŠA/ wieder.³⁹ Wenn wir die Opposition Gtn:Štn auf die Formel *0-p-TAN-rs:ŠA-TAN-prs* reduzieren, so fällt auf, dass die Stellung von /TAN/ (in analogen Fällen von /TA/) nicht dieselbe ist. Aber sie ist grundsätzlich irrelevant für die Bedeutung, und daher glauben wir, sie vernachlässigen zu können.⁴⁰

Die Zahlen beziehen sich im Folgenden auf

³⁶ Beim starken dreiradikaligen Verbum wird der mittlere Radikal gelängt; bei den ursprünglich zweiradikaligen Verben *primae w* und *n* der erste Konsonant der zweiradikaligen Basis; bei den Verben "*mediae infirmae*" ist es der letzte Radikal, der faktisch oder virtuell gelängt wird (vgl. B. Kienast, ZA LV [1962] 151 und 155).

³⁷ Die Bezeichnung als privative Opposition ist nur dann statthaft, wenn wir das in Anm. 35 Gesagte berücksichtigen. Nur dann dürfen wir die Tatsache vernachlässigen, dass sich ja G und D in den präfigierenden Formen durch die Präfixvokale unterscheiden (a/i:u). Wir betrachten also die Präfixe mit als Bestandteil der jeweiligen Morpheme /PRS/ im G-Stamm, /PLRS/ im D-Stamm.

³⁸ /TAN/ hat die Morphemvarianten 1) /tan/, 2) /taN/ (Assim. des /n/ an folgenden Kons.), 3) /Tan/ (Assim. des /t/ an vorhergehende Sibilans oder Dental), 4) /TaN/, 5) /ta/ (z.B. in *pu-ta-rrusum*), 6) /Ta/ (vgl. 3), 7) /t/ (z.B. in Prät. Dtn *up-t-arris*). Ferner kann das in /TAN/ enthaltene Phonem /a/ unter bestimmten Bedingungen durch die Phonemvariante /e/ vertreten sein.

/TA/ hat die Morphemvarianten 1) /ta/, 2) /Ta/ (Assim. des /t/ an Sibilans oder Dental), 3) /t/ (z.B. Imperativ *pi-t-ras*), 4) /T/ (Assim. wie bei 2). Für das Phonem /a/ in /TA/ gilt das zu /TAN/ Gesagte. Dieselben Varianten liegen bei dem mit /TA/ homophonen Morphem vor, das das "Perfekt" charakterisiert.

³⁹ /ŠA/ hat die Morphemvarianten 1) /ša/, 2) /š/ (z.B. in *u-š-taparras*), 3) /šu/ (z.B. in *šu-taprus*).

⁴⁰ Vgl. Verf., *BiOr* XXI (1964) 193, ad S. 39 (7). Eine Opposition *šabā*, "ergreift!": *išbatā*, "ergreift einander!" kann als gleichwertig mit der Opposition *purus* (*piris/paras/piras*): *pitras* definiert werden, also als *p-0-rs:p-TA-rs*.

die Durchnummerierung der Beispiele in Abschnitt II.

1) G:Gtn = *p-0-rs:p-TAN-rs*. 2) G:Gt = *p-0-rs:p-TA-rs*. 3) G:D = *p-0-rs:p-L-rs*. 4) G:Š = *0-prs:ŠA-prs*. 5) G:N = *0-prs:NA-prs*.

6) s. 1. 7) Gtn:Dtn = *p-TAN-0-rs:p-TAN-L-rs*. 8) Gtn:Štn = *0-p-TAN-rs:ŠA-TAN-prs*. 9) Gtn:Ntn = *0-p-TAN-rs:NA-TAN-prs*. 10) s. 2.

11) Gt:Št₂ = *0-p-TA-rs:ŠA-TA-prs*. 12) s. 3. 13) D:Dtn = *p-0-L-rs:p-TAN-L-rs*. 14) D:Dt = *p-0-L-rs:p-TA-L-rs*. 15) s. 7.

16) s. 13. 17) s. 14. 18) Dt:N = *p-TA-L-rs:NA-prs!*⁴¹ 19) s. 4. 20) Š:Štn = *ŠA-0-prs:ŠA-TAN-prs*.

21) Š:Št₁ = *ŠA-prs:ŠA-TA-prs*. 22) s. 8. 23) s. 20. 24) s. 21. 25) Nicht bezeugt.⁴²

26) s. 11. 27) s. 5. 28) s. 18. 29) s. 25. 30) N:Ntn = *NA-0-prs:Na-TAN-prs*. 31) s. 7. 32) s. 30.

Wir veranschaulichen den Befund in Fig. 2, wobei das Diagramm dem in Fig. 1 entspricht. Es ergibt sich, dass ein System privativer morphologischer Oppositionen vorliegt—allerdings mit einer Ausnahme (Nr. 18–28, Dt:N). Diese Ausnahme lässt sich aber leicht erklären. Dt:N ist die passive Entsprechung zu D:G, wo beide Glieder aktive Bedeutung haben. Da die Aktiv-Passiv-Oppositionen G:N und D:Dt auf ganz verschiedenen Zeichen beruhen (/0:/NA/, /0:/TA/), kann in N:Dt keine privative Opposition entstehen.

Sollte sich die in III 3 a erwogene Opposition Gt:Dt als produktiv und systemzugehörig erweisen, so liesse sie sich in der Formel *p-TA-0-rs:p-TA-L-rs* ohne weiteres als regelmässig, d.h. als privativ, in das System einfügen. Die übrigen drei in III 3 (b-d) behandelten Oppositionsfälle erfüllen diese Bedingung dagegen nicht.

5. DER STATIV (PERMANSIV)

Wir müssen uns mit einer kurzen Bemerkung begnügen. Wie schon unter I angedeutet, ist im Stativ die Opposition Aktiv:Passiv neutralisiert. Es entfallen die Oppositionen G:N, D:Dt

⁴¹ Keine privative Opposition. S. sogleich zu dieser Ausnahme im System.

⁴² Sollte Št₁:N auftauchen, hätten wir es auch hier nicht mit privativer Opposition zu tun.

und Š:Št₁. Wo Stativ N auftritt und von G unterschieden ist, scheint er lexikalisiert zu sein.⁴³ Der Stativ ist also nicht geeignet, zur Demonstrierung des Stammbildungssystems im Akkadischen herangezogen zu werden.

IV

Die vorangehende Untersuchung hat zahlreiche Fragen offen gelassen. Nicht zuletzt leidet

Auch hat die Untersuchung, wenn sie mit dem Altbab. synchronisch zu arbeiten versucht, nicht ermittelt, welche Funktionen der Stämme gleichsam in voller Blüte stehen, welche im Aussterben und welche erst im Entstehen begriffen sind. Wir sind uns bewusst, dass unser Verfahren nicht unbedenklich ist und dass das Sündenregister, das E. Koschmieder am Anfang seiner berühmten Akademieabhandlung aufgestellt

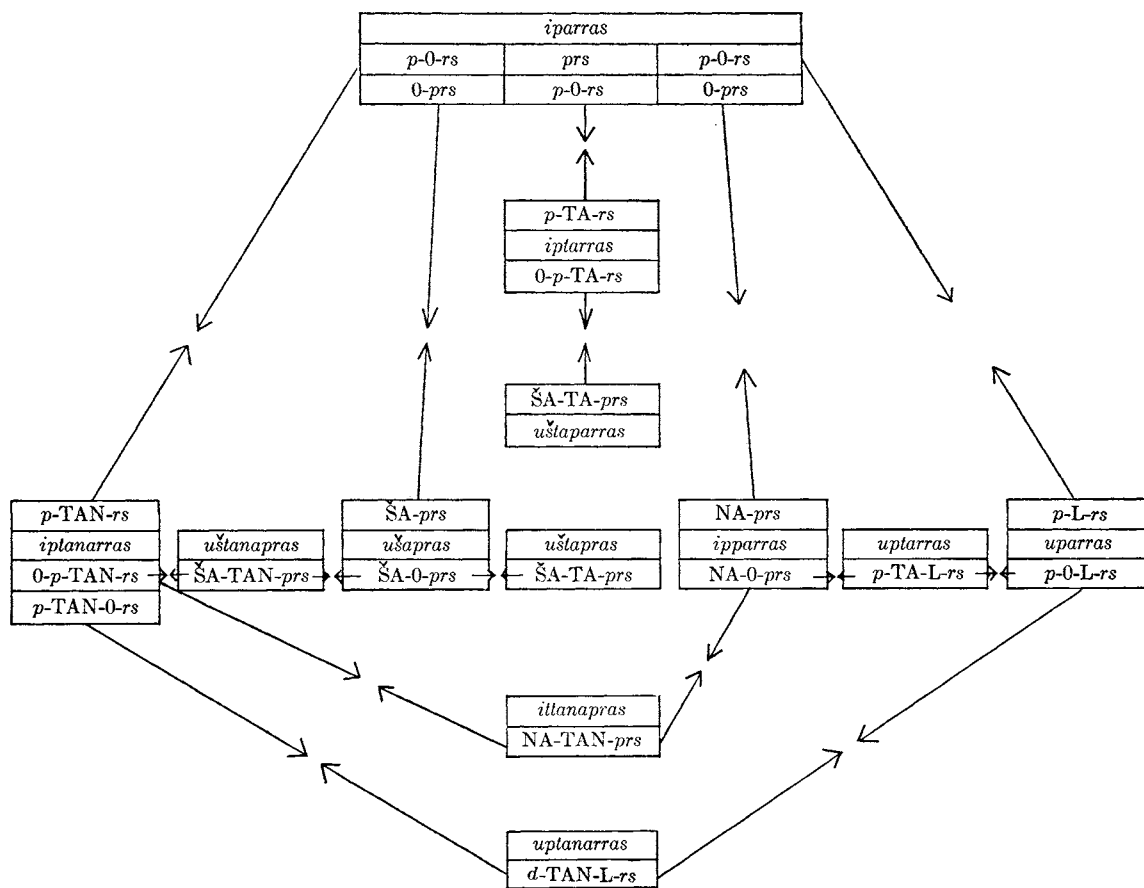


FIG. 2

sie unter dem methodischen Mangel, dass sie bestimmte Funktionen der einzelnen Verbalstämme als gesicherte Größen angenommen und nicht vorneweg festgestellt hat, welches die Hauptfunktion eines Stammes ist und welches die Nebenfunktionen sind, die hinzukommen.

⁴³ Nach *GAG* § 90e "nur gebraucht, wenn der Stativ G nicht eindeutig passivisch ist oder eine vom Stativ G abweichende Bedeutungsnuance Ausdruck finden soll." Rowton, *JNES* XXI 281 (links), verzichtet auf eine Diskussion des Stativs (Permansivs) N, da die Belege zu selten seien, als dass man die Funktion eindeutig ermitteln könnte.

hat, auch auf uns zutrifft.⁴⁴ Die Untersuchung kann nur als ein erster Versuch gelten, der womöglich noch Modifizierungen unterworfen sein wird.

Eine künftige vertiefende Untersuchung hätte etwa zu klären, welche Stämme, die wir in ein Oppositionsverhältnis zueinander gesetzt haben, absolut unaustauschbar und welche unter gewissen Umständen austauschbar sind. Es wird ein-

⁴⁴ E. Koschmieder, *Zur Bestimmung der Funktionen grammatischer Kategorien* (*ABAW* NF XXV [1945]) S. 7 f.

leuchten, dass z.B. G und Š nicht vertauscht werden können, ohne dass ein völlig neuer Sinn oder auch Unsinn herauskommt. Dagegen fragt man sich, ob ein D-Stamm, der auf die Pluralität des Objektes Bezug nimmt, jemals obligatorisch war.

Sollte sich das System, das wir aufgestellt haben, als richtig erweisen, wäre es erwünscht, der Frage nachzugehen, ob es in gleicher Weise auch für spätere Perioden der gesprochenen akkadischen Sprache zutrifft; d.h. die synchro-

nische Untersuchung hätte zur diachronischen überzuleiten.

Und eine abschliessende Frage. Sollte einmal von berufener Seite versucht werden, die Verbalstammsysteme anderer semitischer Sprachen zu untersuchen, wird sich dann herausstellen, dass im Akkadischen als der ältesten bezeugten Sprache der Familie die Bildung von Verbalstämmen in sehr viel weiterem Umfang produktiv war als in den jüngeren Sprachen?

THE VERBAL NOUNS IN ACHAEMENID ELAMITE

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The following table shows the third singular finite verbal forms of the six Elamite conjugations, accompanied by the known forms of the verbal nouns. Though tense differentiations are not primary in Elamite, it may be said that the finite forms of Conjs. I and II are usually to be translated in the past tense, while those of Conj. III are nearly always present or future. Conj. I is

active transitive; Conj. II is passive and intransitive; Conj. III is transitive or intransitive, depending on the verb involved. Conjs. IIm and IIIIm differ from Conjs. II and III, respectively, by being durative instead of punctual. Presumably Conj. Im, with the same inserted *-ma-*, likewise was durative, but forms are scarce and evidence is lacking.¹

VERBAL NOUNS, WITH THIRD SINGULAR FORMS

	I	Im	II	IIm	III	IIIIm
3rd sg.	huttaš	dumaš	huttuk(a)	huttamak	huttanra	huttamanra
Inf.	hutta	šarama	.....	.....	huttan(a)	huttaman(a)
Ptc. sg.	huttira	hallumar(?)	.....	.....	.....	.....
pl.	huttiḫ	šaramap	.....	.....	.....	.....
Adj. sg.	.....	.....	huttuk(a)	?	.....	.....
pl.	.....	.....	rabbap(a)	?	.....	.....

Forms of *hutta-*, "to do," "to make," are employed when they exist. Other forms come from the verbs *du-*, "to receive"; *šara-*, "to cut (off)," "to apportion"; *hallu-* (not otherwise known), "to injure(?)"; *rabba-*, "to bind."

THE INFINITIVES

The infinitives are called so (rather than *nomina actionis* or gerunds) purely for the sake of simplicity. In Conjs. II and IIm no infinitives are known, nor are any to be expected. The fact seems to be that the Conj. I and Im infinitive forms serve also for Conjs. II and IIm, being indifferently active and passive, transitive and intransitive. It also seems that Conj. III and IIIIm infinitives from transitive verbs can be passive.

While the infinitives of Conjs. Im, III, and IIIIm were readily recognized as *nomina actionis*, the infinitive of Conj. I was not; though a fair number of occurrences, or possible occurrences, are known, it is usually not clear that the forms are infinitives rather than common nouns. But there is at least one clear case: *nuški* in the combination *kapnuški*,² "treasury." In view of *kap-*

nuškira,³ "treasurer," literally "kap-keeper," with *kap* as direct object of the Conj. I participle *nuškira*, it can hardly be doubted that *kap-nuški* is to be analyzed as "(the place of) kap-keeping," with *kap* as direct object of the infinitive *nuški*. Also *ud-da* in A²Sa 4 evidently represents the Conj. I infinitive *hutta*; though the Old Persian and Akkadian versions say simply "I built," the Elamite *m.hu še-ra . . . ud-da* should mean "I ordered to be built." Thus the Conj. I infinitive is identical with the stem of Conj. I, just as the other known infinitives are identical with the stems of their conjugations (if we ignore the final *a*, sometimes present, sometimes not, of the Conj. III and IIIIm infinitives).

Only to a limited extent is it possible to observe meaning distinctions among the infinitives

¹ For an extended treatment of the finite verb see Hallock in *JNES* XVIII (1959) 1-19. For my system of transliteration see *JNES* XVII (1958) 257-61.

² E.g., PT 16 (= G. G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets* [1948] No. 16) lines 5 f.: *h.ka-ap-nu-iš-ki*.

³ E.g., PT 25: 1 f.: *h.ka-ap-nu-iš-ki-ra*.

of the various conjugations. The only verb with a full set of forms is *šara-*, “to cut (off),” “to apportion.” Very frequent are the phrases PN⁴ *šaramana*⁵ (Conj. III_{Im} inf.) and PN *šarama*⁶ (Conj. Im inf.), usually qualifying workers (*kurtaš*) receiving rations and translatable as “whose apportionments are set by PN.” The infinitives *ša-ra* (Conj. I) and *ša-ra-na* (Conj. III) also occur in such context, but only once each.⁷ Evidently the reason the infinitive forms with durative *-ma-* are overwhelmingly preferred is that they express a continuing function, for certain personal names occur repeatedly before *šarama* and *šaramana*.

The choice of *šara* and *šarana* in the two cases does not necessarily indicate a difference in the underlying facts; it may be simply a matter of not expressing the durative nuance. Likewise, as between *šaramana* and *šarama*, the former presumably expresses a nuance lacking in the latter, but what this nuance might be is not readily apparent.

Nor is the reason for the presence or absence of final *a* in the Conj. III and III_{Im} infinitives at all clear. We can merely observe that the *-a* tends to be present in some uses, absent in others. Only twice does PN *šaraman* occur as variant of PN *šaramana*.⁸ On the other hand, the Conj. III infinitive in *kur-min* PN-*na*,⁹ “supplied by PN” (lit. “entrusting of PN”), never has a variant with *-a*. The Conj. III_{Im} infinitive *duman*, frequently employed in place of finite forms,¹⁰ only twice has the variant *dumana*.¹¹

Conj. III and III_{Im} infinitives also occur as object of finite verbs. The Conj. III infinitive *huttan* appears in DSj¹² 3: *ap-pa* EL-*ma hu-ud-da-*

in, “what I planned to do.” The Conj. III_{Im} infinitive *tallimana* appears in XV 23 f.: *me-ni v.ú še-ra* h.DUB.lg *tal-li-ma-na*, “then I ordered the inscription to be written.”

The Conj. III infinitive preceded by *anu* serves as prohibitive, as in XPh 32: *da-a-ma ši-ib-be a-nu hu-ud-da-an*, “the feasts of the demons (lit. ‘the demon his feast’) (are) not to be made,” where the parallel Old Persian says “the demons shall not be worshiped.”

A Conj. III_{Im} infinitive, with or without male determinative, can serve as a kind of *nomen agentis*, as in PF 2085:5:7 m.*bat-ma-na i pa-ri-ma-ak*, “seven (cattle) were issued to (the man who did) the herding.”

The Conj. III infinitive apparently in certain cases becomes a common noun. An example is *mušin*,¹³ “account,” from the verb *muša-*. Another example is *nan*, from *na-*, “to say,” occurring in the opening formula of letters, where PN *nan turuš*,¹⁴ “PN spoke as follows,” may be literally “PN spoke the (following) statement.”

Conj. Im infinitives are rather rare. They alternate with III_{Im} infinitives in two cases besides that of *šarama-šaramana* (see above). PN *da-ma*¹⁵ (from *da-*, “to place,” “to send”), usually applying to workers (*kurtaš*) and translatable as “assigned by PN,” alternates with PN *damana*.¹⁶ The infinitive *mituma* (from *mite-*, “to go forth”) appears in DPh 4 f.: “from the Scythians who lie beyond (lit. [are] going forth [at]) Sogdiana (v.Šu-ig-da mi-ud-du-ma) unto Ethiopia,” while *mitumana* is used in DNa 23: “Scythia which lies beyond (*mi-ud-du-man-na*) the sea.”

The Im infinitive *nuškema* replaces the IIm third singular form *nuškemak*. PF 145:5–8, for example, provides h.*Ba-ra-iš-ba* h.*par-te-taš-ma nu-iš-ke*(sign GI)-*ma-ak*, “(at) Barašba, in the *partetaš*, it is to be kept.” While PF 146:6–10, for example, has h.*Nu-ip-pi-iš-taš* h.*par-te-taš-ma nu-iš-ke-ma*, “(at) Nupištaš, in the *partetaš*, (it is) to be kept.”

¹² = Darius, Susa j. For the royal inscriptions and their abbreviations see R. G. Kent, *Old Persian* (1950) pp. 107–15.

¹³ E.g., PT 16:4: *mu-ši-in*.

¹⁴ E.g., PT 1:2: *na-an* KI + MIN (= *tú-ru-iš*).

¹⁵ E.g., PT 30:6.

¹⁶ E.g., PT 42b, wr. *da-man-na*; frequent in the fortification texts.

⁴ PN = personal name.

⁵ E.g., PT 17:6: *ša-ra-man-na*.

⁶ E.g., PT 79:6: *ša-ra-ma*.

⁷ In PF 1092:10 and 962:7 respectively. “PF” indicates texts to be published in my forthcoming volume *The Persepolis Fortification Tablets*.

⁸ PF 571:7 and 1004:4 f. have *ša-ra-man*.

⁹ E.g., PT 17:2.

¹⁰ In place of singular *dumanra*, e.g. in PF 1316:5 f.: ¹1 m.*pu-hu* 1 QA *du-man*, “one boy (is) receiving one QA (of flour)”; in place of plural *dumanpa*, e.g. in PF 1048:4 f.: 14 m.*ruh*.lg 3 *du-man*, “fourteen men (are) receiving three (BAR of grain).”

¹¹ PF 997:14 and 1736:6 have *du-man-na*.

A very frequent Conj. I infinitive occurring in most letters, is *id-du*,¹⁷ "(it is) to be issued." The other Conj. I infinitives are scattered and usually somewhat equivocal.

There is *hutta* in DNa 41: *ku-iš hu-ud-da tar-ma*, presumably "until I finished the doing." But *hutta* could also be the first singular form, and the passage could possibly mean "until I did (it and) finished (it)."

There is *kana* (from *kani-*, "to approach," "to befriend") in DNa 7: *v.ú ha-me-ir v.Hal-tam-ti in kan-na šà-nu-ke-ut*, "I at that time was approaching Elam (lit. 'Elam it approaching was')."

Also *kurme*¹⁸ PN-*na* occurs as rare alternate to *kurmin* PN-*na* (see above). The variant

kurma is used twice instead of a finite form, meaning "(they were) entrusted."¹⁹

From *laki-* ("to go across"), the infinitive *laki* several times replaces finite forms.²⁰ It seems to occur also in the composition *appanlakime*,²¹ "transgression," which may be analyzed as *appa* + *an-* + *laki* + *-me*, literally "what pertains to (-*me*) that which (*appa*) (is) going across beyond(?) (*an-*)," that is, what violates the bounds of accepted conduct. Finally, *-lakka*, evidently a postposition connected with the verb *laki-*, may derive from the infinitive *laki*; this occurs in XPh 19 f.:²² *h.Ya-u-na ak-ka-be d.κAM.lg-ma mar-ri-iš ku-ud-da ak-ka-be d.κAM.lg-la-ak-ka mar-ri-iš-da*, "Ionia(ns) who occupy on (*sic*) the sea and those who occupy 'across the sea.'"²³

THE PARTICIPLES

There is one unquestionable Conj. Im participle: *šaramap* (wr. *ša-ra-ma-ap*), "(continual) apportioners," in PF 559:9 f. A probable singular form is *hallumar* (DB 63:82: *hal-lu-ma-ir*), "injurer," presumably from a verb *hallu-*, otherwise unknown.

Aside from these two forms, all other known participles belong to Conj. I.

Often the participles form occupational designations and similar qualifications. They occur both with and without a preceding object. From the verb *bate-*, *batera* (pl. *batep*), "driver," "herdsman," is sometimes preceded by the words for animals (sheep, e.g. in PT 50:4; camel, e.g. in PF 1950:1; mule in PF 1950:7) and sometimes not (e.g., PF 2070:8). The participle of *maki-* occurs always in the combination *gal makip* (e.g., PT 7:4 f.; sing. *makira*, e.g. in PT 1:8), literally "(ones) consuming rations," translatable as "subsisting on rations." The participle *huttira* (pl. *huttiip*), literally "maker," is preceded by the words for account (PT 22:24 f.), beer (e.g., PF 1431:3 f.), bread? (e.g., PF 1940:

7), fig (PF 1228:3 f.), fruit (PF 1945:4), mirror (PT 78:3 f.), oil (PF 999:13), ration (e.g., PF 865:27), relief (e.g., PT 20:4 f.), stone (e.g., PT 9:8), tax (e.g., PF 1065:4 f.), and many others; it never occurs without an object. In contrast, *ullira* (e.g., PF 786:6), "delivery man" (lit. "deliverer"), never has a preceding object.

The occurrences noted above involve continuing, characteristic actions. Participles can also express single actions, as, for example, *kušip* in PF 1227:3 f.: 3 f. *MUNUS.lg ku-ši-ip m.pu-hu*, "three women bearing (male) children" (a rare case of participle with object following).

Like the infinitive, the participle can be used predicatively instead of a finite form. An example is *dupa* in PF 1086:12-14: *h.be-ul 22-me-na in-ni du-ba me-ni h.be-ul 23-me-na du-iš-da*, "(in) the twenty-second year they (were) not receiving (it); then (in) the twenty-third year they received (it)."

PN *ša-ra-ra*,²⁴ "PN (is/being) the apportioner," is used in much the same way as PN *šarama/šaramana* (see above), except that it

¹⁷ E.g., Fort. 6764 (*sic*) (published by Cameron in *JNES* I [1942] 216) lines 15 f.

¹⁸ PF 285:14 and 417:3: *kur-me*; var. *kur-mi* in PF 248:2.

¹⁹ PF 272:12 f., 2087:11.

²⁰ E.g. in PF 2056:13 f.: *h.Ha-ri-ma-mar h.Šu-ša-an la-ki*, "from Areia (to) Susa (they were) going across."

²¹ E.g., DB 63:82: *ap-pan-la-ik-ki-um-me*. Cf. H. Paper in *Language* XXIX (1953) 66-68.

²² Also in A?P 24.

²³ See the remarks of Cameron in *Welt des Orients* II (1959) 475. However, his interpretation of the passage in DB 18:70 is unacceptable. There the text is to be read: *h.Ti-ig-ra an-la-ke-ú-ud-da*—the verb is first plural, as in the parallel versions; the element *an* is a verbal prefix (occurring also in *an-ki-ri-ir*, DB 67:68, and in *an-šu-da-in-ti*, DNa 48); the translation is "we crossed beyond(?) the Tigris."

²⁴ Eight occurrences (e.g., PF 43:4 f.).

never applies to work groups, as the latter phrases most commonly do.

As far as can be observed, the participles, like the finite forms of Conj. I, are always active and transitive.

Some nouns ending in *-r(a)* (pl. *-p*), for example *šalur(a)* (pl. *šalup*), "gentleman," and *libar* (pl. *libap*), "servant," may have originated as participles of verbs that are unknown. But

not all such nouns come from verbs; the same endings are attached to nominal stems, as in *tuppira* (pl. *tuppip*), "scribe."

The plural participle has the same form as the plural of the Conj. II verbal adjective (see below), which in turn is identical with the third plural finite form of Conj. II. Consequently some plural forms cannot be identified with certainty as one or the other.

THE VERBAL ADJECTIVES

Verbal adjectives occur only in Conj. II. We should expect to find them also in Conj. IIm, and there are, in fact, one or two forms which could be so interpreted, for example *sitmap*,²⁵ which qualifies workers (*kurtas*) receiving supplementary rations and which could derive from a verb *sit(i)-*. But it is not certain that such a verb existed; the exact meaning of *sitmap* is unknown, and any analysis of it must be tentative.

The verbal adjectives, both singular and plural, have the same forms as the third person finite forms, and it is often difficult to decide in which category they belong. In fact, it would be most convenient to say we have no finite forms, but only verbal adjectives, which are sometimes used predicatively. This cannot be the case, however, since first singular and second singular finite forms exist.²⁶

The verbal adjectives, like the finite forms of Conj. II, are intransitive when they come from intransitive verbs, passive when they come from transitive verbs. Intransitive forms are *betip* (e.g., DB 26:24), "rebels"; *šinipa* (PF 1344:11:

ši-ni-ib-ba), "(persons) coming." Passive forms are *huttuk* (e.g., DPi), "made"; *tinkep* (e.g., PF 1(31:4 f.: *tin-ke-ip*), "(men) sent."

The singular verbal adjective can be made specifically personal (and formally distinguished from the 3d sing. finite form) by the addition of the personal ending *-ra*. Examples are *halpikra* (XPh 46), "a dead person"; *ibbaka* (DB 63:80), "the strong (person)"; *titukra* (DB 64:83), "liar"; *unsakra* (PF 355:3 f.: m.*un-sa-ik-ra*), literally "person taken in exchange," alternating with *unsak* (e.g., PT 4:2) as the designation of an official.

That the forms with *-ra* attached still carry verbal force is indicated, for example, by PF 1786:5 f.: 'h'.*Šu-ša-an-mar ši-nu-ik-ra*, "coming from Susa, (he carried an authorization of PN)."

For *ka-tuk-ra* (XPh 45), "living (person)," we have the curious plural form *katukpe*,²⁷ with *-pe* as plural ending attached to a singular verbal noun. Perhaps this represents the standard plural for the singular forms in *-kra*, but on the basis of a single occurrence we cannot be sure.

CONCLUSION

The most striking feature of the table of verbal nouns is the many gaps. Are we to suppose that forms existed to fill the gaps but do not occur (or have not been identified) in the known texts? On the whole, it seems not. It is easier to suppose that the forms, with the likely exception

of the Conj. IIm verbal adjective (see above), never developed.

A tentative hypothesis may be offered that originally there existed only Conj. I, to which belonged the verbal adjective, here assigned to Conj. II. From Conj. I, by insertion of the durative element *-ma-*, developed Conj. IIm, with a full set of forms, including the verbal adjective.

²⁵ E.g., PF 1158:7 f.: *si-ut-ma-ip*; singular in PF 1853:6 f.: m.*si-ut-ma-ka*.

²⁶ First singular: e.g., *ša-nu-ke-ut* (see above). Second singular: e.g., *ka-tuk-da* in XPh 39.

²⁷ In Fort. 5234:1-3: 13 'GUD'.lg GURUŠ.lg-na ha-sa-na 'ka'-tuk-be, "13 living adult male cattle." The text is a fortification text to be published by Cameron.

The Conj. I and Im verbal adjectives were used predicatively, and eventually first and second person endings, singular and plural, were attached to them, whereby Conjs. II and IIIm were created. From the Conj. I and Im infinitives two other infinitives were formed by the addition of $-n(a)$, and then to these new infinitives personal endings were attached, whereby Conjs. III and

IIIIm were produced. At that point a full roster of forms existed.

The foregoing hypothesis seems best to fit the facts as we encounter them in the Achaemenid period. It can be no more than a hypothesis until and unless it is confirmed by evidence from earlier periods.

DIE ANUNNA IN DER SUMERISCHEN ÜBERLIEFERUNG

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Die sumerische Überlieferung kennt ebenso wie die akkadische eine Anzahl von Benennungen für verschiedene Göttergruppen. Zu ihnen gehören *dingir-an-na*, "die Götter des Himmels," *dingir-ki-a*, "die Götter der Erde," *dingir-an-ki-a*, "die Götter von Himmel (und) Erde," *dingir-kur-ur-ra*, "die Götter der (Fremd)länder," *dingir-ḫur-sag-gá*, "die Götter des Gebirges," *dingir-šár-šár-ra*, "die unzähligen Götter," *dingir-ki-lagaš^{ki}-a*, "die Götter des Gebietes von Lagaš." Die häufigsten Benennungen sind *dingir-gal-gal*, "die Grossen Götter," und *a-nun-na*. Das zweite Glied des akkadischen Oppositionspaars *anunnakkū: igigū*, sumerisch *nun-gal-e-ne*, ist dagegen zum mindesten bis in die altbabylonische Zeit nur sehr selten bezeugt.

Die Belege für *a-nun-na*, auch die für *dingir-gal-gal* und die übrigen eben angeführten Benennungen, finden sich in bezeichnender Weise ausschliesslich in literarischen Texten. Sie sind nicht genannt in den zahlreichen Verwaltungsurkunden, die sich mit den Opfern für die verschiedenen Gottheiten befassen. Es gibt auch keine Tempel, die den A. oder einer der anderen erwähnten Göttergruppen geweiht gewesen wären. Dies zeigt, dass die mit den A. verbundenen Vorstellungen keinen Einfluss auf die Kultpraxis gewonnen haben. Dass sie auch nicht in Personennamen erscheinen, lässt weiter erkennen, dass die A.-Götter als Gruppe unter den Göttern nicht in den Bereich der privaten religiösen Welt einbezogen worden sind.

In der literarischen Überlieferung sind die Belege nicht gleichmässig verteilt, was sich trotz der schweren Lücken, die der Textbestand für uns immer noch hat, eindeutig feststellen lässt. Da, wie im einzelnen später auszuführen ist (s. u. unter 8), die A. oft nur deshalb genannt sind, damit Rang und Wirken einer bestimmten

Gottheit dadurch herausgehoben wird, dass man diese an die Spitze der A. setzt und ihre Taten als überragende Leistungen darstellt, die die A. zu staunender Bewunderung aber auch zu tiefem Schrecken veranlassten, ist das Preislied auf die höchsten Gestalten die hauptsächliche Gattung, in der die Belege auftreten. Weiter erscheinen sie auch in den Königsinschriften von der Isin-Larsa Zeit an, nachdem sich die Form ausgebildet hatte, die an die Spitze der Bauinschrift eine hymnische Adresse an die Gottheit, der der Bau galt, stellte. Als eine religionsgeschichtlich junge Grösse dürften die A. in den alten Mythen, wie sie z.B. im Enki-Ninhursanga-Mythos vorliegen, nur eine geringe Rolle gespielt haben. Eine aktive Rolle ist ihnen anscheinend nur im Mythos von Enlil und Ninlil und im späten Mythos von der Schöpfung der ersten Menschen aus dem Blut zweier Gottheiten zugewiesen. In den Klagegedichten erscheinen sie in denjenigen, die sich mit den Gewalttaten Enlils und Inannas befassen, kaum dagegen in den Klagegedichten aus dem Inanna-Dumuzi Kreis und den Texten, die sich auf das Pantheon von Keš und Adab beziehen. In den Beschwörungen sind sie nur selten erwähnt, in den Sprichwörtern fehlen sie gänzlich.

Da die literarischen Texte, in denen die A. genannt sind, zu sehr verschiedenen Zeiten entstanden sind—von der 2. Hälfte des 3. Jahrtausends bis ins 1. Jahrtausend—muss mit einer Veränderung der Vorstellungen gerechnet werden, die sich mit dieser Göttergruppe verbinden. Besonders bei Texten, die nach 1500 v. Chr. entstanden sind, zum Teil aber auch bei Texten altbabylonischer Entstehungszeit, ist damit zu rechnen, dass Auffassungen, die im Bereich der akkadischen Überlieferung gegolten haben, ihren Eingang in sumerische Literaturwerke gefunden haben. Soweit sich einigermaßen deutliche Feststellungen treffen lassen, ist das im folgenden jeweils wenigstens angedeutet.

1. *Schreibung.*—Die älteste Schreibweise ist

a - n u n a (= NUN), vor dem Pluralsuffix der Personenklasse - e n e a - n u n a - k e₄ - n e.¹ Vereinzelt Schreibungen ohne Gottesdeterminativ, das in den Inschriften Gudeas mit zwei Ausnahmen² schon gesetzt ist, das aber in einem aus der Ur III Zeit stammenden Beschwörungstext³ noch fehlt, finden sich in Texten, die uns in altbabylonischen Abschriften vorliegen,⁴ ganz selten in noch späteren Texten.⁵ Die elliptische Schreibweise ^da - n u n a, die in der altsumerischen Orthographie beheimatet ist,⁶ begegnet zweimal in den Gudea-Inschriften,⁷ aber noch mehrfach in altbabylonischen Abschriften.⁸

In Texten späten Ursprungs ist gelegentlich in Anlehnung an die (jüngere) Normalform im Akkadischen ^da-nun-na-ki statt ^da-nun-na-ke₄-(e-)ne ^da-nun-na-ke-(e-)ne geschrieben.⁹

Wohl keine graphischen Gründe liegen für das nur in Texten der altbabylonischen Zeit begegnende DINGIR.DINGIR-a-nun-na (oder -nun-na) vor. Ich möchte darin eine Kurzform zu dem bei Gudea¹⁰ bezeugten ^da-nun-na ^da-nun-na sehen und umschreibe daher dingir-dingir-a-nun-na (oder -nun-na).¹¹

¹ S. N. Kramer, *From the Tablets of Sumer*, S. 106, Nr. 6a iv 5; dies ist der älteste zur Zeit bekannte Beleg; er ist älter als die Gudea-Inschriften.

² Zyl B i 20, ii 6.

³ TDr 1:4 = 1:11.

⁴ H. Radau, *HAV*, Nr. 7:8; *BE XXXI* 4 iii 15, 24 iii 5. Nicht hierherzustellen ist *Sumer XIII*, Tf. 1 1, gir₁ (= KA) - z a - a l - a - n u - (n a -) k e - [n e], da dieser Text überwiegend syllabisch geschrieben ist, wobei die Determinativa automatisch entfallen.

⁵ *Sumer IV*, Tf. I. Kol. iii 6: a - {a š -} n u n - n a (Statue Kurigalzus); *UMBS I 2*, Nr. 118 Vs. (!) 7 und 23 = *TCL XVI* 79:7 und 23.

⁶ S. Th. Jacobsen, *ZA NF XVIII* 92, Anm. 1.

⁷ Zyl A xxvii 15; Zyl B v 22.

⁸ *BE XXIX* 1 iii 38, *XXXI* 4 iii 15; *Belleten XVI*, Tf. LIX Ni.9695:1; Radau, *HAV*, Nr. 7:8; *SEM* 41:5 = *SRT* 17:6; *SRT* 13:2, 15:9; *STVC* 36:12 und 16, 37:15; *UMBS V* 68 i 17; *SAKI* 208 b 4; *SAKI* 210, Z. 22 (ergänzt nach Dupl.); *UET I* 293:2, 294:2.

⁹ *BA V* 642, Z. 23; *SBH* 24:6, 31:5; *UMBS I 2*, Nr. 126:13; *OECT VI* 52, Z. 23; *LKA* 77 iii 53; *KAR* 128:38 (Tukultinurta I.). [d i m - m e] - e r - ^da - n u n - n a - {k i -} k e₄ - e - n e hat sogar das -ki von ^da-nun-na-ki vor -ke₄-übernommen.

¹⁰ Zyl B i 21.

2. Wortbedeutung.—Die Wortbedeutung des Terminus' ^da - n u n - n a ist anscheinend noch umstritten. A. Deimel¹² geht von dem Epitheton des "Wortes" der A. a - m a ḥ - è - a, "aqua excelsa scaturiens," in einer Gudea-Inschrift¹³ aus und deutet a - n u n als "aqua excelsa, pura, sicut in fontibus e terra (abyssus) profluit." Abgesehen davon, dass die bildhafte Bezeichnung a - (m a ḥ -) è - a, "(grösstes) Wasser, das herauskommt," von den Wassermengen, die beim Öffnen von Staubecken abfließen, aber auch von den zerstörenden Fluten, die sich bei einem Deichbruch über das niedrig gelegene Land ergießen, abgeleitet ist und an der genannten Stelle die Unwiderstehlichkeit des "Wortes" der A. umschreibt,¹⁴ scheidet die Deutung daran, dass sie den Charakter der Verbindung als genetivisch zusammengesetzt, der sich auch im akkadischen Lehnwort ^danunnakkū bekundet, nicht berücksichtigt. A. Deimels weitere Annahme "a - n u n - n a - n u n ^{k i} videtur esse forma completa, quae abbreviatur a Semitis in: A-nun-na-ki; hinc A - n u n - n a ^{k i} = aqua excelsa, pura ex Eridu, vel dei Ea, qui erat dominator abyssi (abzu)" trifft ebenfalls nicht zu, da sie zur Voraussetzung hätte, dass NUN ^{k i} nicht eridu (g) ^{k i} sondern nun ^{k i} zu lesen wäre. St. Lang-

¹¹ *SRT* 36:56; Barton, *MBI* 8:2; Kramer, *SLTN* 58 Rs. 9; *STVC* 34 iii 15, 46 ii 16 (und Dupl.); *ZA NF V* 261, Kol. v 25; *SGL I* 11, Z. 8, und 18, Z. 140; *UET I* 293:2, 294:2; *UET VI* 118 iv 23-24. In *CT XLII* 31:15 steht dingir-dingir-a-nun-na-ke₄-ne, während das Dupl. *TCL XV* 15 ii 18 nur ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne bietet.

Beachte aber Langdon, *BL* 195:45: d i m - m e - e r - ^da - n u n - n a. Der späte Text *CT XIII* 36:15, [dingir-meš(?) ^da]-nun-na-ke₄-e-ne = ilānimeš ^da-nun-na-ki, ist nicht sicher zu ergänzen. In *KAR* 128:38 [^da-šur unun-gal d i m - m e] - e r - ^da - n u n - n a - {k i -} k e₄ - e - n e = ^da-šur bēlu rabū šār ^danunnak(k)ī ist d i m - m e - e r anscheinend durch šār wiedergegeben; s. *ŠL II* 13, 6.

¹² *Pantheon Babylonicum*, S. 57.

¹³ Zyl B ii 1.

¹⁴ S. die literarischen Belege für a - (m a ḥ -) è - a, die Sjöberg, *Mondgott*, S. 115 f., zusammengestellt hat; weiter *UMBS X* 2, Nr. 19 Rs. 4: elam ^{k i} - m a a - m a ḥ - è - a - g i m x x x [. . .], "Elam wie gewaltig ausbrechende Wasser [.]"; *SRT* 21 iii 2; der plastischste Beleg ist Kramer, *SLTN* 79:22-23: erén-bi mē-šē zi-ga-bi a-è-a gaba-ri nu-tuku, "seine (d. s. die von Ur) zur Schlacht aufbotenen Truppen sind ausbrechende Wasser, denen man nicht widersteht."

dons Deutung "gods of the great father"¹⁵ hat gegen sich, dass die normale Form für "Vater," zum mindesten von der neusumerischen Zeit an, a - a lautet.

Die naheliegende Deutung "(Götter, die) Samen des 'Fürsten' (sind),"¹⁶ genügt der Forderung, dass eine Genetivverbindung vorliegen muss. Bei der Frage, wer mit n u n , "Fürst," gemeint ist,¹⁷ wird man auf Enki von Eridu geführt, da dieser vorzugsweise das Epitheton n u n trägt und seine Stadt mit NUN^{k i} bezeichnet wird. Die in einer alten Beschwörung¹⁸ genannten a - n u n - n a - e r i d u^{k i} < - g a > n i n n u - b i , "die 'fünfzig' A. von Eridu," mögen daher die älteste Zusammenfassung eines lokalen Pantheons unter dieser Bezeichnung bezeugen, auch wenn die "A. des Gebietes von Lagaš"¹⁹ und wohl auch die A. von Nippur²⁰ schon vorher bezeugt sind.²¹

3. *Genealogische Beziehungen.*—Soweit unter der Bezeichnung A. das Pantheon einer Stadt wie bei den "A. von Eridu" oder eines Territorialstaates wie bei den "A. des Gebietes von Lagaš" verstanden wurde, werden für sie die jeweils angenommenen genealogischen Beziehungen der Götter untereinander gegolten

¹⁵ Bab. VI 106 f. Seine weitere Argumentation in BE XXXI 20, Anm. 1, wonach ursprüngliches a - n u n - n a - e r i d u^{k i} - k e₄ - n e zu ^da - n u n - k i - k e₄ - n e geworden sei, beruht auf einer Fehllese in BE XXXI 6:16, wo ^da - n u n - n a (!) (nicht k i) - k e₄ - n e steht; s. S. N. Kramer, JAOS LX 239; weiter SGL I 16, Z. 100.

¹⁶ S. AnOr XXIX 43; D. O. Edzard, Wörterbuch der Mythologie, S. 42.

¹⁷ Zu der Streitfrage um die Bedeutung von n u n s. Th. Jacobsen, ZA NF XVIII 136, Anm. 102: "one of authority based on respect only, settling disputes without recourse to force"; dazu SGL I 29, mit Anm. 19, und 44; SGL II 120 f. Ganz abweichend K. Oberhuber, Der numinose Begriff ME im Sumerischen, S. 6 ff.

¹⁸ TDr 1:4 = 1:11.

¹⁹ Gudea Zyl A xiv 1-4; Zyl B v 22; vgl. dingir - k i - l a g a š^{k i} - a , "die Götter des Gebietes von Lagaš," in UMBS X 2, Nr. 14:26.

²⁰ S. S. 133 mit Anm. 70-71 zu Kramer, From the Tablets of Sumer, S. 106, Nr. 6a iv 4-12.

²¹ Ungeklärt ist die singuläre Gleichung a - n u n - n a = ardatu in SBH 53:74-75 (s. ŠL II 579, 179), das sich auf verschiedene mit Inanna gleichgesetzte Göttinnen bezieht. Vgl. mit K. Tallqvist, StOr VII 254, ^da - n u / n u n - n a = ^dištar in KAV 48 ii 9 und 173:13. Tallqvist gibt dafür die Deutung "fürstlichen Geblütes," während er für ^da - n u n - n a keine Wortbedeutung bietet.

haben. Sah man dagegen in den A. das gesamte sumerische Pantheon oder die Hauptgestalten dieses Pantheons—dies trifft für die Mehrzahl der Belege zu—so konnten die genealogischen Verhältnisse, die in den älteren lokalen Götterkreisen angenommen wurden, nicht voll übernommen werden, da die Unstimmigkeiten zu deutlich geworden wären. Als Vater der A. musste zwangsläufig An, der oberste Gott des sumerischen "Reichspantheons," erscheinen. Am deutlichsten spricht dies das Streitgedicht "Mutterschaf-Getreide" aus:²² "Als An im 'Gebirge von Himmel (und) Erde' die A.-Götter gezeugt hatte"; weiter ein Passus aus einer Klage der Aruru:²³ Nachdem sieben der obersten Götter, An, Enlil, Ninlil, Enki, Ninmah, Nanna und Utu zu der Göttin gegangen waren, sie aber nicht hatten beruhigen können (n u - m u - n i - i n - ḥ u n - e) , versuchten es die A.:

"Zu ihr gingen die Anunna,
die (Götter), die An im Himmel gezeugt hatte,
gingen zu ihr,
die (Götter), die An auf der Erde gezeugt hatte,
gingen zu ihr."²⁴

Dass die von An im Himmel und auf der Erde gezeugten Götter mit den A. identisch sind, zeigt noch die späte Überlieferung. In einem neubabylonischen Text²⁵ heisst es:

"In der Stadt zittern die Anunna <vor dem>
Wort <Enlils>,
zittern die Anunna, die An im Himmel gezeugt hat,
.....²⁶ die Anunna, die An auf der Erde gezeugt hat."

²² Barton, MBI 8:1-2.

²³ UMBS X 2, Nr. 2:25-27.

²⁴ e - n e - r a	^d a - n u n - n a	m u - u n - n a - s u ₃ - s u ₃ - g e - e š
a - n - a	a n a - r i - a	m u - u n - n a - s u ₃ - s u ₃ - g e - e š
k i - a	a n a - r i - a	m u - u n - n a - s u ₃ - s u ₃ - g e - e š

²⁵ CT XLII 15 ii 28-30; zu vergleichen sind CT XLII 15 v 24; SBH II(!) 8-13 (dort sind die zwei letzten Zeilen von CT XLII 15 ii 28-30, die zu a n - n a a - r i - a und k i - a - r i - a gekürzt sind, mit ša reḥāt^da-nū reḥū und ša reḥāt antu reḥū übersetzt. Die Verknüpfung von reḥāta reḥū mit der Göttin Antu macht die Fehlerhaftigkeit deutlich); IV R (2. Aufl.) 21*, 2 Rs. 1-2. Vgl. a - a - n - n a a - r i - a - m e š = ša reḥāt^danu reḥū mit Bezug auf Dämonen in CT XVI 9 i 1.

²⁶ a l - g u b - g u b - b u - x - e n ; kaum korrekt.

Eine späte Weiterentwicklung dieser Vorstellung ist in einem jungen Schöpfungsbericht²⁷ enthalten: "Die Anunna-Götter schuf er (d. i. Marduk) insgesamt," wobei die früher dem Himmelsgott zugeschriebene Erschaffung der A. Marduk von Babylon zugewiesen ist.²⁸

Als Kinder Ans sind die A. folgerichtig als Geschwister angesehen worden. Mit Bezug auf Nergal, der sonst als Sohn Enlils und Ninlils galt, heisst es²⁹ "Die Anunna, deine göttlichen Brüder." Dieselbe Wendung bezieht sich auch auf Enki,³⁰ der nach der älteren Auffassung um eine Generation höher als Nergal angesetzt war.

4. *Die Zahl der Anunna.*—Über die Zahl der A. geben die Texte recht unterschiedliche Angaben. Für die "Anunna von Eridu" ist die Zahl "fünfzig" überliefert, was nicht ohne Schwierigkeiten ist, wenn man diese Aussage, auch wenn man "fünfzig" als runde Zahl versteht, auf das lokale Pantheon von Eridu bezieht.³¹ In "Inannas Gang zur Unterwelt"³² werden die als Richter vor Ereškigal fungierenden A. als die "sieben Richter" bezeichnet.³³ Damit erhalten wir

²⁷ CT XIII 36:15.

²⁸ Aus *UMBS* V 68 ii 6–7, das Ninlil als "grosse Mutter der Anun[na], Herrin des Kipur" bezeichnet, ist gewiss nicht abzuleiten, dass auch Enlil und Ninlil als Eltern der Anunna angesehen wurden; s. unten S. 135 f. mit Anm. 122. Ähnlich zu beurteilen ist das auf Ningal bezogene "Mutter der Grossen Götter" in *BA* X 103, Z. 13–14; weiter "Vater der Anunna" mit Bezug auf Utu in *UMBS* I 2, Nr. 118 Vs.(!) 7 und 23 = *TCL* XVI 79:7 und 23.

²⁹ *STVC* 73 Rs. 22.

³⁰ *CT* XXXVI 32 Rs. 25. An den beiden eben genannten Stellen müsste eigentlich š e š als "Geschwister" verstanden werden. Einen abweichenden Versuch, diese Angaben zu deuten, bietet *SGL* II 18.

³¹ *TDr* 1:4 = 1:11. Ausser Enki und seiner Gemahlin Ninḫursanga, später Damgalnunna, sind Asalluḫi und seine Familie, wohl auch die Kinder Enkis, die im Mythos "Enki und Ninḫursanga" (s. S. N. Kramer, *BASOR* "Supplementary Studies" Nr. 1; *UET* VI 1) genannt sind—insgesamt 11—unter die "Anunna von Eridu" zu zählen. Die "fünfzig" l a - ḫ a - m a des Abzu" (s. *ZA* NF XXII 71) hatten gewiss eine zu geringe Stellung, als dass sie zu den Anunna hätten gerechnet werden können.

³² *JCS* V 8, Z. 163.

³³ In dem Text "Urnammu in der Unterwelt" (*UMBS* X 2, Nr. 6; s. G. Castellino, *ZA* NF XVIII 1–57) sind als Götter der Unterwelt genannt Nergal, Gilgameš, Ereškigal, Dumuzi, Namtar, Ḫušbiša, Ningizzida und Ninazimua. Beachte noch das in *UMBS* X 2, Nr. 6 Rs. i 6 ergänzte [d i n g i r - n a m t a r - r a] - u r u g a l - l a - k e - n e, "die 'schicksalentscheidenden' Götter der Unterwelt," wofür ebenso gut [d a - n u n - n a] - ergänzt werden könnte.

aber keine Auskunft über die Gesamtzahl der A., die in sumerischer Auffassung nicht auf die Unterwelt beschränkt waren. Die ausführlichsten Nachrichten enthalten späte Kultlitaneien am Ende einer langen Götteraufzählung:³⁴

"Die Götter des Himmels, die Götter der Erde, die 'fünfzig' Grossen Götter, die 'sieben' Götter der 'Schicksalsentscheidung,' die dreihundert Anunna des Himmels, die sechshundert Anunna der Erde."

Diese Aufzählung, die mindestens vier verschiedene Göttergruppen nennt,³⁵ kann sich nur für die "Grossen Götter" und die "Götter der Schicksalsentscheidung" auf ältere Zeugnisse stützen.³⁶ Im Mythos "Enlil und Ninlil"³⁷ "ergreifen die 'fünfzig' Grossen Götter, die 'sieben' Götter der 'Schicksalsentscheidung' Enlil im Kipur" und verweisen ihn als sexuell Unreinen (u z u g) aus Nippur. Da aber das Kipur-Heiligtum ausdrücklich als Wohnsitz "der Anunna, der Grossen Götter" angegeben ist,³⁸ ferner bis in die altbabylonische Zeit und zum Teil noch darüber hinaus "Grosse Götter" nur Epitheton der A. war (s. S. 139 mit Anm. 193), gehen die alte und die junge Überlieferung nur in begrenztem Umfang zusammen.

5. *Der Sitz der Anunna.*—Nur neusumerische Texte nennen die "Anunna von Eridu" (s. o. unter 2) und die "Anunna des Gebietes von Lagaš" (s. o. bei Anm. 19).³⁹ Die altbabylonischen Texte beziehen sich mehrfach auf die A. als in Nippur beheimatete Gottheiten. Zu dem eben genannten Beleg aus dem Mythos "Enlil und Ninlil" gesellt sich ein Passus aus "Enki und die Weltordnung":⁴⁰ "Die Anunna, die Grossen Götter, haben in dir (d. i. Nippur) das

³⁴ *SBH* 50 Rs. 21–25 = III Kol. iii 23–32 = IV 149–58.

³⁵ Eigenartig ist, dass hier die ^dn u n - g a l - e - n e = ^di g i ḡ u fehlen. Diese mögen sich aber unter den "dreihundert Anunna des Himmels" verbergen, wobei dann die eigentlichen Anunna als die "sechshundert Anunna der Erde" geführt wären.

³⁶ Vgl. aber auch *enūma eliš* VI 58–59.

³⁷ Barton, *MBI* 4 ii 13–15 = *SEM* 77 ii 5–7.

³⁸ "Enki und die Weltordnung" Z. 200–201; s. unten mit Anm. 40.

³⁹ Auf diese könnte sich n f - g ù r u - d a - n u n a - k e - n e - m e - e - n, "du bist diejenige, die unter den Anunna mit Schrecken angetan ist," in dem a d a b-Lied für Baba, das Gudea erwähnt (*STVC* 36:12 = 36:16), beziehen.

⁴⁰ Z. 200–202; s. *ZA* NF XXII 73.

Ki²ur-Heiligtum in Besitz genommen, in deinem mit einzelnen Bäumen bestandenen Giguna speisen sie." Wenige Zeilen später⁴¹ heisst es mit Bezug auf Nippur: "Die Anunna mögen in dir das Schicksal entscheiden!" S. noch "für die Anunna bist du (d. i. Nippur) für die ihnen das Leben (spendende) Nahrung (ú-nam-ti-la-bi-šè) gebaut, für ihre Speise (und) ihren Trank bist du geschaffen, der Schafpferch, der für ihr Leben da ist, bist du."⁴²

In einem Gilgameš-Text⁴³ verteilt der Held Geschenke an sechs Unterweltsgötter, weiter an die "Mutter-Vater" Gottheiten Enlils, Šulpa²e, Sumugan und Ninḥursanga, schliesslich an die "Anunna des Heiligen Hügels" und die "Nungalene des Heiligen Hügels."⁴⁴ Ob hierbei auf die in Nippur bestehende Kultstätte des du₆-kù(-g), des "Heiligen Hügels," verwiesen ist,⁴⁵ oder der urzeitliche "Heilige Hügel" gemeint ist, muss offen bleiben. Sicher auf den mythischen Ort bezieht sich dagegen das Streitgedicht "Mutterschaf-Getreide":⁴⁶ "Von den reichlichen Erträgen (ḥé-gál) des Mutterschafes und des (göttlichen) Getreides essen die Anunna des Heiligen Hügels, werden aber davon nicht satt; von ihrem reinen Pferch trinken sie gute šum-Milch, die Anunna des Heiligen Hügels werden aber davon nicht satt."⁴⁷

6. *Eigenschaften und Tätigkeiten der Anunna.*
—Obwohl verschiedentlich zwischen den A. und den dingir-nam-tar-ra, den

"schicksalentscheidenden" Göttern," unterschieden wird (s. o. unter 4), ist nam-tar eine der Hauptaufgaben und ein Privilegium der A. Nach "Enki und die Weltordnung"⁴⁸ sollen sie in Nippur das "Schicksal entscheiden." Ebenfalls in Nippur erfolgte die "Schicksalsentscheidung" für Išmēdagān:⁴⁹ "Enki, Ninki, Enul (und) Ninul⁵⁰ und die Anunna, die das 'Schicksal entscheiden,' die udu(g) von Nippur, die Schutzgottheiten (d¹lama) des Ekur,⁵¹ die unter den Grossen Göttern das 'Schicksal entscheiden,' sprechen dazu ihr unverbrüchliches 'So sei es' (ḥé-àm nu-kúr-ru-bi)."⁵² Nachdem An Lipiteštar berufen hatte, "versammelten sich um ihn die Anunna, die Götter insgesamt (dingir-kilib-ba-bi) am Ort der 'Schicksalsentscheidung.'" ⁵³ Ziemlich unklar ist eine Stelle im Mythos "Enki und Ninḥursanga": "Die Anunna packten sie an ihrem Kleid, machten dazu, 'bestimmten darob das Schicksal,'"⁵⁴ In den Zusammenhang der "Schicksalsentscheidung" gehört eine Angabe in der "Ur-Klage":⁵⁵ "Zum zweiten Mal, als die Ratsversammlung (der Götter) (pu-úḥ-ru(-u)m^ki) das Haupt zu Boden senkte, blieben (wörtlich "sassen") die Anunna bei ihrem verpflichtenden Wort," weiter wohl auch ein Abschnitt aus der "Nippur-

⁴⁸ Z. 207.

⁴⁹ UMBS X 2, Nr. 9 Rs. i 16–20 = TCL XV 9 iii 20–24.

⁵⁰ Diese Götter gehören zu den ama-a-a-d-en-líl-lá.

⁵¹ Die "udu(g) von Nippur" und die "Schutzgottheiten des Ekur" könnten Apposition zu a-nun-na sein. Vgl. d¹lama-kur-kur-ra, "Schutzgottheiten aller Länder," als Epitheton der "Anunna des Gebietes von Lagaš" in Gudea Zyl B i 21–ii 1.

⁵² An sich erwartet man, dass sich die Götter der von den Anunna getroffenen "Schicksalsentscheidung" mit ihrem Amen anschliessen. Diese Auffassung erforderte aber nicht unbedeutliche Korrekturen des Textes.

⁵³ VAS X 199 i 17–18; *ibid.* Kol. i 21 sind dann die "Götter des Himmels," i 24 die "Götter der Erde" genannt. Unklar ist, wem die [d¹]a-nun-na (dingir-) gal-gal in BA V 638, Z. 17–18, "das 'Schicksal entscheiden.'" ⁵⁴

⁵⁴ BASOR "Supplementary Studies" Nr. 1, S. 20, Z. 246–49: a-nun-na-ke₄-ne túg-ga-ni ba-an-dí-bé-eš
x im-ma(!)-an-ak-eš
nam im-ma-an-tar-re-eš
š u-x im-ma-an-búr-ru-uš.

⁵⁵ AS Nr. 12, S. 32, Z. 152–53.

⁴¹ Z. 207.

⁴² UET VI 118 ii 14–20. S. auch unten bei Anm. 119 und 123.

⁴³ S. N. Kramer, BASOR Nr. 94, S. 8 B 9–22.

⁴⁴ a-nun-na-du₆-kù-ga-ke₄-[ne]

d¹nun-gal-e-ne-du₆-kù-ga-ke₄-[ne]

Beachte die inkorrekte Doppelsetzung von -ene in der zweiten Zeile.

⁴⁵ S. B. Landsberger, LSS VI 1–2, S. 27 mit Anm. 5; SGL II 134.

⁴⁶ SRT 25 i 13–18.

⁴⁷ Auf Beziehungen von Kešī zu den Anunna weist die "Kešī Hymne" hin: é(-a) en-bi a-nun-na-meš, "die Herren des Hauses sind die Anunna" (OECT I 45 iv 9 und Dupl.). Ungewiss ist, ob aus STVC 25:31 = UMBS X 2, Nr. 19:7 urí^ki-ma a-nun-n[a...] auf einen Sitz der Anunna in Ur zu schliessen ist; nicht näher bestimmt ist der "heilige Sitz der Anunna," den Ebeḥ bedrohte; s. STVC 109:4–5, ergänzt durch S. N. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology*, S. 83.

Klage":⁵⁶ "Marad, der Stadt, deren Kanäle dauerndfließendes Wasser (führten), deren Felder 'scheckige Gerste' (erbrachten), hatten (dies) die Anunna weggenommen, haben sie⁵⁷ es (dann) wieder zurückgegeben. Für Isin, das die Anunna-Götter versorgen (ú - a - d i n g i r - d i n g i r [Var. - ^d a - n u n - n a] - a - n u n - n a - k e - n e),⁵⁸ das seit jeher mit Schrecken angetan ist, haben An, Enlil, Enki und Ninmah die Regierungszeit lang werden lassen. Deren Wort gemäss⁵⁹ haben sie (d. s. die Anunna) getreulich Hand angelegt, ihr 'So sei es' dazu gesagt."⁶⁰

Verwandt mit der "Schicksalsentscheidung" der A., wenn nicht identisch mit ihr, ist die Tätigkeit als Richter (d i - k u₅). Schon Gudea erwähnt den "äusseren Thronsaal (im Eninnu)" (g ú - e n - b a r - r a), "die Richtstätte der Anunna."⁶¹ Vor Ereškigal, die auf ihrem Thron sass, "sprachen die Anunna, die 'sieben' Richter, ihr Urteil (gegen Inanna)."⁶² Den "m e der Unterwelt"⁶³ suchten sie zur Geltung zu verhelfen, als Inanna die Erlaubnis erhalten hatte, auf die Erde zurückzukehren. Sie

⁵⁶ *TCL XV 15 ii 16-20 = STVC 66 Rs. i 21-29 = CT XLII 31:13-17*; s. D. O. Edzard, *Zweite Zwischenzeit Babyloniens*, S. 87.

⁵⁷ Subjekt sind wohl die A., nicht die *TCL XV 15 ii 15* genannten "Grossen Götter."

⁵⁸ Zu ú - a, "der versorgt, s. *ZA NF XXII 86*; es wird nur von Göttern und Herrschern ausgesagt, so dass auch hier die A. die Versorgenden sein müssen.

⁵⁹ Mit *CT XLII 31:17* lese ich d u₁₁ - g a - b a statt (des angeblichen?) d u₁₁ - g a (!) - g i m in *TCL XV 15 ii 20*.

⁶⁰ Vgl. *CT XXXVI 30 Rs. 21-22* (s. *ZA NF XV 134*): "zu der 'Schicksalsentscheidung' (n a m - t a r ! - r a) Ans (und) Nunamnra, des Herrn alles Lebendigen, sprachen die [A]nunna, die Grossen Götter, 'So sei es.'" Zu *KAR 4:22*, ^d a - n u n - n a d i n g i r - n a m - t a r - r e = ^aanunnak(k)ū mušim šīmāti, s. unten S. 133 mit Anm. 72 ff.; zu "Enki und die Weltordnung" Z. 389-90, wo Inanna sich beschwert, dass Enlil "das Amt der Anunna, der Grossen Götter, fest in die Hand (Enkis) gelegt hat," s. unten S. 135 mit Anm. 118.

⁶¹ Zyl A xxvii 14-15.

⁶² *JCS V 8, Z. 163*: d i m u - u n - š [i - k u₅ - r u - n e]; *UET VI 8 ii 8*: d i m u - n a - k u r u (= κ u₅) - n e; *UET VI 9:20*: d i m u - u n - d a - k u₅ - r u - n e. Der anschließende Passus, der mit "(Ereškigal) blickte sie (d. i. Inanna) mit dem Blick des Todes an" beginnt, enthält wohl den Vollzug des vorübergehenden Verdikts der A. Welcher Göttergruppe "die ditilla-Entscheidung, das Wort der Ratsversammlung der] (p u - ú ḫ - r u - [u m - x x x x])," das die Vernichtung der Menschheit durch die Flut verfügte (*UMBS V 1 iv 9*), zugeschrieben war, ist nicht zu ermitteln.

⁶³ *JCS V 6, Z. 129 u. ö.*

"packten sie" und sprachen: "Wer, der zur Unterwelt herabgekommen ist, ist aus der Unterwelt heil hinaufgekommen? Wenn Inanna aus der Unterwelt hinaufkommt, soll sie eine Ersatzperson für sich übergeben!"⁶⁴

Anspielungen auf Handlungen der A. in der mythischen Vergangenheit bieten einige Texte. Im Streitgedicht "Mutterschaf-Getreide" heisst es mit Bezug auf die A.: "Den Namen der Getreidegöttin (^d a š n a n), die 'Reines einfüllt' (k ù - s ù), und des Mutterschafes kannten die Anunna, die Grossen Götter, nicht."⁶⁵ Daher wuchs damals kein Getreide. Später aber schufen sie auf dem Heiligen Hügel (d u₆ - k ù), "dem Ort, in dem die Götter geboren worden waren (k i - u l u t i n - d i n g i r - r e - e - n e - k a m), das Mutterschaf und die Getreidegöttin."⁶⁶ Schliesslich verliehen sie "in ihrem heiligen Schafpferch [zu] ihr[em] Wohlergehen (n ì - d u₁₀ - g a - n e - [n e - š è]) der Menschheit den Lebensodem,"⁶⁷ was, da die Menschen schon vorher existierten, besagen muss, dass die A. sie dadurch zu vernünftigen Handeln befähigten. Die Tätigkeit der A. vor Erschaffung der Menschen beschreibt ein eben erst veröffentlichter Text,⁶⁸ der nach einem Preislied auf Nippur und das dort von Enlil erbaute Ekur fortfährt: "Damals ging im grossen Himmel (und) auf der weiten Erde ihr Sinn auf (š à - b i m u - u n - è - a). Die Anunna-Götter von Himmel (und) Erde arbeite(te)n (k i n í b - g i₄ - g i₄ - n e). Die Spitzhacke (und) der Tragkorb, die (Werkzeuge), mit denen man die Städte gründet, lagen in ihrer Hand."⁶⁹

⁶⁴ *JCS V 11, Z. 274-77*; S. N. Kramer, *PAPS CVII (1963) 514*, Anm. 48.

⁶⁵ "Mutterschaf-Getreide" Z. 10-11 = Barton, *MBI 8:10-11*.

⁶⁶ "Mutterschaf-Getreide" Z. 26 = *SRT 25 i 10-11 = SEM 54 i 11-13*; die Fortsetzung des Passus' s. o. S. 131 mit Anm. 46. In *From the Tablets of Sumer*, S. 145, bezieht Kramer die Z. 19-24 "die Menschen von damals wussten nicht Brot zu essen, wussten nicht sich mit Kleidern zu bekleiden, die Menschen, frassen wie Schafe Gras, tranken Wasser aus den Gräben" irrümlicher Weise auf die A.

⁶⁷ "Mutterschaf-Getreide" Z. 34-35 = *SRT 25 i 19-20 = UET VI 33:32-33* (Z. 33 anscheinend abweichend).

⁶⁸ *UET VI 118 iv 19-30*.

⁶⁹ š u - b a [x?] - n a m u - u n - g á l; unklar. Sachlich vgl. *lugalud melambi VIII 8'-10'* mit Bezug auf die dingir-kalam-ma, "die Götter des Landes Sumer."

Unklar ist die Rolle der A. in einem alten nur fragmentarisch erhaltenen Mythos, in dem sich Enlil wegen seines Sohnes Iškur an die A. wandte,⁷⁰ wohl um ihre Hilfe für Iškur, dem anscheinend in der Unterwelt Böses widerfahren war, zu erbitten. Auch ein weiterer Mythos ist wegen der Lückenhaftigkeit des Textes undeutlich: “[.....].. sprach zu den Anunna: ‘[.....] .., mein Kind, das er(?) getötet hat, das er(?) im Hause getötet hat, [.....].., mein Kind, das er(?) getötet hat, das er(?) im Hause getötet hat.’”⁷¹

Als handelnd erscheinen die A. in einem zweisprachig überlieferten Mythos, der aber wegen seiner sprachlichen Form nicht durchweg sicher zu deuten ist.⁷² Nach den ersten Schöpfungsakten vereinigten sich “An, Enlil, Utu und Enki, die Grossen Götter, (und) die Anunna, die Grossen Götter.” Auf die Frage Enlils⁷³ “was wollen wir schaffen,⁷⁴ was wollen wir bilden?” “antworteten die Grossen Götter, die dastanden,⁷⁵ die Anunna, die das ‘Schicksal entscheiden,’ sie beide, Enlil: ‘Im Uzumua,⁷⁶ in Duranki, wollen wir(!) die beiden Lamga- Götter schlachten, aus ihrem Blut die Menschen schaffen! Die Arbeitsaufgaben, die (bisher) den Göttern (oblagen), seien dann ihre Arbeitsaufgaben!’”⁷⁷

⁷⁰ Kramer, *From the Tablets of Sumer*, S. 106, Nr. 6a iv 4–12 (zum Alter des Textes s. o. Anm. 1): ^den-lil(-le) a-nuna-ke₄-ne gù mu-ne-dé-e dumu-mu kur-ra bar ba-tab [U-a-ba mu]-gi₄-gi₄ ^diškur kur-ra bar ba-tab U-a-ba mu-gi₄-gi₄, “Enlil sprach zu den Anunna: ‘Mein Sohn ist in der Unterwelt eingeschlossen, [.....]....., Iškur ist in der Unterwelt eingeschlossen,’”

⁷¹ UET VI 29 a 8–10.

⁷² KAR 4:7 ff.; zuletzt übersetzt von E. Ebeling in H. Gressmann, *Allorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament* (2. Aufl.) S. 134 ff. Da in dieser Komposition Enlil eine wichtige Rolle zufällt, Schauplatz des Geschehens Nippur ist, wird man trotz der sprachlichen Gestalt des sumerischen Textes mit einer Entstehung in der späten altbabylonischen Zeit rechnen müssen. Bei einem späteren Ansatz wäre kaum zu verstehen, dass die Hauptrolle nicht Marduk von Babylon zugeschrieben ist.

⁷³ Nach Z. 23 zu ergänzen: “Sie antworteten Enlil.”

⁷⁴ Nach dem Akkadischen *i nīpuš*; im Sumerischen ^hé-en-bal-en-zé-en, “(was) wollt ihr”

⁷⁵ Nach dem Akkadischen *šūt izzizū*; im Sumerischen mu-un-sur-re-eš-a.

⁷⁶ Zu diesem mythologischen Ort in Nippur s. Th. Jacobsen, *JNES* V 137: “flesh producer.”

Die Mehrzahl der Belege erwähnt jedoch nur recht begrenzte Tätigkeiten der A. An den Stellen, die berichten, dass die A. zu einer Kultstätte oder zu einem Gott gehen (s u₈ - s u₈ (-g)) oder eilen (b ú r - b ú r), liegt die Vorstellung zugrunde, dass sie aus verschiedenen Orten zusammenkommen. Anlass dazu bot z.B. die Fertigstellung eines Heiligtums, das sie bestaunen,⁷⁸ oder die Ausstattung einer Kultstätte mit allem, was dazu gehörte.⁷⁹ Sie freuten sich über die Leistungen von Göttern⁸⁰ und priesen diese wegen ihrer Taten.⁸¹ Als Enlil die Spitzhacke (* i š a l) geschaffen hatte und mit ihrer Hilfe den Menschen ermöglicht hatte, die Erde (wie Pflanzen) zu durchbrechen (k i m u - š i - i n - d a r - r e), “gingen die Anunna zu ihm, legten ihre Hände (zum Gebet) an ihren Mund, beruhigten Enlil mit Gebeten.”⁸² Sie fanden sich auch bei Festgelagen ein: “Zu dem in dir (d. i. im Eninnu in Girsu) (dargebotenen) reichlichen k u r u n -Trank gehen die Anunna-Götter.”⁸³ Als Enki, nachdem er für sich das E²engurra-Heiligtum in Eridu errichtet hatte, für Enlil in Nippur ein Festessen veranstaltete, sassen neben (k i - ú s - k i - ú s - b i) An, Enlil und Nintu die A.⁸⁴ In der Dankrede Enlils heisst es daher: “Ihr Grossen Götter, die ihr gekommen seid, ihr Anunna, die ihr geradewegs zum Ubšu³unkenna gegangen seid!”⁸⁵ Auch im Tempel der Nininsinna “essen die Anunna, die Grossen Götter” mit der Herrin des Heiligtums zusammen.⁸⁶

⁷⁷ Zu diesem Topos s. C. J. Gadd, *Ideas of Divine Rule*, S. 5 ff.; oben S. 132 mit Anm. 69.

⁷⁸ Gudea Zyl A xx 23; Zyl B i 11: ^da-nun-na u₈ (Var. ù) - d i - d è i m - m a - š u₄ - š u₄ - g e - é š, “die Anunna gingen staunend dahin.”

⁷⁹ Kramer, *SLTN* 58 Rs. 9; s. dazu Sjöberg, *Mondgott*, S. 35 und 41.

⁸⁰ *STVC* 60 Rs. 29; *CT XXXVI* 32 Rs. 25; s. auch * i š a l Z. 70, deren Text auch durch das neue Dupl. *UET VI* 26:69 noch nicht eindeutig herzustellen ist.

⁸¹ “Enki und die Weltordnung” Z. 131–37; *BE XXXI* 4 iii 15; *TCL XVI* 86:8; *STVC* 37 Rs. 18–19; s. dazu *SGL II* 145.

⁸² * i š a l Z. 22–24; s. jetzt auch *UET VI* 26:22–24.

⁸³ *ZA NF V* 261, Kol. v 25.

⁸⁴ *OECT I* 4 iv 5–10. In der Lücke nach dem verwandten Passus Gudea Zyl B xix 17–21 mag ebenfalls die Teilnahme der Anunna an einem Festmahl erwähnt gewesen sein.

⁸⁵ *OECT I* 4 iv 18–20. Zum ub-š u - un - ken - na - Hof s. Falkenstein, *Topographie von Uruk*, S. 10; s. auch unten bei Anm. 127 und bei Anm. 165.

⁸⁶ *SRT* 6 iii 23 = 7:34.

Mehrfach wird ausgesagt, dass sich die A. aufmachten, wenn ihr Gebet erforderlich war.⁸⁷ Als Gudea das Eninnu soweit vollendet hatte, dass Ningirsu und Baba einziehen konnten, wandte er sich in einem Gebet an die A.: "Anunna, Anunna, über die das Gebiet von Lagaš staunt, Schutzgottheiten aller Länder, deren Wort (wie) ausbrechendes Wasser niemand mindert.⁸⁸ Dem rechten Jüngling, den ihr freundlich angeschaut habt, dauert das Leben lang. Ich, der Hirte, habe das Haus gebaut, ich will meinen Herrn in sein Haus einführen! Anunna, betet meinerwegen dafür!"⁸⁹ Als Enki seinen Tempel in Eridu errichtet hatte, "gingen die Anunna in Gebet (und) Flehen dahin, [gründeten] für Enki im E[ngurra] den grössten(?) Hochsitz."⁹⁰ Im Streitgedicht "Winter-Sommer" heisst es, nachdem Ibbisín die Feste der Götter ausgerichtet hatte: "Die Anunna verbeugten sich⁹¹ auf ihren ,⁹² brachten ins Enamtila, seine königliche Wohnstätte, die An hingesetzt hat, den Ort des frohen Gemüts (k i - u r₅ - š a₆ - g a), ein gutes Festmahl (š u b u n - n ì - d u₁₀)."⁹³ Nach einem Klagegedicht der Aruru begaben sich die A., nachdem sieben der höchsten Götter sie nicht zu beruhigen vermocht hatten, zusammen mit den Göttern, "die An im Himmel gezeugt hatte, die An auf der Erde gezeugt hatte" zu der Göttin.⁹⁴ Hierher gehört auch ein Passus am Schluss einer langen Götteraufzählung, "die Anunna gingen zum Himmel, die Anunna gingen zur Erde,"⁹⁵ und eine Stelle in einer Kultliturgie: "Zum Ort, an dem An wohnt, eilt ihr, mein Volk, ihr Anun-

na, zum Ort, an dem An wohnt, eilt ihr, mein Volk!"⁹⁶

Junge Texte betonen das Bemühen der A., das "Herz" erzürnter Gottheiten zu beruhigen: "Sein 'Herz' zu beruhigen, mögen die Anunna in Gebeten zu ihm hintreten, mögen die Anunna, die An im Himmel gezeugt hat, [zu ihm hintreten]";⁹⁷ "zu dir mögen die Anunna mit Gebeten treten, mögen die Anunna, die im Himmel gezeugt sind, treten, mögen die Anunna, die auf der Erde gezeugt sind, treten!"⁹⁸

7. *Die Anunna und die Herrscher.*—Ungeöhnlich selten sind die Belege, in denen die Herrscher Babyloniens in ihren Inschriften auf die A. verweisen. Sínidinnam von Larsa nennt sich "den, der die Anunna scheu verehrt (n í - t u k u)."⁹⁹ Derselbe Herrscher erneuerte die "göttlichen Kräfte" (und) die Kultregeln (g i š - ħ u r) der Anunna."¹⁰⁰ Urnammu beklagt sich in der Unterwelt: "Den Göttern habe ich Dienst geleistet, ihnen einen festen Platz (im Kult) zugewiesen, den Anunna habe ich Überfluss erscheinen lassen,"¹⁰¹ er habe aber doch nicht den erwarteten Lohn erhalten. Šulgi sagt von sich: "Den Göttern zu Dienst zu sein, die Anunna zu , verstehe ich."¹⁰² Wohl auf den Herrscher bezieht sich: "Wenn du aus dem 'Badehaus' herauskommst, mögen die Anunna, die Grossen Götter, dir Leben und Wohlbefinden schenken";¹⁰³ "die Anunna, die Grossen Götter,

⁸⁷ VAS II 11 ii 16-17; vgl. SBH 21 Rs. 33-35 und 14:18-20; s. dazu CAD VI 146, s.v. *hāšu* A.

⁸⁸ IV R (2. Aufl.) 21*, 2:36-Rs. 2; s. auch IV R (2. Aufl.) 9, Rs. 29-32, dazu Sjöberg, *Mondgott*, S. 169. Altbabylonisch ist Langdon, *BL* 195:45, dazu *SGL* II 13, Anm. 9; s. noch o. S. 133 mit Anm. 82.

⁸⁹ SBH II(!) 8-13 (zur teilweise unrichtigen Übersetzung s. o. S. 129, Anm. 25). Der Passus hat in VAS II 22 Rs. 2-4, wo in an-na(!) me-ri-a und ki-a me-ri-a wohl me-ri-a < mu-e-ri-a, "du hast gezeugt," vorliegt, einen Vorläufer.

Dass das "Herz" der Anunna selbst beruhigt werden soll, ist in *ArOr* XXI 385, Z. 39-40, in einer Liste von zi ħ é - p à -Formeln bezeugt.

⁹⁰ UET I 188:22, -^d <a- > n u n a - k e₄ - n e.

¹⁰⁰ SAKI 208 a i 9-11.

¹⁰¹ UMBS X 2, Nr. 6 Rs. i 30-31.

¹⁰² UET VI 82:11-12, ^d a - n u n - n a - k e₄ - e - n e k i - x x - b i (?) m u - z u.

¹⁰³ A. Schollmeyer, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen und Gebete an Šamaš*, S. 36 iv 22-23.

⁸⁷ Vgl. Gudea Zyl A xiv 1-4.

⁸⁸ l ú - ú l á - b a - a b - l á - e, wobei l ú - ú wohl ungewöhnliche Schreibung für l ú (- ù) sein wird.

⁸⁹ Zyl B i 21-ii 6.

⁹⁰ "Enki und die Weltordnung" Z. 291-92; zu *SRT* I i 27-31 s. u. bei Anm. 135.

⁹¹ š u m u - n i - g á l - g á l; die Deutung nach š u - g á l = *labānu*, *ŠL* II 354, 140, ist aber unsicher.

⁹² b a r - k ù - b a; zu b a r - k ù s. *TCL* XVI 71:49; *SEM* 58 ii 31, dazu *SRT* S. 19, Anm. 33; J. van Dijk, *La sagesse suméro-accadienne*, S. 47, übersetzt "niches précieuses."

⁹³ Barton, *MBI* 7 v 9'-11'; eine zum Teil abweichende Übersetzung gibt J. van Dijk, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁴ UMBS X 2, Nr. 2:25-27; s. o. S. 129 mit Anm. 23-24.

⁹⁵ *CT* XLII 3 v 41-42. Verwandte Texte bieten dafür den S. 130 mit Anm. 34 zitierten Passus.

mögen zu Utu ein gutes Wort für dich sprechen!"¹⁰⁴

8. *Götter in Beziehung zu den Anunna.*—Häufig sind die A. nur genannt, damit bestimmten Gottheiten, ja selbst Dämonen, durch den Vergleich mit ihnen, den höchsten Göttern des Pantheons, ein besonders hoher Rang zugewiesen werde. Vor allem dann, wenn die Texte das Wirken einzelner Gottheiten dadurch näher bestimmen, dass sie dessen Eindruck auf die A. beschreiben, scheuen sie oft nicht davor zurück, den A. sogar eine demütigende Rolle zuzuschreiben. Gelegentlich ist auch angegeben, dass Aufgaben, die von Haus aus den A. zufielen, an bestimmte Götter delegiert wurden.

a. An: "Auf deinen heiligen Ausspruch richten die Nungal-Götter Ohr, Sinn (und) Auge, gehen alle Anunna voll Scheu zu dir, zittern vor deinem(!) Wort sämtliche Götter wie Rohr im Sturm."¹⁰⁵

b. Anzu(d): Als der Anzu(d)-Vogel¹⁰⁶ nach seinen Jungen rief, ohne Antwort zu erhalten, da "gingen," als der Vogel schrie, "die Anunna (und) die Götter des Gebirges,¹⁰⁷ als der Vogel darüber wehklagte, als sein Weib Klagen erhob, wie Ameisen in die Erdspalten."¹⁰⁸

c. Assur: "Assur, grosser Herr, Gott (akk. König) der Anunna."¹⁰⁹

d. Ašnan: "Das Geschenk (k a d r a) der Anunna, der Sinn der Herrscher (b á r a - b á r a (-g)) bin ich."¹¹⁰

e. Baba: "Du bist diejenige, die unter den Anunna mit Schrecken angetan ist."¹¹¹

f. Dämon, nicht näher genannt: Vor dem Treiben eines Dämonen, dessen Wirken auf einen

Menschen durch magische Anweisungen, die Enki erteilte, zunichte gemacht werden konnte; "flogen die 'fünfzig' Anunna von Eridu wie (schnell)fliegende Fledermäuse weg in die Erdspalten."¹¹²

g. Enki: "Enki, Herr des Überflusses, Magier (i š i b) der Anunna";¹¹³ "Enki, mit weitem Sinn, höchster Lenker (m a s - s u - m a ḫ) der Anunna";¹¹⁴ "Grösster (d i r i) unter den Anunna";¹¹⁵ auf Enki bezieht sich wohl auch das Epitheton "Leiter der Ratsversammlung (k i n g a l) der Anunna."¹¹⁶

"Die Anunna, die Grossen Götter, [gehen] nicht gegen ihn an";¹¹⁷ "das Amt der Anunna, der Grossen Götter, das 'Schicksal zu entscheiden,' hat Enlil fest in deine [Hand] gelegt";¹¹⁸ "Enki gründete den Anunna Wohnplätze in der Stadt (d. i. in Nippur), setzte ihnen Felder in den *Fluren* hin."¹¹⁹

h. Enlil: "(Enlil) ist der höchste Gott (d i n g i r - m a ḫ) unter den Anunna";¹²⁰ "das Leben des grossen Herrn der Anunna sei angerufen!"¹²¹

"Die Anunna richteten auf sie (d. s. Enlil und Ninlil) wie auf ihre leiblichen Eltern ihren Blick, achteten (g i z z a l š i - m a - a - n -

¹¹² *TDr* 1:4 = 1:11: a - n u n - n a - e r i d u k i (-g a) n i n n u - b i š u₄ - d i n^{m u š e n} - d a l - l a - g i m d u₈ - e b a - d a - a b - r a - a š; dabei ist d u₈ graphische Variante zu d u₆ (s. dazu Anm. 139). Dies ist das älteste Beispiel der mehrfach belegten Phrase. Sie dient hier dazu, die Weisheit Enkis als überragend zu preisen.

¹¹³ "Enki und die Weltordnung" Z. 8; in *SRT* 13:68-69 sind Enki, Iškur, Ašnan und Sumugan als e n - ḫ é - g á l - l a - k [e₄ - n e] bezeichnet.

¹¹⁴ *CT* XXXVI 31:2.

¹¹⁵ *Or.* NS XXII, Tf. LI Ni.4105:10.

¹¹⁶ *UET* VI 74:11, parallel zu [...] x - è - n u n - g a l - e - n e.

¹¹⁷ "Enki und die Weltordnung" Z. 289.

¹¹⁸ "Enki und die Weltordnung" Z. 389-90.

¹¹⁹ "Enki und die Weltordnung" Z. 369-71. Zu den "Feldern der Anunna" s. auch *KAR* 4 Rs. 6, "die Felder der Anunna gut zu machen," womit die diesen Göttern zugewiesenen Getreidefelder gemeint sind, nicht mit E. Ebeling bei H. Gressmann, *Allorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament* (2. Aufl.) S. 135, Anm. f, die "Erde."

¹²⁰ *SGL* I 16, Z. 100.

¹²¹ *ArOr* XXI 382, Z. 37-38. Unklar ist, ob in *SRT* 13:2 EZEN.RU - g a l - d a - n [u n] a - k e₄ - n e auf Enlil zu beziehen ist.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* S. 37 iv 32-34.

¹⁰⁵ *RAcc* 70:9-14.

¹⁰⁶ B. Landsberger, *WZKM* LVII 1 ff.

¹⁰⁷ d i n g i r - ḫ u r - s a g - g á ist kaum als Apposition zu d a - n u n - n a zu verstehen.

¹⁰⁸ *SEM* 1 ii 18-21 und Dupl. (Lugalbanda-Enmerkar-Epos).

¹⁰⁹ *KAR* 128:38 (Tukultinurta I.).

¹¹⁰ *STVC* 38:6-7 = *CT* XLII 39:24-25. Die Epitheta sind nicht klar, da die Genetivverbindungen mehrdeutig sind.

¹¹¹ *STVC* 36:12 = 36:16 (nennt Gudea); zur Lesung der Zeilen s. S. N. Kramer, *BiOr* XI 173, Anm. 26.

(a k -) k e₄-e š) auf ihr heiliges hochgeschätztes Wort, das sie getreulich gesprochen haben";¹²² "auf dein festes Wort gehen die Anunna dorthin (d. i. nach Nippur)";¹²³ "in der Stadt zittern die Anunna (vor dem) Wort (Enlils), zittern die Anunna, die An im Himmel gezeugt hat, die Anunna, die An auf der Erde gezeugt hat";¹²⁴ "dein Wort wurde im Himmel gesprochen—die Nungal-Götter beteten zu dir; dein Wort wurde auf der Erde gesprochen—die Anunna küssten die Erde";¹²⁵ "sein Wort, vor dem die Anunna humpeln (g i₁₆-l e-è m)." ¹²⁶ Hilflosigkeit bekunden die A. in der "Nippurklage" wohl nach einer Entscheidung, die Enlil getroffen hatte: "Die Anunna (versuchten) Rat zu erteilen (n a b a - a n - r i - r i - g e - e š - à m), konnten (aber) im Ubšu'unkenna, dem Ort, an dem die grossen Urteile gefällt werden, keine rechte Entscheidung erkennen."¹²⁷

i. Inanna: "Himmelsherrin, Weitherzige, angriffslustige Herrin, Edle unter den Anunna";¹²⁸ "Himmelsherrin, die den Anunna vorausgeht (z à - d i b)";¹²⁹ "Hierodule, Herrin, die für die Anunna mit Schrecken angetan ist";¹³⁰ "der 'Drache' (u š u m g a l) für die Anunna, die wie Schafe weiden, bin ich";¹³¹ "ich bin grösser als die (anderen) [Götter], grösser (selbst) als die

¹²² UET VI 118 iv 6-12; vgl. TCL XVI 88 v 9-12 (s. dazu *Baghdader Mitteilungen* II 41, Anm. 190): "die Schwarzköpfigen schauen auf dich, (Iddindagān), wie auf ihren Vater."

¹²³ SRT 36:56; ähnlich SGL I 11, Z. 7-9, und 18, Z. 140: ŠU.NISABA i m - m a - a k - e š, "sie harreten darauf."

¹²⁴ CT XLII 15 ii 28-30, s. o. S. 129 mit Anm. 25; ähnlich SBH 44 Rs. 10-13, das zum Teil nach CT XLII 15 ii 28-30 korrigiert werden kann.

¹²⁵ IV R (2. Aufl.) 9, Z. 57-60; ähnlich BA X 18, Z. 3-7.

¹²⁶ SBH 4:16-17, 7 Rs. 15, 8:12-13, 9:14, 10:14-15, 14:46; ASKT 127:45-46; s. zu diesen Belegen CAD IV 41, s.v. *egēru*.

¹²⁷ UMBS X 4, Nr. 1 i 2-4.

¹²⁸ Sumer XIII, Tf. I 1-2 (s. Sjöberg, *Mondgott*, S. 20): g i r i₄ (= KA) - z a - a l - a - n u - (n a -) k e - [n e] = *mutel(l)etum ina enunnak(k)ī*. Parallel dazu ist m a ḫ - t e - n u - u n - g a - l e - n e = *tizqartum ina igigī*, "die Hohe unter den Igiū."

¹²⁹ ZA NF XVIII 59, Z. 1.

¹³⁰ SRT 1 i 7.

¹³¹ TCL XVI 69:13 mit Glosse *ki-ma šé-ni ir-ta(?) - ma*; der Text ist epigraphisch unsicher, aber durch den Vergleich mit SBH 56 Rs. 19-20, ^d a - n u n - n a e - z é - g i m l u - a u š u m g a l - b i - m è n = ^d *anunnak(kū) kīma šēni ir(l) - te - u - ū*, herzustellen.

[Anunn]a";¹³² "das Leben der Inanna, gegen deren Wort kein einziger von den Anunna angeht, sei angerufen!"¹³³

"Die Anunna gehen zu dem Ort, an dem du wohnst, beten zu dir";¹³⁴ "um allmonatlich, am Neumondtag die 'göttlichen Kräfte' zu vollenden, versammelten sich ihr die Götter des Landes Sumer, beugten sich darob die Anunna, die Grossen (Götter), sprechen das Gebet für alle Länder zu ihr";¹³⁵ "vor ihrem Lärm (z a p a - á g a) zittern die Götter des Landes Sumer, vor ihrem Gebrüll senken die Anunna wie ein einzelnes Rohr das Haupt (s a g - s i g - s i g)";¹³⁶ "in solcher Weise (a - g i m) bist du grösser als die Anunna; die Anunna küssen dir vor deinem Spruch die Erde";¹³⁷ "die Anunna beugten sich vor dir";¹³⁸ "meine Herrin, die Anunna, die Grossen Götter, fliehen vor dir wie (schnell)fliegende Fledermäuse in die Erdspalten (d u₆-d è, Var. d i - d è), treten nicht vor dein zorniges Auge, gehen nicht an gegen dein wildes Angesicht";¹³⁹ "die Götter sind (ängstliche) Vögel (b u r u₆ = *iššuru*)—ich bin die Herrin (m u - t i n); die Anunna stossen (wie Rinder)—ich bin die gute Wildkuh";¹⁴⁰ "die Anunna beugen sich vor (deinem) Wort, sitzen (still) vor (deinem) Ausspruch";¹⁴¹ "die

¹³² VAS II 28:8-9: m u - u n - n a - d i r i - g e < * m u - e n e - a - d i r i g - e n; ebenso wohl TCL XVI 69:19.

¹³³ CT XVI 13 ii 33-35. Unklar ist STVC 30 ii 3, š i - d a - n u n a - k e₄-n e à m - d a - m a - a l - [l a - m] u (!), "mein: das Leben der Anunna ist dabei," das durch SBH 31:5-6, š i - d a - n u n - n a - k e - e - [n] e [...-f] l - l a - a - m u = *napiš-ti* d II [...], nicht genügend erhellt wird.

¹³⁴ Radau, HAV, Nr. 20 Rs. 31; s. SGL I 136.

¹³⁵ SRT 1 i 27-31. Das Terminativ infix i m - š i - g a m - e - d è - e š bezieht sich wohl auf die SRT 1 i 26 erwähnte "Schicksalsentscheidung," die An und Inanna getroffen hatten.

¹³⁶ STVC 81 i 9-11 = *Belleten* XVI, Tf. LXIII Kol. i 10-11. Parallele Wendungen sind in SGL I 56 mit Anm. 71-72 angeführt.

¹³⁷ UMBS X 4, Nr. 3 iii 18-19; ergänzt durch das (teilweise abweichende) Dupl. UET VI 107:115-16.

¹³⁸ UET VI 107:113; nicht im Dupl. UMBS X 4, Nr. 3 iii nach Z. 17.

¹³⁹ UMBS X 4, Nr. 3 i 34-37 = SEM 105:4-7; zu d u₆-d è, d u₆-d a, d i - d a und d u₁₀-d è = *ina nigišsi* s. ŠL II 459, 32; CT XV 25:16 = K.41 iii 3-4 (s. A. Schollmeyer, MVAG XIII 4, S. 10); zu d u₆-e s. o. Anm. 112.

¹⁴⁰ VAS X 199 iii 21-22; vgl. in der jungen Überlieferung CT XLII 22 i 27-28; SBH 56 Rs. 9-12; TCL XVI 69:9-10 (teilweise abweichend).

¹⁴¹ *Belleten* XVI, Tf. LXIII Kol. iii 11.

Götter beben vor ihr, die Anunna zittern vor ihr."¹⁴²

k. Marduk: "(Als An und Enlil) ihn unter den Anunna mit dem höchsten Namen benannt hatten."¹⁴³

l. MAR.TU: "Die Anunna, die Grossen Götter, machten seinen heldenhaften Arm (allen) überlegen, [sprachen] getreulich zu ihm, [verliehen] ihm Ansehen, das ihm in der Schlacht wie ein Panzer zur Seite steht."¹⁴⁴

m. Mešlamta'ea: "[Meš]lamta'ea, Herr, (akk. Enlil) der Anunna, Herr, der öffnet [.....] (so nach dem Akkadischen)."¹⁴⁵

n. Nanna: "Nanna, Erster (s a g - g a l) der Anunna-Götter";¹⁴⁶ "Nanna, der (stolz) das Haupt erhebt, der Höchste der Anunna";¹⁴⁷ "(als An und Enlil dem Nanna) das Leitseil (éš - k i r i (= KA)), die Entscheidung der Anunna in seine Hand gelegt hatten";¹⁴⁸ "König (u n - g a l) der Anunna, (aller) Götter, bist du."¹⁴⁹

o. Nergal: "'Fürst,' der ewige 'göttliche Kräfte' (besitzt), der unter den Anunna strahlend erscheint";¹⁵⁰ "..... (p e š - g a l = mamlu) der Anunna."¹⁵¹

"Die Anunna, die Grossen Götter, wälzen sich insgesamt vor deinem schrecklichen Glanz im Staub";¹⁵² "die Anunna, deine göttlichen Brüder, beten zu dir."¹⁵³

p. Ninḫursanga: "Ninḫursanga schwor bei Enki: 'Mit dem Auge des Lebens werde ich ihn, bis

¹⁴² SBH 60 Rs. 26-29; vgl. für die akkadische Überlieferung KUB XXXVII 36 ii 20'-21' = E. Ebeling, *Die akkadische Gebetsserie "Handerhebung"*, S. 130, Z. 20-21.

¹⁴³ LIH 99 i 9-10.

¹⁴⁴ SRT 8:8-10; s. dazu SGL I 121.

¹⁴⁵ BA V 642, Z. 23-24.

¹⁴⁶ UET I 293:1-2, 294:1-2.

¹⁴⁷ UET I 100:1-3.

¹⁴⁸ VA 5950 i 13-14; s. dazu *Baghdader Mitteilungen* III.

¹⁴⁹ SBH 24:11.

¹⁵⁰ SRT 12:31; s. dazu SGL II 157 f.

¹⁵¹ IV R (2. Aufl.) 24, Z. 21-23. Unklar ist das Epitheton Nergals "..... der Anunna, der Grossen Götter" in LKA 77 iii 53-55 = CT XLIV 32 v 10-12.

¹⁵² TCL XV 23:4-5 = 23:9-10; s. dazu SGL II 16 f.

¹⁵³ STVC 73 Rs. 22; vgl. IV R (2. Aufl.) 30, 1 Rs. 1-10.

er stirbt, nicht ansehen!' Die Anunna wälzten sich darob im Staub."¹⁵⁴

q. Ninlil: "Ninlil, höchste Herrin, die den Anunna strahlend erscheint";¹⁵⁵ "grosse Mutter der Anun[na], Herrin des Ki'ur."¹⁵⁶

r. Ninurta: "Das Leben Ninurtas, des Helden der Nun[gal-Götter und der Anunna sei angerufen]!"¹⁵⁷ "gewaltiger [Hel]d in Himmel (und) Erde, Grösster der Anunna";¹⁵⁸ "der Weise (i g i - g á l) unter den Anunna, den Grossen Göttern, bist du";¹⁵⁹ "Held, Starker unter den Anunna, der aus dem Ekur [gekommen ist]";¹⁶⁰ "Starker (á - g á l = mamlu) unter den Anunna";¹⁶¹ "der die Anunna rächt (š u - g a r - g a r - r a - à m)."¹⁶²

"Die Anunna, die Grossen Götter, gehen nicht gegen ihn an";¹⁶³ "die Anunna, die Grossen Götter, (n a m - m i - i n - t a r = i - t a r - r u) insgesamt (e n - š á r - r a = a d i š á r i)";¹⁶⁴ "die Anunna sollst du in (ihrem) Wohnsitz, dem Ubšu'unkenna, nicht aufscheuchen";¹⁶⁵ "die Anunna gingen wie Mäuse (ḫ u - m u - u n - s i - i r) in die Erdspalten (d u₆ - d a)";¹⁶⁶ "die Anunna-Götter sind dir stets zu [Dien]sten";¹⁶⁷ "die Anunna lagen wie Schafe insgesamt (k i - š á r - r a)";¹⁶⁸ "als er (d. i. Ninurta) den Himmel erschütterte hatte, rang (An) die Hände über dem Herzen, erzitterte

¹⁵⁴ BASOR "Supplementary Studies" Nr. 1, S. 18, Z. 218-20.

¹⁵⁵ UMBS V 68 i 16-17.

¹⁵⁶ UMBS V 68 ii 6-7; s. o. Anm. 28.

¹⁵⁷ ArOr XXI 384, Z. 21-22.

¹⁵⁸ BE XXIX 1 iii 38.

¹⁵⁹ lugal ud melambi XII 10 (nur in der jungen Fassung).

¹⁶⁰ Belleten XVI, Tf. LIX Ni.9695:1; s. WZJ VI 3-4, S. 392, Z. 67.

¹⁶¹ angim I 3 (junge Fassung).

¹⁶² angim I 14 (aldbabylonische Fassung).

¹⁶³ angim II 12'.

¹⁶⁴ angim II 27'; zu *adi šari* s. SGL I 61 f.; BIN II 22, Z. 39-40.

¹⁶⁵ angim II 30'. Unklar ist angim III 6' = Kramer, *SLTN* 10 Rs. 4: ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne-me-ni-di.

¹⁶⁶ angim III 22'; s. CAD VI 236, s.v. *ḫumširu*.

¹⁶⁷ STVC 34 iii 15; s. SGL I 82 und 100 f.

¹⁶⁸ lugal ud melambi II 30'; s. ZA NF XX 88, 83-1-18, 516:5; BA V 709, Z. 6-7; Langdon, *BL* 98:7.

Enlil, flüchtete sich in einen Winkel, suchten die Anunna die (schützenden) Mauern auf, *flogen* wie (ängstliche) Tauben von den Häusern *weg*, klagten darüber."¹⁶⁹

s. Nusku: "Du bist der Weise (i g i - g á l) unter den Anunna."¹⁷⁰

t. Šarpānītu: "(Das Leben) der grossen Schutzgöttheit von Himmel (und) Erde, der Königin (u n - g a l) der Anunna, sei angerufen!"¹⁷¹

u. Šulpa'e: "(Das Leben des), des Helden der Anunna, des Falken der Götter, (sei angerufen)!"¹⁷²

v. Utu: "Utu, Richter der Götter, Utu, der die Entscheidung fällt, Vater der Anunna";¹⁷³ "Utu, Angesehener (n i r - g á l) unter den Göttern, (SAG.KA-m á š -SAG), Vater der Anunna";¹⁷⁴ "Utu, Leitbock (m á š! - s a g = ašarē-du) der Götter bist du, der den Anunna vorangeht, bist du";¹⁷⁵ "Strahlender, Grösster unter den Anunna";¹⁷⁶ "Grösster (d i r i!) der Anunna";¹⁷⁷ "der Gott, der die Anunna rechtleitet";¹⁷⁸ "grosser Held, Starker(?) (k a l) unter den Anunna, gegen dessen 'göttliche Kräfte' kein Gott angeht";¹⁷⁹ "Adler (u r i n = urinnu) der Annuna, 'Drache' (u š u m g a l) der Nungal-Götter."¹⁸⁰

"Auf dein Licht harren die Grossen Götter, die Anunna insgesamt schauen dein Angesicht; die

¹⁶⁹ *Sumer* XVIII, Tf. 1, Z. 21-24 = *lugal ud melam-bi* V 1-4.

¹⁷⁰ *STVC* 37: 15; s. *SGL* II 144.

¹⁷¹ *ArOr* XXI 364, Kol. ii 5-6.

¹⁷² S. *ZA* NF XXI 14 zu E. Ebeling, *ArOr* XXI 361.

¹⁷³ *UMBS* I 2, Nr. 118 Vs. (!) 22-23 = *TCL* XVI 79:22-23; s. o. Anm. 5. In *IV R* (2. Aufl.) 17, Z. 23-24, und 28, 1:23-24, wo St. Langdon, *OECT* VI 46 und 53 ^da - n u n - n a einsetzt, so dass Utu die Entscheidung der Anunna fällte, ist die Ergänzung unsicher.

¹⁷⁴ *UMBS* I 2, Nr. 118 Vs. (!) 6-7 = *TCL* XVI 79:6-7; s. o. Anm. 5.

¹⁷⁵ *UMBS* I 2, Nr. 126:12-15; vgl. *OECT* VI 52, Z. 21-24.

¹⁷⁶ *ArOr* XXI 368, Kol. iii 3-4.

¹⁷⁷ *SAKI* 208 b 4; vgl. auch *UET* I 118:4.

¹⁷⁸ *SRT* 15:9.

¹⁷⁹ *UET* VI 92:4.

¹⁸⁰ *UVB* XV 36, Z. 3.

sich entgegenstehenden Reden (e m e - ħ a - m u n) machst du wie zu einem einzigen (Wort)"¹⁸¹ "die Grossen Götter treten zu dir, um Recht zu sprechen, die Anunna treten zu dir, um die Entscheidungen zu fällen."¹⁸²

9. *Verschiedenes*.—"Die Anunna des Gebietes von Lagaš erstrahlen (r í n) für diesen Ort mit dem Herrn Ningirsu";¹⁸³ "(Ninurta), geliebt] (k i - [á g a]) von den Anunna";¹⁸⁴ "(Eninnu), dem die Anunna, die Grossen Götter, Kampfeskraft (á - m è) verliehen haben";¹⁸⁵ "....., diese Klage (ist) die der Anunna";¹⁸⁶ "die Anunna haben den Menschen (m u - l u) strahlend erscheinen lassen";¹⁸⁷ "Azag-Dämon, mit dem Bann der Anunna beschwöre ich dich, Böser (l ú - ħ u l), mit dem Bann der Anunna beschwöre ich dich";¹⁸⁸ "das Leben der Anunna, der Grossen Götter, sei angerufen!"¹⁸⁹ "die Anunna drehen um";¹⁹⁰ "darinnen (d. i. im Meer) baden sich die Anunna";¹⁹¹ "mit seinem (d. i. des 'Badehauses') reinem, heiligen Wasser haben sich die Anunna, die Grossen Götter, gereinigt."¹⁹²

10. *Zusammenfassung*.—Unter der Bezeichnung Anunna wurden von Haus aus die Götter

¹⁸¹ *IV R* (2. Aufl.) 19, 2:5-10.

¹⁸² Schollmeyer, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen und Gebete an Šamaš*, S. 29, Z. 9-12.

¹⁸³ *Gudea Zyl B v 22*; etwa zu Abschnitt 8 zu stellen?

¹⁸⁴ *STVC* 35 Rs. 40; s. *SGL* I 109, Z. 83.

¹⁸⁵ *ZA* NF V 261, Kol. v 13.

¹⁸⁶ *VAS* X 200:28.

¹⁸⁷ *TuM* NF III 24 Rs. i 16; parallel *d i m - m e - e - r - g a l (!) - g a l - e - n e*.

¹⁸⁸ *CT* XVI 12 ii 3-6, nach dem akkadischen Text.

¹⁸⁹ *CT* XVI 14 iv 5-6.

¹⁹⁰ *SBH* 24:6; unsichere Deutung, die die von Langdon, *SBP* 62 vorgeschlagene Korrektur *š u (!) - b a l - a k (!) - e - n e* erforderte; vgl. aber *SBH* 2 Rs. 22-23 = 4:106-7.

¹⁹¹ *Šurpu* IX 63.

¹⁹² Schollmeyer, *op. cit.* S. 35, Z. 37-39. Unklar sind *BE* XXXI 4 ii 3, 24 iii 5; *CT* XLII 45:9 (*Šinidinnam*); *CT* XLIV 16:17(?) (*Urnammu*); C. Frank, *Strassburger, Keilschrifttexte* 2:6; *STVC* 65 v 7: ^da - n u n - n a - a n - k i; *STVC* 81 i 2-3 = *Belleten* XVI, Tf. LXIII, Kol. i 4; *STVC* 90 ii 3 ("Inanna-Ebeh"); *UET* VI 93:1; *TCL* XV 1:44, 9 i 5 (parallel zu ^de n - k i ^de n - k i); *UMBS* I 2, Nr. 128 i 8 = *CT* XVI 37:23; *VAS* II 8 ii 27; *Sumer* IV, Tf. I, Kol. iii 4-13, und Tf. IV, Kol. iv 26-37 (*Kurigalzu*); *ArOr* XXI 386, Z. 1-4; Langdon, *BL* 105:6, 190:2; *CT* XLII 17:5; *SBH* 2 Rs. 22-23 = 4:106-7, 28 Rs. 4, 60 Rs. 28-29.

eines lokalen Pantheons wie des von Eridu oder eines Territorialstaates wie des von Lagaš mit seinen Zentren Lagaš, Girsu und Ninâ vereinigt. Wohl in Verbindung mit einem gleichartigen Zusammenschluss der Götter von Nippur und im Gefolge der Ausbildung des "Reichspantheons" mag sich die Vorstellung von einer Göttergruppe ausgebildet haben, der, wenn nicht alle Götter, so doch alle "Grossen Götter" des sumerischen Pantheons angehörten.¹⁹³ Dabei wurden die A. zum Teil im Widerspruch zum genealogischen System des "Reichspantheons" als Kinder des Himmelsgottes An verstanden, sie galten daher unter sich als Geschwister. Eine Sondergruppe stellen die in der Unterwelt als Richter fungierenden A. dar. Jedoch sind die A. in der älteren sumerischen Überlieferung nicht auf die Unterwelt beschränkt gewesen, wie das zum Teil mittel- und spätbabylonische Literaturwerke in akkadischer Sprache bezeugen. *d n u n - g a l - e - n e*, die sumerische Entsprechung zu akkadischem *igigū*,¹⁹⁴ ist in sumerischen Texten bis zur altbabylonischen Zeit einschliesslich äusserst selten bezeugt, ihre Sonderart gegenüber den A. daher nicht zu ermitteln.

¹⁹³ Die Identität der Anunna mit den Grossen Göttern ist zwar nicht durch die häufigen Belege *d a - n u n - n a d i n g i r - g a l - g a l - e - n e* erwiesen, da dies auch "die Anunna und die Grossen Götter" heissen könnte, wenn auch zu beachten ist, dass bei diesen Belegen in der akkadischen Übersetzung nie ein "und" zwischen den beiden Gliedern erscheint, wohl aber durch die Aussagen der Texte selbst, die "Anunna" und "Grosse Götter" als gleichwertige und vertauschbare Benennungen erkennen lassen. Leider kann ich hier aus Raumgründen die Einzelbelege nicht auführen. Nur soviel, dass die Belege für *d i n g i r - g a l - g a l (- e - n e)* allein weit seltener als die für *d a - n u n - n a* sind, weiter dass es keinen Tempel gibt, der den "Grossen Göttern" geweiht gewesen wäre, dass sie auch nicht in den Verwaltungsurkunden mit Opferangaben vorkommen. Wenn die "Grossen Götter" ebenso wie gelegentlich die "schicksalsentscheidenden Götter" von den Anunna differenziert werden, so mag dabei weniger die Vorstellung von einer rangmässigen Gliederung unter den Anunna vorliegen, als die Tendenz zur "parallelen Reihung" als einem literarischen Stilmittel.

¹⁹⁴ *AHw.* S. 366 f.: "altbabylonisch, zum Teil mittel/jungbabylonisch 'die (zehn) grossen Götter,' mittel/spätbabylonisch 'Himmelsgötter.'" [Leider konnte ich den wichtigen Aufsatz W. von Sodens "Babylonische Göttergruppen: Igiu und Anunnaku. Zum Bedeutungswandel theologischer Begriffe" nicht mehr verwerten; s. jetzt *Compte rendu de l'onzième Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, S. 102-11. S. auch noch unten S. 141-58 den Beitrag von B. Kienast.]

Die Angaben über die Zahl der A. sind uneinheitlich. Wer zu dieser Göttergruppe zählte, ist nirgends im einzelnen angegeben. Sicher ist nur, dass von den in Abschnitt 8 angeführten Göttern 19 zu ihnen gehören, dazu noch diejenigen, die wie z.B. Nisaba¹⁹⁵ den Grossen Göttern zuzurechnen sind. Ob An, der Vater der A., zu ihnen zählte oder ob ihm etwa wie der Ereškigal gegenüber den in der Unterwelt fungierenden A. die Ausführung der Beschlüsse der A. vorbehalten war, ist aus den Quellen nicht zu entnehmen.

Zunächst verwirrend sind die vielfach bezeugten Aussagen der Texte, die einzelne Gottheiten, aber auch ganze Göttergruppen wie z.B. die *d i n g i r - n a m - t a r - r a* den A. gegenüberstellen, obwohl diese ohne Zweifel zu ihnen gehörten. Das klarste Beispiel ist die Aufzählung von sieben der höchsten Götter, die die klagende Aruru zu beruhigen suchten, bevor die A. dieselbe Aufgabe übernahmen.¹⁹⁶ In solchen Stellen meint *d a - n u n - n a* "die (übrigen) Anunna."

Was schon durch die Tatsache beleuchtet wird, dass die Verehrung der A. als Göttergruppe keine kultische Realität geworden ist, erklären die literarischen Texte: Das religiöse Interesse war so sehr auf die einzelnen Göttergestalten ausgerichtet, die grossen Götter des "Reichspantheons" ebenso wie die nur in den lokalen Götterkreisen beheimateten Gottheiten, dass der Hinweis auf die "Anunna, die Grossen Götter" vielfach dazu diente, verschiedene Götter als den übrigen A. überlegen zu preisen.

Als Göttergruppe bleiben die A. daher bloss, ihre Tätigkeit und ihre Kompetenzen sind nicht genau umschrieben. Auch wenn ihnen z.B. die "Schicksalsentscheidung" zukam, so schloss das nicht aus, dass auch einzelne Götter allein ohne Mitwirkung der A., ja gegen deren Willen diese Entscheidungen trafen. Die Möglichkeit, dass von der Vorstellung von den A. als einer Zusammenfassung aller (grossen) Götter eine Entwicklung hätte ausgehen können, die zu einer engeren Einheit des sumerischen Pantheons, als sie im System des "Reichspantheons" erreicht war, hätte führen können, war wohl nie gegeben.

¹⁹⁵ S. z.B. "Akkade-Fluch" Z. 226-27.

¹⁹⁶ S. S. 129 mit Anm. 23.

Schon ein flüchtiger Überblick über die akkadischen Belege für die Anunnakkū-Götter zeigt, dass vielfache Übereinstimmungen mit den Aussagen der sumerischen literarischen Texte bestehen. Vor allem finden die oben unter 8 gebuchten Stellen genaue Entsprechungen. Auf die Veränderungen, die sich mit Bezug auf die A. durch das Hervortreten der Iggū-Götter ergaben, sei jedoch nochmals hingewiesen.

Für die in der hethitischen Überlieferung be-

zeugte Gleichsetzung der A. mit den "Uralten Göttern," die der Wettergott in die Unterwelt verbannt hat, liefern die sumerischen Texte keinerlei Anknüpfungspunkte.¹⁹⁷ Dass die mit Namen genannten A. dabei durchweg dem hurritischen Pantheon zugehören, gibt wohl einen genügend deutlichen Hinweis auf die Heimat dieser Vorstellung.

¹⁹⁷ S. H. Otten, *ZA NF XX* 115 ff.

IGIGŪ UND ANUNNAKŪ NACH DEN AKKADISCHEN QUELLEN

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§ 1. Die akkadische Überlieferung kennt eine Reihe zusammenfassender Begriffe für einzelne Göttergruppen wie etwa *ilū rabūtum*, "Die grossen Götter," *ilū mātim*, "die Götter des Landes," *ilū Sippar-Amnānim*, "die Götter von Sippar-Amnānum," oder ^d*Dajjānū*, "die Richter-götter." Es handelt sich dabei entweder um Komposita mit *ilum*, "Gott," oder um deifizierte Berufsbezeichnungen. Im Gegensatz zu diesen Ausdrücken stehen zwei Termini, die wir—vom Akkadischen her—als "Namen" von Göttergruppen erklären dürfen: Die *Igigū* und die *Anunnakkū* mit ihren sumerischen Äquivalenten ^dn u n - g a l - e - n e und ^da - n u n - n a. Erst vor Kurzem hat W. von Soden in einem jetzt auch gedruckt vorliegenden Vortrag zu diesen beiden Begriffen Stellung genommen.¹ Wenn ich es hier wage, das Problem noch einmal aufzugreifen, so sind dafür folgende Gründe massgeblich: Die vorstehende Untersuchung von A. Falkenstein über "Die Anunna in der sumerischen Überlieferung" (S. 127–40) gibt eine solide Basis, von der aus erst die Termini I. und A. in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung verfolgt werden können. Gleichzeitig hat A. Falkenstein aber auch einige methodische Prinzipien von ausserordentlicher Tragweite für unser Thema aufgezeigt. Deren Anwendung bei der Interpretation der hier ausführlich vorgeführten Belege wird in mancher Hinsicht zu anderen Ergebnissen führen und das Problem in neuem Lichte erscheinen lassen.

§ 2. Wie das sumerische ^da - n u n - n a sind auch die akkadischen Begriffe *Igigū* und *Anunnakkū* auf bestimmte Textgattungen festgelegt: Sie begegnen ausschliesslich in den literarischen Werken, den Mythen, Epen und Hymnen, ferner in den religiösen Texten, den Gebeten und

¹ Vgl. W. von Soden, "Babylonische Göttergruppen: Igigu und Anunnaku. Zum Bedeutungswandel theologischer Begriffe," *Compte rendu de l'onzième Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, S. 102–11.

Beschwörungen, und endlich in den hymnischen Abschnitten der Königsinschriften. Das Fehlen beider Bezeichnungen in den übrigen Schriftendkmälern,² besonders in den Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungsurkunden, sowie in der Namensbildung zeigt, dass auch in der fast 1500-jährigen akkadischen Überlieferung weder die I. noch die A. selbstständigen Charakter erringen und die Kultpraxis oder die Volksreligiosität beeinflussen konnten. Wie zu Beginn ihrer Geschichte bleiben beide Gruppen vage Grössen, deren Bedeutung sich vornehmlich darin erschöpfte, am Ende der Aufzählung individueller Gottheiten das übrige Pantheon in die Litanei einzubeziehen, oder sonst den Hintergrund namentlich genannter Göttergestalten zu bilden und deren Macht und Herrlichkeit zu unterstreichen. In den epischen Texten bilden die I. wie die A. eine namenlose Masse, die zumeist furchtsam oder ehrfürchtig einem sie dominierenden Gott gegenüber steht.

§ 3. Diese allgemeine Charakterisierung birgt in sich schon die Schwierigkeiten, die dem Versuch einer genauen Definition der beiden Göttergruppen entgegen stehen: Die Mehrzahl der Belege hat keine deutliche Aussagekraft, die es gestatten würde, die Begriffe I. und A. klar zu umreissen und von einander abzugrenzen. Jedoch bietet hier gerade wieder die literarische Form der Quellen unverhoffte Unterstützung: Ausserordentlich häufig nämlich sind die Vorkommen der beiden Gruppenbezeichnungen in dem dichterischen Schema des Parallelismus membrorum, wobei entweder die I. neben den A. stehen oder je einer, ja sogar beide Begriffe

² Folgende Ausnahmen von der im Text genannten Regel sind zu verzeichnen: (1) Ein aB Brief enthält folgenden Passus: [. . . m]i-im ša I-gi-gi, [. . .] . . . a-la-ak [. . .]bu-ti-im UET V, Nr. 22 Rd. 1–3). (2) Beide Göttergruppen werden in der IX. Tafel *inbu bēl arḫi* genannt [113]. (3) Die A. als Unterweltsgötter erscheinen in der Serie *enūma Anu Enlil*; vgl. Anm. 34. Vgl. ferner für die I. *ACh*, Adad Nr. XXXVI A 31, und für die A. *ACh*, Šamaš Nr. XI 73 und XIII 13.

ilum, "Gott," gegenüber stehen. Ebenfalls der literarischen Ausschmückung der Texte verdanken wir einige Fälle, in denen I. bzw. A. mit *ilum* appositionell verbunden sind. Um dieses wertvolle Hilfsmittel voll auszunutzen und in seinem ganzen Umfang zu zeigen, haben wir uns entschlossen, die Hauptmasse der Belege diesen äusseren Formen entsprechend anzuordnen.

§ 4. *Igigū*: FORM UND SCHREIBUNG. Der Name der I. entzieht sich noch immer einer sprachlichen Interpretation, da uns sowohl die moderne Etymologie wie die Bemühungen der antiken Verfasser lexikalischer Listen im Stiche lassen. Vgl. aus der Serie *malku* = *šarru*: [1] *ri-i-bu* (Var. *ra-i-i-bu*) = *I-gi-gu* (LTBA II, Nr. 2:274, 3 iv 10, 4 iv 5) und vgl. ferner: [2] *ri-i-bu* = ^dNUN.GAL (Meissner, BAW I 71, z. 38, mit S. 74, Anm. 21). Der Versuch, *Igigū* von *agāgu*, "zürnen," abzuleiten und durch Formen von *ra'ābu*, "zürnen," zu interpretieren, ist als späte "Volksetymologie" für uns ohne Wert.³ Der Begriff taucht erstmals in aB Texten auf; als sumerisches Äquivalent dient ^dn u n g a l - e - n e, eine grammatisch korrekte Bildung, die jedoch vor der aB Zeit nicht zu belegen ist. Ab Ende des zweiten Jtd. begegnet daher in den akkadischen Quellen verschiedentlich das Sumerogramm ^dNUN.GAL^{meš},⁴ wie andererseits in späten sumerischen Werken oder Abschriften gelegentlich ^dI - g i₄ - g i₄ - n e für ^dn u n g a l - e - n e eintritt.⁵ Die syllabischen Schreibungen *I-gi-gu* (Nom.) und *I-gi-gi* (Obliquus) sowie die pseudologographische Form *I-gi₄-gi₄* erscheinen mit oder ohne Gottesdeterminativ zu allen Zeiten der Überlieferung; einmal begegnet schliesslich aB die Mischform *I-gi₄-gu*.⁶ Dazu ist

³ Zu dem Versuch einer Deutung des Namens *Igigū* vgl. Anm. 66.

⁴ ^dNUN.GAL^{meš}: *Afo* XVIII 44, Z. 16 (Tn. I. Epos); *AKA*, S. 207, Z. 4 (Anp. II.); *WO* II 144, Z. 9; *III R* 7:1 (Salm. III.); *STT* I, Nr. 61:8; Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 78, Z. 32. ^dNUN.GAL^{meš}: *KAR*, Nr. 349:2. ^dNUN.GAL: Meissner, *BAW* I 71, Z. 38. ^dNUN.GAL: *AOB* I 124, Z. 6 (Salm. I.).

⁵ Vgl. z.B. ^dU t u . . . l u g a l ^di - g i₄ - g i₄ - n e (im Parallelismus mit ^da - n u n - n a - k e₄ - n e): *KAR*, Nr. 252 ii 31 (sum. Beschwörung).

⁶ *I-gi-gu*: *RA* XLVI 90, Z. 30 (aB Anzû); Böhl, *Leiden Coll.* II, Nr. 3:10 (aB Beschwörung); *LTBA* II, Nr. 2:274. ^d*I-gi-gu*: *AOB* I 64, Z. 49; *Afo* V 91, Z. 81 (Adn. I.); *AOB* I 124, Z. 6 (Var., Salm. I.); *ZA* IV 241, Z. 19 (jB). *I-gi-gi*: *RA* XLVI 88, Z. 4 (aB Anzû); *ZA* XLIV 32, Z. 26 (aB Beschwörung); *KAR*, Nr. 128 Rs. 22 (Gebet des Tn. I.); *OECT* IV, S. 64, Kol. iv 49

zu beachten, dass die aB Texte niemals das Gottesdeterminativ schreiben und dass ferner noch in den Inschriften Adadnarārī's I. und Salmanassar's I. Nominativ und Obliquus syntaktisch richtig gebraucht werden. Das Kryptogramm ^dJÁ.MIN (= 5 × 60 × 2 = *Ī-gi-gi*) begegnet erstmals im 9. Jhd.⁷ und gewinnt bald darauf allgemeine Verbreitung. Sein Zahlenwert (= 600) hat zur Folge, dass vereinzelt der Name der I. durch ^dGfš.U (= 600), das Kryptogramm für die A., wiedergegeben wird.⁸

§ 5. *Anunnakkū*: FORM UND SCHREIBUNG. *Anunnakkū* ist Lehnwort aus dem Sumerischen und geht zurück auf die genitivische Verbindung *a - n u n - a k, "fürstlichen Samens," "fürstlichen Geblütes."⁹ Das Sumerogramm ^dA.NUN.NA mit der Variante ^dA.NU.NA begegnet aB und später nur selten.¹⁰ Die normale, offenbar vereinheitlichte Schreibung der jungen Texte ^dA-nun-na-ki mit den seltenen Varianten ^dA-nun-na-ke₄, ^dA-nuna-ki und ^dA-nu-na-ki zeigt den Obliquus.¹¹ Der zugehörige Nominativ ^dA-nun-na-ku mit den Spielformen ^dA-nun-a-ku, ^dA-nu-na-ku, und einmal in Boghazköy ^dA-nun-na-ku₁₃ ist, syntaktisch richtig, noch in den Inschriften Adadnarārī's I. und Salmanassar's I. nachzuweisen.¹² Lautlich verkürzte Form ist ^dA-nu-

(*malku* = *šarru*). ^d*I-gi-gi*: Weidner, *Tn.* S. 30, Z. 11; *Afo* XVIII 44, Z. 22 (Tn. I. Epos); *WO* II 144, Z. 2 (Salm. III.); *VAB* IV 60, Z. 3 (Npl.); *KB* VI 2, S. 110, Z. 26 und 30, und S. 60, Z. 29. *I-gi-gi*: *KH* i 14; *HS* 175 iii 23 (aB Hymne); *UET* V, Nr. 22 Rd. 1 (aB Brief); *VAB* IV 128, Z. 10 (Nbk.); *RA* XXII 58, Z. 6 (Nbd.). ^d*I-gi-gi*: *BER* IV 142, Z. 5 (Nbk. I.); *CT* XV, Tf. 39, Kol. ii 15 (nB Anzû); Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 26, Z. 44, S. 54 oben, Z. 9, S. 66, Z. 32; *KAR*, Nr. 32:24 f., 158 ii 31, 357:20; Bezold, *Cat.* K.3365; *CT* XXV, Tf. 18, Rs. ii 7 (A n = Anu). *I-gi-gu*: *Bab.* XII 10, Z. 4 (aB Etana).

⁷ Die ältesten Belege sind: *VAS* I, Nr. 36 i 11 (Nabûšumuškun); *AKA*, S. 255, Z. 2 (Anp. II.); *I R* 29 i 5 (Šamšipadad V.); *I R* 35, Nr. 1:1 und 3:3 (Adn. III.).

⁸ Vgl. z.B. ^dGfš.U u ^dA-nun-na-ki: *IV R* (2. Aufl.) 60 [67] Nr. 1:32.

⁹ Vgl. A. Falkenstein, "Die Anunna in der sumerischen Überlieferung," oben S. 128, Nr. 2.

¹⁰ ^dA.NUN.NA: *Bab.* XII 10, Z. 1 (aB Etana); *KH* Rs. xxviii 73; *VAS* I, Nr. 71:1 (Sarg. II.); *Afo* XIX 54, Z. 205 (jB Gebet). ^dA.NUN.NA: *PBS* I 1, Nr. 2:23, 55, 62 (aB Busspsalm).

¹¹ ^dA-nun-na-ke₄: *HS* 175 iii 24 (aB Hymne). ^dA-nuna-ki: *Afo* XIX 50, Z. 22 (jB Gebet). ^dA-nu-na-ki: *JNES* XIX 149 (BM 118998) Z. 16 (Amulett).

¹² ^dA-nun-na-ku: *BER* IV 142, Z. 7 (Nbk. I., *kudurru*); Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 20, Z. 29 (Var.). ^dA-nun-a-ku und ^dA-nu-na-ku: *AOB* I 64, Z. 50 (Var., Adn. I.). ^dA-nun-na-ku₁₃: *KUB* XXXVII, Nr. 36:21.

uk-ki.¹³ Besonderes Interesse verdienen die Schreibungen mit einem in sumerischen Lehnwörtern oft belegten Wandel von *a* > *e* im Anlaut: ^d*E-nu-na-ku*, *E-nu-na-ki*, *E-nu-uk-ki* und ^d*E-nu-uk-ki*, von denen die zweitgenannte Form schon aB bezeugt ist.¹⁴ Das Gottesdeterminativ wird, von wenigen Ausnahmen abgesehen, schon von der aB Zeit an durchgängig gesetzt.¹⁵ Erst in den Inschriften Tiglatpileser's III. taucht schliesslich das Kryptogramm ^dgfš.ū (= 60 × 10), je einmal auch die Formen ^dgfš.ū^{ki} und gfš.ū, auf.¹⁶

§ 6. DAS SPRACHLICHE VERHÄLTNISS *Igigū*: *Anunnakkū*. Die sprachliche Analyse vermag zunächst kaum etwas zur genaueren Definition der beiden Namen beizutragen oder gar zu einer Abgrenzung beider Begriffe gegeneinander zu verhelfen. Die fehlende Möglichkeit einer Deutung von I. zwingt zu unterstellen, dass der Name inhaltlich etwa dem sumerischen Äquivalent ^dn u n - g a l - e - n e entspricht. Dabei ist im Auge zu behalten, dass ^dn u n - g a l - e - n e, "die Grossen Fürsten," sehr wahrscheinlich eine nur formal differenzierende Parallelbildung zu dem alten ^da - n u n - n a, "die fürstlichen Geblütes," darstellt. Wie immer das Verhältnis von I. zu seiner sumerischen Entsprechung gewesen sein mag, ist nicht zu klären; doch deuten die sumerischen Termini darauf hin, dass beide Bezeichnungen sachlich identisch aufzufassen sind.

§ 7. GENEALOGISCHE BEZIEHUNGEN DER *Igigū* UND *Anunnakkū*. Über die genealogischen Beziehungen der I. und der A. schweigen sich die einsprachigen akkadischen Quellen fast ganz aus. Vereinzelt Angaben, wie etwa "Assur, Erzeuger der I. und der A." [97]¹⁷ oder "Ištar(?), Tochter der I." [136] sind wohl mehr als hymni-

scher Lobpreis der Gottheit zu verstehen und somit ohne Wert bei dem Versuch, die verwandtschaftlichen Bindungen der beiden Göttergruppen zu rekonstruieren. Ebenso wenig aussagekräftig ist eine Stelle aus einem Hymnus an Papulegarra: [3] *talīm E-nu(!)-na-ki ilī ahhika*, "gleichgestellter Bruder der A., deiner göttlichen Brüder" (*JRAS* Cent. Suppl. Tf. VI, Kol. i 8); vgl. ferner noch aus einem Gebet an Ištar: [3a] *šueti* ^dA.NUN.NA, "Herrin der A." (*Afo* XIX 54, Z. 205). Das Fehlen genealogischer Aussagen wiegt besonders schwer bei dem Begriff der I.; für die A. hingegen können wir auf die sumerische Überlieferung zurückgreifen, die den Himmels-gott An als Vater der A. ansieht.¹⁸

§ 8. DIE ZAHL DER *Igigū* UND *Anunnakkū*. Den wichtigsten Hinweis auf die Zahl der I. und der A. findet sich im Welterschöpfungsepos. Dies berichtet nach der Erschaffung des Menschen von der Errichtung einer neuen göttlichen Ordnung durch Marduk: [4] *Marduk šar ilānī uza²iz* ^dA-nun-na-ki *gimrassunu eliš u šapliš u²addi ana Ani tēretuš našāra 300 ina šamē ukīn maššarta uštašnīma alkakāt eršeti waššir ina šamē u eršeti 600 uštēšib ultu tēreti napharšina uma²iru ana* ^dA-nun-na-ki *ša šamē u eršeti uza²izu isqassun* ^dA-nun-na-ki *pāšunu īpušūma ana Marduk bēlašunu šūnu izzakrū*. "Marduk, der König der Götter, verteilte die A. insgesamt oben und unten. Er überstellte sie dem An, dessen Befehle zu bewahren. Dreihundert setzte er (Marduk) im Himmel als Wache ein; genauso legte er die Pfade der Erde fest: In Himmel und Erde liess er 600 (A.) wohnen. Nachdem er die Anweisungen allesamt erteilt hatte, er den A. von Himmel und Erde ihren Anteil zugewiesen hatte, taten die A. ihren Mund auf und sagten zu Marduk, ihrem Herren" (*En. el. VI* 39–48).¹⁹ Es sind hier nur die A. genannt, die deutlich als Gesamtheit der himmlischen und irdischen Götter bezeichnet werden. Das erklärt sich daraus, dass das Epos die Begriffe I. und A. unterschiedslos verwendet, genauer, als Synonyma behandelt (vgl. [71]). Wenn ein späterer Kommentar

¹³ ^dA-nu-uk-ki: *En. el. I* 155, II 42, 88, 93, III 46.

¹⁴ *E-nu-na-ku*: *Afo* V 91, Z. 81 (Adn. I.). *E-nu-na-ki*: *JNES* XVI 256, Rs. 20 (aB Gilg.); *JRAS* Cent. Suppl. Tf. VI, Kol. i 8 (aB Hymne); *TuL*, S. 20, Z. 2 (aus Susa). *E-nu-uk-ki*: *PBS* I 1, Nr. 2:76 (aB Busspsalm). ^d*E-nu-uk-ki*: *CT* XXV, Tf. 18, Rs. ii 8 (A n = Anu).

¹⁵ Für Ausnahmen vgl. die Anm. 14 und 16.

¹⁶ gfš.ū: *CT* XXV, Tf. 50, Z. 15. ^dgfš.ū^{ki}: Borger, *Esrh.* S. 96, Z. 8. Der älteste Beleg für die kryptographische Schreibung findet sich bei Unger, *Bel-harran-beli-ussur*, Tf. II, Z. 4 (Tigl. III.). Die Schreibung ist dann häufig bei Esarhaddon; vgl. Borger, *Esrh.* S. 79, Z. 9.

¹⁷ Der Beleg spiegelt vielleicht das Bestreben wieder, den Staatsgott Assur als Vater aller Götter hinzustellen.

¹⁸ Vgl. Falkenstein, oben S. 129, Nr. 3. Wir greifen hier nur auf die Verhältnisse zur Zeit der III. Dynastie von Ur zurück, die als Ausgangspunkt für die Untersuchung der genealogischen Verhältnisse in akkadischer Zeit dienen müssen.

¹⁹ Zur Rekonstruktion der Stelle vgl. E. Weidner, *Afo* XI 72 ff.

(En. el. VI 69; vgl. *AHw.* S. 367a) von den "Dreihundert I. des Himmels, sechshundert A. des Apsû" spricht, so liegt dem—wenigstens zunächst—keine abweichende theologische Konzeption zu Grunde, sondern einfach ein Missverständnis. Die gleiche Fehlinterpretation findet sich auch in einem jungen zweisprachigen Text, der von den "Dreihundert A. des Himmels, Sechshundert A. der Erde" spricht.²⁰ Wirklich bedeutsam ist jedenfalls die Auswirkung der in En. el. enthaltenen Zahlenangaben auf die Orthographie der Spätzeit: Die oben angeführten Schreibungen JÁ.MIN (= 5 × 60 × 2 = I.), belegt erstmals bei Assurnasirpal II. (9. Jhd.), und ^dgfš.ū (= 60 × 10 = A.), belegt erstmals bei Tiglatpileser III. (8. Jhd.),²¹ müssen beide in der Überlieferung des Welterschöpfungsepos gründen; sie zeigen auch, dass noch in der Vorstellungswelt des 1. Jtd. die I. und die A. nicht näher differenziert wurden.

§ 9. Weitere Zahlenangaben finden sich verschiedentlich in den lexikalischen Listen. So begegnet für die I. zweimal die Zahl VIII, für die A. einmal die Zahl IX:

- [5] ^dVIII = ^dI-gì-gì (II R 25:69g, h) und
 [6] ^{u-sa}VIII = ^dI-⟨gì-gì⟩
^{ṽ-lim-[mū]}IX = ^dA-nun-na-ki (Bab. VII, Pl. VII i 37 f.).

Diese Zahlenangaben für die beiden Göttergruppen werden durch die Kontextbelege nirgends bestätigt; unter Berücksichtigung auch der sumerischen Überlieferung ist die IX für die A. als fehlerhaft geradezu erwiesen. Die Herkunft der Notierungen ist nicht zu ermitteln, doch liegt der Verdacht nahe, dass sie auf Fehler oder Fehldeutungen der kryptographischen Schreibungen zurückgehen, bzw. durch solche beeinflusst wurden.

§ 10. Umstritten ist die Deutung zweier wei-

²⁰ Vgl. Falkenstein, oben S. 130, Nr. 4. Vgl. ferner aus einer Stadtbeschreibung von Babylon: 300 *parakkū* ^dI-gì-gì u 600 *parakkū* ^d(A)-nun-na-ki, "Dreihundert Hochsitze für die I., Sechshundert Hochsitze für die A." (Unger, *Babylon*, S. 236, Z. 19). Wenn den genannten drei Stellen wirklich eine theologische Konzeption zu Grunde liegt, so wird es sich um eine apokryphe Tradition handeln, die aus der Stelle im Welterschöpfungsepos [4] abzuleiten ist und von einer Fehlinterpretation ausgeht.

²¹ Für die ältesten Belege beider Kryptogramme vgl. Anm. 7 und 16.

terer Listenstellen. Eine Götterliste hat folgende Reihe:

- [7] ^dI-šèr-tum = ^dI-šè[r-tum]
^dKur-rib-ba²² = MIN
^dI-gì-gì = MIN

^dE-nu-uk-ki = ^dA-nun-na-[ki] (CT XXV, Tf. 18, Rs. ii 5-8)

In der Synonymenliste *malku* = *šarru* heisst es:

- [8] *zag-gu* = *i-ši-ir-tum*
I-gì-gì = MIN (OECT IV 64, Kol. iv 48 f.).

W. von Soden interpretiert hier *iširtum* als "Gruppe von zehn (Göttern)" und nimmt an, dass die genannten Eintragungen der jungen Listen religiöse Vorstellungen der frühen aB Zeit bewahrt haben.²³ Die zur Stütze seiner Theorie herangezogenen aB Belege glauben wir aber, abweichend von W. von Soden interpretieren zu müssen. Da für uns somit jeder Hinweis fehlt, der Terminus I. habe einmal eine Gruppe von zehn Göttern bezeichnet, wollen wir der Auffassung des CAD folgen (CAD VII 40b). Dort wird *iširtum*, ausgehend von der Gleichsetzung mit *zaggu* in der Serie *malku* = *šarru*, als "sanctuary" gedeutet.²⁴

§ 11. SITZ DER *Igigū* UND DER *Anunnakkū*. Dem Charakter der beiden Termini als Gruppenbezeichnungen entsprechend kennen die Texte nirgends einen Tempel der I. oder der A. Beide Ausdrücke sind generell als vage Zusammenfassungen individueller Gottheiten zu verstehen, deren jede ihren eigenen Kultort besitzt.

²² ^dKur-rib-ba erscheint in den Götterlisten neben den Heilgöttinnen Ninisina und Ninkarrak. Vgl. ^dNin-in-si-na, ^dNin-kar-ra-ak, ^dKur-ra-ib-ba (RA XX 104, Kol. viii 30-32); ferner in der Serie An = Anu:

^dNin-i-si-in-na = ^dNin-kar-ra-a[k]
^dNin-kar-ra-ak = MIN
^dEreš^{MIN}-in-du^{ba-na-e-re-ei-in-dub-ba-ku} = MIN
^[dKú]r-ib-ba = MIN (CT XXV, Tf. 2 f., Z. 37-40); vgl. schliesslich noch:

^dNin-in-si-na = ^d[Nin-kar-ra-ak]
^dNin-kar-ra-ak = ^d[. . .]
^dKur-rib-ba = ^d[. . .] (CT XXIV, Tf. 21, Z. 13-15).

Der Charakter von ^dKur-rib-ba als einer Heilgottheit lässt darauf schliessen, dass die Erwähnung an der oben zitierten Stelle [7] fehlerhaft ist.

²³ Vgl. W. von Soden, "Babylonische Göttergruppen," S. 106 ff.

²⁴ *iširtum*, "Heiligtum," steht dann kollektiv für die Bewohner der Heiligtümer, wie auch etwa *parakku*, "Hochsitz," den Gott bezeichnen kann, der den Hochsitz einnimmt.

Dies illustriert z.B. ein Passus aus einer Hymne des Assurbanipal an Marduk: [9] *kanšūnikka* ^dI-gi-gi ^dgfs. ^u *ilānū ištārē maḥāzē e[šrēti] parakkē šakkanakkū mālikū ušallū[nikka]*, “Gebeugt stehen vor dir die I., die A., die Götter (und) Göttinnen der Kultorte, Heiligtümer (und) Hochsitze; die Statthalter (und) Fürsten beten zu dir” (*KB* VI 2, S. 110, Z. 30 f.). Und in einem Handerhebungsgebet an Enlilbanda heisst es: “Die A. in ihren Kultstätten segnen dich” [60]. Die gleiche Vorstellung zeigt auch das Weltschöpfungsepos in dem Bericht über den Bau eines Tempels zu Ehren Marduks: [10] *ultu Esagila īpušū šipiršu* ^dA-nun-na-ki *ramānšunu parakkīšunu ibtašmū*, “Nachdem sie das Werk von Esagila gebaut hatten, richteten die A. selbst ihre Hochsitze her” (*En. el.* VI 68).²⁵ Danach enthält also der Haupttempel des Marduk noch einzelne Kapellen für die übrigen Götter des Pantheons.

§ 12. Gegen die hinter den beiden Gruppenbezeichnungen stehende starke Individualität der Einzelgötter mit ihren separaten Kultstätten sprechen nicht die Namen von Gebäudeteilen im *Eḫursaggalkurkurra* zu Assur: [11] *kisalšu eššiš abnīma Kisal-sidir-manzaz-^dI-gi-gi šumšu ambi . . . bāb nērebišu ana kisalli Nēreb-^dI-gi-gi šumšu azkur bāba ša ana šūti Bāb-kamsū-^dI-gi-gi šumšu ambi*. “Seinen Hof stellte ich wieder her und nannte ihn ‘Hof der Reihe der Stellung der I.’ . . . Den Haupteingang zum Hofe benannte ich ‘Eingang der I.’ Das Tor nach Süden nannte ich ‘Tor, in dem die I. knien’ ” (*OIP* II 145 f., Z. 22–25).²⁶ Die Namen beziehen sich nicht auf ein gemeinsames Heiligtum der I.

§ 13. Einen interessanten, wenn auch singulären Hinweis auf den Sitz der A. liefert das aB Fragment des *Gilgameš-Epos* aus *Ishchali*, das den Zug zum Zedernwald (Hermon und Libanon) und den Kampf der Helden gegen *Ḫuwawa* zum Gegenstand hat. Mit Bezug auf den Zedernwald heisst es dort: [12] *mūšab E-nu-na-ki pu-zu-ra-mi-ip-te-e*, “Den geheimen Sitz der A. öffnete er (Enkidu)” (*JNES* XVI 256, Rs. 20). Auf

²⁵ Zur Lesung vgl. W. von Soden, *ZA* XLVII 4. Vgl. auch ^dA-nun-na-ki *rēdānē bēlē rabūti maḥāzakunu nīpuš tašammur*, “(Ihr) A., Gefolgsleute, grosse Herren, eure (jeweilige) Kultstätte haben wir gebaut, sollst du rezitieren” (*BBR*, Nr. 61: 10).

²⁶ Für *Kisal-sadru-manzaz-^dI-gi-gi* vgl. ferner *OIP* II 150, Nr. VIII 2. Für *Bāb-kamsū-^dI-gi-gi* vgl. ferner Borger, *Esarh.* S. 88, Z. 8, und Frankena, *Tākkultu*, S. 123, Z. 44.

Grund dieser Stelle erhebt sich die Frage, ob nicht ^da-nun-na *dingir-ḫur-sag-gá* im sumerischen *Lugalbanda-Enmerkar-Epos* doch appositionell als “die A., die Götter des Gebirges” zu fassen ist.²⁷ In gleicher Weise könnten auch in der aB *Lamaštu-Beschwörung* mit den “heiligen Göttern des Gebirges insgesamt” [36], die in Parallelismus mit den I. genannt werden, vielleicht die A. gemeint sein.

§ 14. Einige Belege verweisen die I. in den Himmel, die A. auf die Erde (Unterwelt). Dies tritt besonders deutlich im *Erra-Epos* zu Tage, wo *Erra* sich mit folgenden Worten an *Marduk* wendet: “Zum Himmel will ich hinaufgehen, den I. will ich Bescheid geben; ich will hinabsteigen zum *Apsū*, die A. will ich bewachen” [117] und in der Formulierung “Die I. des Himmels, die A. der Erde” [114]; vgl. dazu aber “die A. von Himmel und Erde” [4] im *Weltschöpfungsepos*. In einer *Beschwörung* schliesslich werden die I. “die oberen Götter,” die A. “die unteren Götter” genannt [115].

§ 15. Recht häufig dagegen treffen wir Stellen, die die A. eindeutig als in der Unterwelt beheimatet zeigen. Im *Erra-Epos* wird von *Marduk* gesagt: [13] *ibīma ina šubtišu ašar lā āri ana šubat* ^dA-nun-na-ki *ištakan pānīšu*, “Er erhob sich von seinem Sitz, wohin man nicht geht, zum Wohnsitz der A. richtete er sein Antlitz” (*Erra* I 192; vgl. [117]). Vorher schon drückt *Marduk* seine Befürchtungen aus mit den Worten: [14] ^dA-nun-na-ki *ilūnimma šiknat napišti imessū*, “Die A. werden heraufsteigen und die Lebendigen zermalmen” (*Erra* I 177). In der Unterweltsvision haben sich die A. vor dem thronenden *Nergal* niedergeworfen [68]; in *Ištars Höllenfahrt* ergeht die Aufforderung der *Ereškigal* an *Namtar*: [15] ^dA-nun-na-ki *šūšā ina kussī ḫurāši šūšib*, “Die A. lasse herauskommen, lasse (sie) auf goldenem Throne Platz nehmen” (*KB* VI 1, S. 88, Z. 33; parallel Z. 37). In dem Mythos von *Nergal* und *Ereškigal* sagt letztere zu *Namtar* bezüglich *Nergal*: [16] *akalē* ^dA-n[un-na-ki] *līkul mē* ^dA-nun-na-ki *lišti*, “Das Brot der A. möge er essen, das Wasser der A. möge er trinken” (*AnSt* X 116, Z. 39’). In *Ištars Höllenfahrt* sagt *Ereškigal*: [17] *[mi]nū anāku ittī* ^dA-nun-na-ki *mē ašatti*, “Was soll ich mit den A.

²⁷ S. Falkenstein, oben S. 135 mit Anm. 107.

Wasser trinken?“ (*KAR*, Nr. 1:33). Eine Beschwörung redet die A. an: “Ihr A., Grosse Götter” [66]; eine andere sagt von Krankheiten: [18] *ana Namtar sukkal eršeti piqissu[nūti] itti* ^d*A-nun-na-ki abulla līrubūma aj[j itūrū] Ḫubur līrubūma ajj issahrū*, “Namtar, dem Wesir der Unterwelt, vertraue sie an; mit den A. sollen sie das Tor betreten und nicht zurückkehren; den Ḫubur mögen sie überschreiten und sollen sich nicht umwenden” (*TuL*, S. 128, Z. 5* ff.). Vgl. die §§ 22 f. mit Belegen für die A. als Richter der Unterwelt und für Gaben an die A. als Unterweltsgötter. Schliesslich sei noch eine Passage aus der grossen Šamaš-Hymne zitiert: [19] *šaplāti malkī Kūbu* ^d*A-nun-na-ki tapaqqid elāti ša dadmē kalīšina tušteššer*, “Unten betreust du die Ratgeber des Kūbu, die A.; oben leitest du recht die Bevölkerung insgesamt” (Lambert, *BWL*, S. 126, Z. 31 f.).²⁸

§ 16. DIE FUNKTION DER *Igigū* UND DER *Anunnakkū*. Als selbstständig handelnde Grössen begegnen die I. und die A. fast ausschliesslich in den Mythen und Epen, wobei die Belege für die I. zahlenmässig weit hinter den Vorkommen für die A. zurücktreten. Verschiedentlich hören wir von nicht funktionsgebundenen Tätigkeiten beider Göttergruppen: Über das Aufkommen der Flut berichtet das Gilgameš-Epos: [20] ^d*A-nun-na-ki iššū diparāti*, “die A. trugen die Fakkeln” (Gilg. XI 103). Nach dem Welterschöpfungsbericht betätigen sich die A. beim Tempelbau: [21] ^d*A-nun-na-ki itrukū allu šatta istāt libittašu [ilbinū]*, “die A. schwangen die Hacke, das erste Jahr strichen sie seine (des Tempels) Ziegel” (En. el. VI 59 f.) und richten sich ihre eigenen Hochsitze ein [10]. Vgl. ferner in zerstörtem Kontext im Etana-Mythos: [22] *āla* ^d*I-gi-gi šutashurū* [. . .] (*Bab.* XII 9, Z. 19, aB Version).

§ 17. Verschiedentlich werden beide Göttergruppen in Fluch- und Beschwörungsformeln angerufen. In beiden Fällen stehen sie meistens am Ende der namentlichen Aufzählung individueller Gottheiten, um auch das übrige Pan-

theon in die Liste einzubeziehen. So heisst es in einer aB Lamaštu-Beschwörung: “Die reinen I. mögen dich reinigen” [36]; in einer Beschwörung an den Totengeist: “Bei den I., den oberen Göttern, seist du beschworen; bei den A., den unteren Göttern, seist du beschwören” [115]. In einer Adresse Marduks an die Dämonen lesen wir: “Die A., die grossen Götter, mögen euch binden” [65]. Die Fluchformel im KH schliesst: “die A. insgesamt . . . mögen verfluchen” [61]; ähnlich in den Inschriften Adadnarārī’s I.: “Die I. des Himmels, die A. der Erde, insgesamt mögen ihn wütend anschauen” [114].

§ 18. Zu den Hauptaufgaben der I. und der A. gehört ihre Teilnahme an der göttlichen Ratsversammlung. Nachdem der Anzū-Vogel die Schicksalstafeln geraubt hat, versammeln sich die verzweifelten Götter zum Rate [37]; darauf heisst es: [23] *pahrū I-gi-gu i[lū gi]mru dalhū-ma*, “Es waren versammelt die I., die Götter alle waren verstört” (*RA* XLVI 90, Z 30, aB Version). Ähnlich berichtet das Welterschöpfungs-epos: [24] *pahrū manzaza kalīšunu* ^d*A-nu-uk-kī šaptāšunu kuttumāma qāl[iš ušbū]*, “Es waren versammelt sie alle, die A.; ihre Lippen sind verschlossen, schweigend sitzen sie da” (En. el. II 88). In der gleichen Dichtung versammelt Marduk die Götter; es entwickelt sich ein Gespräch [71], das in der Neuregelung der göttlichen Ordnung durch Marduk gipfelt [4] und mit dem Entschluss der A., einen Tempel zum Ruhme Marduks zu bauen, abschliesst [10, 21]. Nach einem Gebet an Ištar endlich versammeln sich bei ihr die A. zum Rate, wenden sich an sie die I., um ihren Opferanteil zu erhalten [79].

§ 19. Die dominierende Stellung einer einzelnen, namentlich genannten Gottheit gegenüber der Versammlung wird noch deutlicher durch die hymnischen Hinweise. Die I. achten schweigend das Wort der Gottheit [51, 76]; die I. und die A. harren ihres Bescheides [93]. Die I. sollen nur Gutes über die Gottheit sprechen [52], sie erhöhen deren Namen [41].²⁹ So fordert auch Ti-pamat die A. auf, Kingu zu erhöhen [62] (vgl. auch aus dem Erra-Epos [116]). Vgl. ferner [25] *īnu Anum . . . Enlil . . . in I-gi-gi₄ ušarbi³ūšu*, “Als

²⁸ Ich lese mit J. Nougayrol, *RA* XLIV 33, Anm. 2, ^d*Kū-bu*. Kūbu ist ein Gott, dessen Beziehungen zur Unterwelt klar gegeben sind. Kusu, als Getreidegottheit etwa Ašnan entsprechend, will an unserer Stelle nicht recht passen. (Zu den Getreidegottheiten vgl. allgemein D. O. Edzard, “Mesopotamien,” *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* I 68; vgl. ferner die demnächst erscheinende Einleitung zu den Inschriften Gudea’s von A. Falkenstein).

²⁹ Vgl. auch: *ša* ^{m u} ¹*KAK.SI.SÁ ina šam⁶ zikiršu ina [g]imīr* ^d*I-gi-gi šu[r]b[ā] . . .*, “Des Sirius Name ist im Himmel unter allen I. gewaltig gross . . .” (*JRAS* Cent. Suppl. Tf. II, Z. 12).

Anum . . . (und) Enlil . . . ihn (Marduk) unter den I. gross gemacht hatten" (KH i 14); s. dazu [42]. Weiter geben die Götter, die I. [39], wie die A. [60], ihrer Verehrung durch freudigen Jubel Ausdruck (vgl. [94] und [95]). Oft auch knien die A. vor dem Gott [76]; knien die I., liegen die A. vor ihm [75]; haben sich in der Unterweltsvision die A. vor dem thronenden Nergal niedergeworfen [68]. Nach dem Erra-Epos stehen die I., die A. furchtsam da [111]; sollen die A. den Gott fürchten [116]; es scheuen den Erra die I., zittern die A. vor ihm [74]; vgl. auch [76a]. Vor Šin beben die Götter, zittern die A. [56]; ebenso vor Ištar [57]. Vor Marduk knien die I., die A., sind die Götter schweigend gelagert [110]; Marduk hält die Leitseile der I., der A. in seiner Hand [109].

§ 20. Die I. werden recht geleitet [54], den I. und den A. wird ihre Stellung zugewiesen [92] (vgl. [4]). Šamaš wird gepriesen: [26] *ana* ^d*I-gi₄-gi₄ isiqšunu tu-wa-{ta}-da*, "Den I. gibst du ihren Opferanteil bekannt" (KAR, Nr. 32: 32); vgl. [79]. Die I. verdanken dem Gott ihren Unterhalt: [27] (Šamaš) *ša kullat* ^d*I-gi-gi nindabēšun[u]* . . . , Šamaš, "der allen I. ihre Speiseopfer . . ." (Lambert, *BWL*, S. 126, Z. 14).³⁰ Ebenso wird Nusku "Bereiter der Speiseopfer für alle I." [48] genannt und Girru ist derjenige, "der Speiseopfer gibt den Göttern, den I.; der Glanz verschafft den A., den grossen Göttern" [80]. Šeru'a wird gepriesen: "Täglich bereitest du den I., den A. ihre Speiseopfer" [112]. Šin und Šamaš schliesslich bereiten den I. die Opferzuteilungen, stellen den A. das Totenmahl hin [118].³¹

§ 21. Ein positiveres Verhalten der Götter in der Ratsversammlung klingt in einer Stelle aus dem Erra-Epos an, die von der I. Entscheid, der A. Ratschluss spricht [72], der freilich nicht immer zufriedenstellend ist: So weinen die A. mit Ištar über die Flut [63], die sie doch selbst über die Menschen mit herauf beschworen haben (vgl. [20]) und gleichzeitig sind die I. dem Zorne Enlils wegen des Überlebens des Utnapišti ausgeliefert [50]. Demgegenüber hebt nur das Etana-

³⁰ Vgl. aus einem Gebet an Marduk: [. . .] x ^d*I-gi-gi nindabē rabdti*, ". . . grosse Speiseopfer (für) die I." (AfO XIX 62, Z. 13).

³¹ Zum Unterschied von *nindabū*, "Speiseopfer," und *kispu*, "Totenmahl," vgl. Anm. 38.

Epos die Rolle der A. als Bestimmer des Schicksals und Ratgeber, die Funktion der I. als Schöpfer der Weltufer, die den Menschen die göttliche Ordnung festsetzen, deutlich hervor [70]. Die hier erwähnte Rat gebende Tätigkeit der A. scheint an Vorstellungen der sumerischen Überlieferung anzuknüpfen, nach der die Mitwirkung bei der Schicksalsentscheidung eines der Hauptprivilegien der A. war.³² Das Epitheton *malkū*, "Ratgeber," begegnet zwar auch sonst verschiedentlich für die A., doch scheint es sich hierbei immer auf die A. als Richter der Unterwelt zu beziehen.³³

§ 22. Eine Sonderstellung nehmen einige Zeugnisse ein, die die A. als Richter der Unterwelt charakterisieren. So beginnt eine Beschwörung mit den Worten: [28] *attunu* ^d*A-nun-na-ki* [*pāris*]ūt pur[ussī] *ana nīšī šaplāti dā'inū[t dīn]* *Ani ša kalu tēni[šē]ti*, "Ihr A., die ihr die Entscheidungen fällt über die Menschen drunten, richtet den Spruch des An für die gesamte Menschheit" (*TuL*, S. 54, Z. 28–30 = *LKA*, Nr. 69 f.); ähnlich [66]; vgl. auch [66a]. In einer anderen Beschwörung heisst es: [29] ^d*gīš.u šūt kudurra ša līl.ananna ikdirū uruḥ* *KUR.NU. GI₄.A našūšū*, "Die A., die die (Lebens)grenze des NN bestimmt haben, führen ihn auf dem Wege zum Land ohne Wiederkehr" (*JNES* XIX 32, Z. 36 = *STT* I, Nr. 73). Ein Gebet aus Susa enthält die Worte: "Ich will hingehen . . . vor die A., . . . vor den grossen Göttern will ich den Urteilspruch hören" [67]. Vgl. ferner [18].³⁴

§ 23. Ein Gebet an die Götter der Unterwelt schliesst ab mit den Worten: [30] *kīma annām ana pān* ^d*A-nun-na-ki tamnū*, "Nachdem du dies vor den A. rezitiert hast" (*TuL*, S. 131, Z. 32), worauf ein Gebet an den Totengeist folgt.

³² Vgl. Falkenstein, oben S. 131, Nr. 6 Anfang.

³³ Vgl. [19] und [69] als Beispiele für *malkū* als Epitheton der A. Darüber hinaus stellt die grosse Šamaš-Hymne die *ilū malkū* den I. gegenüber [39]. Mit Lambert, *BWL*, S. 318, sind auch damit die A. als Richter der Unterwelt gemeint (vgl. ebenfalls aus der Šamaš-Hymne: [19]).

³⁴ Vgl. ferner aus der astrologischen Omenserie *enūma Anu Enlil*: *šumma šamšu ina purussī* ^d*A-nun-na-ki ibakki*, "Wenn die Sonne bei der Entscheidung der A. weint" (*ACh* 2. Suppl., Nr. XL 1, 6, 8 und XIX 25); die Phrase bezieht sich vermutlich auf den blutigroten Sonnenuntergang (vgl. den Kommentar *Bab. VI* 98, Z. 5 f., mit den Bemerkungen von E. Weidner, *Bab. VI* 101 f.). Vgl. ferner: [*šumma* . . .] ^d*A-nun-na-ki ippal-sah ilānū iddallahū mītūtu iššaknū* (*ACh* 1. Suppl., Nr. XX 25).

An einer anderen Stelle soll der Beschwörungspriester den Auftraggeber den A. präsentieren: [31] *ana pān* ^d*A-nun-na-ki tuqarrabšuma i[qabbī]*, “Du bringst ihn den A. nahe und er soll sprechen” (*TuL*, S. 130, Z. 11).³⁵ Nach den Ritualanweisungen erhält der Totengeist Geschenke: [32] *ina pān Šamaš Gilgameš* ^d*A-nun-na-ki ešim kim[tija] qišta mahrāta*, “Vor Šamaš, Gilgameš, den A. (und) dem Totengeist meiner Familie hast du das Geschenk empfangen” (*TuL*, S. 132, Z. 57 f.); sind apotropäische Statuetten den gleichen Gottheiten zu übergeben: [33] *ina pān Šamaš Gilgameš* ^d*A-nun-na-ki apqis[sunūti]*, “habe ich (die Statuetten) vor Šamaš, Gilgameš (und) den A. ihnen übergeben” (*TuL*, S. 133, Z. 66). Aber auch die A. selbst erhalten Gaben; so heisst es in einem Begräbnisbericht: “Geschenke für die Berater, die A., und die Götter, die die Erde (Unterwelt) bewohnen, gab ich” [69].³⁶ Auch von Totenopfern für die A. ist die Rede: [34] *kispu ana* ^d*A-nun-na-ki ikkassip*, “das Totenopfer für die A. wurde dargebracht” (*CT* XLI, Tf. 39 Rs. 7), und [35] *ina imitti majjalti ana ešim kimti ina šumēl majjalti ana* ^d*A-nun-na-ki kispa takassip*, “zur Rechten der Bahre bringst du ein Totenopfer für den Totengeist der Familie, zur Linken der Bahre für die A. dar” (*TuL*, S. 50, Z. 23 f. = *LKA*, Nr. 69 f.).³⁷ An allen diesen Stellen haben die A. die Funktion unterweltlicher Richter, wie aus einem Vergleich mit den § 22 zitierten Stellen hervorgeht. Es sei angemerkt, dass nur hier von Opfergaben³⁸ seitens der Menschen für die A. die Rede

³⁵ Vgl. vielleicht noch: [*ina maḥar* ^d*A-nun-na-ki tuqarrab* . . .] (*BBR*, Nr. 62 Rs. 15).

³⁶ Vgl. ferner: *qištu ina* ^d*A-nun-n[a-ki . . .]* (*BBR*, Nr. 66 Rs. 7).

³⁷ Vgl. ferner: [. . . *kispa ana* ^d*A-nun-na-ki [ikkassip] niqā inaqqi*, “. . . ein Totenopfer für die A. bringt er dar, ein Opfer spendet er” (*BBR*, Nr. 26 iv 43 f.). Ferner: *1 riksa ana* ^d*A-nun-na-ki x [. . .]*, “Eine Zurüstung für die A. (bereitest du)” (*BBR*, Nr. 26 iv 26). Weiter: *rimki ana* ^d*A-n[un-na-ki . . . ma-k]a-su ana* ^d*A-nun-na-ki tašakkan* (*BBR*, Nr. 64 Rs. 13 f.); *laḥan[na] ana* ^d*A-[nun-n]a-[ki] . . . tašakkan*, “einen *laḥannu*-Topf stellst du den A. hin” (*TuL*, S. 134, Z. 9 f.). In den Ritualtafeln begegnen ausserdem selten auch Opfer für die I.: [*niqā ana*] ^d*I-gi-gi ina maḥar majjāli tanaqqi . . . niqā ina maḥar* ^d*A-nun-na-ki tanaqqi*], “Ein Opfer spendest du für die I. vor dem Lager, . . . , ein (anderes) Opfer spendest du vor den A.” (*BBR*, Nr. 63: 1 f.).

³⁸ Interessant ist der Unterschied in der Terminologie: Während die Opfergaben für die himmlischen Götter *nindabā* genannt werden (für die I.: [27] mit Anm. 30, [48] und [80]; für

ist; doch ist m. E. nicht zu erweisen, dass die Totentexte abweichend von den übrigen Belegen den Begriff der A. als geschlossene Einheit und nicht als lose Zusammenfassung individueller Göttergestalten auffassen.

§ 24. In den folgenden Abschnitten sind die Belege nach dem äusseren Merkmal des Parallelismus membrorum geordnet, indem wir mit dem Nebeneinander von *Igigū: ilū* beginnen, mit *Anunnakkū: ilū* und *Igigū: Anunnakkū* fortfahren, um schliesslich mit den hymnischen Epitheta zu enden.

Igigū: ilū. [36] Eine aB Lamaštu-Beschwörung nennt nach einer ausführlichen Anrufung von Ea, Nudimmud, Nunammir, Ninkarrak und Damu fünf weitere Götter, Adad, Sumuqan, Nāru, Šamaš und Ḫuršānu, auf die asyndetisch die Beschwörungsformel folgt: *ilū qašdūtum kalūšunu ša šadīm liššipūka ellūtum I-gi-gu li-il-li(!)-lu-ka*, “Die heiligen Götter des Gebirges insgesamt mögen dich beschwören, die reinen I. mögen dich reinigen” (Böhl, *Leiden Coll.* II, Nr. 3:9 f).³⁹

[37] In der aB Version des Anzû-Mythos heisst es: *ūtešši kullat kalūšunu I-gi-gi . . . ilū mātim iptanahḥurū ana tēmim*, “Es waren verwirrt alle I. insgesamt . . . die Götter des Landes versammeln sich alle zum Rate” (*RA* XLVI 88, Z. 4 und 6). Vgl. [23].

[38] In der jB Redaktion des gleichen Mythos sagt der Anzû-Vogel: *tērēti ša ilānī kalūšunu luḥmum . . . lumaʷir kullat kalūšunu* ^d*I-gi-gi*, “Ich will die Geschenke aller Götter in die Hand nehmen . . . ich will befehlen allen I. insgesamt” (*CT* XV, Tf. 39 ii 14 f.).

[39] Aus der grossen Šamaš-Hymne stammen die beiden folgenden Belege: *ana tāmartika iḥdū ilū malkū ireššūka gimiršunu* ^d*I-gi-gi*, “Bei deinem Erscheinen freuen sich die Götter, die Ratgeber; es jauchzen über dich alle I.” (Lambert, *BWL*, S. 126, Z. 7 f.).⁴⁰

[40] *ul ibašši ina gimir* ^d*I-gi-gi ša šūnuḥu balīka ina ilī naphar kiššati ša šūturu kīma kāta*, “Nie-

die I. und die A. [112]), steht für Opfergaben an die A. der Unterwelt *kispu* (vgl. [34] und [118] und die Anm. 37 zitierten Stellen).

³⁹ Ähnlich ist *CT* XLII, Tf. 41 b, ein Text der leicht abweichend formuliert ist und die I. nicht nennt.

⁴⁰ Zu *ilū malkū* vgl. Anm. 33.

mand ist unter allen I., der angestrengt ist, ausser dir; unter allen Göttern des Alls (ist niemand), der überragend ist wie du" (Lambert, *BWL*, S. 128, Z. 45 f.).

[41] In einem Handerhebungsgebet an Šamaš lesen wir: *epšu pīka ilānū iqul[lū] zikirka kabtu ušarbū ḏĪ-[gì-gì]*, "Deinen Ausspruch achten schweigend die Götter; deinen gewichtigen Namen haben gross gemacht die I." (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 50, Z. 7 f.).

[42] Ein anderes Gebet preist Ištar: *Anu Enlil u Ea ullūki ina ilānī ušarbū bēlūtiki ušašqūki ina naphar ḏĪ-gì-gì ušātirū manzazki*, "Anu, Enlil und Ea haben dich erhöht unter den Göttern, haben gross gemacht deine Herrschaft; sie haben dich erhoben unter allen I., haben überragend gemacht deine Stellung" (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 130, Z. 18 f.).

[43] Im Weltschöpfungsepos heisst es: *ḏĪ-gì-gì napharšunu inūqū maršiš . . . ilū rabūtu kalīšunu mušimmū šimāti irubūma muttiš Anšar*, "Die I. insgesamt jammerten gar sehr . . . die grossen Götter allesamt, die das Schicksal bestimmen, traten ein vor Anšar" (En. el. III 126, 130).

§ 25. Die folgenden Epitheta nennen [44] Ištar: *šūpātu labbat ḏĪ-gì-gì mukannišat ilānī šabsūti*, "Die strahlende Löwin der I., die unterwirft die grollenden Götter" (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 132, Z. 31).

[45] Asariluḫi: *mašmaš ilānī rabūti apkal ḏĪ-gì-gì*, "Beschwörungspriester der grossen Götter, Weiser der I." (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 80, Z. 88).

[46] Narāmšit: *nūr ḏĪ-gì-gì mālik ilānī [rabūti]*, "Licht der I., Ratgeber der grossen Götter" (*LKU*, Nr. 43:9).

[47] Ninurta: *qarrād ḏĪ-gì-gì le-ū mālik ilānī*, "Held der I., fähiger Ratgeber der Götter" (*AKA*, S. 255, Z. 2).

[48] Nusku: *mālik ilānī rabūti pāqid nindabē ša kala ḏĪ-gì-gì*, "Berater der grossen Götter, der bereitet die Speiseopfer für alle I." (*Maqlū* II 1 f.).

[49] Šamaš: *dajjān ilānī bēl ḏĪ-gì-gì*, "Richter der Götter, Herr der I." (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 48, Z. 111; Duplikate *STT* I, Nr. 60:16 und 61:17).

§ 26. Besonderes Augenmerk verdienen einige

Belege, in denen der Begriff I. asyndetisch auf *ilū* folgt:⁴¹ [50] Das Gilgameš-Epos erzählt in der Flutgeschichte, wie Enlil auf das Überleben des Utnapišti reagiert: *libbāti imtali ša ilānī ḏĪ-gì-gì*, "Er ward voller Zorn gegen die Götter, die I." (*Gilg.* XI 172).

[51] Aus einem Handerhebungsgebet an Šamaš stammt der folgende Passus: *ana qibītukka ūtaqqū ilānū ḏĪ-gì-gì*, "Auf dein Wort achten die Götter, die I." (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 48, Z. 103).⁴²

[52] Enlilbanda wird gepriesen: *[ilānū ra]būtu lišātilūka [damiqta]ka liqbū ilānū ḏĪ-gì-gì*, "Die grossen Götter mögen jauchzen über dich, Gutes über dich mögen sprechen die Götter, die I." (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 68, Z. 21 f.).⁴³

§ 27. Die folgenden Stellen erheischen verstärktes Interesse, weil sie in Verbindung mit den I. ausdrücklich Bezug nehmen auf den Gegensatz zwischen Himmel und Erde (bzw. Unterwelt). [53] Tukultininurta I. nennt Ištar: *bēlat ilānī ša šamē eršeti namad ḏĪ-gì-gì*, "Die Herrin der Götter von Himmel (und) Erde, die Geliebte der I." (Weidner, *Tn.* S. 30, Z. 11).

[54] Ein Handerhebungsgebet nennt Šamaš: *dajjān šamē u eršeti muštēširu ḏĪ-gì-gì [gi] nādin gutrenni ana ilānī rabūti*, "Richter von Himmel und Erde, der die I. recht leitet, der Rauchopfer gibt den grossen Göttern" (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 54 oben, Z. 8 ff.).

[55] Hier anschliessen möchte ich einen Passus aus einem Gebet an Marduk, wenn auch hier die I. nicht ausdrücklich im Parallelismus mit *ilū* stehen: *[ul] ibašši ina gimir ḏĪ-gì-gì ša ūtallalu maharka [ul] tīši šanīna eliš u šapliš*, "Niemanden gibt es unter allen I., der vor dir sein

⁴¹ Hierher gehört wohl auch aus dem Tukultininurta-Epos: *[ana DINGIR]^m * š ḏNUN.GAL^m * š iqīš damqa x [. . .]*, "Den Göttern, den I., schenkte er gute(n/s) . . ." (*AfO* XVIII 44, Z. 16); beachte den Parallelismus mit Z. 18. Vgl. ferner: *šaḳūtu ilānī ḏĪ-(gì-gì)*, "Hohe unter den I." (*KAR*, Nr. 92 Rs. 9, Ištar).

⁴² Die Duplikate weichen leicht ab. *STT* I, Nr. 60:8 lautet: *ana qibītika [. . .] x x ilānū rabūtu*; *STT* I, Nr. 61:8 hat: *ana qibītika ūtaqqū ḏN[UN.GAL^m * š]*. Vgl. ferner aus einem Handerhebungsgebet an Nabū: *[ana qibītika] ūtaqqū ḏĪ-[gì-gì]* (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 108, Z. 43).

⁴³ Vgl. auch: *[ḏĪ-gì-gì-gu gimrassunu liḫuzū abūssu [. . .]-mu giš-rat-su-nu liqbū damiqtašu*, "Die I. insgesamt mögen Fürsprache für ihn einlegen, . . . allesamt(?) mögen Gutes über ihn sprechen" (*ZA* IV 241, Z. 19 f., Hymne an Nabū).

(eigenes) Preislied singen könnte; du hast nicht Deinesgleichen oben und unten" (*Afo* XIX 62, Z. 32 f.).

§ 28. *Anunnakkū:ilū*. [56] In einer hymnischen Adresse an Šin sagt Nabonid: *ilānū kīma [qa]nē išubbū inarraṭū* ^d*A-nun-na-ki*, "Die Götter beben wie Rohr; es zittern die A." (*ZA* LVI 222, Kol. ii 41).

[57] Ähnlich heisst es in einem Handerhebungsgebet an Ištar: *ana ḥissati šumeki šamū u eršeti irubbū ilānū išubbū inarraṭū* ^d*A-nun-na-ki*, "Bei der Erwähnung deines Namens wanken Himmel und Erde; die Götter beben, es zittern die A." (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 130, Z. 20 f.).⁴⁴

[58] In einem unveröffentlichten K-Text heisst es: *pāliḥ ilānī . . . pāliḥ* ^d*A-nun-na-ki*, "Der die Götter fürchtet . . . der die A. fürchtet" (K.3364 Rs. 22 f. = Delitzsch, *HWB*, S. 526a).

[59] Tiglatpilesser I. nennt Enlil: *šar gimir* ^d*A-nun-na-ki abū ilānī*, "König aller A., Vater der Götter" (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 28, Z. 3 f.).

[60] Der folgende Passus aus einem Handerhebungsgebet an Enlilbanda nennt die A. zunächst nur im direkten Parallelismus mit den Menschen: *Anu u Enlil rešūka* ^d*A-nun-na-ki ina maḥāzīšunu ikarrabūka nīšū māti ištamarā zikarka kabtu ana ilānī rabāti tanamdin milki*. "Anu und Enlil sind voller Freude über dich, die A. in ihren Kultstätten segnen dich; die Menschen des Landes preisen deinen gewaltigen Namen. Den grossen Göttern gibst du Rat" (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 66, Z. 1–4).

§ 29. Wie bei den I. begegnet auch der Begriff A. ohne Kopula asyndetisch neben *ilū*. [61] Besonders aufschlussreich ist die Fluchformel des KH, die nach einer ausführlichen, hymnischen Anrufung von Anu, Enlil, Ninlil, Ea, Šamaš, Šin, Adad, Zababa, Ištar, Nergal, Nintu und Ninkarrak fortfährt: *ilū rabūtum ša šamē u eršetim* ^d*A.NUN.NA ina napharišunu . . . ṭirurū*, "Die grossen Götter von Himmel und Erde, die A. insgesamt . . . mögen verfluchen" (KH Rs. xxviii 70 ff.).

[62] Im Weltschöpfungsepos fordert Ti²amat die Erhöhung Kingus: *lirtabbū zikruka elī kalīšunu*

⁴⁴ Zu diesem Text vgl. ein Duplikat aus Boghazköy (*KUB* XXXVII, Nr. 36:21) mit der Variante ^d*A-nun-na-ku*₁₃.

ilū rabātu ^d*A-nun-na-[ki]*, "Es mögen gross machen deinen Namen über sie alle die grossen Götter, die A." (En. el. III 104).⁴⁵

[63] Im Flutbericht des Gilgameš-Epos beklagen die Götter das Schicksal der Menschen: *ilānū šūt* ^d*A-nun-na-ki bakū ittīša ilānū ašrū aš-bi ina bikīti*, "Diese Götter, die A., weinen mit ihr (Ištar), die Götter sitzen demütig weinend da" (Gilg. XI 124 f.).

[64] Ein Handerhebungsgebet an Nisaba nennt die Göttin: *sapār* ^d*A-nun-na-ki ilānī ekdūti*, "Netz der A., der ungestümen Götter" (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 142, Z. 3; Duplikat *CT* XLIV, Nr. 35:3).

§ 30. Im Gegensatz zu den vorstehenden Belegen beziehen sich die folgenden Stellen eindeutig auf die A. der Unterwelt. Für die Bestimmung des Begriffes A. scheint es bezeichnend, dass auch hier der Parallelismus mit *ilum* wiederholt begegnet: [65] In einer Adresse Marduks an die Dämonen heisst es nach der Anrede an verschiedene Unterweltsgötter: ^d*A-nun-na-ki ilānū rabātu likmūkunūši*, "Die A., die grossen Götter mögen euch binden" (*Afo* XIX 117, Z. 30).

[66] Eine Beschwörung an die Unterweltsgötter beginnt: *attunu* ^d*A-nun-na-ki ilānū rabātu pārisū purussā ana nīšī šaplāti dā'inū dīni ša kala tēnišēti*, "Ihr A., grosse Götter, die ihr die Entscheidung fällt für die Menschen drunten, die ihr das Urteil fällt über die ganze Menschheit" (*TuL*, S. 130, Z. 12 f.); vgl. [28].

[66a] Das Gilgameš-Epos erwähnt die A. als Unterweltsrichter: ^d*A-nun-na-ki ilānū rabātu pa[hrū] Mammētu bānāt šimti ittīšunu šimāti iš[immi]*, "Die A., die grossen Götter, sind versammelt; Mammitu, die Schöpferin des Schicksals entscheidet mit ihnen die Schicksale" (Gilg. X vi 36).

[67] Ein Gebet aus Susa fängt eine Schilderung der Unterweltsverhältnisse mit den Worten an: *alka lullika ilī belī ana mahrīti E-nu-na-ki lūtiq ḥar(!)-[ra]-na*⁴⁶ *lūḥuz qātka ina maḥar ilī rabāti lušmēma dīna*, "Wohlan, ich will hingehen, mein Gott, mein Herr, vor die A.; ich will den Weg beschreiten, deine Hand fassen; vor den grossen

⁴⁵ Vgl. ohne die vorausgestellte Apposition: *lirtabbū zikruka elī kalīšunu* ^d*A-nu-uk-ki* (En. el. I 155, II 42, III 46).

⁴⁶ Zur Lesung vgl. *CAD* V 70a, *giḡunū*.

Göttern will ich den Urteilsspruch hören" (*TuL*, S. 20, Z. 1–6).

[68] Die Unterweltsvision schildert die Erscheinung des thronenden Nergal und berichtet: ^dgš.ū ilū rabātu imitta šumēla kan[šū], "Die A., die grossen Götter, hatten sich rechts (und) links niedergeworfen" (*ZA* XLIII 17, Z. 52).

[69] Einem Begräbnisbericht zufolge legt der Sohn dem toten Vater Kostbarkeiten mit ins Grab: qīšāti ana malkī ^dA-nun-na-ki u ilānī āšī-būt eršeti [u]qajjiš, "Geschenke für die Berater, die A., und für die Götter, die die Unterwelt bewohnen, gab ich in Menge" (*TuL*, S. 58, Z. 19 ff.). Die Kopula zwischen den A. und den Unterweltsgöttern ist hier zunächst auffällig.

§ 31. *Igigū: Anunnakkū*. [70] Die aB Fassung des Etana-Mythos beginnt mit den Worten: rabūtum ^dA.NUN.NA šā'imū šimtim ušbū imlikū mi-li-ik {ša} mātātīm bānū kibrātīm šākinū šikittim širū ana nāšī ilū I-gi₄-gu isinnam ana nāšī išimū, "Die grossen A., die das Schicksal bestimmen, sassen da, um Ratschluss über die Länder zu fassen; die Schöpfer der Weltufer, die festsetzen das 'Gesetzte,' die den Menschen erhaben sind, die Götter, die I., bestimmten den Fest(kalender) den Menschen" (*Bab.* XII 10, Z. 1–5).

[71] Das Weltschöpfungsepos leitet ein Gespräch Marduks mit den übrigen Göttern ein: *Marduk upahhir ilī rabūti tābiš uma*^{ira inamdin tērti epšu pīšu ilū ipaqquš šarru ana ^dA-nun-na-ki amātu izzakkar . . . ipulūšuma ^dI-gi-gi ilū rabūtu, "Marduk versammelte die grossen Götter; freundlich befahl er, gab er Anordnung: Auf seinen Ausspruch achten die Götter. Der König spricht zu den A. das Wort: . . . Es antworteten ihm die I., die grossen Götter" (*En. el.* VI 17–20, 27).⁴⁷}

[72] Im Erra-Epos sagt der Pestgott zu seinem Wesir Išum: ša ^dI-gi-gi tēnšunu tīdēma ša ^dA-nun-na-ki milikšun, "Der I. Entscheid kennst du, der A. Ratschluss" (*Erra* III 40).

[73] Im gleichen Epos rühmt sich Erra: ina ^dI-gi-gi qardāku ina ^dA-nun-na-ki gašrāku, "Unter den I. bin ich ein Held, unter den A. bin ich stark" (*Erra* I 111).

⁴⁷ Zur Lesung *upaqquš* vgl. W. von Soden, *ZA* XLVII 3. Von Anšar heisst es: [ana ^dA-nu-uk]-ki izzakkar (*En. el.* II 93).

[74] Umgekehrt preist Išum seinen Herren Erra: ^dI-gi-gi šahtūka ^dA-nun-na-ki galūka "Die I. scheuen dich, die A. zittern vor dir" (*Erra* III iv 9).⁴⁸

[75] In einem Gebet heisst es: *Anu Bēl šurbū zikirka ^dI-gi-gi kullassunu maharka [kam]sū ^dA-nun-na-ki ilānū rabātu [mah]arka nadū*, "Anu, Bēl, übergross ist dein Name; die I. insgesamt knien vor dir, die A., die grossen Götter liegen vor dir" (*STT* I, Nr. 56:10–13).

[76] Ein anderes Gebet preist Marduk: ša . . . [ana epeš pī]šū šarhi ūtaqqū rabātu ^dI-gi-gi [ul ipparakk]ū ^dA-nun-na-ki pānka kamsū, "Auf dessen erhabenen Ausspruch die grossen I. achten; unablässig knien vor dir die A." (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 92, Z. 3 f.).

[76a] In einem *kudurru* sagt Nebukadnezar I. über Enlil: ša ana nadān urtišu ^dI-gi₄-gi₄ appa ilabbīnu ūtaqqū palhiš u ana šitultišu ^dA-nun-na-ku ašriš šuharrurū nazuzzū šahtiš, "Bei dessen Befehlsausgabe die I. sich niederwerfen, furchtsam verharren; bei dessen Entscheidung die A. daselbst in Schweigen erstarren, angstvoll dastehen" (*BER* IV 142, Z. 5–8).

[77] Neriglissar preist Marduk: ša ina ^dI-gi-gi šurbāti amāssu ina ^dA-nun-na-ki šutuqat bēlūssu, "Dessen Wort unter den I. übergross ist, dessen Herrschaft unter den A. überragend ist" (*VAB* IV 216, Z. 5 f.).

[78] Über Ištar sagt ein Handerhebungsgebet: šumma ina ^dI-gi-gi ajju mahārki šumma ina ^dA-nun-na-ki ālī šanīnki, "Sei es unter den I., wer ist dir gleich; sei es unter den A., wo ist dein Rivale?" (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 60, Z. 11 f.).

[79] In einem Gebet an Ištar als Herrin von Nippur heisst es: *ušteššir ušurāt ilānī rabūti ittī Ani ūmišamma ipahhurūši ^dA-nun-na-ki malākiš amāti rabātu ^dI-gi-gi issanaḥhurū uddū isqīšun mahāru sirqīšun*, "Täglich leitet sie mit Anu in rechter Weise die Geschicke der grossen Götter; es versammeln sich bei ihr die A., die Angelegenheiten zu beraten; die grossen I. umgeben sie ringsum, ihren Anteil zu erfahren, ihre Opfer zu erhalten" (*RA* XXVI 26, Z. 18–20).

⁴⁸ Ein Duplikat ist das Amulett BM 118998 (*JNES* XIX 149, Z. 15 f.), das einen Auszug aus dem Erra-Epos enthält.

[80] Die Beschwörungsserie Maqlû nennt Girru: *nādīn nīndabē ana ilānī* ^dI-gì-gì *šākin namīrti ana* ^dA-nun-na-ki *ilānī rabūti*, “Der Speiseopfer gibt den Göttern, den I.; der Glanz verschafft den A., den grossen Göttern” (Maqlû II 138 f.).

§ 32. Die folgenden Epitheta nennen [81] Arūru: *sagkallat I-gi-gi₄ kurkurrat* ^dA-nun-na-ke₄, “Vohrnehmste unter den I., Grosser Berg der A.” (HS 175 iii 23 f., aB).

[82] Bēlat-māti: *le'āt* ^dA-nun-na-ki . . . *uršānat* ^dNUN.GAL^m•^s, “Tüchtige unter den A., . . . Heldin unter den I.” (AKA, S. 207, Z. 3 f.).

[83] Damkina: *apkallat* ^dgīš.u *mudāt* ^dI-gì-gì, “Weise unter den A., Wissende unter den I.” (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 28, Z. 13).

[84] Enlil: *šadū* ^dI-gì-gì *malku* ^dA-nun-na-ki (Var.: *-ku*), “Berg unter den I., Fürst der A.” (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 20, Z. 27 und 28 f.).

[85] Ištar: *šaḡūti I-gi-gi₄ rubāti* ^dA-nun-na-ki, “Hohe unter den I., Fürstin der A.” (RA XXII 57, Kol. i 6 f.).

[86] Marduk: *āšīr* ^dI-gi-gi *sāniq* ^dA-nun-na-ki, “Befehlshaber der I., Aufseher der A.” (VAB IV 60, Z. 3).

[87] Marduk: *ušumgal* ^dA-nun-na-ki *āšīru* ^dNUN.GAL^m•^s, “Alleinherrscher der A., Befehlshaber der I.” (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 78, Z. 32).

[88] Nabû: *[ašar]ēd* ^dI-gì-gì *āšīru* ^d[A-nun-na-ki], “Vornehmster der I., Befehlshaber der A.” (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 110, Z. 8).

[89] Ninurta: *ašarēd* ^dA-nun-na-ki *muma*²*ir* ^dI-gì-gì, “Vornehmster der A., Gebieter der I.” (JRAS Cent. Suppl. Tf. II, K.128:1).

[90] Ninurta: *muttali* ^dI-gì-gì . . . *ašarēd* ^dA-nun-na-ki, “Edelster der I., Vornehmster der A.” (I R 29 i 5, 7).

[91] Šamaš: *muttal* ^dA-nun-na-ki *etel* ^dI-gì-gì, “Edelster der A., Held der I.” (KAR, Nr. 184 Rs. 19).

§ 33. Die Termini I. und A. stehen durch die Kopula verbunden nebeneinander. [92] Das Weltschöpfungsepos nimmt Bezug auf die göttliche Neuordnung durch Marduk: *ša . . . ana* ^dI-gì-gì *u* ^dA-nun-na-ki *uza*²*izu manzaza*, “Der den I. und den A. (ihre) Stellung zugeteilt hat” (En. el. VI 146). Die Nennung beider

Göttergruppen ist hier besonders interessant, weil an der diesbezüglichen Stelle des Epos nur von den A. die Rede ist; vgl. [4].

[93] In einer Inschrift Assurbanipals heisst es mit Bezug auf Marduk: [^dI-gì-gì] *u* ^dA-nun-na-ki *uqa*²*ū ana šikin tēmešu*, “Die I. und die A. warten auf die Festsetzung seines Entscheides” (Bauer, *Asb* II 80, Rs. 3).

[94] In einem Gebet des Šamašsumukin an den Stern des Marduk ist zu lesen: *ša ana tāmartišu* ^dI-gì-gì *u* ^dA-nun-na-ki . . . , “Bei dessen Erscheinen die I. und die A. . . .” (AfO XVIII 386, Z. 12).

[95] Nebukadnezar nennt einen Tempel: *šikin hidāti u rešāti ša I-gi-gi₄ u* ^dA-nun-na-ki, “Gegenstand für Freude und Jubel unter den I. und den A.” (VAB IV 128, Z. 9 f.).

§ 34. Die gleiche Verbindung ist auch in den hymnischen Epitheta zu belegen. So ist [96] Anu: *šar* ^dI-gi-g[i] *u* ^dA-nun-na-ki, “König der I. und der A.” (WO II 144, Z. 2; vgl. III R 7:1) bei Salmanassar III. Das gleiche Epitheton findet sich bei Esarhaddon für Assur (Borger, *Esarh.* S. 79, Z. 1).

[97] Assur: *šāpik* ^dI-gì-gì *u* ^dA-nun-na-ki, “Erzeuger der I. und der A.” (OIP II 149, Nr. V 3).

[98] Ištar: *šarrat* ^dI-gì-gì *u* ^dA-nun-na-ki, “Königin der I. und der A.” (Bezold, *Cat. Rm.* 2, 263).

[99] Marduk: *šar kiššat* ^dI-gì-gì *u* ^dA-nun-na-ki, “König aller I. und A.” (VAB VII 2, S. 234, Z. 1).

[100] Marduk: *etel* ^dI-gì-gì *u* ^dgīš.u^{ki}, “Held der I. und der A.” (Borger, *Esarh.* S. 96, Z. 8).

[101] Marduk: *mašmaš* ^dI-gì-gì *u* ^d[A-nun-na-ki], “Beschwörungspriester der I. und der A.” (K.100:15; vgl. Tallquist, *Götterepitheta*, S. 132).

[102] Marduk: *ušumgal* ^dI-gì-gì *u* ^dA-nun-na-ki, “Alleinherrscher der I. und der A.” (VAS I, Nr. 37 i 5 f.).

[103] Nabû: *āšīr* ^dI-gì-gì *u* ^dgīš.u, “Befehlshaber der I. und der A.” (Borger, *Esarh.* S. 79, Z. 9). Das gleiche Epitheton trägt auch Marduk.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Vgl. ferner von Nabû (Unger, *Bel-harran-bel-ussur*, Tf. II, Z. 4) und von Marduk (VAB VII 2, S. 276, Z. 3). Vgl. noch, von Marduk gesagt: [. . .] *puḫri* [^dI-gì-gì] [*u* ^dA-nun-na-ki] (VAB IV 144, Z. 34 f.).

[104] Nabû: *nūr* ^dI-gì-gì u ^dA-nun-na-ki, "Licht der I. und der A." (82-7-4, 42:13; vgl. Tallquist, *Götterepitheta*, S. 133).

[105] Ninurta: *qarrād* [^dNUN.GAL^m°^s u ^dA-nun-na-ki, "Held der I. und der A." (WO II 144, Z. 9 f.; vgl. KAR, Nr. 349:2).

[106] Nusku: *pāqid* ^dI-gì-gì u ^dA-nun-na-ki, "Aufseher der I. und der A." (Bauer, *Asb* II 38, Z. 5).

[107] Šamaš: *dajjān* ^d<I>-gi-gi u ^dA-[nun-na-ki], "Richter der I. und der A." (Bezold, *Cat. K.3365*⁵⁰).

[108] Šamaš: *munammir* ^dGfš.Ū u ^dA-nun-na-ki, "Erleuchter der I. und der A." (IV R [2. Aufl.] 60 [67] i 32 = RA XLIX 38, Z. 32).

§ 35. In den folgenden Stellen sind die Begriffe I. und A. asyndetisch aneinander gereiht. [109] In einer Hymne des Assurbanipal an Marduk heisst es: . . . *itmuḫma Marduk rittuššu šerret* [^dI-gi-gi] ^dGfš.Ū *markas ša[mê u eršeti]*, "Es ergriff Marduk mit seiner Hand die Leitseile der I., der A., das Band von Himmel und Erde" (KB VI 2, S. 114, Z. 8).⁵¹ Vgl. aus dem gleichen Hymnus [9] und:

[110] *ilsi* ^dI-gi-gi ^dGfš.Ū *kitmusu maḫaršu u ilānū zārēšu šaqummeš ramā ana [pānišu]*, "Er rief, die I., die A. knien vor ihm, die Götter, seine Erzeuger, sind schweigend vor ihm gelagert" (KB VI 2, S. 110, Z. 26).

[111] Das Erra-Epos schildert die Angst der Götter vor dem Pestgott: *ilānū gimiršunu inaṭ-ṭalū pānuššu* ^dI-gì-gì ^dA-nun-na-ki *kullassunu uzzuzū palḫiš*, "Die Götter insgesamt blicken auf sein Gesicht; die I., die A. allesamt stehen furchtsam da" (Erra V 2 f.).

[112] Ein Handerhebungsgebet preist Šeru'a: [*ūmakal an*]a ^dI-gì-gì ^dGfš.Ū *nindabēšunu tukan-ni*, "Täglich bereitest du den I., den A. ihre Speiseopfer" (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 138, Z. 9 = LKA, Nr. 60).

[113] In der IX. Tafel der Serie *inbu bēl arḫim* heisst es für den 29. Elül: *ūm* ^dI-gì-gì ^dA-nun-

⁵⁰ Vgl. ferner, von Šamaš: *dajjān* ^dI-gì-gì u ^dA-nu[n-na-ki] (STT I, Nr. 63:19', Duplikat zu K.3365?).

⁵¹ Vgl. [. . . š]errēti ^dA-nun-na-ka (Afo XIX 119 [K.11586] Z. 3).

na-ki (Var.: ^dGfš.Ū), "Tag der I. und der A." (IV R 33 b 39).

§ 36. In den nachstehenden Beispielen scheinen die I. als himmlische, die A. als Unterweltsgötter näher bezeichnet zu sein. [114] In den Inschriften Adadnarārī's I., ähnlich Salmanassar's I., findet sich wiederholt die Fluchformel: Aššur Anu Enlil Ea Ninmaḫ *ilānū rabūtu* ^dI-gi-gu *ša šamē* ^dA-nun-na-ku *ša eršeti ina napharišunu ezziš likkelmāšu-ma*, "die grossen Götter, die I. des Himmels, die A. der Erde insgesamt mögen ihn wütend anschauen" (AOB I 64-65, Z. 49-51).⁵²

[115] An den Totengeist ist die Beschwörungsformel gerichtet: *nīš ilānī rabūti ša šamē u eršeti tummā[ta] nīš* ^dI-gì-gì *ilānī elūti tummā[ta] nīš* ^dA-nun-na-ki *ilānī šaplūti tum[māta]*, "Bei den grossen Göttern von Himmel und Erde seist du beschworen; bei den I., den oberen Göttern, seist du beschworen; bei den A., den unteren Göttern, seist du beschworen" (TuL, S. 133, Z. 70-72).⁵³

[116] Im Erra-Epos wird der Gott angestachelt: *rigimka dunninma lištaribū eliš u šapliš* ^dI-gì-gì *lišmūma lišarbū šumka* ^dA-nun-na-ki *lišmūma lišhutū zikirka ilānū lišmūma liknušū ana nīrika*, "Dein Gebrüll lasse laut erschallen, sodass sie oben und unten in Zittern versetzt werden. Die I. mögen (es) hören und sie mögen deinen Namen gross machen; die A. mögen (es) hören und sie mögen deinen Namen fürchten; die Götter mögen (es) hören und sie mögen sich deinem Joch beugen" (Erra I 61-64).

[117] Erra beschwichtigt die Sorgen Marduks: *ana šamē ellima ana* ^dI-gì-gì *anamdin urta urrad ana apsī* ^dA-nun-na-ki *upaqqad*, "Zum Himmel will ich hinaufsteigen, den I. Bescheid geben; ich will hinuntergehen zum Apsū, die A. will ich bewachen" (Erra I 183 f.).⁵⁴

⁵² Parallel sind aus den Inschriften Adadnarārī's I.: Afo V 91, Z. 79-82; AOB I 78, Z. 10 ff., 88, Z. 12 ff., 94, Z. 8 ff. Die Fluchformel ist einmal bei Salmanassar I. belegt: Aššur ilu šīru *āšib Eḫursagkurkurra* NUN.GAL *ša šamē* ^dA-nun-na-ku *ša eršeti ina napharišunu ezziš likkelmāšu-ma* (AOB I 124, Z. 5 f.).

⁵³ Vgl. ferner: [*nīš* ^dI-gì-gì u] ^dA-nun-na-ki [*ilānī ša*] *šamē u eršeti tum[mātu]nu* (TuL, S. 134, Z. 5).

⁵⁴ Vgl. dazu aus einem Kultkommentar: [. . .] x *ana Enlil ina apsī iddišu ana* ^dA-nun-na-ki *ipqīssu . . .* (CT XV, Tf. 44, Z. 3).

[118] In einem Gebet werden Šin und Šamaš als Versorger der Götter gepriesen: *balukkunu ina ḏĪ-gì-gì ul uktanni satukku ana ḏA-nun-na-ki kalīšunu tunammarā kispā*, "Ohne euch wird unter den I. keine Opferzuteilung bereitet; für die A. insgesamt stellt ihr leuchtend auf das Totenopfer" (*ArOr* XVII 1, S. 179, Z. 10 f.).⁵⁵

§ 37. Die nachstehende Liste enthält die mit I. bzw. A. zusammengesetzten genitivischen hymnischen Epitheta. Soweit diese schon in den vorstehenden Paragraphen zitiert sind, haben wir uns hier mit einem kurzen Verweis begnügt. Die Aufzählung soll hauptsächlich zeigen, in welchem Umfang in diesen Epitheta für die I. bzw. die A. *ilū*, *ilū rabūtum* etc. eintreten kann. Solche Fälle sind der Kürze halber mit einem Stern hinter der laufenden Nummer markiert, der andeutet, dass Belege mit *ilū* etc. unter dem Stichwort bei Tallquist, *Götterepitheta*, zu finden sind.

- 1* *apkallu*, "Weiser." [119] Marduk: *apkal ḏĪ-gì-gì* (*AfO* XIX 61, Z. 1).⁵⁶ Vgl. I. [45]; *apkallat I.* [83].
- 2* *ašarēdu*, "Vornehmster." [120] *ašarēd ḏĪ-gì-gì* (Unger, *Reliefstele*, Z. 2). [121] Nergal: *ašarēd ḏA-nun-na-[ki]* (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 112 unten, Z. 2). Vgl. I. [88]; A. [89] und [90].
- 3* *āšīru*, "Befehlshaber." Vgl. I. [86] und [87]; A. [88]; I. u. A. [103].
4. *atraḥasīsu*, "Weiser." [122] Ea: *atraḥasīsa ša ḏA-nun-na-ki* (*YOR* V 3, S. 41, Z. 8, jB Adapa).
- 5* *bēlu*, "Herr." [123] Nergal: *bēl ḏGfš.ū* (*CT* XXV, Tf. 50, Z. 15). [124] Šamaš: *bēl elāti u šaplāti bēl ḏA-nun-na-ki bēl eṭimmī* (*AnSt* V 98, Z. 26).
- 6* *dajjānu*, "Richter." [125] Šamaš: *dajjān ḏĪ-gì-gì* (Bezold, *Cat.* 79-7-8, 95; vgl. *KAR*, Nr. 80:12). [126] Šamaš: *dajjān ḏA-nun-na-ki* (*KAR*, Nr. 224 Rs 11); Gilgameš: *dajjān ḏA-nun-na-ki* (*TuL*, S. 127, Z. 7 = *LKA*, Nr. 90). Vgl. I. u. A. [107].
- 7* *etellu*, "Fürst." [127] ? : *etel ḏĪ-gì-gì* (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 92, Z. 20). [128] Ištar: *etellet ḏI-gì-gì* (*KB* VI 2, S. 60, Z. 29). Vgl. I. [91]; I. u. A. [100].

⁵⁵ Vgl. oben Anm. 38 zu *kispā*.

⁵⁶ Ferner ist Enlilbanda: *uršānu Eridu apkal ḏI-gì-[gì]* (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 66, Z. 32).

- 8* *gašru*, "Starker." [129] Marduk: *gašri ḏĪ-gì-gì* (*RAcc*, S. 134, 223). [130] Irnina: *gašerti I-gì-gì* (*ZA* XLIV 32, Z. 26, aB).
9. *ḥāriṭu*, "Nachtwächter." [131] Madanu: *ḥāriṭ ḏĪ-gì-gì* (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 32, Z. 14).
10. *iltu*, "Göttin." [132] Ištar(?): *ilti ḏĪ-gì-gì* (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 122, Z. 30).
11. *kurkurratu*, "Grosser Berg." Vgl. A. [81].
12. *labbatu*, "Löwin." Vgl. I. [44].
13. *le'ū*, "Tüchtiger." [133] Marduk: *le'ū ḏĪ-gì-gì* (*BA* V 363, Z. 5). Vgl. A. [82].
- 14* *māliku*, "Berater." [134] Nannā: *mālikat ḏĪ-gì-gì* (*VAS* I, Nr. 36 i 11); auch Baba (*KAR*, Nr. 109:17).
15. *malku*, "Fürst." Vgl. A. [84].
16. *mamlu*, "Gewaltiger." [135] Nergal: *mamlu ḏA-nun-na-ki* (K.2864:6; vgl. Tallquist, *Götterepitheta*, S. 129).
- 17* *mārtu*, "Tochter." [136] Ištar(?): *mārti ḏI-gì-gì* (*KAR*, Nr. 158 ii 31).
- 18* *mašmaššū*, "Beschwörungspriester." Vgl. I. u. A. [101].
19. *mudātu*, "Wissende." Vgl. I. [83].
20. *muma'īru*, "Gebietter." Vgl. I. [89].
21. *munammīru*, "Erleuchter." Vgl. I. [108].
22. *muttallu*, "Edelster." Vgl. I. [90]; A. [91].
23. *nammaddu*, "Geliebte." Vgl. I. [53].
- 24* *nūru*, "Licht." [137] ? : *nūr ḏĪ-gì-gì* (*IV R* 56 ii 26). Vgl. I. [46]; I. u. A. [104].
25. *pāqīdu*, "Aufseher." Vgl. I. u. A. [106].
- 26* *qarrādu*, "Held." [138] Adad: *qarrād ḏA-nun-na-ki* (Unger, *Reliefstele*, Z. 3). Vgl. I. [47]; I. u. A. [105].
27. *rabītu*, "Grosse." [139] Ištar: *rabīt I-gì-gì* (*RA* XXII 172, Z. 4, aB), *rabīt ḏĪ-gì-gì* (Ebeling *Handerhebung*, S. 130, Z. 3), *rabīt ḏI-gì-gì* (*ibid.* S. 26, Z. 44).
- 28* *rašubbu*, "Furchtbarer." [140] Adad: *rašubbu ḏA-nun-na-ki* (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 98, Z. 23); auch Enlil (*BER* IV 142, Z. 11).
- 29* *rubātu*, "Fürstin." Vgl. A. [85].
30. *sagkallatu*, "Vornehmste." Vgl. I. [81].
31. *sapāru*, "Netz." Vgl. A. [64].
32. *sāniqu*, "Aufseher." Vgl. A. [86].
- 33* *šadū*, "Berg." [141] Assur: *šadū I-gì-gì* (*KAR*, Nr. 128 Rs. 22); auch Ištar (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 142, Z. 27) und Nusku (*Maqlū* II 6). [142] Enmešarra: *šadū ša*

- ^dA-nun-na-ki (Craig, *ABRT* II, Tf. 13, Rs. 2). Vgl. I. [84].
34. *šāpiku*, "Erzeuger." Vgl. I. u. A. [97].
35. *šaḡūtu*, "Hohe." Vgl. I. [85]. Ferner vgl. Anm. 41.
- 36*. *šarru*, "König." [143] Assur: *šar* ^dI-gi-gi (I R 35, Nr. 1:1 und 3:3); auch Ninurta (*Šurpū* II 151). [144] Anu: *šar* ^dA-nun-na-ki (KH i 1 f.).⁵⁷ Vgl. I. u. A. [96]; *šar gimir* A. [59]; *šar kiššat* I. u. A. [99]; *šarrat* I. u. A. [98].
- 37*. *šaruhtu*, "Prächtige." [145] Ištar: *šaruhti* ^dI-gi-gi (KAR, Nr. 57 ii 13), *šaruhti* ^dI-gi-gi₄ (KAR, Nr. 357:20).
38. *šurbātu*, "Übergrosse." [146] Ištar: *šurbāt* E-nu-uk-ki (PBS I 1, Nr. 2:76, aB).⁵⁸
- 39*. *šūtuqu*, "Hervorragender." [147] Girru: *šūtuq* ^dA-nun-na-k[i] (BA V 670, Z. 12).
40. *uršānu*, "Held." Vgl. I. [82].
41. *ušumgallu*, "Alleinherrscher." Vgl. I. u. A. [102]; A. [87]. Vgl. ferner: *ušumgal kalīš parakkē* mit Belegen bei Tallquist.

§ 38. DISKUSSION DER BELEGE IM PARALLELISMUS. Den Begriff des Parallelismus membrorum haben wir für die vorstehenden Stellen absichtlich nicht im engen Sinne des term. tech. der Literaturwissenschaft gefasst, um das vielfältige Nebeneinander der Begriffe I., A. und *ilū* im vollen Umfang zeigen zu können. Die Belege sprechen für sich: Nur wenige Texte, die inhaltlich eng zusammengehören und die sich ausdrücklich auf die Verhältnisse der Unterwelt beziehen, fassen die A. als Götter der Unterwelt (§ 30) und stellen sie den I. als den himmlischen Göttern gegenüber (§ 36). Davon abgesehen sind, wie die Zusammenstellung zeigt, I., A. und *ilū* identische Begriffe, und zwar sowohl in den aB als auch in den jüngeren Texten, in den epischen Dichtungen ebenso wie in den Hymnen und Beschwörungen.

§ 39. So lösen sich schon in der aB Fassung des Anzū-Mythos I. und *ilū* [23] bzw. *ilū mātīm* [37] gleichbedeutend gegenseitig ab, wechseln in

⁵⁷ Vgl. noch: *Aššur bēlu rabū šar* ^dA-nun-na-ki [. . .] (KAR, Nr. 128:38, Gebet Tukultinurta's I.), wo im abgebrochenen Teil der Zeile vielleicht ein zweites Epitheton, das sich auf die I. bezieht, zu ergänzen ist (vgl. § 32 oben).

⁵⁸ Vgl. noch mit Bezug auf Marduk: *šurbūka* ^dI-gi-gi, "Deine Grösse ist die (aller) I." (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, S. 14, Z. 15).

der aB Redaktion des Etana-Mythos A. und *ilū* I.(!) ohne erkennbaren Unterschied [70], nennen die Epitheta der Arūru die I. und die A. nebeneinander [81] (vgl. §§ 40 f.). Die von W. von Soden zum Nachweis einer Zehnzahl für die I. herangezogene Fluchformel des KH [61] nennt nach der Aufzählung von zwölf Göttern die "Grossen Götter von Himmel und Erde, die A."⁵⁹ Die asyndetische Verbindung lässt darauf schliessen, dass *ilū rabūtum* . . . vorausgestelltes Epitheton zu ^dA.NUNA ist: Schon in sumerischen Texten ist *dingir-gal-gal-e-ne* häufiges Attribut der A.; das Gleiche gilt für die einsprachigen jüngeren Texte, während die I. in der ganzen Überlieferung zumeist nur *ilū* als Attribut zeigen.⁶⁰ Schon dieser Befund hindert uns, in den I. eine beschränkte Anzahl "Grosser Götter" zu sehen, die den A. überlegen sind. Auch in der Fluchformel können also die *ilū rabūtum* nicht als synonym für die an der Stelle nicht genannten I. verstanden werden. Wie in den sumerischen Parallelen soll der Passus lediglich "die (übrigen) grossen Götter, . . . , die A." in die Aufzählung einschliessen.⁶¹ Das Gleiche gilt von der aB Lamaštu-Beschwörung

⁵⁹ Es scheint mir fraglich, ob man mit W. von Soden Ninlil, Nintu und Ninkarrak einfach als drei gesondert angeführte Namen der gleichen Muttergöttheit fassen darf. Zwar führt auch Ninlil das Epitheton *ummum rabūtum*, "grosse Mutter," doch wird sie ausdrücklich als Fürspecherin bei ihrem Gatten Enlil charakterisiert (KH Rs. xxvi 81–97) und so von der Muttergöttin Nintu, die die Nachkommenschaft des Übeltäters auslöschen soll (KH Rs. xxviii 40–49) deutlich geschieden (vgl. auch Edzard, "Mesopotamien," *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* I: Muttergöttinnen, S. 103–6, Nintu, S. 105, Ninlil, S. 113). Ninkarrak schliesslich hat die ihr zukommende Stellung einer Heilgöttin (KH Rs. xxviii 50–69) (vgl. Edzard, *op. cit.*: Heilgöttheiten, S. 77–79, Ninkarrak, S. 78). Auch die Götterlisten führen die drei genannten Göttinnen an verschiedenen Stellen auf; so nennt etwa die aB Liste in RA XX Ninlil in der Enlil-Gruppe (RA XX 100, Kol. i 47), Nintu unter den Muttergöttinnen (RA XX 102, Kol. v 23), und Ninkarrak unter den Heilgöttheiten (RA XX 104, Kol. viii 31). In gleicher Weise verfährt z.B. die Serie An = Anu (vgl. H. Zimmern, "Zur Herstellung der grossen babylonischen Götterliste An = (ilu) Anu," *BSAW* LXIII: Ninlil, S. 108, Nintu, S. 111, Ninkarrak, S. 120).

⁶⁰ Für *dingir-gal-gal-e-ne* als häufiges Attribut der ^dA-nun-na im Sumerischen vgl. Falkenstein oben S. 139, Anm. 193. In den akkadischen Quellen begegnet als Apposition zu den I. an acht Stellen *ilū* ([3], [50], [51], [52], [70], [80], Anm. 41 zweimal), jedoch nur einmal *ilū rabātu* [71]. Dagegen ist als Apposition zu den A. *ilū* allein nur an zwei Stellen nachzuweisen ([63] und [64]), während *ilū rabātu* achtmal begegnet ([61], [62], [65], [66], [66a], [68], [75], [80]).

⁶¹ Vgl. Falkenstein oben S. 138 f.

[36], die die I. im Parallelismus mit den zuvor genannten "heiligen Göttern des Gebirges" auführt. Die übrigen aB Belege für die beiden Göttergruppen geben keine Anhaltspunkte, die zu einer begrifflichen Scheidung zwischen I. und A. führen könnten.

§ 40. Auch die jüngeren Texte, besonders die zahlreichen Belege aus dem 1. Jtd., machen häufigen Gebrauch von dem Wechsel zwischen I., A. und *ilū*, ohne dass sachlich zwischen den Begriffen geschieden werden könnte. So sei z.B. auf das Handerhebungsgebet an Ištar [51] verwiesen, das die *ilānū* ^a*I-gi-gi* nennt, während die Varianten aus Sultantepe ^d_N[UN.GAL^m*[§]] bzw. *ilānū rabātu* zeigen. Ebenso ist der Wechsel in den hymnischen Epitheta zu beobachten: Šamaš ist bald *dajjān I.*, bald *dajjān A.*, dann *dajjān I. u A.* und schliesslich auch *dajjān ilānī* (vgl. § 37). Für eine ganze Reihe von Attributen sind ähnliche Reihen aufzustellen. Am deutlichsten zeigt die Identität der Kollektivbezeichnungen ein Passus aus dem Welterschöpfungsepos [71], der Marduk nacheinander die *ilū rabātu*, die *ilū*, die *Anunnakkū* und schliesslich die *Igigū rabātu* gegenüberstellt.

§ 41. Verhältnismässig oft sind im 1. Jtd. die Begriffe I. und A. durch die Kopula verbunden (§§ 33 f.) oder asyndetisch (§ 35) aneinander gereiht. In diesen Fällen liegt ein *év δια δυοίν* vor. Durchweg werden dabei zuerst die I., dann die A. genannt: Der Reihenfolge liegt das "Gesetz der steigenden Komposition" zu Grunde. Dieses literarische Prinzip gilt aber nur für das direkte Nebeneinander beider Bezeichnungen. Wird die Verbindung in den hymnischen Epitheta durch ein zweites Regens—fast immer gleichen Inhaltes—gespalten, ist die Reihenfolge von I. und A., wie in den Kontextbelegen, vertauschbar: vgl. *ašarēd I. āšir A.* [88] neben *ašarēd A. āšir I.* [89].⁶² Solch doppeltes Epitheton ist schon aB belegt [81].

§ 42. DIE *Anunnakkū* ALS UNTERWELTSGÖTTER. Die wiederholt behauptete Identität von I. und A. erfährt eine gewisse Einschränkung durch die Tatsache, dass an einigen Stellen die A. eindeutig als Götter der Unterwelt charakterisiert werden. Zwar lassen verschiedene Be-

lege, die sich in Verbindung mit den I. auf Himmel und Erde (Unterwelt) bzw. oben und unten beziehen (§ 27), den Schluss zu, dass der Begriff I. alle Götter umfasst. Doch begegnen in den Texten, die sich mit der Unterwelt befassen, niemals die I.; vielmehr tauchen hier wiederholt die A. auf (vgl. §§ 14 f., 22 f., 30, 36). Dies gilt für die Unterweltsvision, Nergal und Ereškigal, Ištar's Höllenfahrt, ferner für Passagen aus dem Erra-Epos und dem Gilgameš-Epos, sowie für die Gebete an die Unterweltsgötter.⁶³ Man darf daraus jedoch nicht den Schluss ziehen, dass die A. generell als unterirdische den I. als himmlischen Göttern gegenüber stehen. Neben einer Anzahl von Belegen und Hinweisen, die deutlich einer solchen Auffassung widersprechen, steht dagegen auch das häufige Attribut *ilū rabātu* für die A. gerade in den genannten Texten, ein Epitheton allgemeinen Charakters, das genau so gut die himmlischen Götter bezeichnen kann. Der Begriff A. ist also vielmehr wie in der sumerischen Überlieferung auch im Akkadischen ambivalent: Als Bezeichnung für eine mehr oder minder grosse Gruppe von Göttern kann der Begriff auch verwendet werden, um zusammenfassend die Götter der Unterwelt zu benennen.⁶⁴

§ 43. In den Inschriften Adadnarār's I. und Salmanassar's I. begegnet verschiedentlich die formel *ilānū rabātu I. ša šamē A. ša eršetī* [114]. Nach W. von Soden liegt dem eine in Assyrien geschaffene theologische Konzeption zu Grunde, die eine deutliche Scheidung der beiden Begriffe vornimmt: Die I. sind die himmlischen Götter, die A. die Götter der Unterwelt. Eine derart folgenschwere Interpretation scheint mir schwierig, weil schon in den gleichzeitigen Zeugnissen aus Assyrien eine Unterscheidung dieser Art nicht zu erkennen ist.⁶⁵ Die Texte verwenden die beiden Göttergruppen-Bezeichnungen in der auch sonst üblichen Art. In den Denkmälern der

⁶² Aus den zahlreichen hymnischen Texten folgen der Unterscheidung I. = himmlische, A. = unterirdische Götter nur die grosse Šamaš-Hymne (Lambert, *BWL*, S. 121-38, [19] und [39]) und ein Gebet an Šamaš und Štn (*ArOr* XVII 1, S. 179 ff., [118] mit Anm. 38). Die übrigen hymnischen Texte behandeln I. und A. als Synonyma.

⁶⁴ Vgl. Falkenstein oben S. 139 f.

⁶⁵ Vgl. z.B. die folgenden Stellen: [53], [59], [141], Anm. 41 und 57. Die Schwierigkeiten, die sich für die Theorie von W. von Soden aus diesen Stellen ergeben, hat dieser selbst ("Babylonische Göttergruppen," S. 108 f.) genannt.

⁶² Das Fehlen einer festen Reihenfolge in diesen Belegen (vgl. §§ 31 f.) spricht m. E. weiterhin gegen eine rangmässige Gliederung beider Begriffe.

assyrischen Könige des 1. Jtd. ist—ebenso wie in den babylonischen Texten—von einer Differenzierung der Begriffe jedenfalls keine Rede, wenn wir die Ambivalenz des Terminus A. ausser acht lassen. Die genannte Phrase, belegt nur in der Fluchformel der beiden Könige, verstehen wir deshalb als dichterische Ausweitung eines hymnischen Epitheton. Massgeblich für die Reihenfolge dürfte dabei das "Gesetz der steigenden Komposition" und die Ambivalenz des Begriffes A. gewesen sein. Will man dennoch hinter der Formel eine theologische Neuerung vermuten, so kann es sich dabei nur um den Versuch einer generellen Umdeutung gehandelt haben, dem nie ein Erfolg beschieden war.

§ 44. DIE HERKUNFT DES BEGRIFFES *Igigū*: EIN DEUTUNGSVERSUCH. Die Begriffe I. und A. werden nach unserer Auffassung an fast allen Stellen ohne Bedeutungsunterschied gebraucht. Der einzige Unterschied zwischen beiden besteht darin, dass nur die A.—wie in der sumerischen Überlieferung—auch für die Götter der Unterwelt nachzuweisen sind. Wenn es niemals zu einer klaren Scheidung zwischen beiden Gruppenbezeichnungen kam, so ist zu fragen, warum von der aB Zeit an die I. neben die A. treten. Da man auch aB den dem Sumerischen entlehnten Begriff A. in weitem Umfang gebrauchte, I. aber—wie schon sum. *ⁿn u n - g a l - e - n e* zeigt—nicht als Übersetzung angesehen werden kann, liegt der Verdacht einer Neuschöpfung nahe. Die Einführung eines neuen Begriffes hätte jedoch nur dann einen Sinn, wenn damit gleichzeitig eine Differenzierung gleich welcher Art von dem überkommenen Terminus erstrebt worden wäre. Dafür aber gibt es keinerlei Hinweise.

§ 45. Ich möchte daher für die Herkunft des Begriffes I. folgende Theorie zur Diskussion stellen: I. ist eine alte akkadische Bezeichnung für eine Göttergruppe nicht klar erkennbaren Ursprungs, die sich in der aB Zeit spätestens weitgehend mit dem ursprünglich sumerischen Terminus A. deckte. Nur rein zufällig, bedingt durch die Lage unserer Quellen, treten die I. erst aB in unser Blickfeld. In einsprachigen Texten begegnen sie dann aber in etwa dem gleichen Umfang wie das Lehnwort A. Sumerisches *ⁿn u n - g a l - e - n e* ist dann eine neugeschaffene Parallelbildung nach dem alten *ⁿa - n u n -*

n a, geschaffen in dem Bestreben, dem akkadischen Begriff ein sumerisches Äquivalent zur Seite zu stellen. Es erscheint nicht ausgeschlossen, dass aus diesem Grunde die *ⁿn u n - g a l - e - n e* in einsprachig sumerischen und bilingualen Texten aB so ausserordentlich selten zu belegen sind. Unsere Theorie erklärt aber besonders, warum die I. niemals ausdrücklich als Götter der Unterwelt erscheinen. Im Gegensatz zum chthonischen Charakter der sumerischen weist die akkadische Religion überwiegend kosmische Züge auf.⁶⁶ Die I. sind daher von Haus aus als eine Gruppe kosmischer Gottheiten zu begreifen, eine Vorstellung, die sich wohl unbewusst bis in die Spätzeit gehalten hat. Umgekehrt waren die A. Gottheiten stark chthonischen Charakters und konnten somit sowohl himmlische als auch unterirdische Göttergruppen bezeichnen. Der ursprüngliche Inhalt des sumerischen Begriffes hat sich über die Jahrhunderte hinweg erhalten können.

§ 46. ZUSAMMENFASSUNG. Von der aB Zeit an bis zum Ende der akkadischen Überlieferung sind I. und A. synonyme Begriffe, die die stets individuell verehrten Gottheiten des Pantheons als Göttergruppen bezeichnen. Die Identität beider Ausdrücke ergibt sich aus folgenden Gründen: (1) Die alleinstehenden Vorkommen von I. und A. ausserhalb jedes Parallelismus lassen keinen wie immer gearteten Unterschied zwischen beiden Gruppen erkennen. In der gleichen Verbindung tauchen bald die I., bald die A. auf. (2) I. und A. begegnen häufig im Parallelismus miteinander, aber auch einzeln oder zusammen mit *ilū*; dabei erlauben die Kontextbelege keine Unterscheidung zwischen himmlischen und irdischen Göttern. Auch für eine zahlenmässige Differenzierung, die den I. einen höheren Rang einräumt, sind keine Anhaltspunkte zu finden. (3) Gegen letztere Annahme spricht besonders das gerade bei den A. so häufige Attribut *ilū rabātu*, wohingegen die I. meist

⁶⁶ Die Heranziehung dieses Gegensatzes zwischen akkadischer und sumerischer Religion verdanke ich A. Falkenstein. Die Deutung von *Igigū* als Gruppenbezeichnung akkadischen Ursprungs gibt die Möglichkeit, den Namen als Lallnamen zu erklären. Dieser Namenstyp war in altakkadischer Zeit ausserordentlich häufig; vgl. dazu Landsberger, *ZA* XXXV 220 f. und bei M. Çiğ und H. Kızılyay, *Zwei altbabylonische Schulbücher*, Z. 101 ff., ferner Th. J. Meek, *RA* XXXII 51–55 (Anregung von Falkenstein).

nur als *ilū* apostrophiert werden. (4) Eindringlich zeigen die hymnischen Epitheta, dass beide Begriffe als gleichwertige, vertauschbare Grössen zu werten sind. (5) Die Identität von I. und A. wird schliesslich durch die Anfang des 1. Jtd. auftretenden numerischen Kryptogramme JÁ. MIN (= I.) und GÍŠ. U (= A.) unterstrichen. Bei der Zahlenwert geht auf das Weltschöpfungsepos zurück, woraus folgt, dass die Begriffe I. und A. jeder das gesamte Pantheon umfasst. Unmittelbar nebeneinanderstehend sind die Termini I. und A. also als *év dia dvoûv* zu fassen.

§ 47. Eine Sonderstellung nehmen in bestimmten Dichtungen, die sich auf die Unterwelt beziehen, die A. als Unterweltsgötter ein. Die sich daraus ergebende Ambivalenz des Begriffes A. hat folgende Gründe: (1) A. ist von Haus eine Bezeichnung für eine der Zahl nach unbestimmte Gruppe von Göttern und bezeichnet ursprünglich nicht das gesamte Pantheon. Somit eignete sich der Terminus auch zur Benennung nur der in der Unterwelt beheimateten Götter. (2) Die Sonderstellung der A. der Unterwelt wurzelt in der sumerischen Tradition und führt diese fort. Demgegenüber sind die I. nirgends als Unterweltsgötter charakterisiert. Nach unserer Theorie ist I. ursprünglich eine Gruppenbezeichnung der kosmischen akkadischen Religion, A. eine Benennung der chthonischen sumerischen Religion.

§ 48. Die einsprachigen akkadischen Texte geben keine brauchbaren Anhaltspunkte über die genealogischen Beziehungen der I. bzw. A. Wir sind daher für diese Frage auf die sumerische Überlieferung angewiesen. Zur Bestimmung der Zahl der I. bzw. A. tragen die lexikalischen Listen nichts Brauchbares bei. Wichtig allein ist die Angabe des Weltschöpfungsepos, die die Zahl 600 nennt. Die numerischen Kryp-

togramme gehen auf diese Aussage zurück. Aus einem Missverständnis der diesbezüglichen Stelle in En. el. mag sich eine apokryphe Tradition entwickelt haben, derzufolge 300 I. und 600 A. gezählt werden.

§ 49. Gemeinsame Kultstätten der Göttergruppen sind nicht zu belegen; im Blickfeld der kultischen Verehrung blieb die Individualität der Einzelgötter stets gewahrt. Die Tätigkeiten der I. bzw. der A. sind nirgends konkret umrissen. Nur selten werden sie als Bestimmer des Schicksals genannt, zumeist jedoch werden sie als einem bestimmten Gott untergeordnet dargestellt. Die Funktion beider Göttergruppen ist im Ganzen nach den einsprachigen akkadischen Quellen noch blasser und verschwommener als das Bild, das wir von den A. der Sumerer haben, ihre Rolle gegenüber starken Einzelgöttern noch unbedeutender. Eine Ausnahme bilden nur die A. der Unterwelt mit ihrer richterlichen Tätigkeit.

§ 50. Betrachten wir schliesslich die Frage nach den Göttergruppen aus historischer Sicht, so gelangen wir zu der Erkenntnis: Nachdem *a - n u n - n a* im Zuge der Ausbildung des Reichspantheons zur Bezeichnung aller (oder doch aller grossen) Götter wurde, hatte der Begriff—einschliesslich des Sonderfalles der A. der Unterwelt—seine endgültige Ausprägung erfahren und wurde so bis in die Spätzeit beibehalten.⁶⁷ Als Synonym traten daneben die I., freilich ohne dass diese auch speziell die Götter der Unterwelt bezeichnen konnten. Zu einer Trennung beider Begriffe in der einen oder anderen Weise ist es nie gekommen.

⁶⁷ Die Tradition geht soweit, dass bestimmte Aussagen in den akkadischen Texten direkt auf sumerische Vorbilder zurück zu gehen scheinen; die ausserordentliche Häufigkeit solcher Fälle erübrigt eine gesonderte Aufzählung.

THE OLD ASSYRIAN WEEK

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PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS OF THE TERM *ḤAMUŠTUM*

The paper by Brinkman entitled "New evidence on Old Assyrian *ḥamuštum*" (*Or.* N.S. XXXII [1963] 387-94) gives (pp. 387-89) a fair account of the attempts of Assyriologists to explain a unique method of dating, which involved a peculiar eponymy of one or two officials per week. Little constructive or even speculative effort has been devoted to this institution, except for Tur-Sinai's arbitrary assumption of "Amtstage" or "Gerichtstage,"¹ that is, days on which the eponym presided in court (in Assur or in the colony?). Whereas Tur-Sinai denies categorically any connection between the attested *ḥamištu* (with by-form *ḥamuštu*) and an "officiating collegium of five men," Brinkman (*op. cit.* p. 389) writes that the original significance of *ḥamuštum* "may have been derived from a 'committee of five' or some other juridical institution." While there has been little interest in the institution of weekly eponyms, interest has been concentrated on the length of the *ḥamuštum* period. Though the present contribution also dwells on the latter aspect of the problem, in

¹ In his contribution "Sabbat und Woche," *BiOr* VIII (1951) 14-24, Tur-Sinai deals with *ḥamuštum* on pp. 16-20. Whereas all other scholars, explicitly or implicitly, assume the *ḥamuštum* ša PN as a rotating office, as much as the *limum* is, Tur-Sinai presents the idea that there exists a *ḥamuštum* in a narrow sense and singles out one day of the six as "office day." Not only is the "Amtstag" completely fictitious, but its assumption forces the author to the hairsplitting distinction between the *ḥamuštum* office or officeholder on the "Amtstag" and the *ḥamištum* "collegium of five" (p. 18): "nicht mit *ḥamuštu* identisch." The fact that *ḥamuštu* is a by-form of *ḥamištu*, "five," is now registered in both *AHw.* and *CAD* under *ḥamiš* and *ḥamištu*, to which should be added *ḥakil ḥa-mu-uš-tim* (*CAD* I 279, 3'), phonetic for UGULA.NAM.5. In spite of these weaknesses, the "Amtstag" figures as a proved fact in Kienast, *ATHE* (1960) p. 3: *ana 8 ḥamšātim*, "bis zum achten Amtstag." In contrast, *AHw.* s.v. *ḥamuštu* takes over the 6-day week of Tur-Sinai but does not accept the "office day." One wonders whether the frequently occurring phrase *ištu ḥamuštum* ša PN refers to the end or the beginning of the week. Note that the *rēš ḥamuštum* registered in *CAD* VI 74 b has no basis in *BIN* IV, No. 127:21.

dealing with it again we cannot completely leave out of consideration the character of the weekly office.

As far as the "history of the problem" is concerned, we comment as follows on Brinkman's presentation.

Lewy's interpretations of *ḥamuštum*, first as "fifth of a year" and then as "pentacontad," have been convincingly refuted by Landsberger in *JNES* VIII (1949) 291.²

"Five-day-weeks," as assumed by the "older school," are attested all over the world (see the instances quoted by Landsberger, *Kult. Kalender* [1915] p. 96; Martin P. Nilsson, *Primitive Time-Reckoning* [Lund, 1920];³ recent paper by N. N. Lund, "Five and Seven Day Weeks" [not available to me]). If 5-day weeks run throughout the year as do our 7-day weeks, they may, like the latter, be derived easily from the six monthly phases of the moon, as attested in one version of *Enuma eliš* (quoted by Landsberger, *Kult. Kalender*, p. 96).

We do not dismiss as absurd the possibility that besides the 4- and 6-part divisions of the month there was also a division into 5 parts. But, since common sense revolts against the artificiality of the periods 1-6, 7-12, 13-18, 19-24, 25-30, all in contradiction to the phases of the moon, only very persuasive reasons could incline one toward such a hypothesis.

The same attitude must be taken toward the negation of the etymological approach by Brinkman (*op. cit.* p. 389): "These attempts to establish the value of the *ḥamuštum* invariably have

² Literature exhaustively cited in *CAD* VI 75a.

³ Page 325: The Yoruba (African tribe) week consists of 5 days, and 6 such weeks are supposed to make a lunar month, which, however, always begins with the new moon. Page 327: weeks of 6 days. Page 328: In Java, Bali, and Sumatra there is a 5-day market week. In ancient Mexico a market was held every 5th day.

one feature in common, preoccupation with the obvious etymological relationship of the word *hamuštum* to the Semitic root 𐤇𐤌𐤔, 'five.' The parallel that Brinkman (*op. cit.* p. 390) adduces to demonstrate that the basic meaning is misleading is not apt. He writes that in this case an argument based on etymology "could be as fallacious as an attempt to evaluate the *limum* on a supposed connection with the root for 'one thousand.'" *Limum*, "office-year of," cannot exist without a following personal name, and *limum* is well attested in the meaning "office-holder," "eponym," whereas the case of *hamuštum* is logically quite different. Here, as illustrated by such examples as *ana 30 hamšātīm* or *ana*

hamuštīm ša illakanni or *adi hamuštīm ašaqgal* (in both *AHw.* and *CAD*), "in 30 weeks," "in the coming week," "within this week I shall pay," or *ūmum šaniūm ša hamuštīm* (quoted on pp. 169 f. below), there is sufficient evidence to show that the time conception is basic and that the *ša NN* of an eponym is secondary.

Though we admit that any word can eventually acquire a meaning that is completely different from its basic meaning, no lexicographer will admit such a change without the strongest proof that the basic meaning has been abandoned or ignored. We shall demonstrate below that such proof has not been offered by either Tur-Sinai or Brinkman.

THE BASIC MEANING OF *HAMUŠTUM*

Tur-Sinai writes: "Die Erklärung von *hamuštum* als 𐍩 des Monats ist auch diejenige, die allein sprachlich und graphisch berechtigt ist" (*BiOr* VIII 19) and "Wäre in den Kültepe-Urkunden mit *hamuštum* irgendwelche Zahl von . . . 5 Tagen gemeint, so würde sicherlich dafür an einzelnen von soviel Stellen eine ideographische Schreibung durch die Ziffer 5 nachzuweisen sein" (*ibid.* p. 20). Brinkman (*op. cit.* p. 389, n. 5) modifies the opinion of Tur-Sinai by admitting that "*hamuštum* also appears to be used rarely as a phonetic variant for *hamištum*."

Just as one cannot assume that *hamuštum* may mean only 𐍩, so the defenders of the 5-day week cannot gain proof by assuming that a rare phonetic variant of *hamištum*, that is, *hamuštum*, is applied regularly when a period of 5 days is meant.

Both Tur-Sinai and Brinkman have overlooked another instance in favor of the 5-day

week (adduced by Landsberger in *Kult. Kalender*, p. 48, and stressed by Gelb in *OIP* XXVII 61), namely Akkadian *sebūtum*, "7-day (week)," and its Hebrew equivalent *šābū'a* (plur. *šābū'ōt*) with the same meaning. The relationship *hamištum:hamuštum* = *sebettum:sebūtum* is beyond question.

Lewy (*HUCA* XVII [1943] 77), in developing his strange "pentacontad" theory, was embarrassed by two parallel OB passages:

arḥam sebūtam u šapattam (*VAB* VI, No. 246:28 f.);

ina arḥi sebūti u šapatti (Atraḥasis, *CT* VI, Pl. 5 b 20, now established beyond a doubt; see W. von Soden in *Or.* N.S. XXVI [1957] 308, line 20). It makes no difference whether one translates these two passages "the month, the (first) week, and the half-month" or "the day of new moon, the seventh day, and the day of half-moon."⁴

PUBLISHED SOURCES FOR DETERMINING THE LENGTH OF THE *HAMUŠTUM*

In discussing the evidence adduced by Brinkman, we shall adduce some comparative evidence.

Brinkman (*op. cit.* pp. 390-92) bases his theory that *hamuštum* = 10 days mainly on the alleged difference between the tablet of a loan contract (BM 120508) and its envelope (BM 120508A) in the rate of interest (tablet line 10, env. line 12) owing as penalty ("Verzugszins") because the loan was not paid back until after

the due date. A new collation of line 12 of the envelope invalidates Brinkman's conclusions (based on *CCT* V [1956] Pl. 20) in that it reveals no 5 gín but rather $[x] \frac{1}{2}$ gín. Obviously the number missing before $\frac{1}{2}$ must be restored as 1, thereby coinciding, as one expects, with the number on the tablet.

The new collation shows furthermore that the

⁴ A Sumerian parallel is *it u u₄.7 u₄.15.kam* (*ZA* XLII 45, n. 1).

seal impression following line 12 on the envelope is deeply impressed, so that the rest of the sentence (*a-na* 1 MA.NA-*im ina* ITU.KAM *ú-ša-ab*) could have been obliterated. Such a formula as “if he does not pay by a certain date, he must pay such-and-such per cent per month” is common in innumerable loan documents in OA, OB, Nuzi, MA, and NA; in none of these do we find the percentage per month replaced by a concrete sum.

Moreover, Brinkman’s analysis of the punitive interest is that the rate quoted on the tablet (and, according to him, the fixed sum or “fine” expressed as a “lump sum” on the envelope) applies not to a period after the due date but rather to the period for which the loan was made (the 20 *hamšātim*), or, in other words, that the penalty would be retroactive from the due date back to the moment of borrowing if the loan was not repaid on time. This analysis deviates from all other interpretations. It will suffice to quote San Nicolò (*RLA* I 127) for Kültepe: “Bei den Verzugszinsen . . . sind höhere Sätze häufig und haben natürlich Strafcharakter.” (For Ešnunna see *ibid.* p. 130.) Further examples can be found in *CAD* XVI 160, 2’, and 161 e; *CAD* I 321: *ana šibti alāku*; still more examples are quoted below in the discussion of the interest rates.

Although Dr. Brinkman was kind enough to inform us that he is revising his statement in a forthcoming issue of *JNES*, it still seems worth while to examine the evidence which led him to assume that interest was paid for the period from the contracting of the debt to the date of expiration for a clue as to the length of a *hamuštum*.

Etāqu as applied to loans can only mean “to be in arrears,” for example (from *CAD* IV 387 f; for later periods see pp. 389 f.): *ūmūšu* 3 *šanātīm lu etat[qū]*, “even if he is in arrears for 3 years” or (in German) “selbst wenn er seinen Termin um 3 Jahre überschritten hat” or (in Turkish) “günü müddeti üç yıl geçmiş olsa da . . .” See also c/k 277 (quoted below on p. 163, with n. 10): 10 (20) *hamšātim ūmūkunu etiqū* (lines 10–11 and 13–14), “your due date expired 10 (20) weeks ago,” and *mala ūmūkunu etiqūni* (lines 18–19), “the period for which you are in arrears.” See, further, *ūmū mādiš etiqū* (*CCT* II, Pl. 11 a 7), “the term expired long ago,” and

kīma ūmūa mādiš etiqū (*CCT* IV, Pl. 26 b 6). The time unit is written logographically in *ūmūšu* *uarḥam*, 2 *uarḥī*, 3 *uarḥī etiqū/etatqū* (quoted in *CAD* IV 387).

These passages are not different in meaning from the following. In *BIN* IV, No. 15:9, *ūmūšu* 4 *ḥa-am-ša-tum e-ti-qá* stands for *ūmūšu* 4 *hamšātim etiqū*; here the carelessness of the scribe is responsible for a possible misunderstanding. Similarly, in *TCL* XIX, No. 40:15–17 (see Brinkman, *op. cit.* p. 394, and pp. 163 f. below), *ūmūka* 9 *ḥa-am-ša-tum e-ti-qá* stands for *ūmūka* 9 *hamšātim etiqū*, “your term expired 9 weeks ago”; a misunderstanding of this passage was caused by the erroneous continuation *illika* (*CAD* IV 387 f) instead of *illibbi* . . .

While the circumstances are completely clear in the case of *KTS*, No. 1 a 14 (see Brinkman, *op. cit.* p. 392, and pp. 162 f. below), the scribe writes *ūmūka* 7 *hamšātum ittalkā* but means nothing other than *ūmūka* 7 *hamšātim etatqū*, “your term expired 7 weeks ago.”

In the only other reference quoted in *CAD* (I 311, 2’) *alāku* is correctly applied: *ūmūšunu* 15 *hamšātum illikū* (*CCT* V, Pl. 27 b 5 f.) as against *ūmūšunu imallūma* (*ibid.* lines 9 f.), “15 weeks of this term have (already) elapsed.” Thus this instance parallels the passages quoted in *CAD* I 312 c’, “with the next higher period of time as subject and the next lower as object.”

There is also the court proceeding c/k 1518: 15–20: *um-ma Istar-ba-ni-ma* (16) *a-na A-mur-Istar ú-mu-kà* (17) *mà-ma lá i-li-ku* (18) *um-ma šu-ut-ma i-na* (19) 17 *ḥa-am-ša-tim* (20) 7 *i-li-kà* 10 *a-ḥu-ra*. “Ištar-bāni asked Āmur-Ištar: ‘Has your term not elapsed completely?’ He answered: ‘(No,) out of 17 weeks (being my term) only 7 have elapsed, 10 are still to come.’”

There are examples of punitive payments, not accrued but paid in a lump when the term was not kept (*ūmūšu etatqū*).

Letter a/k 386 (quoted in *JCS* VIII 114 as No. 23): (6) 1½ MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR (7) *tí-ri ša ḥa-bu-lá-tù-nu-ni* . . . (11) *a-na Na-áb-Sū-in šu-qú-lá-ma* (13) *li-ik-nu-uk-ma lu-šé-bi₄-lam* . . . (18) *šu-ma lá ta-áš-qú-lá* (19) 2 MA.NA 15 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR (20) *tí-ri a-na e-ti-ku-nu* (21) *ta-š(a-)qá-lá*. “Weigh (out) the 1½ minas of . . . silver which you owe us . . . to Nab-Sū’in (i.e., one of the addressees), so that he may seal and

send it. If you do not pay, you will pay $2\frac{1}{4}$ minas of . . . silver in due time" (for *ana etti* . . . see now Landsberger in *WO* III [1964] 62 ff.). Here, without mention of the due date and without consideration of the possibility of extension of the term and payment of interest, half of the amount owed is stipulated as punitive payment.

Not quite clear is a/k 633: (1) 1 MA.NA KÙ. BABBAR (2) *A-šur-lá-ma-ša* (3) *a-na A-šur-e-mu-qi* (4) *a-na* ITU.3.KAM (5) *ú-šé-ba-lá-am* (6) *šu-ma lá uš-té-bi-lá-am* (7) *ma ú-mu-šu* (8) *e-ta-at-qi* (9) 1 MA.NA-um (10) $\frac{1}{2}$ MA.NA *i-ša-qal* (month, witnesses). "As to the 1 mina of silver, PN₁ will have (it) brought to PN₂ in 3 months; but if he does not have (it) brought and his due date expires, he shall pay $\frac{1}{2}$ mina (for) the mina." Though the cause of this debt is not revealed and credit in the real sense may not be involved, the penalty is paid in a lump and amounts to one-half of the delayed debt.

Similar also is b/k 21, from Kültepe I b (see Balkan, *Observations*, p. 67): one-third as punitive interest (*šibtum*) if money is not sent in two months.

According to *KTS*, No. 1 a 1-14, the creditors inform the debtor that his due date for payment expired "2 or 3 months" ago (*appuḥ* 10 *ūmē* 2 ITU.KAM *ù* 3 ITU.KAM *illikma*), or after exactly 7 *hamuštum* periods (*ūmūka* 7 *hamšātum ittalkā* [cf. p. 161 above]). According to Brinkman (*op. cit.* p. 392) "it is clear that a period of from 60 to 90 days has elapsed," so that he obtains the following equation: "7 *hamšātum* equal not less than two months and not more than three months." It must be noted first that 2 ITU.KAM *ù* 3 ITU.KAM in line 9 means not "second or third month," as Brinkman suggests, but rather "2 or 3 months," which is merely a way of saying that the period of arrears has been of considerable length.⁵ The past-due period is actually 7 *hamšātum* (lines 12-13), a fact which confirms

⁵ The numerical expression "2 or 3" is also used in other Kültepe documents to point up a relatively long time: *anāku adi* 2 UD-mì *ù* 3 UD-mì *lá-aš-ta-al-ma*, "let me consider (the matter) up to 2 or 3 days" (EL, No. 337:16-17); similarly, cf. *aḫūni bēlni atta* 10 UD-mì-*im* *ù* 20 UD-mì-*im* *la ta-ḫa-da-ar*, "you are our brother, you are our lord, (please) do not worry for (some) 10 or 20 days" (*ICK* I, No. 65:3-5). For the use of "1 or 2" as an indefinite numeral in Kültepe texts cf. *rūg ištēn u šina*, "a few garments" (*CCT* III, Pl. 20, line 21); *ištēn u šina*, "some . . ." (*CAD* VII 277 d).

the well-known practice of creditors of letting their debtors know the length of the period of default in an exact time unit. Furthermore, the creditors also notify the defaulter that they (text "I") have sent him (i.e., the debtor) a bar of silver of full weight (*nēpišam maḫam*) but that instead he (the debtor) delivered to them (text "me") some goods still packed as donkey-loads (*ba'abtam sarittam*) and except for 3 minas of silver from his (i.e., the debtor's) goods nothing else has been paid.⁶ We learn from lines 26 ff. that the rest of the credit is reduced to 5 minas and that its interest for 7 *hamuštum* periods is reduced to $1\frac{1}{3}$ minas and 4 shekels (line 27: $1\frac{1}{3}$ minas).

Though we are not trying to set aside a document which is in apparent conflict with our basic assumption, we wish to emphasize that its importance has been overrated; its exorbitant rate of interest gives reason for the interpretations mentioned above (p. 159), namely the "fifth of a year" and the "pentacontad" theory.

The rate stipulated here cannot be treated on the same level as that found in loan contracts, where the rate is determined by old tradition of formulary and customary jargon. Even the ordinary rate of 30% (higher when special penalties were involved) for money loans must have been unbearable for tradespeople working under most difficult circumstances, a view that is confirmed by b/k 651 (see pp. 164 f. below). Though in theory interest was payed according to the sealed documents, in many cases discussed in the letters a *gamālum*, "to make concessions on the interest" (*CAD* V 21 f.), or even a *kabāsum*, that is, a partial cancellation (not understood in *AHw.* p. 415, 6; paper by the writer in preparation), had to be enacted. In the case of *KTS*, No. 1 a, full payment was never made and was hardly enforceable (see below); the interest rate may even have been based on the principle that "the more you ask for, the more you get," so that full payment was not actually expected. The letter was written in rage and indignation

⁶ Brinkman's statement (*op. cit.* p. 392) that ". . . some goods were consigned to them via a caravan-master . . ." must be altered. Read *ba'abtam sarittam*, "goods still packed as donkey-loads" (thus correctly in *AHw.* p. 95a); cf. Kienast, *ATHE*, No. 17:6-7: 2 *emārū* . . . *u unūssunu saribtam*, "2 donkeys and the saddles packed on them."

at the barefaced swindle committed by the addressee in return for a favor.

The loan was not even commercial but a short-term accommodation such as is common between friends and partners, and therefore no document was drawn. We do not know what the practice was for loans without written basis, or whether the creditor could determine the rate of interest, or how the courts (*ālum*, *kārum*) decided in such cases. But, no doubt, the deeply hurt creditor(s) wished to punish the debtor for his cheap and cruel swindle by imposing a high penalty. On the other hand, the creditor(s) granted him a *kabāsum*, no doubt because he repented and wished to re-establish the friendship. In any case, the total interest for 5 minas of silver for 7 *hamuštum* periods is $1\frac{1}{3}$ minas and 4 shekels (line 33), or 84 shekels; consequently, the rate would be 16.8 shekels per mina for 7 *hamuštum* periods. The monthly interest per mina would be 14.4 shekels if a single *hamuštum* period consisted of 5 days. The annual rate would then be 288%. In Kültepe loan contracts we occasionally encounter interest of 9 shekels (180%)⁷ or 12 shekels (240%)⁸ per month per mina.⁹ Therefore 14.4 (14 in line 27) shekels of monthly interest per mina of silver is quite high but is comparable with known rates.

The third text that Brinkman adduces as evidence is loan contract EL, No. 49, in which the loan was to be repaid in three installments. Brinkman (*op. cit.* p. 394) observes that if *hamuštum* equals 10 days the time intervals between payments would be of equal length, though "the evidence can hardly be deemed conclusive . . ." However, the interval between the making of the loan and the first payment

⁷ In a/k 954 b both the lender and the borrower are natives: (7-11) *šumma la išqul* 9 GÍN.TA KÙ.BABBAR ina ITU.KAM *šibtam uššab*.

⁸ In j/k 90 the lender is Abiriš, and the borrower is *Ir-ni-ri*: (9-12) *šumma la išqul* 1 GÍN.TA ina ITU.KAM-im ana 5 GÍN-tim *šibtam uššab*, "if he does not pay (on time) he shall add interest (at the rate of) 1 shekel per month for each of the 5 shekels"; cf. *ICK* II, No. 18, in which both parties are Assyrians: (8-10) 1 MA.NA-um 12 GÍN.TA *illakšum*, "to him will go 12 shekels (of interest for) each mina (per month)."

⁹ For cases in which half of the debt is to be paid in a lump sum after expiration see pp. 161 f. above.

The list of Paul Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce* (Paris, 1963) p. 259, may be consulted for a general survey.

would be shorter than that between payments and could not be used to uphold his theory.

The letter c/k 277 may be used to demonstrate that there was no rule in the Kültepe credit system that demanded equal time intervals between payments; moreover, it may be shown that especially with regard to the second and third payments there was no rule but rather that the terms of payment were perhaps established only after the second and following payments. This text (in lines 6-20¹⁰) reveals that a certain credit had to be paid back in three installments, the first of which was due in 2 months, the second and third in 10 and 20 *hamuštum* periods respectively, beginning obviously after the first and second payments. It would seem, then, that in fixing payment terms, the Kültepe creditors took into consideration only those terms most suitable to the merchant- and farmer-borrowers.

The letter *TCL* XIX, No. 40, constitutes Brinkman's fourth source, which deals with the following items.

(a) Pūšu-kēn informs Suetata that he obtained $5\frac{1}{2}$ minas and $3\frac{1}{3}$ shekels of silver (line 11) mainly from the sale of the gold belonging to the latter (Suetata) and partly from the silver sent to him (Pūšu-kēn) by Suetata (lines 3-10).

(b) Pūšu-kēn also reminds Suetata that he has borrowed some silver for him (Suetata) during the *hamuštum* eponymy of Urâ and Kurub-

¹⁰ Kültepe c/k 277: (6) . . . a-wa-t[*i-k*]u-nu (7) ša 10 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR [u]-[ga]-mì-ir-ma (8) ITU.KAM *Ti-i-na-tim* [l]i-mu-um (9) *Ku-bi-a* 4 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR a-na 2 ITU.KAM (10) ta-ša-qá-[lá] [2]0 (or [3]0) *ha-am-ša-tim* (11) UD-mu-ku-nu e-ti-qú 3 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR (12) a-na 10 *ha-am-ša-tim ta-ša-qá-lá* (13) 10 *ha-am-ša-tim* UD-mu-ku-nu (14) e-ti-qú 3 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR a-na (15) 20 *ha-am-ša-tim ta-ša-qá-lá* (16) UD-mu-ku-nu ša ki-li KÙ.BABBAR-pi-im (17) ma-al-ú KÙ.BABBAR ú ši-ba-sú (18) ma-lá UD-mu-ku-nu (19) e-ti-qú-ni a-na ša ki-ma (20) i-a-ti šu-uq-lá. "(7) Concerning 10 minas of silver, I have settled (6) your case (8) (so that from) the month *Ti-inātum*, eponym (9) Kubia, (10) you will pay (9) 4 minas of silver in 2 months; (11) this term expired (10) 20 (30) *hamuštum* periods ago; (secondly, it was agreed upon that) (12) you will pay (11) 3 minas of silver (12) in 10 *hamuštum* periods; (13) this term expired 10 *hamuštum* periods (14) ago; (as the third installment) (15) you will pay (14) 3 minas of silver in (15) 20 *hamuštum* periods; (16) (now) your due date for all the silver (17) is up (lit. 'full'), (20) (so) pay (19, 20) to my representative (17) the silver and its interest, (18, 19) as much as (is owing on) your expired due dates."

Ištar (lines 12–15). That this credit consisted of 10 minas of silver follows from lines 19 f. Pūšu-kēn mentions also that this credit has fallen in arrears for some 9 *hamuštum* periods (lines 15–17) and moreover that he has payed $1\frac{2}{3}$ minas and 5 shekels of interest for the overdue credit (lines 17–20). He has taken this amount out of the money (*i-li-bi* KÙ.BABBAR-*pí-kà*; lines 17 f.) mentioned above in *a*, which is now reduced to $3\frac{2}{3}$ minas and $8\frac{1}{3}$ shekels (lines 20 f.).

(c) Pūšu-kēn further communicates that he has applied the rest (i.e., $3\frac{2}{3}$ minas and $8\frac{1}{3}$ shekels) of Suetata's silver toward the balance of his (Suetata's) debts (*ina hubullika*; lines 20–22); this debt money must be different from the

10 minas mentioned above in *b*. Pūšu-kēn also says that he has canceled the interest for 2 months on this new credit (*akbusakkum*) and demands that the rest of the credit and its interest be sent to Buzulia so that the latter may forward it to him (lines 23–27). The remainder of the letter deals with items of a different nature.

While Brinkman (*op. cit.* p. 394) concludes that 9 *hamšātum* (see *b* above) are equal to 2 months (see *c* above) and maintains that this “would plainly be impossible if the *hamuštum* were less than seven days,” we have shown that items *b* and *c* deal with different loans, and therefore 9 *hamšātum* cannot be identified with the 2 months mentioned in line 23.

AN ADDITIONAL SOURCE

One source that was not used by Brinkman, the Kültepe text b/k 651 (quoted completely in CAD VI 74b), must be considered in connection with the *hamuštum* problem. A commercial notice of six lines, it reads as follows: Obv. (1) *ša* 5 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR (2) *ša* 8 *ha-am-ša-tim* (3) *ú* *ša-pá-tim* (4) $\frac{2}{3}$ GÍN 15 ŠE (5) *š-ib-tám* (6) *al-qí* (rev. uninscribed), “I have taken $\frac{2}{3}$ shekel and 15 grains (of silver) as interest on 5 minas of silver for 8 *hamšātum* periods and *šapattum*.” Though we do not fully understand this seemingly simple text, it can easily be proved that only the assumption of a 5-day unit yields a rational proportion between the amount of the debt and the interest. Various solutions are possible.

(a) The simplest solution could be reached if 8 *hamšātum* + 1 *šapattum* were 45 days or rounded out to 45 days. In this case the daily interest paid would be 3 grains for 5 minas or $\frac{1}{60}$ of a shekel per month per mina, that is, 2% per year. But this solution is based on a rather arbitrary interpretation of *šapattum*: “additional period until the full moon.” The loan would then run from the *rēš qarḫim* of the preceding month to the full moon of the following month, and our little *tahsistum* would be added to the passages cited below (pp. 170 f.) in connection with our discussion of the possibility that the *hamuštum* reckoning was co-ordinated with the phases of the moon, so that it would be easy to remember, without the help of a scribe, when a term expired.

(b) If we translate, as seems natural, “8 *hamšātum* and 15 days,” we must ask “why not 11 *hamšātum*?” It is true that occurrences of 11 *hamšātum* are extremely rare in loan contracts (only in EL, Nos. 63:9 and 228:40, and perhaps c/k 41:33), but the fact remains that *šapattum* never occurs as the term of a loan in any such document (no**ana šapattim išaqqal!*); however, it is attested once,¹¹ where we translate “from this (day of) full moon” and not “from the double week” (for *ištu* in reckoning of periods see p. 170, n. 20, below).

(c) If *šapattum* is taken as “15 days” and, accordingly, the phrase 8 *hamšātum* *u šapattum* is interpreted as “55 days,” the rate of interest would be completely irrational, namely $73\frac{1}{7}$ ŠE per month. We would thus have to rely on complicated assumptions or emendations in order to obtain a neat proportion.¹² A possibility which at first was tempting but must be excluded is that the ŠE (grain) of our document is not $\frac{1}{60}$ of a shekel but $\frac{1}{30}$. On this basis we would obtain as neat a result as that under assumption *a* and,

¹¹ JSOR XI 136, lines 6 ff.: *š-ti* KÙ.BABBAR $\frac{1}{3}$ MA.NA $8\frac{1}{2}$ GÍN *ištu ša-pá-tim a-ni-tim aššibtim nelqema Aššur-nādā nušabbīma tuppaknu idduak umāka* [. . .]. “The rest of the silver . . . we credited to you (pl.) from this (day of) full moon on interest; thus we satisfied Aššur-nādā, and your debenture was annulled. Your (sg.) term is [. . .].”

¹² The results would be no more satisfactory if other values were adopted for the *hamuštum*. With a value of 6 days we would have $48 + 15 = 63$ days and a monthly rate of $64\frac{2}{3}$ ŠE, while with a value of 10 days we would have $80 + 15 = 95$ days and a monthly rate of $42\frac{1}{3}$ ŠE!

even better, would have 55 days corresponding to 55 shekels. But this idea must be dismissed because account tablets such as *BIN IV*, No. 157, *KTS*, No. 51 a, and *OIP XXVII*, No. 10, show that the frequently occurring unit of 15 šē is less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of a shekel and thus (in accordance with the incontestable Babylonian evidence) is $\frac{1}{2}$. The lowest unit attested in these accounts, $7\frac{1}{2}$ šē, corresponds exactly to the lowest unit of the late system, *girū* = $\frac{1}{4}$ of a shekel (*AHw.* p. 291).

Whether the interest of $\frac{1}{3}$ of a shekel on 5 minas was paid for a period of 45 or 55 days, it is by far the lowest rate attested—a new proof for our argument that theory and practice differed widely in this segment of economy (see p. 162 above).

Yearly interest is extremely rare (see Balkan, *Observations*, p. 66, n. 10c [on p. 67]; Matouš in *OLZ LIII* [1958] 344), and most documents stipulate the interest monthly per mina; in credits that amount to less than 1 mina of silver, interest is stipulated on a smaller unit of the mina, mostly $\frac{1}{6}$, *ešartum* (*CAD IV* 351a; *AHw.* p. 253).

The chief formulas and the interest rates are as follows: *ana 10 GÍN-tim 1 GÍN ina ITU.KAM šibtam (uṣṣab)*, “for (each) 10 shekels (of silver) (he will add) 1 shekel per month as interest” (j/k 57:8 f.), the credit itself being for $\frac{1}{3}$ mina 7 GÍN of silver, with interest at 120%; 1 GÍN.TA *i ITU.KAM-im ana 10 GÍN-tim uṣṣab* (c/k 1253:7 f.), credit = $10\frac{1}{2}$ GÍN of *liti* silver; 1 GÍN.TA KÙ.BABBAR *ana 10 GÍN-tim . . .* (*BIN IV*, No. 57:16 ff.), credit = $\frac{1}{3}$ MA.NA; 10 GÍN-tum 1 GÍN.TA *ina ITU.KAM išagqal* (*EL*, No. 45 [*CCT I*, Pl. 6 b] lines 9 f.), credit = 15 GÍN; 10 GÍN-tum 1 GÍN.TA(!) *illak* (*EL*, No. 90:15 f.), credit = $16\frac{1}{2}$ GÍN; 10 GÍN-um 1 GÍN.TA *ina ITU.KAM illakšum* (*EL*, No. 97 [*CCT I*, Pl. 10 a] lines 20 f.), credit = $13\frac{2}{3}$ GÍN; 10 GÍN-tum $\frac{1}{2}$ GÍN.TA *ina ITU.KAM šibtam uṣṣab*, “for (each) 10 shekels (of silver) he will add $\frac{1}{2}$ shekel as interest

per month” (a/k 866:7 f.), credit = 10 GÍN, interest = 60%; *ana 10 GÍN-tim $\frac{1}{3}$ GÍN.TA šibtam i ITU.KAM uṣṣab*, “for (each) 10 shekels (of silver) he will add $\frac{1}{3}$ shekel interest per month” (a/k 901 b 7–10 and a 4–6), credit = 10 GÍN, interest = 40%; *ana 10 GÍN-im $\frac{1}{3}$ GÍN.TA šibtam i ITU.KAM uṣṣab* (a/k 622 b 7–9), credit = 10 GÍN; $\frac{1}{3}$ GÍN.TA *ana 10 GÍN-im uṣṣab* (a/k 622 a 9 f.); 10 GÍN-um $\frac{1}{3}$ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *šibtam uṣṣab* (a/k 597 a 11–13 and b 19 f.), credit = $\frac{1}{2}$ MA.NA $2\frac{1}{2}$ GÍN; *ana 10 GÍN-tim $\frac{1}{4}$ GÍN.TA ina ITU.KAM-im šibtam uṣṣab*, “for (each) 10 shekels (of silver) he will add $\frac{1}{4}$ shekel interest per month” (a/k 555 b 10–13), credit = 10 GÍN, interest = 30%; $\frac{1}{4}$ GÍN *ina ITU.KAM a-na e-ša-ar-tim uṣṣab* (*ICK I*, No. 34, tablet lines 11–13); $\frac{1}{4}$ GÍN *ina ITU.KAM ana 10 GÍN-tim uṣṣab* (*ICK I*, No. 34, envelope lines 11–13), credit = 10 GÍN. The only passage that contains 5 GÍN-tum (= *hamištum*) is j/k 90:10–12 (quoted above in n. 8). None of the examples listed has an interest rate lower than the average of 30% per annum; the list compiled by Garelli (*Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, p. 259) contains one single case of 10%, which is the lowest there.

The following instances of $\frac{1}{2}$ GÍN.TA can hardly relate to the mina but must refer to either the *ešartum* or the whole sum borrowed: $\frac{1}{2}$ GÍN.TA *i ITU.1.KAM šibtam uṣṣab* (*EL*, No. 50:10–14), for the sum of 15 shekels; *šumma la išqul $\frac{1}{2}$ GÍN.TA ina ITU.1.KAM uṣṣab* (b/k 132 b 7 ff., b/k 212:7–8, a/k 454 b 5 f., j/k 274:10–13).

It is most remarkable that in the only passage recording enacted interest (not stipulated or threatened) the rate is so low and that neither the many instructive passages listed in *CAD XVI* 158 f. for *šibtu* nor the unpublished tablets yield further evidence; but one passage is indicative of the great discrepancy between theory and practice: *šibtam kīma aḫum ana aḫim iddunu laddīn* (*KTS*, No. 12:31 ff.), “let me pay interest at the rate a brother pays to a brother.”

ḪAMUŠTUM ALMANACS

In the Kültepe documents there is sufficient evidence that the merchants were aware of the sequence of past and future *hamuštum* eponyms to indicate that they must have used lists enumerating the succession of these eponyms. A few

pertinent passages may be quoted: *ištu hamuštum* (9) *ša Pūšu-kēn* (10) *u Kurub-Ištar* (11) *adi hamuštum* (12) *ša Elama* (13) *u Kurub-Ištar* (14) 22 *hamšātum illikāma . . .* (c/k 387:8–14), “from the eponymy of Pūšu-kēn and Kurub-

Ištar until the eponymy of Elama and Kurub-Ištar, 22 *hamuštum* periods elapsed and . . .”; *ištu hamuštum* (6) *ša Šū-Laban* (7) *adi* (*hamuštum*) *ša Akūtum* (8) 3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR (9) *išaqqa* (b/k 146 b 5–9), “from the *hamuštum* eponymy of Šū-Laban until (the eponymy) of Akūtum he will pay 3 shekels of silver”; *umma Ušur-ša-Aššurma* (6) *ana Alahatima yardam* (7) *ú-še-ra-ki-im ištu* (8) *hamuštum* *ša Itūr-ilum* (9) *ana hamuštum* *ša* (10) *Enna(s)-Sū'in yardi* (11) *tū-ta-ri-im* (c/k 324:5–11), “Ušur-ša-Aššur spoke as follows to Al(i)-aḫati: ‘I have released to you one servant (as a pledge); you will return my servant to me from the *hamuštum* eponymy of Itūr-ilum until the *hamuštum* eponymy of Enna(s)-Sū'in.’ ” The significance of “from . . . until” in expressions of this kind is hard to define (cf. CAD VI 74 d, “between . . . and,” but cf. also n. 20 below).

A new text from Kültepe, g/k 118, is a list of personal names and, in all probability, an enumeration of *hamuštum* eponyms.¹³ The evidence in favor of this probability is that each line contains two names, most of which are encountered in other Kültepe texts as *hamuštum* eponyms (see below), and that the word *kaššum* appears twice. As we know from other texts, the office of the *kaššum* is closely related to that of the *hamuštum* official (see pp. 172 f. below).¹⁴ A transliteration of g/k 118 follows:

Obverse

- 1 DIŠ¹⁵ *Na-ra-am-zu* DUMU *Dan-A-šur*
DIŠ DUMU *Pá-pì-lim A-lì-lì*
DIŠ *A-šur-i-mì-tì* DIŠ *I-dì-A-šur*
DIŠ *kà-šu-um*
- 5 [DIŠ *A-m*]ur-Ištar *Puzur-Ištar*
DIŠ *Ga-áb-ri-a* DIŠ *E-ra-dì*
DIŠ *A-mur-Ištar* DIŠ *A-šur-ma-lìk*
DIŠ *En-num-a-a* DIŠ *A-šur-ba-nì*
DIŠ *A-ku-tum Da-da-num*

¹³ *TuM* I, Pl. 24, No. 363, is apparently also a list of *hamuštum* eponyms, as observed by J. Lewy *ibid.* p. 15.

¹⁴ One can observe the following inconsistencies in g/k 118. The majority of the personal names are preceded by a vertical wedge (DIŠ), but a few are written without it. Most of the pairs of names are separated by another vertical wedge, again missing in some lines. The extant text uses the word *kaššum* twice instead of a personal name, but the word may have also occurred in some of the missing lines.

¹⁵ Here the DIŠ is used for “item.”

- 10 DIŠ *Puzur-A-šur Na-áb-Sú-in*
DIŠ DUMU *Ba-na-ga* DIŠ *Da-lá-áš*
DIŠ *A-gu₅-za* DIŠ *Tù-úh-ni-iš*
[DIŠ *A-š*]ur-ma-lìk DIŠ *A-gu-a*
(about one-half of obv. missing)

Reverse

- 1' DIŠ [x x x x x x]-^dUTU-š[i]
DIŠ *Šu-[x x L]a-qí-ip*
DIŠ *Zi-z[i-x (x)] 'I'-ku-num*
DIŠ *Li-pá-a* DIŠ *Du-du*
- 5' DIŠ *Šu-A-nim* DIŠ *Ì-lì-iš-tì-kál*
DIŠ *kà-šu-um*
DIŠ *Kur-ub-Ištar* DIŠ *A-lá-hu-um*
DIŠ *En-num-A-num* DIŠ *A-šur-SIPA*
DIŠ *Ha-bi-aḫ-šu* DIŠ *La-qí-ip*
- 10' DIŠ *Sú-kà-li-a* DIŠ *Ku-ra*
DIŠ *En-na-num* DIŠ *Ša-lim-A-šur*
DIŠ DINGIR-*ba-nì* MAR.TU-*ba-nì*
DIŠ *Na-ra-am-zu Ha-na-num*
DIŠ DUMU *Pá-pì-lim* DIŠ *I-dì-A-šur*

Upper Edge

- 15' DIŠ *A-šur-i-mì-tì* DIŠ *A-mur-Ištar*
DIŠ *Ga-áb-ri-a* DIŠ *A-šur-ma-lìk*

Left Edge

- i 17' DIŠ [D]a-da-num *A-šur-ba-nì*
DIŠ DUMU *Ba-na-ga A-{x-}gu₅-za*
DIŠ *Šu-ku-tum Ū-ra-a*
- 20' *Ì-lì-a-lim A-šur*-^dUTU-šì
- ii 21' *E-la-l*[i x x x x]
Zi-z[i-x x x x x]
Li-p[á-a x x x x]
DIŠ *Šu-A-x* [x x x x]
(end of tablet)

The personal names in g/k 118 that appear elsewhere as *hamuštum* eponyms are as follows (figures 1 and 2 in parentheses indicating sequence of *hamuštum* eponyms mentioned in pairs).

Obv. 1: For Narām-zu (1) together with Han-nānum (2) see *BIN* IV, No. 146:17–18; b/k 190:7–8; g/k 118 rev. 13'. For Narām-zu (1) together with Šalim-Aššur (2) see c/k 789:8 f. Cf. also the sequence Alili (1) and Narām-zu (2) in b/k 129 b 7 f. It is not yet known whether one of the colleagues of Narām-zu was identical

- with DUMU Dan-Aššur (2) of g/k 118:1.
- 2: Idi-Aššur *mēra* Pappilim appears alone as a *hamuštum* eponym in b/k 130 a 8 and b 6. For the pair Alili (1) and Narām-zu (2) see comment on line 1.
- 3: This same pair occurs in the same sequence as *hamuštum* eponyms in b/k 67 b 8 f. and m/k 128:6 f.
- 7: This pair is mentioned in reversed sequence as *hamuštum* eponyms in *ICK* I, No. 187:18 f.
- 12-13: Cf. left edge 18'.
- Rev. 2': Cf. the *hamuštum* eponyms Šū-Aššur (1) and Lāqīp (2) in c/k 37:6 f.
- 3': Cf. left edge 22'.

The names contained in the following lines occur as *hamuštum* eponyms in the same sequence in the documents listed.

- Rev. 5': EL, No. 40:7; c/k 789:31 f.; h/k 56:78.
- 7': *ICK* I, No. 106:7; a/k 1772:9 f.; c/k 513:30 f.; f/k 6:10.
- 8': c/k 41:46.
- 9': a/k 1259 a 7 and b 6 f.; b/k 77:4; Kayseri No. 24:6-8 (unpub.).
- 10': *ICK* I, No. 191:39; *ICK* II, No. 129:x+26; c/k 129:16.
- 11': *ICK* I, No. 191:3, 13, 52; *ICK* II, No. 130:x+4, x+33; b/k 77:33; b/k 275:8.
- 12': *ICK* I, No. 19:49; *ICK* II, Nos. 129:6 and 130: x+30.
- 13': *BIN* IV, No. 146:17 f.; b/k 196:7 f.
- 14': b/k 672 b 8 f. (Idi-Aššur (1) and Idi-Aššur (2); cf. Idi-Aššur *mēra* Pappilim as *hamuštum* eponym in b/k 130 a 8 and b 6).
- 16': EL, No. 21:8 f.; *ICK* II, No. 130:x+39; c/k 129:8 f.
- Left edge 17': *ICK* II, Nos. 72:10 f. and 75:6 f.
- 18': b/k 209:6 f. Cf. also b/k 188:5-7, *ištu hamuštīm ša Aššur-bēl-aqātīm* DUMU *Banaga*, and accordingly the pair of *hamuštum* eponyms Aššur-bēl-aqātīm (1) and Akuza (2) in EL, No. 77:7 f.; *ICK* I, No. 191:43, *ICK* II,

- No. 130:x+27; c/k 1178:7 f.; *TCL* XXI, No. 256:6 f.; *BIN* VI, No. 153:3.
- 19': Cf. Šū-kittim and Urâ in *CCT* V, Pl. 23 b 6 f.; b/k 668:6 f.; c/k 129:13; c/k 270:10; c/k 453:13; c/k 845 b 6 f.
- 20': *ICK* I, No. 96:7; c/k 1201:7 f.

An important part of g/k 118 is missing. According to the thickness at the break and the curvature it seems likely that the tablet is broken near the middle. However, the missing parts of the obverse and the reverse must have contained a few more lines than the preserved parts. The fact that the left edge was divided into two columns, a practice which is not quite usual in Kültepe documents, shows that the scribe was forced to write a fixed number of personal names on this one tablet.

The reverse of the tablet contains 14 lines. It probably consisted of 30 lines when complete. Likewise the obverse, of which only 13 lines are preserved, might have contained 30 lines. The upper edge has two lines, and we may assume that the lower edge also had two lines. There are eight lines in two columns on the left edge. Thus the number of preserved and missing lines was probably as follows:

Obverse	13 preserved	+ 17 missing	= 30 lines
Lower edge	2	"	= 2 "
Reverse	14	+ 16 "	= 30 "
Upper edge	2	"	= 2 "
Left edge i	4	"	= 4 "
Left edge ii	4	"	= 4 "

—
Total 72 lines

It is quite possible that this text included those *hamuštum* eponyms who served in a certain year. If this assumption should prove to be correct, we would have a sound argument for the theory that one *hamuštum* period comprised just five days ($365 \div 5 = 73$). As a matter of fact, the text would have to contain at least 72 or 73 lines if it was indeed a yearly list of such officials, for, if we were to assume instead that the tablet was broken exactly in the middle and that the number of lines missing on the obverse, lower edge, and reverse equaled those of the preserved parts, then the composition would be as follows:

Obverse	13 preserved + 13 missing = 26 lines
Lower edge	2 “ = 2 “
Reverse	14 “ + 14 “ = 28 “
Upper edge	2 “ = 2 “
Left edge i	4 “ = 4 “
Left edge ii	4 “ = 4 “
	—
	Total 66 lines

In other words, one year could contain only 66 weeks. In this case, however, neither the 5- nor the 6-day week would take care of a full year, be it lunisolar, lunar, or solar.

In summarizing our analysis of this list we can

state that (a) so many pairs of names are attested for *hamuštum* eponyms that the text can safely be regarded as a list of such eponyms; (b) the assumption that the list covers one year, though not provable, is *a priori* likely and is favored by the way in which the left edge was used (see p. 167 above); (c) on the basis of the size and curvature of the fragment the most likely restoration of the original size leads to a number of entries which would cover a year if a *hamuštum* was a 5-day week. Although we do not have mathematical proof, we nevertheless have a strong argument in favor of Landsberger's original interpretation of *hamuštum* as a 5-day week.

THE WEEK

It would seem that the almanac g/k 118 (see above) pertains to an institution peculiar to Kaniš for three reasons.

1. Reckoning by *hamuštum* periods was common even in connection with the simplest loans transacted with natives.¹⁶

2. Most of the names attested as *hamuštum*

eponyms are familiar as those of persons involved in Kültepe documents, as the following table shows. The phrase used for “holding” the office is attested by c/k 471:10–12: LUGAL-Šū'in (11) *u Kurub-Ištar* (12) *ha-mu-uš-tám ú-kà-lu*, “Lugal-Šū'in and Kurub-Ištar hold (the office of) the 5-day week.”

PERSONS FUNCTIONING AS *hamuštum* EPONYMS IN KANIŠ

ištu hamuštum ša Aḥu-(ya)qar DUMU Zurzur (OIP XXVII, No. 56:23; c/k 207:26–27)

ištu hamuštum ša Aššur-bēl-aḡātum DUMU Ba-na-ga (b/k 188:5–7); ištu hamuštum ša DUMU Banaga u PN (EL, No. 77:6–8; BIN VI, No. 153:3; b/k 209:5–7; g/k 118 left edge 18')

ištu hamuštum ša Aššur-immitti DUMU I-ku-a (a/k 978 a 4–6 and b 7–9)

ištu hamuštum ša Aššur-malik DUMU Alaḡim (CCT V, Pl. 22 b 10–12; c/k 265:34; c/k 622 a 11 and b 11)

ištu hamuštum ša Aššur-malik DUMU Ga-a-tim (e/k 56:27–29)

ištu hamuštum ša I-na-a DUMU A-mu-ra-a (EL, No. 225:18–19; OIP XXVII, No. 59:3–4; CCT I, Pl. 4, lines 18–19)

MERCHANTS OF KANIŠ

Aḥu-(ya)qar DUMU Zurzur (CCT I, Pl. 36 b 5; CCT II, Pl. 5 b 5; a/k 609 a 2 and b 12)

Aššur-bēl-aḡātum DUMU Banaga (ICK II, No. 32 a 8 and b x+4); DUMU Banaga (ICK II, No. 337:18)

Aššur-immitti DUMU I-ku-a (CCT I, Pl. 32 a 11; KTS, No. 21 b 26; c/k 618:14; c/k 1029:10)

Aššur-malik DUMU Alaḡim (BIN VI, No. 178:9; ICK I, Nos. 87:33–34 and 181:10; CCT V, Pl. 6 b 32; c/k 581:1–2 and 3; c/k 591:29–30)

Aššur-malik DUMU Ga-(a)-tim (BIN IV, No. 5:20; ICK I, No. 181:36–37; c/k 485:13–14)

I-na-a DUMU A-mu-ra-a (A-mur-a) (ICK I, No. 4:14; ICK II, No. 316:x+14; BIN IV, No. 87:9–10; CCT V, Pls. 26 c 17, 39 b 4–5, and 43, lines 27–28)

¹⁶ Kültepe c/k 181:6–9, *ištu hamuštum ša Enna-Sū'in ana ḥarpi imaddad* (debtors, Lurmea and Walawala; creditor, Walawala); c/k 201:5–8, *ištu hamuštum ša Enna Sū'in . . . ina ša ḏURU išaqqulū* (same debtors and creditor); a/k 1110:4–8, *ištu hamuštum ša Enna-Sū'in DUMU Ili-ālim ana ša Parka*

tašaqgal (debtor, Šuppiannika; creditor, Tamkārūm); d/k 13 b 4–8, *ištu hamuštum ša Ušur-ša-Ištar ana ITU.1.KAM išaqqal* (debtor, Gazaza; creditor, Perua); d/k 37 b 5–8, *ištu {ša} hamuštum {ša} Mannu-balum-Aššur ana 6 ITU.KAM išaqqulū* (debtor, Wašūburuman; creditors, Šu-ma-a-ḥi and Šilumatta).

ištu ḥamuštīm ša Puzur-Aššur DUMU *Da-mu-ma* (c/k 258:9–10); *ištu ḥamuštīm ša* DUMU *Da-mu-ma* (c/k 135:1–5, pertaining to the same affair); *ištu ḥamuštīm ša Puzur-Aššur* (c/k 623 + c/k 736:25, MAN-Aššur; k/k 82:12–13)

ištu ḥamuštīm ša Kurub-Ištar DUMU *Alaḥim* (BIN VI, No. 244:5–6; Kienast, *ATHE*, No. 15:6–7; c/k 1344:5–6; EL, No. 228:50–51)

3. Among names of *ḥamuštum* eponyms a relatively large number are Anatolian:

A-gu₅-za ⟨u⟩ *Tù-úh-ni-iš* (g/k 118:12 [p. 166])
ištu ḥamuštīm ša DUMU *Ba-na-ga* ù *A-gu₅-a* (b/k 209:5–7). Cf. DUMU *Ba-na-ga* ⟨ù⟩ DUMU *A-
{x-}gu₅-za* in g/k 118 left edge 18'

DUMU *Ba-na-ga* ⟨ù⟩ *Da-lá-áš* (g/k 118:11)

ištu ḥamuštīm ša *Da-la-áš* (i/k 6:4–5)

ištu ḥamuštīm ša *Ḥa-bi₄-a-aḥ-šu* ù *Lá-qí-ip* (b/k 77:3–4; a/k 1259 a 6–7 and b 6–7; Kayseri No. 24:6–7; cf. g/k 118 rev. 9')

ištu ḥamuštīm ša *Sú-kà-lí-a* ù *Ḥa-bi₄-a-aḥ-šu* (m/k 119:4–6)

ištu ḥamuštīm ša *Ma-ak-ru-a* (*ICK* I, No. 23 a 6–7).

As to the corresponding time unit in the city of Assur, our knowledge is limited to two examples.¹⁷ In both cases the *ḥamuštum* serves merely for dating purposes, and therefore the word (like *ṣarḥum*, *līmum*) is in the nominative. The *ḥamuštum* is not determined by an eponym but in one case is a homonym with a month name and in the other derives from a religious event (festival).

Though the dating of documents by month and *līmum*, also outside of loans, increased in the Kültepe Ib period (e.g. the legal decision about divorce in EL, No. 276), the *ḥamuštum* does not occur in documents of that period at Kültepe, Boğazköy, or Alishar.

There is no dating by the *ḥamuštum* in Kültepe II unless in an exact stipulation of the term (see below), nor does *ḥamuštum* occur in the everyday language as represented in the letters,¹⁸ with the following two remarkable exceptions:

¹⁷ Quoted in *CAD* VI 74, s.v. *ḥamuštu* a. In the first (from *TCL* IV, No. 3:20) note a misprint: *ḥa-mu-uš-tum* (not *-tim*) *ša tí-i-na-tim*. The second passage is more completely quoted in *HUCA* XVII 53 f.

¹⁸ Some material in addition to that given in *CAD* VI, s.v. *ḥamuštu*, can be found in *CAD* I 311 and 321b, s.v. *alāku*.

Puzur-Aššur DUMU *Da-mu-ma* (g/k 57 left edge 2; h/k 342:8; *ICK* II, No. 138:1–2)

Kurub-Ištar DUMU *Alaḥim* (*ICK* I, No. 181:7; *ICK* II, No. 343:16–17; a/k 818:14; c/k 1239:5)

BIN VI, No. 77:19–23: 25 MA.NA 2½ GÍN ⟨KÛ.BABBAR⟩ (20) *ammala tērtika* (21) *ašar tušāḥi-zunētini* (22) *adi ḥamuštīm* (23) *nišaqqal*. “We shall weigh out the amount in fulfillment of your order, where you advised us, still within this week.”¹⁹

Kültepe c/k 581:19–29: *Aššur-malik* (20) *La-li-a rābišam ēpul* (21) *kārum dīnam idīnma* (22) *ina ša-ni-im UD-mi-im* (23) *ša ḥamuštīm tuppam* (24) *ša ālim^{KT} IGI kārim* (25) *tušašmēma ammala* (26) *tuppim ša ālim^{KT} eppaš* (27) *ina ša-ni-im UD-mi-im* (28) *ša ḥamuštīm as-ku-ta-ku-ma* (29) *IGI šina umma anākuma . . .* “(19) Aššur-malik (20) answered Lalia the commissioner as follows: (21) ‘After the colony has granted a legal decision, (22) on the second day (23) of the week (25) you have read (to me) (23) the tablet (verdict) (24) of the city (i.e., Assur) before (the representatives of the) colony (25) that (26) I should act (25) according to (26) the tablet of the city, (27) (but) on the second day (28) of the week I kept silent toward you (i.e., I refused to answer you) and (then) (29) before two (witnesses) I said thus: . . .’ ” The same statement is found in c/k 278:1–11.

If we compare this deposition with EL, No. 326:21–23 (dupl. *BIN* VI, No. 211, with same situation: *rābišum*, *tuppum ša ālim*), *timālīma tašēlīma u āpulka*, “you asked me yesterday (the same), and I have answered you (already),” we arrive at the following reconstruction of terms for the five days of a week in c/k 581:

¹⁹ Translated by Landsberger in *WO* III 67, n. 74: “. . . nicht später als diese Woche (von 5 Tagen) . . . ” We cannot offer an interpretation for the passages listed in *CAD* VI 75 e “in atypical contexts.” Now to be added to them are *CCT* V, Pl. 32 c, 16½ GÍN 7½ ŠE *kaspam ana šitta ḥamšatika* ⟨a⟩-ni-a-ti-im *ana aḥātika addin ezib* 2½ GÍN *kaspim ša i-na ḥa-mu-⟨uš⟩-ti-im ana PN ušahḥirūni*, and g/k 65:4–8, *um-ma a-ta-ma* (5) ½ MA.NA. 9½ GÍN (6) *a-na ḥa-muš-ti-kà* (7) *u tap-ḥi-ri-kà* (8) *ga-mi-ir*.

1. [*ina ištēn ūmim ša ḥamuštīm*]
2. *ina šanīm ūmim ša ḥamuštīm*
3. [*tīmāli*]
4. [*ūmam*]
5. [*urram*]

or

1. [*ina ištēn ūmim ša ḥamuštīm*]
2. *ina šanīm ūmim ša ḥamuštīm*

3. [*ina šalsīm ūmim ša ḥamuštīm*]
4. [*tīmāli*]
5. [*ūmam*]

But, aside from this primitive method of dating in daily life, the function of the *ḥamuštum* in the Kültepe documents is reckoning of terms, not dating.

ḤAMUŠTUM AND THE PHASES OF THE MOON

CAD VI 74 c lists two passages in which *ḥamuštum* is linked with the *šapattum*, “full moon” or “half month” (OIP XXVII, No. 56; b/k 651, treated above on pp. 164 f.). CAD I adds another passage on page 312 c': *ištu ḥamuštīm ša . . . ilum šapattam illikma kaspam ilqe* (Balkan, *Letter*, p. 55, a/k 1055 b). It gives one more on page 17, 4': *ištu ḥamuštīm ša Aḥšalim ilum ubilma erī'am ilqe'ū* (ICK II, No. 196); the same creditor, debtors, and eponym appear in ICK II, No. 45: *ištu ḥamuštīm ša Aḥšalim in[a] nāmarti ilim [erī'am] ilqe'ū ana ITU.1.KAM išaqqulū šumma la išqulū . . .*, “they have borrowed the copper from²⁰ the week of PN (on the day) of the new moon. They will pay back in a month. If they have not paid back . . .”

All these examples except the second represent the rare *ilqe* (Sum. š u . b a . t i) type of loan in which the interest runs from the day of the contract or (last two examples) starts one month thereafter. This type covers all the cases in which there are references to the phases of moon, and to this category belongs also EL, No. 94: *rēš ʔarah MN ina ḥamuštīm ša PN erī'am ilqe* (term: 2 months). An example without *ḥamuštum* is *ištu šapattim annītīm aššibtīm nilqe* (quoted above on p. 164, n. 11).

The *ilqe* formula, without reference to the moon, occurs in the quite exceptionally phrased texts c/k 1057 (see Balkan, *Letter*, pp. 55 f.; term: 10 days) and a/k 1206.²¹

²⁰ The exact meaning of *ištu* in connection with terms of time, not covered by CAD or AHW., calls for a special investigation which cannot be undertaken here. For those cases in which *ištu ḥamuštīm ša . . .* is followed not by a period of time but by a “Zeitpunkt” Landsberger in WO III 65 recommends the translation “after” rather than “from” (“nach [nicht ‘von!'] der Woche des . . . bis zu . . .”).

²¹ In c/k 1057 *ḥamuštum* is in the nominative, for dating (see p. 169 above). The ambiguous case of c/k 33 (see Balkan, *Letter*, p. 55) is treated below in n. 28.

More common is the type in which the loan, without *ilqe*, runs *ištu ʔarah MN* or *ištu rēš ʔarah MN*: EL, Nos. 62 (term: 2 months), 63 (11 *ḥamšātum*), 73 (2 months).

All these examples do not yield a clear answer to the question as to whether 73 *ḥamšātum*, independent of the moon, constituted a solar year or whether 72, with the last *ḥamuštum* shortened to 4 days in months of only 29 days, constituted a lunar year or, differently formulated, whether the few loan contracts combining *ḥamuštum* and phases of the moon contain an additional factor, that is, a concrete day within the 5-day week, or whether the reference to the moon was simply a literary embellishment that added nothing to the *ḥamuštum* notion and was self-understood. The first alternative seems more likely for several reasons.

1. The facts that in Kaniš dating by days of the month was not used, that contracts are not dated at all, and that only in stipulations of terms was the complicated *ḥamuštum* system used must be explained by the assumption that the lunar year was not a suitable basis for exact dating and had to be replaced by a calendar based on the solar year, that is, running from one fixed day, for example the spring equinox, to the next, with no relation to the moon. That the Assyrians had a lunar system was first inferred by Landsberger (*Assyrische Handelskolonien in Kleinasien aus dem dritten Jahrtausend* [1925] p. 9) from the absence of an intercalary month (cf. Hirsch, *Untersuchungen*, p. 55, n. 284). It was proved for the Middle Assyrian period by Weidner: “Die Assyrer haben nach einem Mondjahr zu 354 Tagen gerechnet” (*AfO X* [1935–36] 29). If the *ḥamšātum* were co-ordinated with the moon they would have been unnecessary, though there may have been such co-ordination originally.

2. The *taḫsistum* KTS, No. 60 b (quoted in CAD VI 75 at end of *ḫamuštu*), which still defies understanding but which probably refers to a yearly list of eponyms such as those treated above (pp. 166–68), arrives at 73 . . . *ḫamšātum* as a summation; this text must be adduced, though the impact of its reckoning is not intelligible. This reckoning appears on the tablet as follows:

73 45
 ḫa-am-
 50 5a-tum

3. According to two passages quoted above on page 170 (ICK II, Nos. 45 and 196) the *ḫamuštum* of Aḫšalim included the 28th/29th day of a

lunar month and the first of the following month and thus speaks against co-ordination with the phases of the moon.

4. The wording ITU MN *ilum šapattam illikma ištu ḫamuštum* (OIP XXVII, No. 56) as against *ištu ḫamuštum ša . . . ilum šapattam illikma* (a/k 1055 b, quoted above on p. 170) and *rēš ʾarḫim ina ḫamuštum* (EL, No. 94, quoted on p. 170) hardly favors the possibility of co-ordination.

The significance of the *ḫamuštum* in the city of Assur, where no eponyms are attested, where the *ḫamuštum* serves merely for dating, and where *ḫamuštum ša ti'inātum* is paralleled by *ʾarḫum ša ti'inātum*, "the month (of the plucking) of figs," remains completely obscure.

STATISTICAL EVIDENCE

On the basis of the assumption made in the preceding section, and if the 5-day week is accepted, there would be a minimum of six, but in four-fifths of all months seven, 5-day weeks (first and last only partly covered) to a month. But we could find only a single text in which 4 *ḫamšātum* are attested for an individual month. In the published and unpublished material known to us we were able to discover 4 *ḫamuštum* eponyms who were on duty during the month of Maḫur-ili in the year of the *limum* Enna-Sū'in son of Šū-Aššur. The four persons so attested are Aššur-malik son of Luzina,²² *mēra* Ennum-Ānim,²³ Itūr-ilum,²⁴ and Mannum-balum-Aššur.²⁵ If we were to take this evidence as complete in the sense that there were only 4 *ḫamšātum* to a month, we would have to conclude that a *ḫamuštum* had a duration of any number of days between eight and twelve (assuming inde-

pendent *ḫamšātum*, some of which would fall only partly in a given month). Rather, we expect that future finds will yield tablets which mention one or, more likely, two to three more *ḫamuštum* eponyms for the month of Maḫur-ili in the year of Enna-Sū'in.²⁶

One might gain the impression that there were thousands of *ḫamuštum* eponyms during the long period of the Assyrian trade colonies in Anatolia, but, though no complete collection exists as yet, the number of known *ḫamuštum* eponyms is much smaller than one would expect. The reason is surely to be found in the practices which the traders followed in appointing their *ḫamuštum* eponyms, as described below.

The same pairs of *ḫamuštum* eponyms held office not only once but in different months of the same year under a particular *limum* eponym (see Table I). Moreover, the same pairs appear in different months of different years (see Table II).

²⁶ Similarly, the fact that for each of two specific months no more than the 3 *ḫamuštum* eponyms listed below are attested must be due to the accidents of preservation.

²² Kültepe c/k 1529:4–18: . . . *ištu ḫamuštum* (5) *ša A-šūr-ma-līk* DUMU *Lu-zi-na* (6) *ana* 14 ITU.KAM *išaqgal* . . . (16) ITU.KAM *Ma-ḫu-ur-DINGIR* (17) *limum ša qāli* (18) *En-na-Sū-in* DUMU *Šu-A-šur*.

²³ TCL XXI, No. 235:4–16: . . . *ištu* (5) *ḫamuštum ša me-ra* (6) *En-um-A-nim ana* (7) ITU.2.KAM *išaqgal* . . . (11) ITU.KAM (12) *Ma-ḫu-ri-lu* (13) *limum* (14) *ša qāli* (15) *En-na-Sū-in* (16) DUMU *Šu-A-šur*.

²⁴ Kültepe a/k 456 b 4–8 (tablet): . . . *ištu* (5) *ḫamuštum ša I-tur-DINGIR* (6) ITU.KAM *Ma-ḫu-ur-i-lī* (7) *limum En-na-Sū-in* (8) DUMU *Šu-A-šur* . . . ; a/k 456 a 6–9 (envelope).

²⁵ TCL XXI, No. 224:7–13: . . . *ištu ḫamuštum* (8) *ša Mannum-ba-līm-A-šūr* . . . (11) ITU.KAM *Ma-ḫu-ur-i-lī* (12) *limum ša qāli* (13) *En-na-Sū-in* DUMU *Šu-A-šur*.

<i>Limum</i>	Month	<i>ḫamuštum</i> Eponyms
Akūtum	Ḫubur	Puzazu (BIN IV, No. 160:31 f.) Šuli (EL, No. 310 [= CCT V, Pl. 22 a] rev. 14'–16') Šumma-libbi-ilia (g/k 75:4–8)
Inā son of Amurā	Kuzallu	Idi-Abum (EL, No. 224:6 f.) Puzur-Adad (a/k 429:12–14) Šū-Ištar son of Luzina (h/k 21:4–13)

TABLE I

<i>Ḥamuštum</i> Eponyms	Month	<i>Līmum</i> Eponym
I. Idi-Aššur (1) and Ikūnum (2)	Ti'inātum	Aššur-damiq (c/k 129:3-5 [see n. 36 below] and 22-24)
“ “ “ “	Kuzallu	“ “ (c/k 125:24-27; see n. 37)
“ “ “ “	Allanātum	“ “ (c/k 33:7-10 and c/k 41:54-56 [see n. 38]; c/k 255:6-8)
II. Šamaš-bāni (2) and Lāqīp (1)	Kuzallu	A-al-tāb (a/k 831:5-6; see n. 35)
“ “ (1) “ “ (2)	Allanātum	“ (EL, No. 56:6-8 [see n. 29] and 17-19)

TABLE II

<i>Ḥamuštum</i> Eponyms	Month	<i>Līmum</i> Eponym
I. Itūr-ilum (1) and Kurub-Ištar (2)	Šib'um	Kubia (EL, No. 23:5-9)
“ “ “ “ “	Kuzallu	Ṭāb-Aššur (EL, No. 55:6-8, 19-20)
“ “ “ “ “	Ab-šarrāni	Idi-Abum (TCL XXI, No. 231 A 5-7, 12-14)
II. Šū-Kubim (1) and Gazia (2)	Tanmartu	Idi-Abum son of Narbitum (EL, Nos. 227:22-26 and 82:5-7, 18-20)
“ “ “ “	Maḥur-ili	Aššur-idi son of Šuli (a/k 468 a 14-16 and 21-22, b 8-11 and 17-20)
“ “ “ “	“ “	ša qāti Adad-bāni (a/k 493 a 12-15, b 8-12)
“ “ “ “	Ḥubur	Alāḥum (c/k 17:5-7, 12-14)
III. Amurru-bāni (1) and Aššur-nādā (2)	Allanātum	Ṭāb-Aššur (ICK I, No. 104:6-9, 16-18)
“ “ “ “ “	Ša-sarrātim	ša qāti Adad-bāni (a/k 1130 b 5-7, 10-13)
“ “ “ “ “	Maḥur-ili	Alāḥum son of Īnaḥ-ili (g/k 57:3-6)
“ “ “ “ “	Ḥubur	Aššur-nādā son of Puzur-Ana (EL, No. 26:4-10)

With the first name under III compare c/k 1211: *i-na ḥa-am-ša-tim* (2) *ša* ^dMAR.TU-*ba-ni* (3) DUMU *Ma-na-na* KÙ.BABBAR (4) *Šu-Sū-in a-na* (5) *ša ki-ma i-a-ti* (6) *i-dī-in* (7) ITU.KAM *Ma-ḥu-ur-ī-lī* (end). “During the *ḥamuštum* periods of Amurru-bāni son of Manana, Šū-Sū'in

has given the silver to my representatives. Month of Maḥur-ili.” This is a kind of dating (cf. p. 169 above); the plural *ḥamšātim* seems to imply that the *ḥamuštum* office could be extended for another 5-day week.

THE OFFICE OF THE KAŠŠUM

In loan contracts from Kültepe the name of the *ḥamuštum* eponym is frequently replaced by the word *kaššum*, which is not yet clearly defined.²⁷ *Kaššum* (sg.) replaces a single *ḥamuštum* eponym or *ḥamuštum* eponyms mentioned in pairs.

The most detailed and clearest usage of the word *kaššum* is reflected in the formula *ištu ḥamuštīm ša kaššīm ša iqqāti A u B ilqeū ana x ḥamšātim išaqqal* (c/k 41:51-55; *išaqqulū* in c/k 41:36-38), “(dating) from the *ḥamuštum* eponymy of the *kaššum* who from the hand of

A and B has received (the office of *ḥamuštum* eponymy), in x *ḥamuštum* periods he/they (i.e., the debtor/debtors) shall pay back (the loan).”²⁸ Variants of the same formula are quite common in Kültepe documents: *ištu ḥamuštīm ša kaššīm ša qāti ša A u B ana x ḥamšātim išaqqal*,²⁹ *ištu ḥamuštīm ša kaššīm ša qāti A (u B) . . . gfn.ta*

²⁷ Kültepe c/k 33:6-13 (see Balkan, *Letter*, p. 55) offers the same configuration with a slight variant: *kaspam . . . ištu ḥamuštīm* (6) *ša kaššīm ša iqqāti* (7) *Idi-Aššur u Ikūnim* (8) *ilqeū* (<*ilqeū*>) ITU.KAM (9) *Allanātum* (10) *līmum* (11) *Aššur-sig₆* (12) $1\frac{1}{2}$ gfn.ta *ina* (13) ITU.KAM-*im uššubū*. The addition of a second *ilqeū* is necessitated by the parallels for this type of loan (see p. 170 above).

²⁸ Kültepe c/k 920:4-11; with omission of *ša* after *qāti*: EL, No. 56:6-10, and c/k 41:15-18, *ištu ḥamuštīm ša kaššīm ša qāti A u B ana x ḥamšātim išaqqal* (*išaqqulū*); with only one personal name: ICK I, No. 9:6-10.

²⁹ Cf. Landsberger and Balkan in *Belleten* XIV (1950) 233; Hirsch, *Untersuchungen*, p. 57, n. 298. Add TCL XX, No. 165:6 and 24; AnOr VI, No. 9:7 (referring to the city of Assur); MAH 16158:17 and 23 (quoted in HUCA XXXII [1961] 66, n. 201). W. von Soden, according to Hirsch, *loc. cit.*, reads *qaššu*, by-form of *qadšu*, “der (das) Heilige.”

a x MA.NA i ITU.KAM *šibtam uššubū*,³⁰ *ištu hamuštum ša kaššim ana x hamšātīm* (or x ITU.KAM) *išaqgal*,³¹ *ištu hamuštum ša iqqāti A ilqeū ina x hamšātīm išaqgal*.³² According to these formulas the duty of a *hamuštum* eponymy may be taken over by a *kaššum* from the one or two persons who are, apparently, the outgoing *hamuštum* eponym(s).³³ In this connection the *kaššum* is never mentioned by name.³⁴

³⁰ EL, No. 24:9-13; j/k 607:5-11; c/k 601:32-34 (*uššab*). Cf. *ištu hamuštum ša kaššim ša qāti A . . . DINGIR šapattam illikma KÙ.BABBAR ilqe* (a/k 1055 b 5-10, discussed above on p. 170).

³¹ *ICK I*, No. 40 b 5-9; a/k 1017:6-10; a/k 1104 b 5-8; c/k 41:48-50; c/k 797:5-8; i/k 15:5 f.; f/k 165:4-7. Cf. *CCT V*, Pl. 46 b 40 f. Differently styled are *ištu hamuštum ša kaššim x GÍN.TA . . . šibtam . . . uššabū* (EL, No. 22:5-11; a/k 1178:6-9) and *ištu hamuštum ša kaššim ITU.KAM ša Kinātīm limum ša qāti Inā . . . šumma ana 6 ITU.KAM šibīšu ana PN la ušēli . . .* (b/k 665:5-15). The reading of EL, No. 48:8-16, is not certain but is probably *ištu hamuštum qá(!)-tí ša ká(!)-ši-im . . . ana 13 hamšātīm išaqgal*.

³² Kültepe b/k 205:4-10. Differently styled is *ištu hamuštum ša qāti A u B ana x hamšātīm C ana D ušaqgal* (k/k 105:6-11).

³³ The character of *hamuštum* as an office is manifested by its connection with *kaššum*, "to hold" (see p. 168 above), and *laqārum*, "to take over"; *kullu* and *leqū* are the verbs used in connection with *paršu*, "office."

This contrasts with the phrase *limum ša iqqāti PN išbutu* (see Balkan, *Observations*, p. 81). Though the parallelism between *limum ša qāti PN* and *hamuštum . . . ša qāti* is obvious, we must delay discussion of the former and limit ourselves to the following remarks. W. von Soden (*AHW*, p. 380. s.v. *ina* II 1 b) writes "empfangen *ina qāt* aus der Hand s. *leqū*, *maḥāru*, *šabātu*," but *CAD XVI* 5-34 lists not a single passage for such a construction nor even any *šabātu* with the meaning "to take from (person)." The entry *ina qāt PN šabātu* on p. 23a, 5th line from bottom, is obviously a misprint for *ina qāt* (pronoun), so that Brinkman's note 2 on p. 390 of *Or. N.S. XXXII* is based on a misunderstanding.

The translation by Lewy in *Or. N.S. XXVI* 20, n. 3, "eponym he who received (the eponymy office) from Amur-Aššur's hand," is impeccable (if we discount the loose rendering of *šabātu* as "receive") but leaves unanswered the question of the anonymity of the *ša qāti limum* that occurs so often, unless we identify "he who" with the *limum* (meaning the second *limum*; see Balkan, *Observations*, pp. 97-99: "outside of dates") or—more probable—with Amur-Aššur himself, who continued for another year. Note *limum ša qāt qāti* in Balkan, *Observations*, p. 100.

³⁴ Only the *kaššum* of a local Anatolian village (see *Belleten XIV* 233) is sometimes mentioned by name (i.e., by his native name), e.g. EL, No. 14:11-12: . . . IGI *Tù-ma-na* (12) *kà-ši-im* (Lewy in EL II 173); a/k 825:17: 1 MA.NA *Tù-li kà-šu-um*. Examples without names are listed by Hirsch, *Untersuchungen*, p. 57, n. 298; also i/k 5:5-11: *ištu Timilki(a)* (6) *ú-ši a-lá-ni* (7) *ú ša kà-ši-im* (8) *ša Ku-pì-tá* (9) *ša pá-ni-šu* (10) *qí-pá-nim-ma* (11) *šé-bi-lá-nim*.

As seen above (Table I), the loan document a/k 831 informs us that Šamaš-bāni and Lāqīp were *hamuštum* eponyms in the month of Kuzallu during the *limum* eponymy of A-al-tāb.³⁵ According to EL, No. 56:6-8 (see p. 172, with n. 29), the same pair, Šamaš-bāni and Lāqīp, handed over their official duties to a *kaššum* in the month of Allanātum (the month after Kuzallu), also during the *limum* eponymy of A-al-tāb. The memorandum c/k 129 shows that Idi-Aššur and Ikūnum were *hamuštum* eponyms in the month of Tīpīnātum during the *limum* eponymy of Aššur-damiq,³⁶ and we know that the same pair was also active in the following month, Kuzallu.³⁷ Thus it appears that in Kuzallu they were reappointed to the office. Finally, a *kaššum* took over the duties from these two *hamuštum* eponyms in the next month, Allanātum, of the same year.³⁸

All these data seem to indicate that the word *kaššum* designates an official or a committee in the *kārum* who, or which, served from time to time as deputy in the name of one or two *hamuštum* eponyms. That the *kaššum* had an important rank in Kaniš is indicated by the legal protocol b/k 144 b, from which we learn that a legal decision was granted while he was in office.³⁹

In concluding we must confess that our treatment of the institution of the five-day week is far from complete or comprehensive. Lack of space and time has prevented us from investigating the entire credit system on which the Old Assyrian trade was based and from compiling statistical evidence for loans contracted on a

³⁵ Kültepe a/k 831:4-6: *ištu hamuštum* (5) *ša Lāqīp u* (6) *Šamaš-bāni . . .*

³⁶ Kültepe c/k 129:2-5: *ištu hamuštum* (3) *ša I-dī-A-šur ú I-ku-nim* (4) ITU.KAM *Ti-i-na-lim li-mu-um* (5) *A-šur-SIG₆ . . .*

³⁷ Kültepe c/k 125:23-27: *ištu hamuštum* (24) *ša I-dī-A-šur ú I-ku-nim . . .* (26) . . . ITU.KAM *Ku-zal-li* (27) *li-mu-um A-šur-SIG₆ . . .*

³⁸ Kültepe c/k 33:5-11: *ištu hamuštum* (6) *ša kà-ši-im ša i-qá-ti* (7) *I-dī-A-šur ú I-ku-nim* (8) *ilqe-ū* ITU.KAM (9) *Allanātīm* (10) *limum* (11) *A-šur-SIG₆*; the same context in c/k 41: 53-56.

³⁹ Kültepe b/k 144 b 1-4: *Ma-nu-ki-A-šur Šu-ku-bu-um¹* (2) *ú En-nam-A-šur iš-bu-[l]i-ū-ni-a-ti-ma* (3) *dī-šu-nu é kà-ši-im* (4) *ni-dī-in-ma . . .*, "M., Š., and E. took us (as judges) and we granted their decision in the house (i.e., office) of the *kaššum* . . ."

weekly basis as contrasted with those contracted on monthly or yearly terms.

But even in its present form this paper is offered to our revered teacher as a small token of gratitude by one of the many who were privileged to study under him in Turkey. Not only was he the first to introduce Assyriology and Sumerology in our universities and to teach

these subjects there for many years, he also emphasized, in his own work as well as in his teaching, those areas of Assyriological studies which most directly contribute to the understanding of the early history of Anatolia. To this I may add my personal thanks for the lively interest Professor Landsberger has taken in my own endeavors in general and in this paper in particular.

ANATOLISCHE FESTE NACH "KAPPADOKISCHEN" TAFELN

LUBOR MATOUŠ

Praha

Professor Benno Landsberger, dem der folgende Beitrag über religiöse Feste im alten Anatolien zum fünfundsiebzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet ist, verdanken wir grundlegende Erkenntnisse auf diesem Gebiet. Mit seinem ersten Werk, *Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer* (1915), seit dessen Herausgabe 50 Jahre verflossen sind, hat er viel zur Erklärung religiöser Feste beigetragen. In seiner Studie "Jahreszeiten im Sumerisch-Akkadischen" (*JNES* VIII [1949] 248–97) machte er zum erstenmal auf Feiertage im vorhethitischen Anatolien aufmerksam (S. 233). Auf Grund dieser Ausführungen handelte H. Hirsch, unter Heranziehung aller bis zum J. 1961 bekannten Belege über dieses Thema im Rahmen seiner *Untersuchungen zur altassyrischen Religion*¹ (S. 51–53). Mit unserem Beitrag wollen wir kurz eine mögliche Einordnung der anatolischen Feste in den altassyrischen Kalender versuchen.

In den altassyrischen Texten aus Kültepe finden wir im ganzen fünf nach einheimischen Gottheiten benannte Feste; es sind Festtage der Götter *Ana*, *Nipas* und *Parka*, sowie der wenig bekannten Gottheiten *Harihari* und *Tuhtuhānum*. Im Gegensatz zum Gott *Ana*, der auch ausserhalb der einheimischen Festtage bezeugt ist, kennen wir die übrigen oben aufgezählten Gottheiten ausschliesslich aus Verpflichtungsscheinen² als Terminbezeichnung für Schuldzahlung—hauptsächlich unter der nichtassyrischen Bevölkerungsschicht.

¹ Im folgenden als *UAR* abgekürzt.

² Die von *UAR*, S. 28, angeführten Belege aus den Briefen sind zu streichen. In *TCL* XIX, Nr. 10:29 ist mit *CAD* IV 208 *i-né-pá-áš*, "wird getan," zu lesen (ähnlich *CCT* III, Tf. 37 a 25; zum Zusammenhang s. J. Aro, *Die akkadischen Infinitivkonstruktionen*, S. 68). In *CCT* II, Tf. 30, Z. 6 ist mit J. Lewy, *Or. NS* XXI (1952) 278, Anm. 1, in *i-na ha(!)-ar-pi(!)*, "zur Erntezeit" (vgl. jedoch *UAR*, S. 53, Anm. 271), zu verbessern (zur Ernte als Zeitpunkt einer Schuld vgl. Landsberger, *JNES* VIII 287 ff., und Kienast, *ATHE*, Nr. 6:6).

ANA UND SEIN FEST

Ursprünglich hat J. Lewy in *A-na* eine defektive Schreibung für eine hurrische,³ allerdings nur aus Personennamen konstruierte Gottheit *Anna*⁴ sehen wollen.⁵ Neuerdings hat er jedoch seine Meinung dahingehend modifiziert, dass *Ana* vielmehr eine semitische Gottheit sei, die auf einigen altbabylonischen Siegelzylinderinschriften mit dem Vater des Stammgottes *Amurru* identifiziert werde.⁶

Zum semitischen Charakter dieses Gottes passt auch seine Erwähnung neben *Aššur* in der einmal vorkommenden Schwurformel des Ehescheidungskontraktes *ICK* I, Nr. 32: *nīš Aššur nīš A-na nīš rubā'im itmū*, wobei mit dem "Fürsten" nur der assyrische Herrscher⁷ gemeint sein kann. Der Gott *Ana* scheint in diesem Eid seinen Sohn *Amurru* zu vertreten, der in der Wendung *Aššur u MAR.TU litlulā*⁸ immer *Aššur* als dem höchsten Schwurgott folgt.

Der Gott *Ana* ist sehr oft in theophoren Personennamen mit akkadischem Bestandteil⁹ be-

³ Ebensovienig darf man aus dem heth. PN *Anniaš* auf Existenz dieser Gottheit im Pantheon von Boghazköy schliessen (vgl. dazu H. Otten, *ZA* LIII [1959] 175, Anm. 6). Von den in den "kappadokischen" Tafeln erwähnten Göttern findet sich nur *Parka* in den heth. Texten wider (s. dazu unten).

⁴ Aus der Pleneschreibung *A-na-a* in I 453 A 5 (zur Transliteration s. weiter unten) scheint hervorzugehen, dass der Gottesname vielmehr *Anā* anzusetzen ist.

⁵ S. dazu *ArOr* XVIII 3 (1950) S. 382, Anm. 75.

⁶ In *HUCA* XXXII (1961) 37 f. Vgl. auch P. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce* (Paris, 1963) S. 322 f.

⁷ Dazu Garelli, *op. cit.* S. 323 ff.

⁸ Z.B. *BIN* VI, Nr. 97:10 ff.; *CCT* V, Tf. 1 a 31 ff., Tf. 22 c 7 ff.; *ICK* I, Nr. 177:14. Dazu Garelli, *JSS* III (1958) 291, und *UAR*, S. 5, 13, und Anm. 415.

⁹ Belege bei *UAR*, S. 27. Die Lesung des PN *A-na-ni* (*ibid.* Anm. 136) als *Ana-(i)li* (vgl. zuletzt J. Lewy, *HUCA* XXXII 37) kann jetzt als gesichert gelten auf Grund der Schreibung [*A-al-ṭāb mēr A-n*]a-li in der Sammelurkunde *ICK* II, Nr. 127 x+4, einer Variante zu *A-al-ṭāb mēr A-na-ni* im Dupl. *ICK* II, Nr. 130 x+26 = *ICK* I, Nr. 191:42. Der Vater des *Ana-(i)li* ist nach *ICK* II, Nr. 106:20, wahrsch. *Al-ṭāb* (zur Gewohn-

legt, was seine Verehrung gerade unter der semitischen Bevölkerungsschicht bezeugt. Ausserdem wird in *TCL XX*, Nr. 161:8, ein Priester des Gottes *Ana* mit assyrischem Namen *Asu*¹⁰ erwähnt. In *EL*, Nr. 153:4, erscheint dieser Gott sogar als Gläubiger.¹¹

Als Terminangabe ist das Fest des Gottes *Ana* insgesamt in sechs Verpflichtungsscheinen (*EL*, Nr. 67; *ICK I*, Nr. 115, dazu Hülle in *ICK II*, Nr. 15; *ICK II*, Nr. 4 und 50; I 453; I 552) und in einer Kaufurkunde *TCL XXI*, Nr. 254,¹² belegt. Der Termin der Schuldzahlung wird entweder mit *ana ša A-na* (resp. *ašša A-na* in I 552:6, 8) oder mit *ina ša A-na* ausgedrückt, die Kontrahenten sind meistens Einheimische (zu assyr. Kontrahenten vgl. unten), die Schuld ist in allen Fällen Silber (meistens *liti*, in I 552 *šarrupum*).

ICK I, Nr. 115 (Innentafel): ¹ 5 *ma-na kaspam li-ti* ² *i-se-er Du-du-li* ³ *ú Hu-da a-ši-ti-šu* ⁴ *Hi-iš-tá-ah-šu* *ú A-na-ħa(!)* ⁵ *Šu-pí-ú-ma-an* *ú Tal-ħa-ma* ⁶ *a-ši-ti-šu* *Pè-ru-a* ⁷ *ú Ga-na-na a-ši-ti-šu* ⁸ *Iš-pu-tá-ah-šu* ⁹ *ú Mu-a-na-ni a-ši-ti-šu* ¹⁰ *A-šur-ma-lik i-šu* ¹¹ *a-na ša A-na* ¹² *i-ša-qú-lu šu-ma* ¹³ *i-na u-mi-šu-nu* ¹⁴ *ma-al-ú-tim* ¹⁵ *lá iš-qú-lu* ³ *šiqli* TA ¹⁶ *a-na ma-na-em ši-ib-tam* ¹⁷ *i-na warħim^{xam} u-ša(!)-bu* ¹⁸ *warħ^{xam} ma-ħu-ur i-lí* ¹⁹ *li-mu-um Bu-sú-ta-a* ²⁰ *kaspum i-qá-qá-ad* ²¹ *šál-mi-šu-nu* *ú ke-ni-šu-nu* ²² *ra-ki-is maħar A-sú* ²³ *maħar Pá-ar-ma-wa-da* ²⁴ *maħar A-bi-a maħar Be-lí-tāb*.

ICK II, Nr. 15 (Hülle): . . . ^{x+5}[*kunuk A-s*]^ú ^{x+6}[*kunuk Be-lí-tāb*] ^{x+7}[. . . *li*]-*tí i-še-er* ^{x+8}. . . *Šu-pí-ú-ma-an* ^{x+9}[. . . *Iš-pu-tá-ah-šu* . . .

heit, Kinder in Kappadokien nach den Grossvätern zu benennen, vgl. J. Lewy, *HUCA XXVII* [1958] 6 f.). Zu weiteren Belegen für *Ana-(i)li* s. auch Index zu *ICK II* und Kienast, *ATHE*, Nr. 59:7 (Index, s.v. *A-na-ni*).

¹⁰ Vgl. *AHw*. S. 76b. Nach J. Lewy, *ArOr XVIII* 3, S. 388 f., ein Einheimischer.

¹¹ In dem von J. Lewy, *HUCA XXVII* 10 f., Anm. 46, aus Sayce Coll. herangezogenen Beleg für den Tisch des *Ana* (vgl. dazu auch *UAR*, S. 67, Anm. 361) ist statt *i-na pá-šu-ri-im ša A-na* vielmehr mit P. Garelli, *RA LVI* (1962) 191, Anm. 2, *ina pařim(!) ša Aššur(!)* zu lesen (vgl. auch Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, S. 223, Anm. 2).

¹² Bearbeitet von J. Lewy, *AHDO I* (1937) 92–95.

¹³ So nach Kollation von J. Lewy. Das letzte Zeichen ist nicht sehr klar. Es könnte auch *al* gelesen werden (freundliche Mitteilung K. Balkans).

Vier einheimische Ehepaare und zwei weitere Eingeborene¹⁴ schulden dem Gläubiger *Aššur-malik*¹⁵ zusammen 5 Minen *liti*-Silber,¹⁶ das zum Fest des *Ana* fällig ist. Für die Einordnung des Festes ist von Wichtigkeit das Datum der Urkunde im 10. Monat. Ob das *Ana*-Fest noch innerhalb der beiden letzten Monate stattfand oder ob es am Anfang des nächsten Jahres gefeiert wurde, lässt sich mit Hilfe unserer Urkunde nicht entscheiden (vgl. jedoch unten zu I 453).

ICK II, Nr. 4: ¹ 6 *ma-na kaspam* ² *i-še-er I-kunim* ³ *Šu-A-num* *ú Šu-Lá-ba-an* ⁴ *i-šu-a šl.BA* 1 *ma-na kaspam* ⁵ *i-na ša A-na* ⁶ *i-ša-qal ši-tám* ⁷ 5 *ma-na kaspam* ⁸ *i-na ša Ni-pá-ás* ⁹ *i-ša-qál* ¹⁰ *maħar A-gu-tim* ¹¹ *mēr Enlil-ba-ni* ¹² *maħar Amurru-ma-ni* ¹³ *mēr Šu-li*.

Die Reihenfolge der Terminangabe *ša Ana* und *ša Nipas* (vgl. auch *ICK II*, Nr. 50) zeigt

¹⁴ Die meisten der Schuldner gehören zur sog. kanisischen Gruppe (vgl. dazu A. Goetze, *Kleinasien* [2. Aufl.] S. 51) der anatolischen Bevölkerung, so vor allem die PN mit dem Suffix *-ahšu*: *Išput-ahšu* (Z. 10), der den Beinamen des kanisischen Wassergottes *Išput* (dazu Goetze, *Language XXX* [1954] 356) enthält, oder *Hišt-ahšu* (Z. 4), gebildet mit dem Komponenten *ħašt* (vgl. Var. *ħašt-ahšu*; zum Wechsel *a/i* in den PN s. J. Lewy, *AHDO I* 96, Anm. 4), "stark" (vgl. E. Bilgiç, *Afo XV* [1945–51] 3), sowie mit dem Suffix *-uman*: *Šuppi-uman* (Z. 5) enthält das heth. *šuppi*, "rein." Zur kanisischen Schicht gehört auch *Peruwa* (Z. 6), der den Namen des Hauptgottes von Kaniš *Perwa* (dazu H. Otten, *JKF II* [1951] 62 ff.) enthält. Der Frauennamen *Mua-nani* (Z. 9) besteht aus dem heth. luwischen Elementen *nana/i*, "Bruder," und *muwa*, "Seele" (vgl. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, S. 141 f.). Der PN *Talħama* ist zusammengesetzt aus *Talħa*, das in dem Stadtnamen *Talħad/t* (dazu J. Lewy, *ArOr XVIII* 3, S. 412, Anm. 266) erscheint. Zum PN *Duduli* vgl. H. Lewy, *Or. NS XXVII* (1958) 14, Anm. 3.

¹⁵ Über den Gläubiger *Aššur-malik* s. J. Lewy, *ArOr XVIII* 3, S. 373, Anm. 43. Zu seinem Archiv gehören die Tafeln aus dem Fundort 12 (vgl. den Plan bei B. Hrozný, *ICK I*, Pl. CXXIX), d. h. *ICK I*, Nr. 9 und 172; *ICK II*, Nr. 1 (Zeuge *Nakiled*, wie in *ICK I*, Nr. 9!), sowie Sammelurkunden *ICK II*, Nr. 224 und 225 (vgl. auch unten I 453).

¹⁶ Zu *kaspum liti* vgl. Kienast, *ATHE*, S. 5 f., und Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, S. 267, Anm. 4. Aus der Bezeichnung *kaspum liti dammuquum* (z. B. in *ATHE*, Nr. 2:1; *ICK II*, Nr. 43; *TCL XXI*, Nr. 231 A 2 und 238 A 2) scheint hervorzugehen, dass es sich nicht um eine niedrigere Qualität des Silbers (wie E. Bilgiç, *Appellativa der kapp. Texte*, S. 68, annimmt) handelt. Meistens in Verpflichtungsscheinen, in denen Kontrahenten Eingeborene sind (z. B. *EL*, Nr. 14, 20, 67; *ICK I*, Nr. 172; *TCL XXI*, Nr. 238), gelegentlich auch unter den Assyrern, wie z. B. in *ICK I*, Nr. 11: Schuldnerin ist *Šāt-Ea* (vgl. auch *EL*, Nr. 60), die nach *ICK II*, Nr. 11 B 5, Tochter des *Sue-dada* war, Gläubigerin ist *Ištar-lamassī* (vgl. *ICK I*, Nr. 24).

klar, dass das Fest des *Ana* dem des *Nipas* voranging.

ICK II, Nr. 50: ¹ ½ *ma-na kaspam* ² *i-šé-er Du-nu-ni* ³ *ù Du-li Šu-La-ba-an* ⁴ *i-šu* ¹⁵ *šiqil kaspam* ⁵ *a-na ša A-na* ¹⁵ *šiqil* ⁶ *a-na ša Pá-ar-kà* ⁷ *i-ša-qú-lu* ⁸ *maḥar Sú-kà-li-a* ⁹ *mēr Me-na-nim* ¹⁰ *maḥar En-nam-a-a* ¹¹ *[ma]ḥar Puzur-Ištar* ¹² *mēr Zu-ur-bu*.

Zwei Einheimische¹⁷ sollen ihre Schuld in zwei gleichen Raten, nämlich zum Fest des Gottes *Ana* und zum Fest des Gottes *Parka* zurückzahlen. Aus dieser doppelten Terminangabe geht klar hervor, dass das Fest des *Parka* nach dem Fest des *Ana* gefeiert wurde.

I 453 (unveröff.; Innentafel): ¹ 1½ *ma-na kaspam* ² *i-šé-er Ḥa-lu-pá-a* ³ *A-ar-nu-a-šu* ⁴ *A-šur-ma-lik* ⁵ *i-šu a-na ša A-na-a* ⁶ *i-ša-qál kaspum* ⁷ *<ì>-qá-qá-ad ša-al-mì-šu-nu* ⁸ *ra-ki-is iš-tù* ⁹ *ḥa-ša(!)-uš-tim* ¹⁰ *ša Kur-ub-Ištar* ¹¹ *warah^{KAM} Ḥa-bu-ur* ¹² *li-mu(!)* ¹³ *I-ku-pí-Ištar* ¹⁴ *sú-[ù]ḥ-ri-im* ¹⁵ *šu-ma lá iš-qú-ul* ¹⁶ *1 ma-na-um* ½ *manā'em* ¹⁷ *i-šé-ḥu-ur* ¹⁸ *maḥar Wardim* ¹⁹ *maḥar Kà-ri-a* ²⁰ *maḥar I-dí-^aŠamaš*.

I 453 (Hülle): (Siegel a) ¹ *kunuk A-šur-rabi mēr Lá-qí-íp* ² *kunuk I-dí-^aŠamaš mēr Ḥa-lu-pá* ³ *kunuk Kà-ri-a kunuk Ḥu-lu-pá* ⁴ *kunuk Ir-nu-wa-šu a-ḥi-šu* ⁵ 1½ *ma-na kaspam* (Siegel b) ⁶ *i-šé-er Ḥu-lu-pá* (Siegel c) ⁷ *ù Ir-nu-wa-šu a-ḥi-šu* ⁸ *A-šur-ma-lik i-šu iš-tù* ⁹ *ḥa-mu-uš-tim ša Kur-^(ub)-Ištar* ¹⁰ *a-na ša A-na* ¹¹ *i-ša-qú-lu kaspum* ¹² *i-qá-qá-^(ad) ša-al-mì-šu-nu* ¹³ *ra-ki-is šu-ma lá iš-qú-lu* (Siegel d) ¹⁴ *1 ma-na-um* ½ *manā'em* ¹⁵ *i-ša-ḥu-ur* (Siegel c) ¹⁶ *warah^{KAM} Ḥu-bu-ur li-mu-um* (Siegel a) ¹⁷ *I-ku-pí-Ištar*.

I 453 (Inscription des Siegels a): ¹ ^a *A-šur-[rabi]* ² *mēr La-qí-pu-u[m]*.

Zwei Brüder¹⁸ schulden dem Gläubiger *Aššur-*

¹⁷ Wohl Hurriter. Zum PN *Duli* vgl. den hypokoristischen Kurznamen auf *-ia*: *Dulia* in EL, Nr. 143:16 (dazu L. Oppenheim, *RHA* V [1937] 16), der auch in Nuzi belegt ist (vgl. *NPN*, S. 157, s. v. Tulija, und I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, S. 18, Anm. 34).

¹⁸ Das Verwandtschaftsverhältnis beider Schuldner geht aus I 453 B 6 f. hervor. Nach Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, S. 142 f., sollen die Namen hethitisch sein; *Ḥa/ulupa* (zum Wechsel *a/u* in einheimischen PN s. J. Lewy, *ArOr* XVIII 3, S. 410, Anm. 247) leitet er vom heth. *ḥalupant* ab (J. Lewy sieht dagegen *ibid.* S. 385, Anm. 89, in der Endung *b/pa* eine Lautvariante des hurrischen Suffixes *-wa*); *Irnuāššu* (zur Var. *Arnuaššu* vgl. *OLZ* LIII [1958] 348, Anm. 1) zerlegt er in die Komponenten *irnu* + *aššu*, "gut." Aus der Schreibung

malik zusammen 1½ Minen Silber, die am Fest des *Ana* fällig sind. Bei unpünktlicher Zahlung tritt Verzugszins in der Höhe von 50% ein. Da der Verpflichtungsschein im letzten Monat datiert ist, wird man wohl nicht fehlgehen, wenn man das Fest des *Ana* in die erste Hälfte des Jahres setzt.

I 552 (unpubl.): ¹ 4 *ma-na kaspam* ² *ša-ru-pá-am* ³ *Ḥa-áš-ta-li* ⁴ *Wa-al-ḥa-áš-na u* ⁵ *Ku-la-mì Im-dí-ilum* ⁶ *i-šu a-ša A-na* ⁷ *i-ša-qú-lu* {iš} ⁸ *šu-ma a-ša A-na* ⁹ *lá iš-qú-lu* ¹⁰ *1 ma-na-um* ³ *šiqil* ¹¹ *i-na warḥim^{KAM}* ¹² *ú-šú-bu-ú* ¹³ *kaspum i-na qá-qá-ad* ¹⁴ *šál-mi-šu-nu ke-ni-šu-nu* ¹⁵ *ra-ki-is* ¹⁶ *maḥar A-du-du* ¹⁷ *maḥar Zu-pá maḥar Zu-zu*.

Drei Einheimische¹⁹ schulden dem Gläubiger *Imdi-ilum* insgesamt 4 Minen geläutertes Silber,²⁰ Verzugszins 60%, ausführliche Gesamthaftungsklausel. Die Schuld ist zum Fest des Gottes *Ana* fällig.²¹

PARKA UND SEIN FEST

Der einzige der fünf in den altassyrischen Kontrakten aus Kültepe in Verbindung mit einheimischen Festen genannten Götter, der im hethitischen Pantheon erwähnt wird, ist *Parka*.²²

Arnuaššu (dazu J. Lewy, *Or.* NS XXI 405, Anm. 3) wird man jedoch annehmen müssen, dass es sich vielmehr um die kanisische Endung *-aššu* (vgl. dazu oben Anm. 14) mit dem Verlust des *ḥ* handelt.

¹⁹ Zum heth. PN *Ḥaštali*, "stark," vgl. S. Alp, *Bulleten* XIII (1949) 264, Anm. 98 (s. auch Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, S. 142). Der Name *Walḥašna* (vgl. auch *Walḥiš* in *ICK* I, Nr. 190:25, aus dem heth. *walḥ-*, "schlagen"; dazu Garelli, *Les Assyriens . . .*, S. 148) gehört zu den mit Hilfe des Suffixes *-na* (dazu Balkan, *Letter*, S. 18) gebildeten PN. Als Varianten sind bekannt *Walḥišna* (*ICK* II, Nr. 127 y + 29) und *Walḥšina* (EL, Nr. 107 A 3).

²⁰ Dass *kaspum šarrupum* nicht ausschliesslich auf Geschäfte unter der assyrischen Bevölkerung beschränkt war, zeigen z. B. Verpflichtungsscheine EL, Nr. 76; *ICK* I, Nr. 9, 41, 106; *ICK* II, Nr. 10 und 36 (Hülle zu *ICK* I, Nr. 117) usw.; vgl. auch das Depositum *CCT* V, Tf. 34 b 22 f.

²¹ Auch die Zeugen gehören zur einheimischen Bevölkerungsgeschicht. *Adudu* (Z. 16) und *Zuzu* sind charakteristisch für den hypokoristischen Namestypus *Atata* resp. *Tata* (dazu Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, S. 131); dem Namen seines Sohnes *Alu* (*ATHE*, Nr. 5 B 1; *ICK* II, Nr. 343:18) nach scheint *Adudu* ein Hurrite zu sein (zum PN *Alu*, *Aluwa*, *Aluia* vgl. J. Lewy, *ArOr* XVIII 3, S. 411). *Zupa* (Z. 17) hängt mit heth. *zuppa-* (Garelli, *Les Assyriens . . .*, S. 148) zusammen.

²² Im heth. Ritualtext Bo. 181 (im Umschrift bei Otten, *ZA* LIII 175-77) wird der Tempel der Gottheit *Pár-ga* erwähnt.

In den "kappadokischen" Texten ist er in der Schreibweise *Pá-ar-kà*, *Pár-kà* (*ICK* I, Nr. 16, und *ATHE*, Nr. 2) oder *Pí-ir-kà* (*ICK* I, Nr. 191:36; *ICK* II, Nr. 130 x+24 und 132:33) belegt.

Als Zahlungstermin findet sich das Fest des *Parka* in vier^{22a} Verpflichtungsscheinen (*ICK* I, Nr. 16, 30, 40, und *ATHE*, Nr. 2) und in drei Sammelurkunden (*ICK* I, Nr. 191:36; *ICK* II, Nr. 130 x+24 und 132:33), die Abschriften von Verpflichtungsscheinen in Form von geschäftlichen Aufzeichnungen²³ mit dem Namen des Schuldners enthalten. Ähnlich wie bei *Ana* wird der Termin der Schuldzahlung entweder mit *ina ša Pa/irka* (auch *ina Pirka* in *ICK* II, Nr. 132:33) oder *ana ša Parka* angegeben. Die Schuldner sind (mit Ausnahme von *ICK* I, Nr. 191, und seinem Dupl. *ICK* II, Nr. 130 x+24) sämtlich Einheimische.²⁴

Nach *ICK* I, Nr. 40, fand das Fest des *Parka* 15 *hamuštum*-Wochen nach dem *hamuštum*-Eponym des *GA-ši-im*²⁵ statt. Da aber dieses Eponymat nicht näher durch einen Monat bestimmt ist, können wir mit Hilfe dieses Ver-

^{22a} Aus J. Lewy's Nachlass wird mir freundlicherweise von Professor H. Lewy in Umschrift ein weiterer unpublikierter Verpflichtungsschein, Adana 237 E, mitgeteilt: ¹ $\frac{1}{2}$ manā'em maṭi ² $\frac{1}{2}$ šiqṭim ² i šé-er Ištar-lá-ma-si ³ Na-na-a ti-šu ⁴ i-na ša Pá-ar-ka ⁵ ta-ša-qal šu-ma ⁶ i-na u₄-mì-ša ⁷ lá ta-áš-qú-ul ⁸ amtam bitam ⁹ ta-ta (oder ša?)-ma ¹⁰ kasap^{av}-ša ¹¹ ta-lá-qí maḥar Šu-ma-bi₄-a ¹² maḥar E-lá-lí.

²³ Mit *išti* statt *išser* wird in den Verpflichtungsscheinen (wie z. B. *ICK* II, Nr. 71) ausgedrückt, dass die Schuld nicht Neubegründet, sondern als bereits bestehend anerkannt wird (s. dazu Vorbem. zu EL, Nr. 185). In den Sammelurkunden (wie *ICK* II, Nr. 129–32) wird oft die Klausel der Verpflichtungsscheine *išser* durch *išti* ersetzt.

²⁴ Das Ehepaar in *ICK* I, Nr. 16, weist einheimische Elemente auf: zu *Huluš* vgl. *Hulu* (*BIN* VI, Nr. 251:23) und seine Var. *Huli*, *Hulia* (dazu J. Lewy, *ArOr* XVIII 3, S. 410), wohl zum heth. *hulli-* (vgl. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, S. 143) zu stellen; der Frauennamen *Asue* und seine Erweiterungen *Asuwa/e* (dazu J. Lewy, *ArOr* XVIII 3, S. 388) enthält das kanisische Suffix *-(a)šwe* (dazu A. Goetze, *RHA* XVIII [1960] 50). Auch die beiden Schuldner in *ICK* I, Nr. 30, sind Einheimische: *Išpunuman* gehört zu kanisischen, mit Hilfe des Suffixes *-uman* (vgl. oben Anm. 14) gebildeten Namen; zu *Tamuria* vgl. J. Lewy, *AHDO* I 103. Die beiden Zeugen *Peruwa* und *Harša* (dazu Garelli, *Les Assyriens* . . . , S. 142) sind heth. Ursprungs. Hethitisch ist auch der Name des Schuldners in *ICK* I, Nr. 40, *Kammalia* (Garelli, *Les Assyriens* . . . , S. 143); *Numu* ist kaum ein assyrischer Name (so *UAR*, S. 53), seiner Bildung nach scheint er entweder hurrischen (vgl. J. Lewy, *ArOr* XVIII 3, S. 392) oder hattischen (Garelli, *Les Assyriens* . . . , S. 161, Anm. 1) Ursprungs zu sein.

²⁵ Zur Bedeutung dieses Ausdrucks s. *UAR*, S. 57, Anm. 298. [S. auch hier, S. 172 f.—Hrsg.]

pflchtungsscheines das Fest des *Parka* nicht in den assyrischen Kalender einordnen.

Von grösserer Wichtigkeit für die wenigstens annähernde Festlegung dieses Termins im Kalender ist der Verpflichtungsschein *ATHE*, Nr. 2, der ähnlich wie *ICK* I, Nr. 40, die Zahlungsfrist zum Fest des *Parka* in *hamuštum*-Wochen angibt, daneben aber eine Monatsdatierung aufweist.

ATHE, Nr. 2 (Innentafel): ¹ 11 ma-na kas-pam li-[t]i damm[uqam] ² i-šé-er ³ Ha-ar-šu-nu-ma-an ⁴ kumrim ša ⁵ Šamaš ⁶ Pu-šu-ki-in i-šu ⁶ iš-⟨tū⟩ ha-muš-tim ⁷ ša Šu-Ku-bi-im ù Kur-ub-I[štar] ⁸ a-na 13 ha-am-ša-tim ⁹ a-na ša Pár-kà ša i-[lá]-kà-[ni] ¹⁰ i-ša-qál ¹¹ šu-ma i-na u₄-mì-šu ¹² ma-al-ú-tim ¹³ lá [i]š-qúl ¹⁴ 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ šiqṭi TA a-ma-na-e[m] ¹⁵ ú-[š]a-ab ¹⁶ warah^{kam} ⟨ša⟩ ki-na-tim ¹⁷ li-mu-um ša qá-ti ¹⁸ [I-dí-a-b]i-im ¹⁹ maḥar A-dé-la-at ²⁰ maḥar En²⁷-na-nim ²¹ maḥar Ha-al-ki-a-šu ²² maḥar Ar-[s]i-a.

Die Schuld des Priesters des Sonnengottes *Haršunuman* ist in 13 *hamuštum*-Wochen zum kommenden Fest des Gottes *Parka* fällig. Da die Urkunde im 9. Monat²⁸ datiert ist, kann man —falls *hamuštum* 1/5 des Monats (= 30 Tage), also einen Zeitraum von 6 Tagen²⁹ bezeichnete —das Fest des Gottes *Parka* in den 11. bzw. 12. Monat des Jahres fixieren.³⁰

²⁶ Ergänzt nach *ICK* II, Nr. 17:14 f. (vgl. auch K. Deller, *Or.* NS XXXII [1963] 473). In derselben *hamuštum* und unter demselben Eponymat sind auch datiert *ICK* II, Nr. 16–17, und EL, Nr. 227:45. Aus demselben Eponymat (falls *limum* ša *gāti Idī-Kubim* = *limum Idī-Kubum* ist, wie der Vergleich von I. J. Gelb, *OIP* XXVII, Nr. 59:27, und EL, Nr. 24, mit der Sammelurkunde EL, Nr. 228:35, zeigt) sind noch folgende *hamuštum* bekannt: im 1. Monat: *Šu-Ištar* (*Berytus* III [1936] 76); im 3. Monat: *Šu-Kubum* und *Gazia* (EL, Nr. 92 und 227:26); im 6. Monat: *Enna-Anum* (I 587; unveröff.); im 11. Monat: *Itür-ili* und *Kurub-Ištar* (*TCL* XIX, Nr. 23).

²⁷ So mit H. Hirsch, *WZKM* LVII (1961) 45 zu verbessern.

²⁸ Zur Festlegung der Monate im Kalender s. J. Lewy, *ArOr* XI (1939) 28 und *HUCA* XVII (1943) 65. Vgl. jedoch *UAR*, S. 53, Anm. 27.

²⁹ So nach N. H. Tur-Sinai, *BiOr* VIII (1951) 16–20 (vgl. auch *ATHE*, S. 4, und *AHw.* S. 319). J. A. Brinkman, *Or.* NS XXXII (1963) 387–94, wollte auf Grund des Verpflichtungsscheines *CCT* V, Tf. 20, die Länge der *hamuštum*-Woche auf 10 Tage bestimmen [hat das aber widerrufen; s. *JNES* XXIV (1965) 118–20]. Zu *hamuštum* vgl. auch K. Balkan, oben S. 159–74.

³⁰ Gegen die Vermutung H. Ottens (*ZA* LIII 178) dass das Fest mit der Einbringung der Ernte verbunden werden kann, spricht nicht nur die Festlegung dieses Festes auf Grund von *ATHE*, Nr. 2, in die letzten Monate des Jahres, sondern auch die Tatsache, dass beim Termin *harpū* gewöhnlich Gerste zurückgegeben (*nadānum*) wird.

Unergiebig für die Einordnung des *Parka*-Festes in den altassyrischen Kalender sind die beiden Sammelurkunden, da das *hamuštum*-Eponymat des *Elali* und *Šamaš-bani*³¹ in *ICK I*, Nr. 191: 34 ff. (und im Dupl. *ICK II*, Nr. 130 x+21 ff.) nicht durch Monatsangabe näher bestimmt ist. Erwähnenswert ist nur, dass der Kontrahent³² einen assyrischen Namen trägt.

DAS FEST DES NIPAS

Verhältnismässig oft—insgesamt in fünf Verpflichtungsscheinen (EL, Nr. 12, 45, 69; *ICK I*, Nr. 10; *ICK II*, Nr. 4) und in einer Sammelurkunde (EL, Nr. 217)—wird die Zahlung der Schulden auf das Fest des *Nipas* festgesetzt. Der Zahlungstermin wird durch *ana ša Nipas* oder *ina ša Nipas* (*ICK I*, Nr. 10; *ICK II*, Nr. 4) ausgedrückt. Die Schuldner sind Einheimische, in EL, Nr. 69, dagegen ein Assyrer *Āmur-Ištar*. In EL, Nr. 217, wird zwar der Schuldner nicht mit Namen genannt, da aber der Palast in Sachen der Einheimischen vermittelt,³³ kann man wohl annehmen, dass auch hier der Schuldner, der insgesamt 16 Minen 17 Sequel Silber seinen 11 Gläubigern an den folgenden drei *Nipas*-Festen, d. h. innerhalb von drei Jahren in drei Raten abzutragen hat, höchstwahrscheinlich ein Einheimischer war.³⁴

Die Texte erlauben jedoch keine nähere Bestimmung dieses Festes im Kalender, nur aus *ICK II*, Nr. 10, geht hervor, dass das *Nipas*-ebenso wie das *Parka*-Fest (s. dazu oben) dem des *Ana* folgten. Da aber das Fest des *Ana* in die erste Hälfte des Jahres fiel und das Fest des Gottes *Parka* in einem der beiden letzten Monaten gefeiert wurde (vgl. oben zu *ATHE*, Nr. 2), muss das Fest des *Nipas* zwischen diesen beiden, d. h. ungefähr in der Mitte des Jahres liegen.

³¹ In demselben *hamuštum*-Eponymat ist auch der Verpflichtungsschein EL, Nr. 83, datiert.

³² *Puzur-Adad*, Sohn des *Idi-Ištar*. In der anderen Sammelurkunde (*ICK II*, Nr. 132:32) sind die beiden Schuldner *Atata* und *Kukua* (vgl. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, S. 128 ff.) Einheimische. Zum Verwandtschaftsverhältnis des *Kukua* vgl. jedoch den assyr. Namen seines Vaters *Idi-Ištar* in EL, Nr. 123 x+9 und 336 x+12!

³³ Dazu Garelli, *Les Assyriens . . .*, S. 228.

³⁴ Da alle Texte über das *Nipas*-Fest in guter Bearbeitung (zur Translit. von *ICK II*, Nr. 4, vgl. oben S. 176) vorliegen oder von H. Hirsch in *UAR*, S. 52 f., ausführlich behandelt wurden, genügt es hier, auf die betreffenden Publikationen zu verweisen.

DAS FEST DES TUHTUḪĀNUM

Als Zahlungstermin ist das Fest dieser Gottheit bis jetzt nur aus zwei Verpflichtungsscheinen bekannt: *ana Tuhtuḫāni* in *TCL XXI*, Nr. 227, und *ana ša Tuhtuḫānim*³⁵ in *ICK I*, Nr. 129. Als sehr unsicher muss die Ergänzung im Verpflichtungsschein *ICK II*, Nr. 47:5, zu *iš-tù* [*Tù-ùh-tù*]-*ḫu-a-NAM* gelten, weil mit einheimischen Festen nie der Zeitpunkt, von dem ab die Schuld läuft, bezeichnet ist, sondern immer der Fälligkeitstermin.³⁶ In beiden Verpflichtungsscheinen tragen sämtliche Schuldner einheimische Namen.

TCL XXI, Nr. 227: 1 3 *ma-na kaspam* 2 *i-šé-er* *Kà-ri-a* 3 *ù Ḫa-li-it-kà* 4 *A-šur-i-dí i-šu* 5 *iš-tù ḫa-mu-uš-tim* 6 *ša A-gu-a* 7 *Šu-ku-tim* 8 *a-na Tu-uh-tu-ḫa-ni* 9 *1½ manām i-ša-qú-lu* 10 *1½ manām a-na* 11 *15 ḫa-am-ša-tim* 12 *i-ša-qú-lu šu-ma* 13 *i-na u-mi-šu-nu* 14 *ma-al-ú-tim* 15 *lá i-š-qú-lu a-na* 16 *1 ma-na-em* 17 *3 šiqḫi TA* 18 *i-na warḫim* 19 *ú-šu-bu* 20 *maḫar Tá-ak-ni-iš* 21 *maḫar A-ḫa-am-lá-ar-ši* 22 *maḫar Šu-A-šur kaspum* 23 *i-qá-qá-ad šál-mi-šu-nu*.

Zwei einheimische Schuldner³⁷ sollen ihre Schuld in zwei gleich grossen Raten begleichen, die erste ist am Fest des *Tuhtuḫānum*, die zweite in 15 *hamuštum* fällig. Die Urkunde ist in der *hamuštum*-Woche des *Agua* und *Šukutum* datiert. Da nach einem unveröffentlichten Text I 427 die beiden Eponymen³⁸ ihr Amt im 2. Monat unter dem *limum Aḫam-arši* bekleidet haben, kann man—unter der Voraussetzung, dass die Länge der Frist bei beiden Raten ungefähr gleich ist—mit einer gewissen Wahrscheinlichkeit annehmen, dass das Fest des

³⁵ Der Name der Gottheit gehört zum hypokoristischen Typus *Tata*, in Kultepe oft mit der Endung *-ānum* erweitert, wie z. B. *Dadānum* usw. (dazu Landsberger, *ZA XXXV* [1923] 220 f.).

³⁶ Dieser Verpflichtungsschein gehört zu den wenigen bekannten Urkunden, die nach zwei *limum* (dazu *OLZ LIII* 349, Anm. 1) datiert sind. Sonst noch in der geschäftlichen Aufzeichnung *ICK II*, Nr. 319.

³⁷ Zu *Karia* und seiner Var. *Karuwa* s. J. Lewy, *ArOr XVIII* 3, S. 411 (für weitere Belege s. Indices zu *CCT V* und *ICK I-II*). Der Name hat eine heth. Etymologie (vgl. dazu E. Laroche, *Recueil de onomastique hittite*, S. 273, und Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, S. 144).

³⁸ Z. 28 ff.: *iš-tù ḫa-mu-š-tim ša Šu-[-. . .]* 29 *ú A-gu-a waraḫ* 30 *qar-ra-a-tim* 31 *li-mu-um KI(?)* [*A*]-*ḫ-mar-ši* . . . Nicht ausgeschlossen bleibt jedoch die Möglichkeit, dass sich—da *Agua* an zweiter Stelle vorkommt—im ersten Namen, von dem nur *Šu-[-. . .]* erhalten ist, ein anderer Eponym verbirgt.

Tuhtuhānum ungefähr $1\frac{1}{2}$ Monat nach dem 2. Monat stattfand, also in den 4. (resp. Ende des 3.) Monat des Jahres fiel.

ICK I, Nr. 129: ¹ 3 ma-na kaspam Ša-tá-aḥ-šu ² mēr Ša-ak-du-nu-a E-ni-iš-ru ³ mēr Ku-un-za-at ú Ta-mu-ri-a ⁴ mēr Ha-al-ki-a-šu ⁵ i-šé-er Ar-za-na-aḥ-šu ⁶ mēr Ku-ul-ku-li-a ⁷ ú Ar-za-na-aḥ-šu mēr Ki-bu-ú-ma-an ⁸ i-šu-ú a-na ⁹ Tù-ùh-tù-ḥa-nim ¹⁰ 3 ma-na kaspam ¹¹ i-ša-gú-lu ¹² 30 ak-li ú ² UDU ¹³ šú-pu-ú a-na ¹⁴ ša Tù-ùh-tù-ḥa-nim ¹⁵ i-du-nu maḥar Ša-tá-aḥ-šu ¹⁶ maḥar Da-lá-áš ¹⁷ maḥar Šál-ma-A-šur ¹⁸ mēr Tù-pi-zi ¹⁹ maḥar Ū-šur-ša-A-šur ²⁰ mēr Dan-A-šur.

Zwei einheimische Schuldner³⁹ sollen zum Fest des *Tuhtuhānum* drei Gläubigern, die ebenfalls der einheimischen Bevölkerungsschicht⁴⁰ gehören, ausser der Schuld von 3 Minen Silber noch 30 Brote und 2 Schafe als Nebenleistung geben (s. dazu unten den Exkurs). Da solche Zugaben in Naturalien zur Ernte (seltener zur Weinlese) geliefert wurden, wird man vielleicht nicht fehlgehen, wenn man das Fest des *Tuhtuhānum* mit der Einbringung der Ernte in Verbindung setzt, wozu auch der Fälligkeitstermin im 4. Monat (vgl. darüber oben zu *TCL XXI*, Nr. 227)⁴¹ gut passen würde.

DAS FEST DES HARIHARI

Die Terminangabe *ana ša Harihari* ist bis jetzt nur aus einem Verpflichtungsschein (*ICK I*, Nr. 24b) bekannt. Die beiden Kontrahenten⁴² tragen einheimische Namen. Da die Urkunde nicht datiert ist, kann nichts näheres zur Einord-

³⁹ Die Namen *Arzanaḥšu* und *Kibuman* enthalten die kanisischen Endungen *-aḥšu* und *-uman* (dazu Goetze, *RHA XVIII* 45 ff.). *Kukulia* gehört zu den einheimischen reduplizierten Namen mit der Endung *-ia* (vgl. Landsberger, *ZA XXXV* 220 f.).

⁴⁰ *Eniṣrū*, Var. *Enaṣrū*, *E-ni-iš-a-ru-um* (*CCT V*, Tf. 49 d 7), ist ein hurritischer Name, zusammengesetzt aus *eni*, "Gott," und *šarrum*, "König" (dazu Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, S. 156). Der Vater des *Tamuria* (geschrieben auch *Tamur-a* in *TCL XXI*, Nr. 237:5), *Ḥalkiašu*, trägt einen heth. Namen: *ḥalki*, "Getreide," + *aššu*, "gut."

⁴¹ Die Ernte in Anatolien dauerte vom Ende April bis Ende Juni (vgl. Landsberger, *JNES VIII* 292). Das Fest wurde wohl zum Abschluss der Ernte gefeiert.

⁴² Der Name der Gläubigerin *Anana* gehört zu den "Lalnamen" des Typus *Atata*. Die Schuldnerin *Šutaḥšušar* weist das bekannte kanisisch-hethitische Suffix *-aḥšu* + *-šar* für Frauennamen auf.

nung dieses Festes in den assyrischen Kalender gesagt werden.

Abschliessend kann man feststellen, dass das uns zur Verfügung stehende Material noch nicht erlaubt, den Platz der anatolischen Feste im assyrischen Kalender genau zu bestimmen. Aus *ICK II*, Nr. 4 und 50, geht klar hervor, dass die beiden Feste der Götter *Nipas* und *Parka* nach dem Fest des Gottes *Ana* gefeiert wurden. Auf Grund des Fristangaben in *hamuštum*-Wochen in *ATHE*, Nr. 2, ist mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit anzunehmen, dass das *Parka*-Fest gegen das Ende des Jahres, d. h. im 11., bzw. 12. Monat anzusetzen ist. Das Fest des *Tuhtuhānum* weist in *TCL XXI*, Nr. 227, auf die Darbringung der Ernte hin, d. h. in den 4. (bzw. 3.) Monat des Jahres. Zwischen diesen beiden Festen wird wohl das Fest des *Nipas* liegen. Ob das *Ana*-Fest, das dem des *Parka* folgte und wohl in den ersten Monaten des Jahres gefeiert wurde, möglicherweise mit dem Neujahrsfest identisch war, lässt sich mit Hilfe des uns zur Verfügung stehenden Materials nicht feststellen. Die Reihenfolge der anatolischen Feste wäre also *Ana* (Jahresanfang; Neujahrsfest?), *Tuhtuhānum* (Darbringung der Ernte), *Nipas*, *Parka* (11. resp. 12. Monat). Über das *Harihari*-Fest kann nichts näheres gesagt werden.

EXKURS ÜBER ZUGABEN

Nach *ICK I*, Nr. 129, sollen die beiden Schuldner am Fest des *Tuhtuhānum* dem Gläubiger *Eniṣrū* und *Tamuria* neben der geschuldeten Summe noch eine Zugabe von 3 Broten und 2 Schafen geben. Nach anderen Verpflichtungsscheinen werden diese Zugaben, die aus Naturalien bestanden und nur in Kontrakten mit den Einheimischen vorkommen, nach der Ernte oder Weinlese dem Gläubiger zusammen mit der Schuldsomme geliefert. Als Zugaben wurden meistens Schafe, Gerste oder Brote, seltener ein Topf Honig oder Zwiebeln erwähnt.

In *TCL XXI*, Nr. 237, verlangen, die beiden Gläubiger *Eniṣrū* und *Tamuria* von einem einheimischen Ehepaar⁴³ ausser der Schuldsomme,

⁴³ Dass *Āmur-Aššur* trotz seines assyrischen Namens ein Einheimischer war, zeigt klar der Name seines Vaters *Alu* (zu *Alu*, *Alua* vgl. J. Lewy, *ArOr XVIII* 3, S. 411, und Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, S. 130).

die in vier gleichen Raten, jedesmal zur Ernte, fällig ist, noch einen Topf Zwiebeln.

Nach I 697 soll ein einheimisches Ehepaar den beiden Gläubigern, *Enišrū* und *Tamuraia*, zur Weinlese als Mehrleistung zur geschuldeten Summe noch Weizen und 40 Brote geben.⁴⁴

Ähnlich sollen die Schuldner in *ATHE*, Nr. 6, ihrem Gläubiger *Pūšu-kēn* bei der Ernte als Mehrleistung noch Getreide—bestehend zur Hälfte aus Weizen und zur Hälfte aus Gerste⁴⁵—der geschuldeten Summe hinzufügen.

Auch in anderen ähnlichen Verpflichtungsscheinen, wo die Fälligkeit entweder gar nicht (wie z. B. in *ICK* I, Nr. 130 und 172) angegeben oder durch *ana ettīšu* (wie in *EL*, Nr. 65, und *I* 584) ausgedrückt ist, wird es sich wohl um die Erntezeit oder die Weinlese handeln.

Der Zweck dieser Zugaben—mit Ausnahme derjenigen Verpflichtungsscheine, in denen (wie in *EL*, Nr. 65, und *ICK* I, Nr. 172) Naturalien, auf

⁴⁴ I 697 (Innentafel): ¹ 1 *ma-na* 15 *šiqil kaspam* ² 7 *na-ru-ug še-am* ³ ú 3 *na-ru-ug* ⁴ *ar-ša-tim* ⁵ *i-še-er Za-ḫu-da-šu* ⁶ ú *Ši-ni-il-kà* ⁷ *a-ši-ti-šu E-ni-iš-ru* ⁸ ú *Ta-mu-ri-a* ⁹ *i-šu-ú* ¹⁰ *A-ta-aḫ-šu* ¹¹ *qá-ta-tù* ¹² *i-na qí-ti-ip* ¹³ *ki-ra-nim* ¹⁴ *kaspam i-ša-qú-lu* ¹⁵ ú *še-um(!) i-du-nu* ¹⁶ ú 40 *ak-li* (Hülle: 40 *NINDA*) *ú-bu-lu-nim/* ¹⁷ *maḫar Ḫu-ma-da-šu* ¹⁸ *maḫar Ša-ar-bu-nu-a* ¹⁹ *maḫar Ta-am-na-ti-a-ša-ar*.

⁴⁵ Z. 8 ff.: [*mì-iš-lam*] *še-am^m mì-iš-lam* ⁹ [*ar-ša-tim*] *ú-šú-bu* (so wohl mit *ICK* I, Nr. 172: 10 ff., und *ATHE*, Nr. 75: 7, zu ergänzen!).

Silber umgerechnet,⁴⁶ als Zinsfuß aufgefasst werden könnten—ist noch nicht klar. In der Mehrheit der Fälle ist es ausgeschlossen, in den Zugaben den Zinsfuß sehen zu wollen, da die Leistung, wie in *TCL* XXI, Nr. 237,⁴⁷ im Verhältnis zur Schuldsomme zu gering ist. Die Zugabe richtet sich auch nicht nach dem Umfang der Schuld, wie der Vergleich von *ICK* I, Nr. 129, mit *ICK* I, Nr. 172, lehrt, wo bei grösserer Schuld eine niedrigere Zugabe geliefert wird.⁴⁸ Vielleicht handelt es sich um eine sinnbildliche Gabe, die wahrscheinlich mit der Tatsache zusammenhängt, dass stets mehrere Schuldner genannt werden (einzige Ausnahme *EL*, Nr. 65).

⁴⁶ Zu den Preisen der Schafe vgl. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, S. 313 (wo *ICK* I, Nr. 139, zu ergänzen ist). Der Preis für 1 Sack Weizen betrug 5 Sequel, für 1 Sack Gerste 3 Sequel Silber (vgl. H. Lewy, *JAOS* LXXVI [1956] 201 ff.).

⁴⁷ Da nach Gelb, *OIP* XXVII, Nr. 55: 9, zwei Töpfe Zwiebeln nur 1½ Sequel kosteten, würde 1 Topf Zwiebeln bei der Schuld von 2 Minen 12 Sequel Silber einen geringen Zinsfuß in der Höhe von 2½% darstellen.

⁴⁸ Nach *ICK* I, Nr. 129, beträgt die Zugabe bei der Schuld von 3 Minen Silber nur 30 Brote (zum Preis der Brote vgl. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, S. 310 f.; nach den *NINDA*-Listen in *ICK* II, Nr. 342 und 343, kosteten 100 Brote 3 Sequel) und 2 Schafe (der Preis für 1 Schaf betrug nach der Tabelle bei Garelli, *Les Assyriens* . . . , S. 313, zwischen 1 und 5 Sequel); nach *ICK* I, Nr. 172, macht dagegen die Zugabe—bei der geringeren Schuld von 2 Minen *liti*-Silber—6 Säcke Getreide (d. h. 3 Säcke Weizen und 3 Säcke Gerste) und 2 schwarze Schafe aus.

STYLES IN KÜLTEPE SEAL ENGRAVING AS EXPRESSIONS OF VARIOUS CULTURAL INFLUENCES

MEBRURE TOSUN

Ankara

The present article is based on a study of seal impressions on the so-called "Cappadocian" tablets discovered at Kültepe or believed to have come from there. Unpublished photographs and all other available reproductions of the impressions were collected by Mr. E. B. Reilly, a former pupil of Professor Landsberger, and publication has been pending since 1938. I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Landsberger, the teacher to whom I owe everything as an Assyriologist, for his generosity in putting the Reilly material at my disposal for publication.

This article does not pretend to be an exhaustive analysis nor a comparative study of the Kültepe seal impressions. Neither is it a descriptive catalogue of the material. The seal impressions recovered from the Turkish excavations are not included, since they are to be published by the excavators themselves. On the basis of the few articles and excavation reports of Nimet Özgüç it can be said, however, that the Turkish excavations have enriched the Anatolian repertoire of motifs but have not yielded specimens of new styles. The comparative material recovered outside Kültepe should be dealt with more thoroughly than is done here. The Anatolian stamp seals are excluded entirely because the Reilly collection of their photographs is not accessible to me. The study is limited to the period shortly before and after 1900 B.C. and to central Anatolia.

The writer has been hampered by the absence in Ankara of publications of various seal collections and several articles needed for reference but will attempt to represent the Ankara-Landsberger school from the point of view of evaluating archeological material—seal impressions—for the light it may throw on historical problems of the period of the Assyrian colonization of Anatolia.

The history of the Assyrian merchants in Ana-

tolia, shortly before and after 1900 B.C., has been steadily unfolding through the publication and study of texts from Kültepe, Alishar, and Boğazköy. The tablets from Kültepe and vicinity offer two kinds of historical evidence, one philological and the other archeological, so that the *objets d'art* can be connected directly with contemporary written sources. Analysis of the various styles represented by the Kültepe seal impressions and their relation to various ethnic groups and civilizations present problems to all who deal with this material.

Seal impressions on tablets found at Kültepe and Alishar,¹ together with museum specimens of less certain origin, are here studied, and a few examples representing the Reilly material are illustrated. Impressions found on documents, usually tablet cases,² which have reached museums through antiquities dealers and later from the excavations at Kültepe and Alishar comprise the bulk of the Reilly material rather than the seals themselves.

From Assur "Cappadocian" tablets are lacking, so that the subject of our research is complicated by lack of comparable material for the contemporary Assyrian culture. However, it is certain that some of the tablets found at Kültepe were sent there from Assur as well as from other trade colonies in Anatolia. Despite extensive excavations of the site of Assur, very little contemporary evidence was found for "the city" (= Assur) of our colonists. We know nothing about Assyria outside the city of Assur until late in the 2nd millennium B.C. We can imagine, however, that the Assyrians settled not only in

¹ Cf. Paul Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce* ("Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut française d'archéologie d'Istanbul" XIX [Paris, 1963]) pp. 10-27.

² Rolling the seal on the case of the tablet was customary, while impressions on the tablets themselves are rare. Cf. Balkan, *Observations*, p. 60.

Assur but spread over North Mesopotamia and became assimilated with the earlier settlers.

Anatolia received a strong stimulus from Mesopotamia in the 19th century B.C. through the Assyrian merchants. The 19th century is also the period for which speakers of the Hittite language are first attested in Anatolia.³ Since contemporary evidence from Assyria proper is so scarce, Kültepe must be considered as representing the culture of metropolitan Assur as well as of provincial Assyria. We have also to bear in mind the relationship between Assyria and Babylonia. In analyzing different cultural stimuli, their mixtures, and their reciprocal influences one of our foremost problems is to differentiate cultural spheres represented in the glyptic on Old Assyrian documents as clearly as the philological evidence enables us to differentiate between the Assyrians and the local Anatolians. The philological evidence of contemporaneous documents indicates two important ethnic elements, the one Assyrian and the other a mixed Anatolian.⁴ Where the philological data leave off we must pick up the threads of archeological evidence in order to piece together the elements which composed the cultural background of the colony. The archeological evidence in the form of seal impressions inseparable from texts must be divided with equal clarity into groups of Assyrian and Anatolian origin. But to differentiate on archeological grounds the various ethnic

groups which composed the Anatolian local population is, at least for the present, impossible.

If we bear in mind that Assyrian merchants not only had commercial dealings with the local population of Anatolia but also married local women, that they not only brought their seals from Assyria but also had seals made by local craftsmen, that Assyrian seal-cutters may have come to Anatolia⁵ with the merchants, that local seal-cutters may have tried to adapt themselves to their Assyrian clientele, then we can understand the difficulties involved in determining the origin of individual seals. There were also seals imported from Mesopotamia, inscribed or otherwise, that were altered by someone other than the original seal-cutter (Pl. V, No. 1). The various circumstances under which seals may have been made are so complicated that there will always remain some doubt as to the origin of individual specimens.

We propose to classify the seal impressions according to stylistic groups, and according to motifs within each group, always bearing in mind that the designs reflect various cultural elements. We shall try to analyze the Kültepe styles from the point of view of art. A style can be studied with regard to its content or its form, that is, motifs, composition, and technique are the three features on which we shall concentrate. The following style groups, on which we base our classification, were set up by Mr. Reilly.

THE OLD BABYLONIAN GROUP

In the Reilly material, 60 out of 500 impressions of different seals can be attributed to this group.⁶ Kültepe seals engraved in the Old Babylonian style cannot be distinguished from the genuine Old Babylonian seals fabricated at Sippar. There are countless parallels in the published collections of Old Babylonian seals. The

³ For discussion of the presence of Hittites in Kültepe see H. G. Güterbock's article "Kaneš and Neša: Two forms of one Anatolian place name?" in *Eretz-Israel* V (1958) 46*-50*. See also Sedat Alp, "Kaniš = Aniša = Niša, eine Hauptstadt der frühhethitischen Periode," *Bulleten* XXVII (1963) 377-86.

⁴ See Garelli, *op. cit.* pp. 127-68, for discussion of the population of Anatolia with citation of earlier publications.

⁵ Besides the seals of the *kārum* Kaniš (EL, No. 274; *BIN* IV, Pl. LXXXI d [Assyrian style]) there are seals of the *kārum* Wahšušana, e.g. one of two in the Reilly material (VAT 13529 = EL, No. 277): (1) [*kunuk*] *kà-ri-im* (2) *Wa-aḥ-šu-ša-na*. This seal bears a mythological scene engraved in the Old Baby-

development of the Old Babylonian style was the subject of the writer's thesis⁷ for admittance as docent in 1948. In this study of glyptic art, two important results were achieved: (1) the establishment of the stages of development of the Old Babylonian style and (2) the fitting of the Kültepe material into the general chronological scheme of the Old Babylonian glyptic.

lonian style. Another seal of this *kārum* is our No. 15 (see Pl. IX), which is engraved in the Anatolian Ili-wēdāku style (see p. 186 below).

⁶ Among the Babylonian material there are also seals executed in the style of the Third Dynasty of Ur and of the period of the Isin and Larsa dynasties. We do not include them here because we do not consider them essential to our limited subject.

⁷ Written in Turkish and awaiting publication in English or in German. A brief abstract was published by Professor Güterbock in *AfO* XV (1945-51) 131-33.

The analysis of the Old Babylonian style, with its Sumerian and Akkadian traditions, is very important to the whole trend of thought of our study for two reasons. (1) Nearly all the glyptic groups represented at Kültepe show an underlying Babylonian character, which is reflected in the composition and in the motifs. (2) It is indispensable to know the content of the contemporary Babylonian glyptic for consideration of the origin and development of the non-Babylonian stylistic groups of Kültepe.

Another important question is whether the Kültepe glyptic groups developed independently from the common Sumero-Akkadian substratum or were dependent upon the simultaneous development which took place in Babylonia. We are inclined to favor the first alternative.

The seals of the Old Babylonian style that were impressed on the Kültepe tablets can be considered without any doubt as imports from Mesopotamia. Otherwise, motifs added to Mesopotamian seals would not have been executed in Anatolian styles (see Pl. V, No. 1).

The impressions of seals imported from Babylonia are sufficiently numerous to give a good cross-section of Old Babylonian glyptic. The various mythological scenes contain nearly all the characters in the repertoire of motifs of the Babylonian seal-cutters. Notably absent, however, is the nude female deity. It is also remarkable that none of these seals bore an inscription, as did the majority of such seals as are known from Old Babylonian documents. The seals of this group provide a criterion for determining the chronology of the period and for fitting the Kültepe material into the general sequence of the Old Babylonian chronology. Our clue is the elaborate mythological scene. The mythological scene appears in full splendor in the Kültepe

impressions. It was fully developed at the time of Hammurabi and in vogue even fifty years before that time (Pl. V, Nos. 2-3).

The absence of the abbreviated scene⁸ in Kültepe furnishes a *terminus ante quem* for fitting the Kültepe material into the general sequence of the chronology of the Old Babylonian seals. Because of the scantiness of our knowledge of both Babylonian and Assyrian dated glyptic we cannot determine when and to what extent the glyptic of the North was influenced by that of the South. It can be said, however, that in the time of Šarrum-kīn I the great cultural influence came from the Third Dynasty of Ur but that a few generations later, in the time of Šamši-Adad I, this influence was apparently supplanted by that of the Babylonian Dynasty. Just as the designs of the so-called seal of Šarrum-kīn I⁹ and the seal impressions found in Stratum E at Assur¹⁰ are largely dependent upon Ur III for their motifs, so are the seals of the time of Šamši-Adad I just as completely Babylonian. The Assyrian seals of the time of Šamši-Adad I, however, are neither sufficient in number nor rich enough in content to enable us to distinguish variations of Babylonian glyptic that may be ascribed to Assyria. We are more fortunate in having a multitude of Kültepe seal impressions that are sufficiently similar to the relatively few published impressions on Old Babylonian documents to be dated, though perhaps roughly, to this rather long period. Equally valuable are the few stratified seals of this period from Ešnunna and vicinity.¹¹ All this material provides a broad but sometimes indistinct background for comparison of the few seal impressions from Anatolia that show greater unity than any group of impressions yet known from a particular reign in Babylonia.

THE OLD ASSYRIAN GROUP

Most of the Kültepe seal impressions belong to this group (Pl. VI). It was mainly comparison with the seal of King Šarrum-kīn of Assyria, rolled on documents dispatched from Assur and found in Kaniš, that led to the recognition of the

Assyrian style. As indicated above, however, not all seals in the Assyrian style were made in Assyria. It seems reasonable to suppose that the Assyrians, who had a special style of cuneiform

Letter, Fig. 24. We may leave undiscussed the difficulties of the legend of this unique seal.

⁹ See Walter Andrae, *Die archaischen Ishtar-Tempel in Assur* (WVDOG XXXIX [1922]) Pl. 59 and pp. 103 f.

¹¹ See Frankfort, *Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region* (OIP LXXII [1955]).

⁸ Depicted usually with two figures but sometimes with only one figure. Henri Frankfort called this type of scene "the advanced style of the Hammurabi period" (*OIC* No. 20 [1936] p. 88).

⁹ See Balkan, *Observations*, pp. 51 ff. and Figs. 1-3; Balkan,

script, also favored a special style in their glyptic art and to look for similarities between script and glyptic. The Assyrian merchant who traveled to Anatolia most probably took his seal with him. But the local glyptic reveals that the engraver's craft was likewise highly developed in Anatolia, and very likely the Assyrian merchants had seals made by the local artisans also. However, as long as the material from Assyria proper is so scarce, any distinction between an Assyrian-Assyrian and an Anatolian-Assyrian style is hypothetical.

THE SYRO-ANATOLIAN GROUP

This group (Pl. VII) is characterized by elements which later were typical of the fully developed classical Syrian style. Among such elements are the woman with hair falling to the shoulders, the herma, the peculiar headdress, and the fringed garment. Nimet Özgüç has published seals and impressions representing this style group from the Turkish excavations.¹² Edith Porada¹³ uses the term "Syro-Cappadocian," but we prefer "Syro-Anatolian" because of the mixture of Syrian motifs and motifs that are limited to Anatolia. Whether the seals of this

Because of commercial contact and intermarriage between the Assyrians and the people of Anatolia we should expect also to find evidence within this style group of a cultural mixture, as suggested by the Ili-wēdāku style in our local Anatolian groups (see below). In any case, whether or not such explanation as to the differentiation of cultural elements can be put forth with assurance, the material analyzed has increased our knowledge of Mesopotamian and non-Mesopotamian repertoires of motifs.

style were made in Syria or in Anatolia—with use of the Syrian repertoire—might be determined by a study of the Syrian style from the point of view of motifs. A study of the cylinder seals in the Syrian style is being prepared by the writer. For the present it can be said concerning the origin of this style that a local and an Old Babylonian repertoire contributed to its development. But the term "local" must be used with caution because the characteristic motifs of local origin such as the bull-altar and the nude female deity are not confined to Syria.

THE LOCAL ANATOLIAN GROUPS

Three local Anatolian styles were named, in the Ankara-Landsberger school, after the owners of the seals representative of the styles: Šaluwanta, Ili-wēkādu, and Rab-hattim.

The main motifs of the Šaluwanta style (Pl. VIII)¹⁴ are a seated principal deity, a seated secondary deity, a god (with feather headdress) upon a bull, the bull-altar, and the nude female deity in Syrian style. A row of deities on such animals as deer or wolves is also favored, as is the fire-god with pointed headdress. Secondary scenes depict the slaughter of an animal. Small animals and protoms (heads, arms, legs) are used as fill motifs. A jumble of animals, the royal insignia, and legends in stylized script are typical. Our No. 12 is a rare example of the Šaluwanta style in which the rendering of the face and hands is suggestive of the Ili-wēkādu style.

The Ili-wēkādu style (Pl. IX) presents numerous contrasts between conventionalized and natural forms, with the former in preponderance. Characteristic also is the lack of a sculptured effect. Straight lines are used wherever possible, and there is a tendency to ornamentalize the details. Typical but not exclusive features are the schematic face, forklike hands (in common with the Old Assyrian style), and the so-called "calotte," which more likely represents a cap of fur or wool. This style is closer to the Old Assyrian style than is any of the other Anatolian styles. The main motifs are Adad, Šamaš, Ea (as in the Old Assyrian style), astral symbols, cult objects, and the nude female deity.

The strong stylistic feeling of the Rab-hattim group (Pl. X) is in striking contrast to the other two styles. The main motifs are the weath-

¹² See Tahsin Özgüç and Nimet Özgüç, *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe . . . 1949* (Ankara, 1953) pp. 234–36.

¹³ *Seal Impressions of Nuzi* (*ASOR* XXIV [1947]) p. 99.

¹⁴ The best example of the Šaluwanta style is Ward, *Cylin-*

der and Other Ancient Oriental Seals in the Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan (1909) No. 255 = Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (1910) Fig. 969 = Porada and Buchanan, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections I* (1948) No. 894.

er-god (with pointed headdress) on a lion or dragon, a chariot with four animals, a second god (with mace and ax) on a lion, the bull-altar, a seated deity with pointed headdress, a nude female deity (similar to that of the Šaluwanta style), and a standard-bearer.

There are also seals which belong to none of these three styles but are Anatolian. Four examples are illustrated (Pl. XI) to show the wide variation in rendering and motifs.¹⁵ A row of animals, a row of men, and repetition of an elongated animal are characteristic elements.

Several questions arise concerning the local Anatolian groups. Why is there not just one Anatolian style? Are the differences due to different techniques or to the use of motifs from various repertoires? Can we differentiate Hittite elements? There is enough philological evidence to attest the presence of a Hittite-speaking people at Kültepe at the time of the Assyrian colonization, but are Hittite cultural elements represented in the seals? Is the king's insignia or the double-headed eagle or the *crux ansata* already present in the designs?

Besides Hittites, there were other ethnic groups such as Proto-Hittites, Luvians, and Hurrians in Anatolia at the time of the Assyrian colonization, as attested by the philological material. From the archeological material it is clear that what we call Anatolian art—a conglomerate

art—pertains only to Anatolia and did not exist outside Anatolia. Are the differences in the Anatolian styles manifestations of different ethnic groups, or do they reflect differences in craftsmanship? For the answer to this question the material recovered recently by the Turkish excavators should be studied with regard to the cultural levels and compared exhaustively with the Reilly material. This study should include an index of the personal names on the tablets and designations of the ethnic groups involved, and the seal-owners' names should be correlated with the styles of their seals. A statistical method is recommended for this kind of study, for the mixture of ethnic groups produces a mixture of cultural elements in the various styles. Mesopotamian elements are mixed with Anatolian, Syrian elements with Anatolian, Babylonian elements with native elements. For the present, we give the name "Mischkunst" to the Anatolian styles, bearing in mind the underlying Mesopotamian influence and the fact that all the local ethnic groups contributed to these local styles. The stamp seals and the contemporary pottery should be subjected to similar study before the mass of material can be classified into clearer groups of styles as well as motifs. The pottery contemporary with the tablets recovered by the Turkish scholars from Kültepe should offer parallels for the motifs figured on the seals.

SUMMARY

At the time of the Assyrian trade colony in Anatolia (exemplified by Kaniš) an Assyrian glyptic style had already developed in Assyria, as attested by material from Assur Stratum E. Assyrian merchants with their own peculiar script arrived in Anatolia, bringing their seals and maybe even their own seal-cutters. The relationship between Assyria and Babylonia at this time is not clear.

The imported seals in the Old Babylonian style depict the fully developed mythological scene which had reached its apogee at the time of Hammurabi but started to be in fashion fifty years earlier. The abbreviated scene of the later

Babylonian style does not appear in the Kültepe seals of the Old Babylonian style. Thus we have a *terminus post quem* and a *terminus ante quem* for the chronology of the Kültepe period. The seals in the Old Babylonian style should represent the fifty years before Hammurabi and the time of Hammurabi but should be no later than Hammurabi.

The Syro-Anatolian style suggests that relations between Syria and Anatolia were established by merchants traveling from Syria to Anatolia and vice versa.

The local Anatolian styles, peculiar to Anatolia but not homogeneous, are an expression of mixed ethnic and cultural groups which promise great hope for future studies, especially for differentiating the early Hittite elements.

¹⁵ Nimet Özgüç (*op. cit.* p. 241) mentions a comparable group from the Turkish excavations, with the same richness but different from our examples in detail.

COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

Some seals found outside Anatolia may serve for comparison of the Anatolian glyptic with that of other regions. We shall mention only examples from Assur and Kish, although there is pertinent material from Susa, Tell Halaf, and Carchemish.

Among the seals from Assur are three that were discovered in an unstratified grave. On one of these¹⁶ is a mediocre example of a simple presentation scene of the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur. Better examples appear on bullae from Stratum E at Assur. Another seal (Pl. V, No. 1) from the same grave depicts two scenes: a presentation scene in the manner of the Third Dynasty of Ur and a worshiper before a bull standing upon an altar, the latter scene being a later addition in a local Anatolian style. The third seal¹⁷ is notable for the schematic profile of the face and the two types of headdress, the

¹⁶ Anton Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel* (Berlin, 1940) No. 507.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* No. 508.

calotte (see p. 186) and the pointed cap. These three seals point to the cultural dependence of the Assyrians upon the Third Dynasty of Ur, but one of the impressions found in Stratum E¹⁸ is from the seal of Izi-Dagan, prince of Mari, and differs slightly from the Ur III seals.

From the excavations at Kish (Pl. XII) comes a seal (No. 24) whose motifs are common on impressions from Anatolia and on seals of uncertain origin. In the cutting, this seal is finer than the other examples which bear the same motifs. Two seals (Nos. 25-26), which according to Mr. Reilly's notes were confiscated by the Iraq Museum, are in every respect typical of the Old Assyrian style and do not vary in motifs, detail, or composition from those of Anatolia. Another seal (No. 27) in the Iraq Museum is less typical of what is known from Anatolia, but it will not be surprising if such impressions are found on Old Assyrian documents.

¹⁸ Andrae, *Die archaischen Ishtar-Tempel in Assur*, p. 102 and Fig. 76 b.



1



2



3

THE OLD BABYLONIAN GROUP

1. VA 5364 (Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsigel*, No. 506). 2. Kültepe 44a (*ICK I*, Pl. LXXI). 3. Kültepe 77a (*ICK I*, Pl. LXXIV).

PLATE VI



4



5



6



7

THE OLD ASSYRIAN GROUP

4. The Šilulu seal (see Balkan, *Observations*, pp. 14 ff.). 5. VA 4243, from Assur (Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, No. 513). 6. Provenience and present location not indicated by Reilly. 7. BM 115204a C.



8

THE SYRO-ANATOLIAN GROUP
8. NBC 3843 (*BIN* IV, Pl. LXXXII_e)

PLATE VIII



9



10



11



12

THE ANATOLIAN ŠALUWANTA STYLE

9. VAT 9238. 10. Kültepe 47a (*ICK I*, Pl. LXXII). 11. "Oxford (Crowfoot)" the only notation by Reilly. 12. BM 113578 A.



13



14



15



16



17

THE ANATOLIAN ILI-WĒKĀDU STYLE

13. BM 114384. 14. NBC 3847 (*BIN* IV, Pl. LXXXIV a). 15. BM 114384c (one of two seals of the *lārum* Wahšušana).
 16. BM 114384. 17. Kültepe 35a C (*ICK* I, Pl. LXV).

PLATE X



18



19

THE ANATOLIAN RAB-HATTIM STYLE

18. Istanbul 1997. 19. Kültepe 46a A and B (*JCK* I, Pls. LXXI and LXXII)



20



21



22



23

OTHER LOCAL ANATOLIAN STYLES

20. Kültepe 24a (*ICK* I, Pl. LIX). 21. BM 115204a B. 22. Kültepe 28a (*ICK* I, Pl. LXII). 23. Kültepe 21a B (*ICK* I, Pl. LVII).

PLATE XII



24



25



26



27

COMPARATIVE MATERIAL FROM KISH

24. IM 14610. 25. IM 13836. 26. IM 14033. 27. IM 21121

Photographs by courtesy of the Iraq Museum

IM 62100: A LETTER FROM TELL SHEMSHARA

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A preliminary reference to the letter here published, with a brief commentary, has stirred sufficient interest, I believe, to make it worthy of inclusion in this volume to honor Professor Benno Landsberger, to whom every Assyriologist owes more than can be said in a few words.

The text which I am hereby presenting to Professor Landsberger was excavated in 1957 at Tell Shemshāra, in Iraqi Kurdistan, by an expedition delegated by the Carlsberg Foundation in conjunction with the Danish Government Foundation for the Promotion of Research. The history of the mission has been told in some detail by H. Ingholt in an article entitled "The Danish Dokān Expedition" (*Sumer* XIII [1957] 214 f.) and in the present writer's *The Shemshāra Tablets: A Preliminary Report* ("Arkæologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser udgivet af Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab," Bind 4, nr. 3 [Copenhagen, 1959]) pp. 5–10.¹ It may not be entirely amiss to dedicate a text excavated by this expedition to Professor Landsberger, who has been a Foreign Member of the

Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters since 1951 and with whom I had the good fortune to be associated as an assistant preparing manuscripts of lexical texts under the auspices of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago from 1948 to 1951. Nor do I wish to omit the remark that his sagaciousness, which has been the object of admiration of Assyriologists ever since 1911, will undoubtedly further the understanding of the doubtful points in the text which remain in my discussion of it, in several significant instances.

It is by now common knowledge among Assyriologists that Tell Shemshāra represents ancient Šušarrā, a site which is also mentioned in the Māri Letters (*ARM* IV, No. 25) and which was of some importance in the dealings of Shamshi-Adad I with the eastern provinces of the empire that he brought into being shortly before Hammurabi of Babylon put an end to Assyrian claims to supremacy in Mesopotamia in the early part of the 18th century B.C. It has also become common knowledge that most of the letters excavated at Tell Shemshāra are communications addressed to a certain Kuwari, evidently a Hurrian chieftain who had acknowledged Shamshi-Adad as his overlord.² The nature of the relations between Shamshi-Adad and Kuwari and the question of the loyalty displayed by the latter toward his professed allies in Assyria will be discussed in their wider context in connection with the publication of all letters discovered in the Tablet Room of Tell

¹ The latter publication will henceforth be quoted as *Sh.T.* Reviews have appeared as follows: J. Bottéro, *Or.* N.S. XXIX (1960) 233–37; S. Simmons, *JCS* XIV (1960) 137; C. J. Gadd, *JRAS*, 1960, pp. 184 f.; A. Falkenstein, *ZA* N. F. XX (1961) 286–88; H. E. Hirsch, *OLZ* LVI [1961] 39–44; and W. Röllig, *ZDMG* CXIII (1963) 180. An account of the Danish Dokān Expedition, its excavations, and its results may also be found in my book entitled *Fra Assyriens arkiver* (Copenhagen, 1960) pp. 131–60 and in the English edition of the same book, *People of Ancient Assyria* (London, 1963) pp. 125–58. Two letters discovered at Tell Shemshāra have been published separately since the appearance of *Sh.T.*, viz., SH. 868 in *Acta Orientalia* XXIV (1959) 83–94 and SH. 811 in *ZA* N. F. XXI (1963) 131–37. An important study of the early phases of Tell Shemshāra has recently been published by P. Mortensen ("On the chronology of early village-farming communities in northern Iraq" [*Sumer* XVIII (1962) 73–80]). H. Klengel, in his article entitled "Das Gebirgsvolk der Turukkū in den Keilschrifttexten altbabylonischer Zeit" (*Klio* XL [1962] 5–22), has studied the references to the Turukkeans in the Māri and Shemshāra archives.

² In *Sh.T.* it was argued that letters addressed to Kuwari from a person introducing himself as the "lord" of the former (*umma bēl-kā-ma*, "thus [says] your lord") originated with Išmē-Dagan. Evidence from the Shemshāra archive itself, which at the time was available to me only in part, has subsequently shown that letters thus introduced were in fact dispatched to Kuwari from Shamshi-Adad and not from Išmē-Dagan. The letters discovered at Tell Shemshāra may be divided into the following groups:

Shemshāra,³ which will appear in the near future.⁴

Two of the letters addressed to Kuwari are communications despatched by a certain Šepratu, a correspondent who is represented only by these two texts in the Shemshāra archive and who is not otherwise known to me. The field numbers assigned to the letters from Šepratu are SH. 812 and SH. 827. In the division with the Department of Antiquities of the Government of Iraq they were both allotted to the Iraq Museum, where they have been entered, respectively, as IM 62091 and IM 62100. The two texts, which are obviously written by the same scribe, resemble each other closely in external features such as shape,⁵ color of clay—a warm reddish brown—and dimensions.⁶ The tablets were both recovered in very good condition, having been sufficiently hardened by the fire which destroyed Kuwari's building to render rebaking superfluous.

IM 62091 (= SH. 812) was published in *Sh. T.* pp. 77–87. Valuable critical remarks on this text have subsequently been made by J. Bottéro (*Or. N.S.* XXIX [1960] 237, n. 1) and H. E. Hirsch (*OLZ* LVI [1961] 41–43).

SENDER	NUMBER OF LETTERS FOUND	ADDRESSEE
Asrum	1	Kuwari
Etellum	7	"
Ḫulukkatiil	4	"
Išmē-Dagan	3	"
Jadinum	2	"
Kurašānum	5	"
Kuwari	1	Sin-išmē ⁷ anni
Migir-Adad	1	Kuwari
Pišenten	3	{(a) Jašūb-Adad (b) Kullu (c) name lost
Sin-išmē ⁷ anni	5	{(a) Kuwari (4 letters) (b) Nawram-šarūr (1 letter)
Shamshi-Adad	25	Kuwari
Šepratu	2	"
Talpušarri	7	{(a) Kuwari (6 letters) (b) Jašūb-Adad (1 letter)
Tenturi	1	Kuwari
Wanni	3	"

Thus, Kuwari was the recipient of 64 of the letters discovered at Tell Shemshāra, Jašūb-Adad of 2, Kullu of 1, Nawram-šarūr of 1, and Sin-išmē⁷anni of 1 (the only communication from Kuwari extant, if we exclude quotations from letters sent by him in letters received at his residence). There remain 25 fragments of letters in which the names of sender and addressee are missing, so that other criteria have to be resorted to when we attempt to place them in the archive.

IM 62100 (= SH. 827) is quoted in part in *Sh. T.* p. 72, n. 58, which gives a passage (lines 3–16) dealing with an impending siege of the city of Nurrugum by the armies of Shamshi-Adad and Išmē-Dagan. This passage corroborates what is otherwise known about the importance of this event in the military career of Shamshi-Adad, and the information it contains has found its way into J.-R. Kupper's contribution to *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Revised Edition of Volumes I and II: "Northern Mesopotamia and Syria" (Vol. II, chap. i [1963]) p. 7.

Further reference to this letter was made in *Sh. T.* pp. 74 f. and 97 (*s.v.* Itabalḫim) when it became possible for me to copy lines 50–57. These lines provided an important synchronism between Mesopotamia at the time of Shamshi-Adad and Elam by mentioning Šuruḫtuḫ, "King" of Elam, and quoting certain enquiries put forward by this ruler. Evidently, the name Šuruḫtuḫ (^mŠu-ru-uh-tu-uh) may be considered a variant writing of Širukduḫ, a member of the dynasty of grand regents in Elam; and the significance of this reference has now been discussed by W. Hinz in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Rev. Ed. of Vols. I and II: "Persia, c. 1800–1550 B.C." (Vol. II, chap. vii [1964]) p. 10.

Now that the entire text of IM 62100 can be made known, I submit a copy (pp. 191–92), a transliteration, an attempt at a translation, and a succinct commentary. The full discussion of the text in its greater frame of reference, which is about to appear, will, of course, benefit greatly from any comments that Professor Landsberger may care to add to it.

³ On the plan of the fully excavated building, which will be published in *Sumer* by archeologists of the Iraq Department of Antiquities who completed the excavation of Tell Shemshāra in 1958 and 1959, this room is identified as Chamber 2 (*cf.* my remarks in *Sumer* XVI [1960] 13).

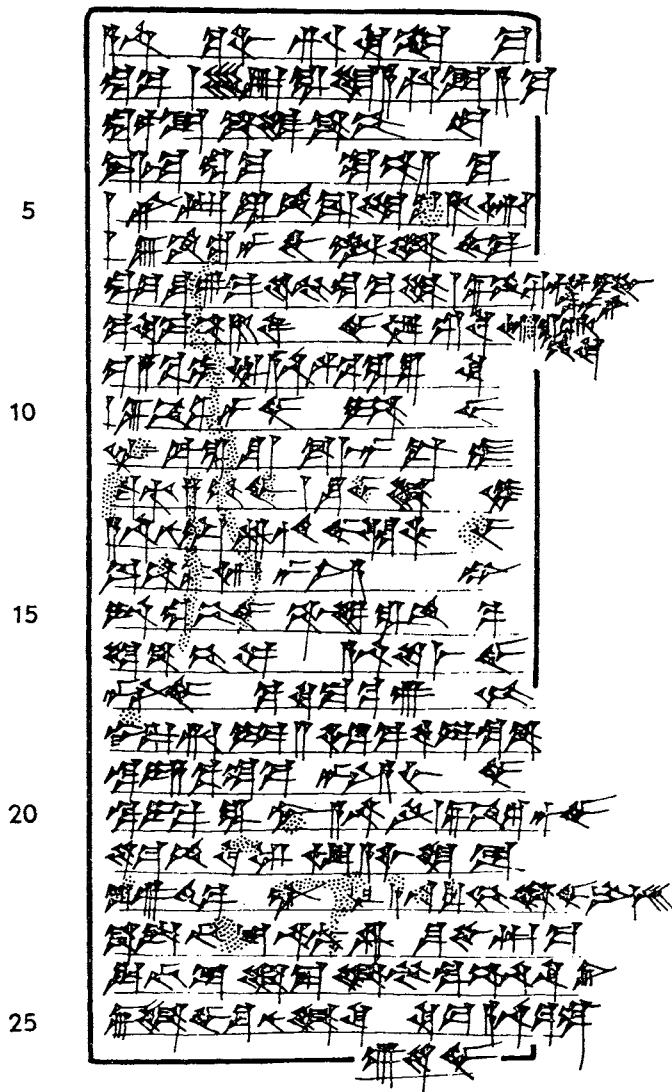
⁴ *The Archives of Sušarrā. I. The Letters* (now ready in manuscript; to appear before the end of 1965).

⁵ A photo of the obverse of IM 62091 (= SH. 812) has been published in my *Fra Assyriens arkiver* (*cf.* n. 1 above) Pl. 15 (facing p. 148) and identically in *People of Ancient Assyria*, Pl. 15 (facing p. 144).

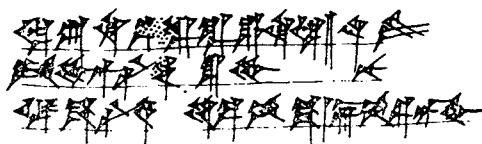
	HEIGHT	WIDTH	MAX. THICKNESS
IM 62091	11.7 cm.	5.8 cm.	2.9 cm.
IM 62100	10.1 "	5.4 "	2.8 "

IM 62100 (= SH. 827)

OBVERSE



LOWER EDGE



IM 62100 (= SH. 827)

REVERSE

30
 35
 40
 45
 50
 55

UPPER EDGE

60

LEFT EDGE

65

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION OF IM 62100 (= SH. 827)

(Obverse)

- a-na Ku-wa-ri qí-bí-ma*
um-ma ^m*Še-ep-ra-tu a-ḫu-ka-a-ma*
tup-pa-ka ša tu-ša-bi-lam
eš₁₅-me-ma um-ma at-ta-a-ma
5. ^m*Ni-ip-ra-am iš-tu* ¹*ma*¹*-ḫa-ar*
^m*Sa-am-si*^d*IM il-li-kam-ma*
um-ma šu-ú-ma ^{ṭe}₄*-mu-um ma-li* ^m*Sa-am-si*
^d*IM i-pu-la-an-ni*
ma-di-iš [*š*] *ḫa-di-im* *ù URU.KI Ar-ra-ap-ḫa-*
am^{KT}
iš-ša-ba-at *ù a-na Qa-ba-ra-e*^{KT}
10. ^m*Sa-am-si*^d*IM i-ta-ši*
ù ma-ra-šu ^m*Iš-me*^d*Da-gan*
[*i*]*t-ti ša*¹*bi*¹*-im* 1 *ŠU.ŠI li-mi*
a-na Nu-úr-ru-gi-im^{KT} *la-we-em*
iš-ta-pa-ar an-ni-a-tim
15. *i-na*²*tup-pi-im ta-aš-ti-ra-am-ma*
tu-ša-bi-lam a-na ^{ṭe}₄*-mì-im*
an-ni-im ma-di-iš qú-ú-ul
as-sú-ri-i-ma a-wi-lu ma-tam ka-la-ša
la i-ša-ba-at-ma an-ni-a-ši-im
20. *la*⁷*i-ma-ra-aš a-na LÚ* ^m*Sa-am-si*^d*IM*
^{ṭe}₄*-ma-am ki-il*₅ *ù a-wa-tu-ka*
lu-ú *ṭa-ba-šum* ¹*ù*¹ *a-na Lu-ul-li-im* LUGAL.
MEŠ
ša it-ti-ka na-ak-ru šu-pu-ur-ma
it-ti-ka li-ís-li-mu la ta-na-ki-ir
25. *sa-li-im-šu-nu le-qé ki-ma a-na ma-at* *Ú-te-em*

(Lower edge)

ù URU.KI Š[*u-š*]*ar-ra-e*^{KT} *ù a-na KASKAL*
i-ṭa-bu an-ni-tam e-pu-úš
ù ša-ni-tam ^{ṭe}₄*-ma-am* *ša* ^m*Sa-am-si*^d*IM*

(Reverse)

- ša um-ma-mi-iš* ^m*Ja*₈*-i-la-ni it-ta-ki-ir*
30. *ki-na ú-ul ki-na a-wa-tam* ^{ṭe}₄*-ma-am*
wa-ar-ka-sa pu-ur-sa-am-ma
- Say to Kuwari,
thus (says) Šepratu, your brother:
I have heard your letter, which you sent me,
(in which) you (said) as follows,
5. “Nipram came to me
from (having been) before Samsi-Adad,
and he (spoke) as follows: ‘The news, as
much as Samsi-Adad answered me,
is very joyful; and he has conquered
the city of Arrapha; and Samsi-Adad
10. has departed for Qabrā,
but he has dispatched his son Išmē-Dagan
with an army of 60,000
to surround Nurrugum.’ ” These (items)
you wrote to me
15. in the letter
and sent (it) to me. Pay close attention
to this news.
Perhaps the man will not conquer
the entire country, so that, for us,
20. there should be no reason to worry. Retain
the news
for the man of Samsi-Adad; and may your
words
be agreeable to him; and write to Lullum,
the kings
who are hostile to you, so that
they may establish friendly relations with
you. Do not show yourself hostile (toward
them).
25. Accept friendly relations with them. So that
they may act favorably toward the coun-
try of *Utem*
and the city of Šušarrā and toward the *ex-*
peditionary force, do this!
Then, another matter. The news of Samsi-
Adad,
which (runs) as follows: “He has turned hos-
tile against the Ja-ilānū”—
30. (whether these words are) true or not true
—with regard to the matter (lit., word)
(and) the news—
investigate its background for me

- tup-pa-am ar-ḫi-iš šu-bi-lam*
^mNi-ip-ra-am ^mKu-bi-ja ^mUl-la-am-taš-ni
it-ti DUMU.MEŠ ši-ip-ri ša ^mSa-am-si-^dIM
35. ^mJa₈-i-la-nim ù Ši-mu-ur-ri-im
li-lu-ni-im ù Lu-ul-li-i
- ma-¹X¹ da-am-qú-tim ša-ba-at-ma*
i-na qa-ti-ka ki-il₅ ki-ma
DUMU.MEŠ ši-ip-ri ša [LU]GAL.MEŠ šu-nu-ti
40. *i-na tū-ub li-bi-im i-¹lu¹-ni-im*
ù li-ba-ni la i-ma-ra-šú
- an-ni-tam e-pu-úš ù ša-ni-tam*
aš-šum še-im šu-úš-ši-im a-na mī-ni-im ši-pa-
ta
it-ti Lu-ul-li-im si-li-im-ma
45. *še-am ar-ḫi-iš šu-úš-ši-a-am*
- at-la-a-ma ti-de ki-ma na-ka-ma-tum*
ri-qa ŠE qé-mu-um ú-ul i-ba-ši
še-am qé-ma-am ar-ḫi-iš šu-úš-ši-a[m]
- um-ma-na-tum qé-er-ba šu-um-ka šu-k[u-u]n*
ša-[ni]-tam
50. ^mŠu-ru-uh₄-tu-uh₄ LUGAL ša NIM.MA-tim
a-na ^mTa-bi-tu iš-pu-ra-am
um-ma šu-ú-ma a-na mī-nim ma-at I-ta-ba-
al-ḫi-im
ma-ru ši-ip-ri-im a-na ši-ri-ja
la i-ša-pa-ra-am um-ma-na-tum pa-aḫ-ra
55. *a-na ši-ir ^mIn-da-aš-šu pa-nu-šu ša-ak-nu*
i-na-an-na 12 li-mī ša-ba-am ša qa-tim
- (Upper edge)
a-na ^mNa-bi-li i-di-in₄ um-ma šu-ú-ma
an-ni-am i-na-an-na ri-di
a-di še-um ù qé(!)-mu-um i-lu-ú
60. *gi-nu-a-tum-ma i-te-be-a*
- (Left edge)
i-na DI(?) an-ni-im DINGIR a-na ma-tim
i-pa-la-aš ù at-ta lu a-wi-lum
aš-ra-nu-um a-di ma-ru ši-ip-ri-im
- (Left edge, second register)
[i-l]a-ka-am ù te-le-¹am¹ ù ša-ni-tam
65. [^x ma(?) ¹x¹ ¹an¹-ni-e-em ka-¹y¹-ma(?) É-ka
r[i-d]i ù [x x] ¹x¹-ši-ip-šar-ri
ša-al-ma im-ra-aš-ma it-tu-[ur]
- and send me a letter with all dispatch!
Nipram, Kubija, (and) Ullamtašni
together with the messengers of Samsi-
Adad,
35. Ja'ilānum and Šimurru, let them come up;
and apprehend the Lulleans, the good
'. . .',
and keep (them)
at your disposal. Inasmuch as
the messengers of these kings
40. came up to me voluntarily,
then (also) there should be no reason why
we should worry.
Do this! Then, another matter.
With regard to delivering barley, why do
you *keep silent?*
Establish friendly relations with Lullum,
45. and then deliver the barley to me with all
dispatch!
You know that the granaries
are empty. There is no barley (and no) flour.
Deliver barley (and) flour to me with all
dispatch!
The armies are near. Establish your name!
Another matter.
50. Šuruhtuḫ, the king of Elam,
wrote to Tabitu,
(saying) as follows, "Why will the land of
Itabalḫim
not send a messenger
to me?" The armies are assembled.
55. His attention is directed toward Indaššu.
Now he has given 12,000 troops, which are
at disposal(?),
- to Nabili. Thus he (said),
"Now follow this one!"
Until the barley and the flour have come up,
60. the . . . (*ginuātum*) will . . . (*i-te-be-a*).
- In this . . . the god looks
toward the country; and may you be a man!
There, until a messenger
comes, you will also *come up(?)*. Then, an-
other matter.
65. '. . .' this '. . .' Govern(?)
your house; and [. . . and . . .]šipšarri
are well. *He* was taken ill but *recovered*.

COMMENTARY

Line 6: ^m*Sa-am-si-d*IM. This spelling of the name of Shamshi-Adad, which recurs in lines 10, 20, and 34, is also employed in the letter IM 62091 (= SH. 812; *Sh. T.* p. 80, line 39). To avoid didacticism I have normalized the name, in its present occurrences, as Samsi-Adad, although I am aware that a rendering such as Samsi-Addu, or indeed Samsi-Haddu, would probably be closer to the mark. Evidence for the Amorite rendering of ^dIM has been collected by J. Bottéro in *ARMT* XV 86. For a general study of Amorite as rendered in cuneiform writing, see I. J. Gelb, "La lingua degli Amoriti" (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, *Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Ser. VIII, Vol. XIII [1958] 143-64).

Line 9: *Qa-ba-ra-e*^{xt}. In the translation normalized as Qabrā. Cf. the rendering of the name Šušarrā as Šusarrae in line 26 and similarly in IM 62091 (= SH. 812; *Sh. T.* p. 81, line 50).

Line 10: *i-ta-ši*. Renders /*ittaši*/. For *našūm*, "depart," cf. *ARMT* XV 235.

Line 18: *as-sú-ri-i-ma . . . la*. For *assurri* (*assurrī*, *assurrē*), in addition to the article in *AHw.* p. 76, see J. Lewy, "Signification and etymology of *assurri* and related terms" (*Or. N.S.* XXIX [1960] 29-38). The rendering of *assurrīma . . . lā* as "perhaps . . . not," adopted in the translation of the present passage, is tentative inasmuch as the exact tenor of lines 18-20 is not clear to me.

a-wi-lu. Mimation absent. The identity of the person referred to as "the man" is not clear to me, although the context would seem to suggest that either Shamshi-Adad or Išmē-Dagan must be involved.

Line 19: *an-ni-a-ši-im*. Renders /*ana niāšim*/.

Line 25: *a-na ma-at Ū-te-em*. The name of this country has been retained as *Utem* in the translation. For other occurrences of the name, see *Sh. T.* pp. 85 f., and cf. the discussion of the city called Uta *ibid.* p. 58. The references to the country of *Utem* which are at my disposal all feature the name in the genitive case. Possibly the name should be normalized as *Utum* or, perhaps more likely, *Utūm* (gen. *Utēm*). It remains uncertain whether there is a connection between this

geographical name and the, possibly Aramean, tribe Utu'āte, for which see Kupper, *Nomades*, p. 124 with n. 3. For the town of Uta and the country of Utem, see also M. Birot, *ARMT* IX (1960) 357.

Line 26: *KASKAL* (*ḥarrānum*). The translation as "expeditionary force" is chosen arbitrarily from among the several possible renderings (cf. *CAD* VI 106 ff. and *AHw.* pp. 326 f.) as, seemingly, fitting the context.

Line 29: ^m*Ja-s-i-la-ni*. The reading of this name, which recurs (with mimation) in line 35, has been adopted in favor of the formerly accepted reading *Wilānum*, in agreement with Gelb, "Lingua degli Amoriti" (cf. comment on line 6) p. 149, § 2.4.6.

Line 33: ^m*Ku-bi-ja*. Possibly to be read ^m*Tul-pi-ja*; cf. the Nuzi personal name *Tulpija* (*NPN*, p. 268, *s.v.* *tulp*).

^m*Ul-la-am-taš-ni*. Cf. the Hurrian name *Ul-lumtišni* attested in Mari (*ARMT* XV 157) as the name of a chieftain of the Turukkeans.

Line 37: I cannot identify the damaged sign after *ma-*.

Line 43: *ši-pa-ta*. I tentatively connect this form with the verb *šapūm*, *šepūm*, "to be silent"; see W. G. Lambert and O. R. Gurney in *AnSt* IV (1954) 78 and Lambert, *BWL*, p. 285.

Line 49: *šu-um-ka šu-k[u-u]n*. "Establish your name," that is, "establish a name (acquire fame) for yourself in doing this." For *šumam šakānum* (Sum. *m u - g a r*), "établir une renommée," see J. van Dijk in *Acta Orientalia* XXVIII (1964) 19, n. 44, and, with fuller documentation, F. R. Kraus in *JNES* XIX (1960) 127 ff.

Line 54: It is a free assumption that the quotation ends here.

Line 55: ^m*In-da-aš-šu*. There is evidence, which will be published elsewhere, to show that this person is identical with the Qutean chieftain whose name, in the Shemshāra letters, is otherwise written as *Endušše* or *Indušše* (see *Sh. T.* p. 96, *s.v.* *Endušše*). The name *Indaššu* seems clearly identical with the name *Indassu* (*In-da-sú*) borne by an *ensi* of the country *Zabšali* at the time of Šū-Suen; see D. O.

Edzard, *AfO* XIX (1959–60) 20, comment on col. iv' 32–35. (Zabšali, the location of which has not been identified, is mentioned in association with the Su-countries; see Edzard, *AfO* XIX 2, n. 20).

Line 56: *ša qa-tim*. I have tentatively rendered this idiom as if to suggest that *šābum ša qātīm* means “troops which are at disposal,” “troops which are available (at a given time).” I consider it possible that *šābam ša qātīm ana PN nadānum* signifies troops which are at a given time placed under the command of someone other than their own officers. On this assumption, I would connect line 58 (*an-ni-am i-na-an-na ri-di*, “Now follow this one!”) with the present passage, so that line 58 represents the order which is a consequence of the arrangement described in lines 56–57. The tenor of line 58, then, would be: “From now on, you are under command of the officer whom I have hereby appointed; you are no longer under command of your own officers.”

Line 58: Cf. comment on line 56. Although I am acquainted with A. L. Oppenheim’s discussion of *redūm* (*JNES* XIII [1954] 142), in which he arrives at the meaning “to seize,” I cannot see that any rendering other than “follow” would fit the present context. It will scarcely be necessary to remind Professor Landsberger

of his own important discussion of this difficult verb in *ZDMG* LXIX (1915) 494–96.

Line 59: *qé(!)-mu-um*. The text seems to read *ša-mu-um*, which could render *šammum*, “herbs.” The proposed emendation, which brings this passage into agreement with lines 47–48, follows a suggestion by Professor G. G. Cameron (letter of 2 Jan., 1964).

Line 60: The line is unintelligible to me. Is *ginuātum* to be connected with *ginūm*, *ginū*, “regular offering,” “dues”? “The . . . (pl.) will stand up?”

Line 64: *ù te-le-¹am*¹. The translation is very precarious.

Line 67: The 3rd person pl. fem. of the stative *šalmā* is only intelligible on the assumption that names of two women have been mentioned in the preceding line. There does not appear to be sufficient space, however, for another name before the Hurrian personal name ending in []šipšarri. One may wonder whether an emendation to *ša-al-ma-⟨at⟩* is not mandatory: “[]šipšarri (fem.) is well.” *im-ra-aš-ma it-tu-[ur]* should then be rendered: “She was taken ill but recovered.”

it-tu-[ur]. The restoration is arbitrary, and the translation is based on the assumption that *tārum*, “to turn around,” “to return,” may signify recovering from an illness, an assumption for which I can offer no evidence.

A VOTIVE SWORD WITH OLD ASSYRIAN INSCRIPTION

HANS G. GÜTERBOCK

Chicago

The bronze sword here published (Pls. XIII–XV) is in a private collection in Europe, whose owner wants to remain anonymous but kindly gave the permission for publication. According to information furnished by the dealer the object comes from the vicinity of Diyarbekir.

The preserved over-all length of the sword is 1.09 m. (1.06 to the bend near the point). Its hilt measures approximately 25 cm. in length and is decorated with two lion figures worked in the round and joined to the hilt only at the backs of their turned necks, their forelegs, and their hind feet. The blade is inserted in the hilt and fastened with three rivets arranged in a straight line. The sword is intact except that the point of the blade is missing, the remaining tip is bent, and one lion has lost its nose and upper jaw. The blade is flat and very thin, in striking contrast to the heavy hilt; the whole sword weighs somewhat over 5 kilograms, with the hilt accounting for most of this weight. Thus it is obvious that the object was made not for actual use but rather as a votive gift. This is borne out by the inscription and also by the fact that the hilt has a deep hole in its end (not visible in the photographs) which probably served to set the sword upright on a peg or dowel. When the sword is thus erected, point upward, the inscription runs from top to bottom in accordance with the archaic direction of cuneiform writing. (Pl. XIII shows the sword in this position; on Pl. XV, in contrast, the writing goes from left to right.)

The engraved inscription is in the script and spelling of the Old Assyrian period. This type of writing dates the sword to sometime before or after 1800 B.C. (according to the “middle” chronology). The text reads as follows:

a-na be-lim ša hu-te-ša-lim be-lí-šu lu-lu-a-num
DUMU *a-zi-zi-im a-na ba-lá-ṭi-šu ú ba-lá-aṭ ma-ri-šu* GÍR ša 12 MA.NA *ú-še-ri-ib*¹

¹ For *ma-ru*, *ma-ri* used as plural forms see I. J. Gelb, *OIP* XXVII (1935) 22. The use of *ti* as *ṭi* in *ba-la-ṭi* is found in inscriptions of Irišum (*AOB* I 10 ff.).

“To the Lord of H, his lord, has Luluanum, son of Azizum, for his own life and the life of his sons dedicated (lit. ‘brought in’) a sword of 12 minas (weight).”

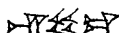
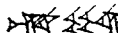
Little can be said about the personal names. Azizum is of the type occurring in Kültepe texts which is characterized by reduplication of the last syllable,² but only a woman Aziza is attested in a Kültepe text.³ The name Lulu occurs several times,⁴ but the name Luluanum of the donor of the sword does not occur. In view of the alleged provenience of the object one is tempted to look for Hurrian connections. In Nuzi (see *NPN*) one finds a *Lu-la-an-na* and several, mostly female, names beginning with *Az-*, but no exact counterpart for either of the two names occurring in our inscription. Nor is *a-zi-iz-za-a* (*KUB* XII, No. 12 vi 3) in Hurrian context of much help, especially since the duplicate (*KUB* XXVII, No. 10 v 11) writes *a-tal-li-za-a* instead.⁵

More interesting is the name of the deity to whom the sword was dedicated. As written it reads *bēlum ša hu-te-ša-lim*, “the lord of (the) H.” or “(god) Bēlum of the H.”⁶ The last word can be the name either of the sanctuary or of the town in which the god was worshiped. An element *hute* is known in Hurrian, mainly in the names *Hutena* and *Hutellurra* of the goddesses otherwise known as ^d*Gulšeš* and ^dMAḪ.MEŠ.⁷ For the second element, *-šal(um)*, such geographic names as *Apišal*⁸ and *Hubšal*⁹ may be compared.

² E. Bilgiç, *AfO* XV (1945–51) 6 f.

³ *KT Hahn*, No. 37:9.

⁴ See lists in *ICK* I and II and Kienast, *ATHE*.

⁵  vs. . Which is correct?

⁶ For the god Bēlum in Old Assyrian texts from Anatolia see H. Hirsch, *Untersuchungen zur altassyrischen Religion* (*AfO* Beiheft 13/14 [1961]) pp. 22–24.

⁷ See E. Laroche, *Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites* (1947) pp. 49 f.

⁸ I. J. Gelb, *AJSL* LV (1938) 70–72; cf. E. Leichty on p. 327 below.

⁹ Frankena, *Tākuḫtu*, p. 120, ad III R 66 ix 11, with further references. It was Professor Landsberger who first brought this

Since in Old Assyrian writing the sign *te* is distinguished from *ub* only by the addition of a final vertical, one feels tempted to emend our text to read *hu-ub(!)-ša-lim*, blaming the additional vertical on the ignorance or carelessness of the engraver. The vertical line of the “*te*” is clearly engraved; it is not an incidental scratch. Thus there are only these two alternatives: Either the reading *hu-te-ša-lim* is correct, in which case nothing more can be said at present. Or the engraver made a mistake, in which case the emended reading *hubšalim* leads to the following combinations.

The list of gods from Assurbanipal’s library discussed by Frankena (see n. 9) contains the entry ⁴U.GUR *ša hu-ub-šal*, “Nergal of (the) *Hubšal*.” Although in Kültepe the sword is the emblem of the god Aššur,¹⁰ it is tempting to identify the *bēlum ša *hubšalim* of the sword inscription with *Nergal ša hubšal* of the later list. That our sword should be dedicated to Nergal, the Netherworld god whose logogram, U.GUR, means “sword”¹¹ and who is called *nāš paṭri*, “he who carries a sword,”¹² would indeed be fitting. For *Hubšal*, the name of either a sanctuary or a cult city of Nergal, the alleged provenience of the sword would then indicate a location near Diyarbakir, that is, in the same general region in which the similar place name *Apišal* has been localized (cf. n. 8). If the reading *hu-ub(!)-ša-lim* and the localization of *Hubšal* based on it are correct, then this place has to be kept apart from *Hubšan*, *Hubšen*,¹³ since *Hubšen* has now been identified by Père Stève with a mound called *Deh-e Nou*, 40 kilometers southeast of Susa, on the basis of brick inscriptions found on that site.¹⁴

At this point I would like to add some further

name to my attention when I mentioned the present inscription to him some time ago.

¹⁰ See Hirsch, *op. cit.* pp. 6 and 64 f.

¹¹ U.GUR = *namšaru* (ŠL II 417, 2 = MSL III 143, S^b B 208).

¹² Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta*, pp. 389 and 393.

¹³ Identification advocated by P. V. Scheil, *RA* XXIX (1932) 75, and J. Lewy, *HUCA* XVIII (1944) 452, n. 122.

¹⁴ See the preliminary notice in W. Hinz, *Das Reich Elam* (“Urban-Bücher” No. 82 [Stuttgart, 1964]) p. 12. I owe this information and the reference to Erica Reiner.

speculations. A sword with lions decorating the hilt immediately brings to mind the Sword-god relief of Yazılıkaya. That this relief might represent Nergal (i.e., his Hittite or Hurrian counterpart) was suggested some time ago¹⁵ because observations of purely archeological nature had led us to believe that the inner chamber of Yazılıkaya was devoted to the cult of the dead and because in this context the association of Nergal with the sword seemed to be meaningful. Later, H. Otten published a Hittite magic ritual in the course of which a number of Hurrian Netherworld deities—though not including Nergal—are fashioned in the shape of swords (or daggers) and stuck into the ground.¹⁶ The votive sword decorated with lions, coming from the Upper Tigris—a region belonging to the Hurrian area—and dedicated to a deity who, if the emended reading is correct, appears to be a form of Nergal, thus fits into a set of Hurrian concepts of Netherworld deities. Although it does not furnish proof that the god depicted as a sword in Yazılıkaya is Nergal, it nevertheless may be regarded as an additional indication pointing in that direction.

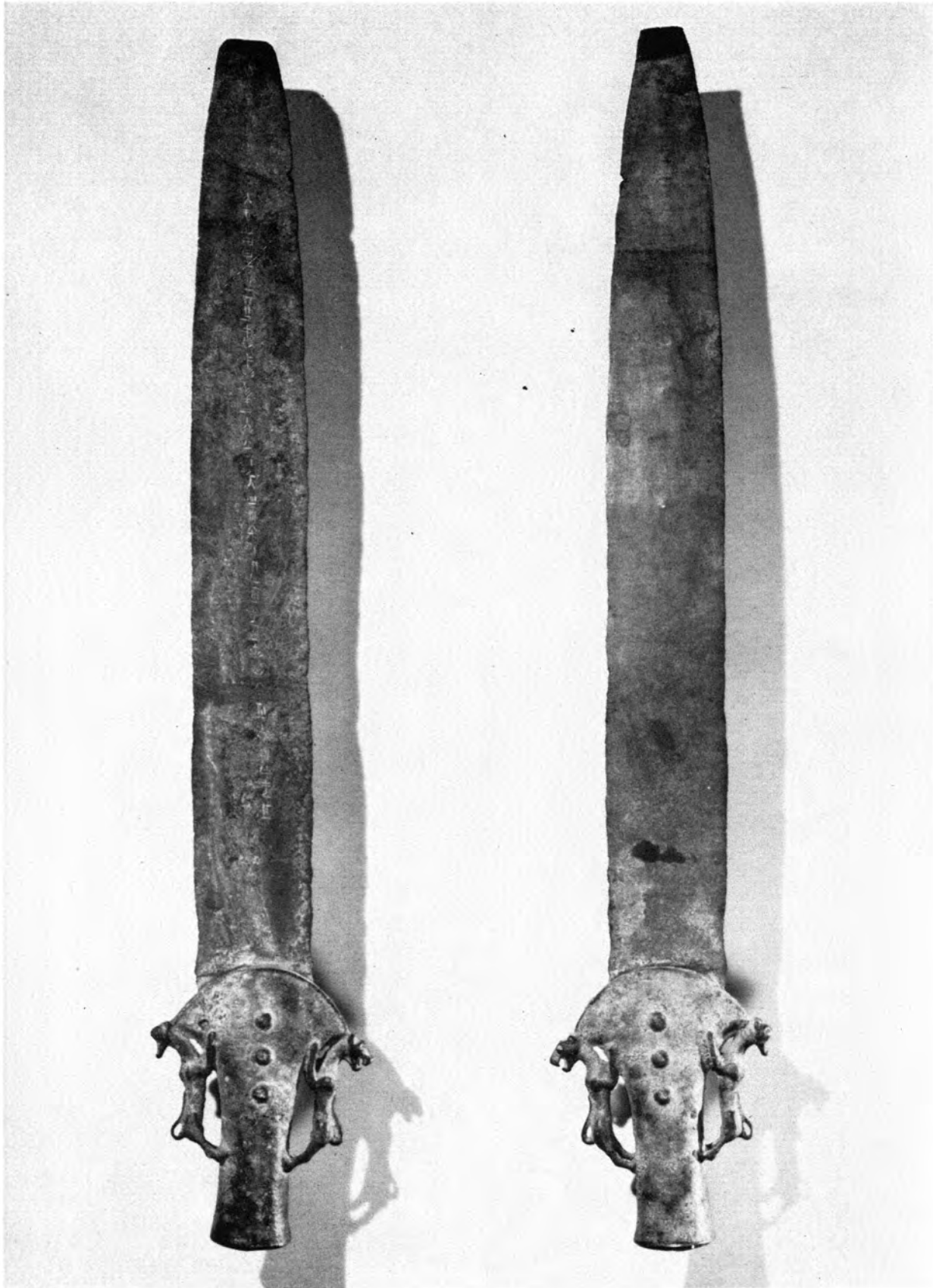
Another such indication may be added here.¹⁷ In a magic ritual written in Hittite but containing Luwian terms¹⁸ the following are listed among items that are “burned” and “extinguished” in the course of the rite: “The . . .-ed . . .-ed bronze swords of Nergal (B 4 f.); “blood-stained Nergal” (A obv. 3); and “the twelve gods at the road fork(?)” (A obv. 10), thus linking “the twelve gods” with Nergal and his sword. Although this is a magic ritual and thus not directly applicable to the relief of twelve sword-carrying gods in the inner chamber of Yazılıkaya, it seems significant nevertheless that the first time the term “twelve gods” has turned up in a text it is in this connection with Nergal.

¹⁵ *MDOG* LXXXVI (1953) 76.

¹⁶ *ZA* LIV (1961) 122, col. ii 15–20: *nuš gfr.MEŠ DÜ-zi*; cf. *ibid.* pp. 115 and 148.

¹⁷ Briefly mentioned in Gerold Walser (ed.), *Neuere Hethiterforschung (Historia, “Einzelschriften” VII [1964])* p. 72, n. 91.

¹⁸ E. Laroche, “Catalogue des textes hittites,” *RHA* XV (1957) 61, No. 449: A = *KUB* XXXV, No. 145; B = *KUB* XXXV, No. 143; etc.



VOTIVE SWORD

PLATE XIV



HILT OF VOTIVE SWORD

A vertical column of 18 individual Egyptian hieroglyphic symbols, likely representing a list of deities or a specific ritual sequence. The symbols include various forms such as lotus flowers, scepters, and other ritual objects.

A photograph of a dark, rectangular metal fragment, possibly a votive sword blade, with a central column of hieroglyphs. The fragment is roughly rectangular and tapers slightly at the bottom. The hieroglyphs are arranged in a single vertical column in the center of the fragment.

A vertical column of 18 individual Egyptian hieroglyphic symbols, identical to the column on the left. This column appears to be a transcription or a separate set of the same symbols, arranged vertically.

A photograph of a dark, rectangular metal fragment, similar to the one on the left, with a central column of hieroglyphs. This fragment is longer and more rectangular than the one on the left, and also features a single vertical column of hieroglyphs in its center.

INSCRIPTION ON BLADE OF VOTIVE SWORD

A "PERSIAN GULF" SEAL ON AN OLD BABYLONIAN MERCANTILE AGREEMENT

WILLIAM W. HALLO AND BRIGGS BUCHANAN

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The catalogue of the seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection will include about three hundred designs selected from the thousands that appear on the tablets in the collection. Almost without exception these designs supplement those on the actual seals and will be presented with them. In the course of his work on the catalogue, however, Briggs Buchanan discovered and identified seal

impressions of unique importance on a dated tablet which itself proved to be of some interest. He graciously consented to add his discussion of these impressions and their significance to William W. Hallo's analysis of the text so that the total evidence could be offered as a tribute to Professor Landsberger. It is presented in two sections.

A MERCANTILE AGREEMENT FROM THE REIGN OF GUNGUNUM OF LARSA

WILLIAM W. HALLO

When Professor Landsberger embarked on the edition of the Sumero-Akkadian "vocabularies and formularies," he chose to inaugurate his *magnum opus* with the series *ki-ulutin-bi-šè*¹ = *ana itišu*.² This was a singularly happy choice, for it provided Assyriologists and historians of law alike with an authoritative corpus of legal formulas inherited from Neo-Sumerian and Early Old Babylonian times,³ amplified and clarified by Landsberger's pioneering commentary.

One such formula occurs in the sixth tablet as follows: *u₄ kaskal-silim-ma-ta im-ma-ni-in-gur-eš-a-ta igi⁴ Utu-ke₄ ni-ka₉-bi⁴ ab-ag-e-ne* = *ēnu ištu harrāni šulme itūruni ina maḥar^d šamaš nikkassašunu ippušu*, "when they have returned from the safely completed journey, they shall render their accounts in the presence of Shamash."⁵ This formula is appropriate for mercan-

tile contracts between two or more "active" partners. Its first portion also applies to contracts between an active partner or agent (Akkadian *šamallūm*) and a silent partner or creditor (Akkadian *tamkārum* or *ummeānum*), in which the former undertakes the journey and the latter supplies the capital for it.^{6a} No Old Babylonian contracts have preserved the formulation in as much detail, but various shorter wordings occur, including *silim-ma kaskal-la-ne-ne*,⁶ *silim-ma kaskal-ta*,⁷ and its Akkadian equivalent *i-na ša-lam ḥa-ra-nim*.⁸ The phrasing *kaskal-*

⁵ *MSL* I 76, lines 20-23.

^{6a} The *šamallūm* (ŠAMÁN.LÁ) is literally the carrier of the bag, i.e., the purse (Landsberger, *MSL* V 66, line 203) or perhaps the bag for the weights (KUŠ.NI.NA₄ = *kīsu*). His relationship to the "merchant" is succinctly expressed in two late passages. In line 139 of the Šamaš Hymn (cf. Lambert, *BWL*, pp. 134 f.), the *tamkārum* is described as a "traveling man" and the *šamallūm* as the carrier of the *kīsu*. In the group vocabulary (V R 16:22 f.; cf. Leemans, *The Old Babylonian Merchant*, p. 23), the *tamkārum* is equated with a "big pot" (SAB.GAL) and the *šamallūm* with a "little pot" (SAB.TUR). For *sappu* (SAB) = "pitcher" cf. Landsberger in *Afo* XII (1937-1939) 138 and n. 10.

⁶ *PBS* VIII 2, No. 151; cf. W. Eilers, *Gesellschaftsformen im altbabylonischen Recht* (1931) pp. 17, 61.

⁷ *TLB* I, No. 266.

⁸ *YOS* VIII, No. 145:10, and the references cited by A. L. Oppenheim in *JAOS* LXXIV (1954) 10.

¹ For this reading cf. B. Landsberger in *WO* III (1964) 62-79; F. R. Kraus in *Symb. Koschaker* (1939) pp. 50-60.

² Landsberger, *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon: Vokabulare und Formularbücher* I (1937).

³ *Ibid.* pp. ii f. Formulas which are not (yet) attested in Neo-Sumerian contracts may nevertheless be dated to that period if, for example, they recur in Old Assyrian contracts; cf. Landsberger in *ZA* XXXV (1924) 28.

⁴ For this reading cf. Landsberger in *JCS* XIII (1959) 129, *ad e a(A)* = *nāqu* VII 193.

- (t a) silim-ma-bi occurs, outside a dubious Larsa text,⁹ so far only in the Old Babylonian mercantile texts from Ur such as *UET V*, Nos. 313–15,¹⁰ 367, and 428.¹¹ This may be a clue to the provenience of YBC 5447,¹² which reads as follows:
- | | |
|--|--|
| IV g ú s í g - g ú - d i b ¹³ | 4 talents of <i>halkikku</i> (?)-wool |
| II g i g - g u r | 2 "bushels" of wheat |
| II š e - g i š - ì | 2 (bushels) of sesame |
| ki L ú - m á - a - a | from Luma'a |
| 5) ¹ <i>H</i> a-tin- ^d I-ba-nu-u[m] | Hatin-Ibanum |
| d u m u <i>Ap-ka-lu-um</i> | son of Apkallum |
| <š u - b a - a n - t i > ¹⁴ | <received>. |
| k a s k a l s i l i m - m a - b i | (At) the safe conclusion of the journey ¹⁵ |
| [t]i-bi-ib-ta-am | (an oath of) clearance ¹⁶ |
| ¹ L ú - m á - a - a - r a | to Luma'a |
| 10) i n - n a - a n - s i ¹⁷ | he will give. |
| m u - l u g a l - b i i n - p à | He swore to this in the name of the king |
| i g i U r - ^d š u l - p a - è | before Ur-Shulpa'e |
| [m á] š - š u - g í d - g í d | the seer |
| [i g i <i>E-r</i>]i-iš-ti-ì-lí ¹⁸ | (and) before Erishti-ili |
| u g u l a š u - k u ₆ | the foreman of the fishermen |
| i t i g u ₄ - s i - s á u ₄ - 20 - k a m | (in) the month Aiaru, the 20th day, |
| m u ²¹⁸ š u - n i r - g a l m i n - a - b i | the year (when Gungunum) brought the two great emblems |
| é - ^d n a n n a - š è i - n i - i n - | into the temple of Nanna. |
| [k u ₄ - r e] ¹⁹ | |

In this mercantile agreement, the silent partner, Luma'a,²⁰ consigns certain goods to the active partner, Hatin-Ibanum, presumably in the expectation of realizing or at least sharing the proceeds of their sale. The small number of wit-

nesses supports the conclusion that it records the setting-up of a partnership, not its dissolution,²¹ notwithstanding the apparent preterite in line 10 (cf. n. 17). Agreements of the present type, in which the agent receives goods on consignment in order to retail them,²² rather than money in

⁹ Ashmolean Museum 1911-282, published by S. Langdon in *PSBA XXXIV* (1912) Pl. vii (1); for a different reading of line 7 see Eilers, *op. cit.* p. 17, n. 2, and W. F. Leemans, *The Old-Babylonian Merchant* (1950) p. 25, n. 83.

¹⁰ Oppenheim, *loc. cit.*

¹¹ Leemans, *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period as Revealed by Texts from Southern Mesopotamia* (1960) pp. 36 f.

¹² For texts from Ur in the Yale Babylonian Collection, notably those with numbers between YBC 4720 and 4865, cf. *YOS V*, Nos. 1-110 and 135, and the remarks of Leemans in *BiOr XII* (1955) 113. Cf. also p. 203 below.

¹³ This is a better type of wool, perhaps that which embraces the neck. It occurs frequently on texts from Ur, both Neo-Sumerian (cf. *UET III* 152, under *s í g - g ú - u d u*) and old Babylonian (cf. *UET V*, No. 817, where it constitutes about 30% of the yield of some 180 sheep, the rest being mostly *s í g - g i n*, "ordinary wool"). Cf. also *ŠL II* 106:193, 539:32; *MSL V* 72, line 290.

¹⁴ A predicate seems called for here, the more so because the name of Luma'a would otherwise occur twice in the same clause. For a very similar ellipsis, cf. now *TLB I*, No. 266, an undated draft(?) of a mercantile loan at 20% interest which is repeated verbatim on the two sides of a single tablet, the only difference being, precisely, the omission of *š u - b a - a n - t i - e š* on the reverse.

¹⁵ So with *CAD VI* 110b as against Eilers, *op. cit.* p. 17.

¹⁶ For this sense of *tēbibtum*, cf. e.g. *ašar tēbibtim ina bit šamaš* in *BE VI* 1, No. 15:16 f., and the expression *ina bit šamaš ubbab* in *PBS VIII* 2, No. 246:13, for which see *MSL I* 196 and *CAD IV* 7 b-c.

¹⁷ For *i n - n a - a n - s i - m u*. For the same error in Neo-Sumerian, cf. A. Falkenstein, *Neusumerische Gerichtsurkunden II* (1956) pp. 170 f., No. 104:6.

¹⁸ This restoration is suggested by the space, though the name is more often borne by priestesses; cf. *CAD IV* 299b.

¹⁹ These signs may be considered emended rather than restored; the break on the lower edge is barely big enough to contain them.

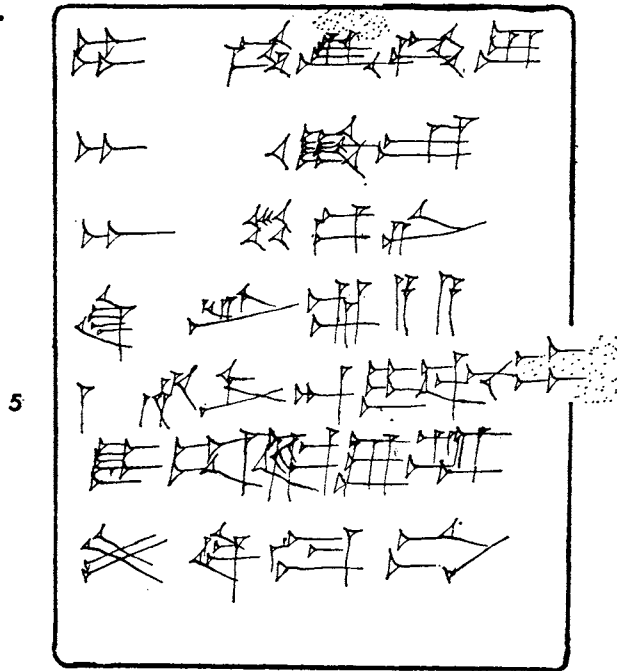
²⁰ This hypocoristic name, based on *L ú - m á - g u r a - r e*, *L ú - m á - l a ḫ*₄, or the like, would be appropriate in a family of seafaring merchants. Cf. also the personal name *Ma-la-hu-um* in *UET V*, No. 685 (for which see Leemans, *Foreign Trade*, pp. 170 f.) line 26 and No. 702:4.

²¹ Eilers, *op. cit.* pp. 33 f.

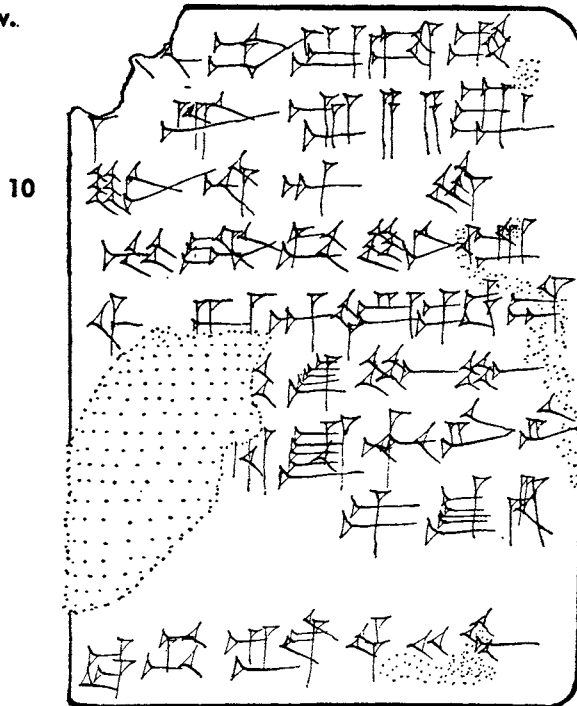
²² For the term used in *CH* § 104 (*ana pašārim*) cf. now also F. R. Kraus, *Ein Edikt des Königs Ammi-šaduqa* (1958) p. 83, § 9'.

YBC 5447

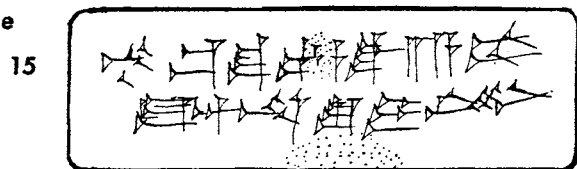
Obv.



Rev.



lower edge



order to buy goods, are envisaged by §§ 104 f. of the Laws of Hammurapi but are rare at best in the published contract literature.²³

The investment involved in the present venture can be estimated at between six and nine *m a - n a* of silver. Four talents of ordinary wool cost twenty *g í n* at this time,²⁴ and the type represented here may have been twice as expensive. Wheat in the late Ur III period was valued at only about one grain of silver per *s í l a*,²⁵ or some $3\frac{1}{3}$ *g í n* for the two "bushels" listed. But sesame was always relatively expensive in Babylonia,²⁶ and the present shipment would be worth from five to eight *m a - n a* according to the prices prevalent under Rim-Sin.²⁷ The fairly high sum involved virtually rules out the possibility that the items borrowed represented only the incidental overhead of the expedition.

The nature of the merchandise is also revealing. Wool, grain, and sesame were all staples produced in abundance in Babylonia, and at least the first two served the Neo-Sumerian traders as "exchangeable commodities" which they counted among their assets.²⁸ But they were suitable for export only to those few areas in the ancient Near East which did not themselves produce them, notably the shores and islands of the Persian Gulf.²⁹ This is precisely the region pointed to by the curious stamp-seal impressions discovered on our tablet by Buchanan (see pp. 204-9). Since the impressions are likely to be those of the debtor, or the obligated partner, we may suppose them to belong to Hatin-Ibanum. While his name and his father's have reasonable

²³ "Examples of the contract of § 104 are . . . not to be found with any certainty," according to Leemans, *The Old-Babylonian Merchant*, p. 33. Eilers, *op. cit.* p. 12, concludes "dass die altbabylonische *tappátum* Geld-, ja noch enger: Silberkommenda war."

²⁴ Cf. the Sin-kashid tariff, *SAKI*, p. 222 (c). For the same price in late Ur III times, cf. Curtis and Hallo in *HUCA XXX* (1959) 120.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 126 and n. a; Hallo in *BiOr XX* (1963) 137, n. 5.

²⁶ For Neo-Babylonian sesame prices, cf. W. H. Dubberstein in *AJSL LVI* (1939) 27 f.

²⁷ *YOS V*, No. 207; cf. Leemans, *The Old-Babylonian Merchant*, pp. 71 ff.

²⁸ *HUCA XXX* 111 f.; *JCS XVII* (1963) 59.

²⁹ Leemans, *Foreign Trade*, pp. 35 f., 115.

Akkadian etymologies,³⁰ neither of them recurs in the Old Babylonian onomasticon,³¹ and the theophoric element in the former may represent a non-Babylonian deity.³²

Consignments like the one under consideration require the agent to render an accurate and honest account as to the disposition of the wares and the prices they fetched. The Laws of Hammurapi were concerned precisely with this aspect of the consignment agreement,³³ and our contract implicitly provides for it, though in a somewhat unusual manner. For Neo-Sumerian and Old Babylonian contracts and lawsuits agree in differentiating carefully between promissory and asseverative (or assertive) oaths.³⁴ But lines 7-11 of our contract, if correctly interpreted, put the debtor under a promissory oath to take an asseverative oath in the future (cf. p. 200 and n. 17). What the content of that oath is to be is, as commonly, left unstated.³⁵ But it was no doubt intended to bind him by oath to an honest accounting.

The expression "to give clearance (by oath) to (the creditor)," which is phrased in a mixture of Sumerian and Akkadian not surprising in a text of the Early Old Babylonian period, especially where departures from the standard formularies

³⁰ Note that Tilmunites may also have Akkadian names, occasionally compounded with their own divine names such as Inzag; cf. e.g. *SLB I 3* (1960) pp. 91 f.

³¹ Cf. *CAD VI*, s.v. *hatānu*; *Ahw.* s.v. *apkallu*.

³² It is hardly possible that we are to read the name as *Hatin-él-i-ba-nu-um* and analyze it as *Hātin-el'ib-Anum*, "Anum is the protector of the ancestral spirit," or as an *-anum* formation from the same base. For Ugaritic *'el'eb (ilib)* cf. W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (1942) p. 203, n. 31, and A. Goetze in *JAOS LVIII* (1938) 278, n. 80. For an alleged *I-ba-nu-um* as a personal name cf. J. É. Gautier, *Archives d'une famille de Dilbat* (1908) No. 27 Rev. 7. Or can we connect our name with the divine name *I-ba-um* attested chiefly in the Diyala region? Cf. J. J. A. van Dijk, *SGL II* (1960) 90 and n. 29.

³³ *CH* §§ 104 f.

³⁴ Falkenstein, *op. cit.* Vol. I (1956) 63 f.; Moses Schorr, *Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts* (1913) pp. xxxii ff. and 348 ff.; Paul Koschaker in *Orientalia IV* (1934) 60 f. and n. 3.

³⁵ The actual wording of an asseverative oath is never given in Neo-Sumerian court cases (cf. Falkenstein, *op. cit.* Vol. I 67); for an Old Babylonian example, cf. the Edict of Ammisaduqa A iv 1-3 (Kraus, *op. cit.* pp. 34 f.), where the construction is, interestingly enough, a stative.

are concerned,³⁶ is unusual. But it may be compared with the common Old Babylonian formula for "giving" the defendant or his witnesses³⁷ to the deity³⁸ or his temple³⁹ or gate⁴⁰ for the asseverative oath (*ana ittišu* VI i 39 f.). The comparison is enhanced by variant formulas such as "give the defendant to the plaintiffs (for the oath) to the symbol of the deity,"⁴¹ or "give the defendant to the temple for clearance (by oath) (*ana ubbubim*)." ⁴² Certainly the *tibibtam* restored in line 8 has nothing to do either with the "census" of the Old Babylonian texts from Mari and Chagar Bazar⁴³ or with the "setting-out for purification" connected with the production of dates.⁴⁴

Our text is dated precisely to the tenth year of Gungunum of Larsa, or 1923 B.C. in the "middle chronology."⁴⁵ Its formulation (apart from a possible abbreviation of the predicate; cf. n. 19) corresponds exactly to that of a text from Ur⁴⁶ and differs, like the latter,⁴⁷ only by the addition of *gal* from that in the date list from Larsa.⁴⁸ It thus follows by some three years the earliest attested documents from Ur employ-

ing dates of Gungunum, and the presumable date of the peaceful transfer of Ur from the dynasty of Isin to that of Larsa.⁴⁹ There is, accordingly, no chronological reason against proposing Ur as the provenience of the text (cf. nn. 12 and 55).

There are not many other examples of the date formula in question,⁵⁰ but one from the R. F. Harper collection may be mentioned here. It was copied as *mu šu-nir pa-a-bi é-^dnanna* by T. J. Meek⁵¹ and has been compared to Gungunum's tenth year name by Miss Grice.⁵² Ungnad assigned it to Sin-eribam 2 on the basis of the traces of that date formula in a date list from Ur.⁵³ The full form of Sin-eribam's second date, however, has now been shown to be *mu urudu^alan-gu-la é-^dnanna-ke₄ i-ni-in-ku₄-re* on the basis of a contract from Ur sworn to in the name of that king.⁵⁴

Without unduly straining the evidence, we may then suppose that our contract records the consignment of agricultural staples by a merchant of the kingdom of Larsa to the citizen of a nearby point on the Persian Gulf for disposal there. Dating as it does from the beginning of Larsa's hegemony over Ur, it serves as a kind of overture to the more substantial and highly organized trade with Tilmun attested for the great merchants of Ur in texts beginning late in the reign of Gungunum and lasting to the end of the Larsa dynasty.⁵⁵

³⁶ Neither *ana ittišu* nor *ḫar-ra = ḫubullu* I-II lists *tēbibtum* in this sense.

³⁷ Schorr, *op. cit.* No. 260.

³⁸ *Ibid.* No. 307.

³⁹ *Ibid.* No. 296.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* No. 299. Sometimes the dative is entirely lacking; cf. *ibid.* No. 257.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* No. 305. Schorr's rendering of the awkward passage seems preferable to that of A. Walther, *Das altbabylonische Gerichtswesen* (1917) p. 197.

⁴² Schorr, *op. cit.* No. 283. *Ubbubum* and *tēbibtum* are equivalent nominal formations from the D-stem of *ebēbum*.

⁴³ For this see J. R. Kupper in *Studia Mariana* (1950) pp. 99-110 and *Les nomades en Mésopotamie* (1957) pp. 23-29.

⁴⁴ *MSL* I 60 and 196 ff.: *ana ittišu* IV iii 11-14.

⁴⁵ I.e., on the assumption that Hammurapi reigned from 1792 to 1750 B.C., for which see S. Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology* (1940) p. 29.

⁴⁶ *UET* V, No. 100.

⁴⁷ Note, however, the minuscule *gal* in this text.

⁴⁸ F. Thureau-Dangin in *RA* XV (1918) 52, line 14; cf. also the traces in the date list from Ur, *UET* I, No. 298 i 6 f.

⁴⁹ *UET* V, Nos. 617 (Gungunum 6/V), 289, 527 f. (Gungunum 7); *UET* I, No. 227 (Gungunum 8). Cf. also D. O. Edzard, *Die "zweite Zwischenzeit" Babyloniens* (1957) pp. 100 f. and n. 482; Hallo in *JCS* XVII 112 and n. 5.

⁵⁰ Cf. *UET* V, No. 269, and n. 46 above; an alleged variant appears in *UET* I, No. 228.

⁵¹ *AJSL* XXXIII (1916/17) 240, RFH 32.

⁵² *Chronology of the Larsa Dynasty* (1919) p. 14, sub 10.

⁵³ Article "Datenlisten," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* II (1938) 159:184.

⁵⁴ *UET* V, No. 196; cf. Edzard, *op. cit.* p. 149, n. 783. Another example of this date is found on *YOS* V, No. 59, on which see Kraus in *JCS* III (1949) 20 f.

⁵⁵ See *UET* V, No. 10, for a letter from (our?) Luma^a (line 3!) mentioning Larsa (line 21) and found at Ur.

A DATED "PERSIAN GULF" SEAL AND ITS IMPLICATIONS¹

BRIGGS BUCHANAN

The best preserved seal impressions on YBC 5447, the text of which is discussed on pages 199–203, occur on one side and one end (Pl. XVI A–B). Plate XVI C and D show pencil sketches by the writer. In C what can be seen of the design in the impressions is assembled, the strokes at the bottom indicating possible traces of the edge of the original seal. In D appears the design on a seal found on the island of Failaka in the Persian Gulf,² a worn section at the bottom being shown by hatching.

In the upper impression on Plate XVI A the axis of the design is approximately parallel to the edge of the tablet. The lower impression, however, is slightly off center. Even more so are the traces of two impressions on the other long side, while on the end shown in B the design is oblique to the edge.³ Such eccentric placing was puzzling, since cylinder seals were customarily rolled parallel to the edge of a tablet.

Also puzzling was the character of the design. Though its style suggested the schematic treatment of natural form on provincial cylinder seals of about 1900 B.C., no precise analogue could for a time be found. These problems were solved with the discovery of the "Persian Gulf" stamp seal whose design is shown in Plate XVI D. This design so closely resembles the impres-

sions on the tablet that at first sight one might think they had been made by that seal.⁴

The name "Persian Gulf" has been given to a class of seals first reported in some number from Ur and recently in one example from Lothal near the Bay of Cambay in western India. However, most of the seals of this type have been found by a Danish expedition on two islands in the Persian Gulf: Bahrein, off the middle of the southwestern shore, and Failaka, at the head of the gulf southwest of the mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates.⁵

⁴ This would have been most unusual, since to the writer's knowledge the chances of discovery have so far yielded only one ancient impression that could have been made by a recovered seal, the latter being a rectangular Indus Valley stamp seal (see MD II 328). Another instance is apparently furnished by a terra-cotta block (Louis Speleers, *Catalogue des intailles et empreintes orientales des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire: Supplément* [Bruxelles, 1943] No. 660 on p. 170) with at least one good impression of the cylinder seal numbered 128 in Gustavus A. Eisen, *Ancient Oriental Cylinder and Other Seals, with a Description of the Collection of Mrs. William H. Moore (OIP XLVII* [Chicago, 1940]). However, the block is probably modern, having been made to look like the unopened case of a Capadocian tablet.

⁵ A selective list of references to these discoveries follows. They are cited according to the abbreviations used for published seals in the following text.

¹ The abbreviations are those of H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939) pp. xx–xxi, with the following changes and additions (see also n. 5 below):

Frankfort	H. Frankfort, <i>Cylinder Seals</i> (London, 1939)
ILN	<i>The Illustrated London News</i>
MD I	Sir John Marshall (ed.), <i>Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization</i> (London, 1931)
MD II	E. J. H. Mackay, <i>Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro</i> (London, 1938)
UE II	C. Leonard Woolley, <i>The Royal Cemetery</i> ("Ur Excavations" II [London, 1934])
UE X	L. Legrain, <i>Seal Cylinders</i> ("Ur Excavations" X [London, 1951])

The chronology is based on the date 1792–1750 B.C. for Hammurabi; see now M. B. Rowton in *The Cambridge Ancient History* I (rev. ed.; 1962) chap. vi, pp. 23–69.

² *ILN*, Jan. 28, 1961, p. 142, Fig. 3 (enlarged three times) = Failaka V (see n. 5 below).

³ The rest of the tablet, though probably impressed, is so covered with writing that no clear traces of a design can be discerned.

Gadd 1–18 C. J. Gadd, "Seals of ancient Indian style found at Ur" (from *The Proceedings of the British Academy* XVIII [1932]). Gadd 1 = UE X, No. 631; 3 = No. 629; 5 = No. 630; 6 = No. 632 (from Larsa tomb); 8 = No. 627; 9 = No. 624; 11 = No. 625; 12 = No. 628 (from Kassite[?]) rubbish over Larsa remains; 14 = No. 626; 7 = UE II, Pl. 215:367; 10 = Pl. 216:371; 15 = Pl. 216:370 (from a possibly Akkadian tomb); 16 = Pl. 211:285 (from filling of post-Akkadian tomb; see *JAOS* LXXIV 149). See n. 8 for seals of Indus Valley type included by Gadd.

Bahrein I–IV Geoffrey Bibby, "The 'ancient Indian style' seals from Bahrein" (*Antiquity* XXXII [1958] 243–46 and Pls. XXVI–XXVII), with comments by Col. D. H. Gordon and Sir Mortimer Wheeler (the latter proposing the term "Persian Gulf" seals). Pl. XXVI a–b = Bahrein I (*Kuml*, 1954, Fig. 5 on p. 98; *Afo* XVII [1954–1956] Fig. 20 on p. 433); Pls. XXVI c–e and XXVII = Bahrein II–IV (*Kuml*, 1957, Fig. 13 on p. 143; *Afo* XVIII [1957–1958] Fig. 18 on p. 454; *ILN*, Jan. 11,



A



B



C



D

A-B. ONE SIDE AND ONE END OF YBC 5447. *C.* SKETCH OF DESIGN OF STAMP-SEAL IMPRESSIONS ON YBC 5447. *D.* SIMILAR DESIGN ON "PERSIAN GULF" SEAL. SCALE, ABOUT 3:2.

Three types of stamp seals found in the west can be related to the Indus civilization.⁶ Type I includes bossed round seals with designs and script of pure Indus Valley character. Except in contour, they are identical with the vastly more numerous square seals, probably the most distinctive artifact of the Indus civilization. Few such round seals have been found: only five in India, all at southern sites,⁷ and seven in Mesopotamia.⁸ It may be surmised that they were made by Indian artists, or that they were carefully imitated by others,⁹ espe-

cially for use in the maritime trade. As with most of the other objects from Mesopotamia that are attributed to the Indus civilization, the findspots of Type I seals, though scantily indicated, suggest an Akkadian date.¹⁰ No seals of Type I have as yet been reported from the Persian Gulf region, though the evidence for Type II suggests that they could be found there.

Type II, a small class, consists of seals that coarsely imitate those of the Indus Valley,¹¹ for example Gadd 15 and Bahrein III. These quite similar seals also contain design elements not attested for known Indus seals, in particular that common subject of Mesopotamian glyptic, the scorpion.¹² Type II could be extended to include such seals as Gadd 18, of unknown origin, which has Indus elements treated in a clumsy fashion, and Bahrein IV, which but for its shape might be regarded as prehistoric. Such pieces should be distinguished as of a different style from cursory or crude Indus seals such as *MD* II, seals Nos. 85 and 232, which are probably the result of haste or lack of skill. A similar distinction might be made in regard to the cylinder seals of varied style found in India or displaying Indus connections. Strangely enough the two that resemble Indus stamp seals most closely in style are both from Mesopotamia,¹³ while those from India, though containing native elements, poorly reflect the Indus glyptic style. By their re-

	1958, p. 54, Figs. 5-6; <i>Archaeology</i> XIII [1960] figure at left on p. 283).
Bahrein V	<i>Kuml</i> , 1958, Fig. 5 on p. 141, refer p. 144.
Failaka I	<i>Ibid.</i> Fig. 3 on p. 168, refer p. 170. See also P. V. Glob in <i>Kuml</i> , 1959, p. 238, regarding seal workshop on Bahrein and seals from settlement of the "Dilmun culture" on Failaka (cf. Failaka III-VI below).
Bahrein VI	<i>Kuml</i> , 1960, first printed page (scale and shape not indicated). See also p. 212, where Glob refers to some 150 stamp seals from Failaka (a couple of hundred on p. 209) as well as cylinder seals.
Failaka II	Edith Porada in <i>Archaeology</i> XIII 279 f. and figure at right on p. 283.
Failaka III-VI	Aage Roussell in <i>ILN</i> , Jan. 28, 1961, p. 142 and Figs. 1-4, from settlement attributed to the Akkad-Larsa range. In two years (1958-59) no fewer than 35 stamp seals were found on Failaka as against 15 in six years on Bahrein. The stamp seals are of steatite and have a slightly domed back, except for a few discoids sculptured on both sides. Two Akkadian type cylinder seals also were found on Failaka.
Lothal	S. R. Rao in <i>Antiquity</i> XXXVII (1963) 97 and Pl. IX, a surface find.

⁶ The early civilization centering about the Indus Valley is often referred to by the name of its first reported site, Harappa. The term "Indus civilization," or a shorter variant, is used here as more truly descriptive of such a vast cultural assemblage, even though it does not take into account the considerable expansion of the civilization, especially to the east.

⁷ *MD* I, seals Nos. 309, 383, 478 (pp. 375 f.); *MD* II, seal No. 500 (p. 343); Mackay, *Chanhudaro Excavations* ("American Oriental Series" XX [New Haven, 1943]) Pl. LI 23. In addition, at least one baked-clay "amulet" seems to have been impressed with a round seal (*MD* II, Pl. CI 13).

⁸ Gadd 2-5 and 16. Gadd 17 may be one of the seals from India that is cited in *MD* I 370. Add to Type I the last two round seals listed by Gadd, *op. cit.* p. 16, n. 1. The first four rectangular pieces in his list consist of three square seals and a sealing of Indus type; two of these are from Mesopotamia, and two are said to be. These four and a rectangular seal with signs only (Henri de Genouillac, *Fouilles de Telloh* II [Paris, 1936] 83), all presumably Indus exports, belong with Type I.

⁹ For a possible imitation see Gadd 16.

¹⁰ Gadd, *op. cit.* p. 17; cf. n. 5 above, under Gadd 1-18.

¹¹ Cf. Gordon's Types I and II; refer Bahrein I-IV, p. 245 (see n. 5 above).

¹² On the absence of the scorpion in the Indus repertory see *MD* II 327.

¹³ Frankfort, *Stratified Cylinder Seals from the Diyala Region* (*OIP* LXXII [Chicago, 1955]) No. 642, and, less similar, Gadd 7. Cylinders found in India: *MD* II, seals Nos. 376 and 488 (pp. 344 f.; No. 78 omitted as probably a bead), and one from the Deccan (*Ancient India*, No. 13 [1957] Pl. XVII B, pp. 9 and 21 f.), with debased Indus elements and by its form perhaps related to the Persian Gulf trade. Other relevant cylinders: Louvre S.299, from Susa (similar to Gadd 18 in style); Gadd 6; De Clercq 26 (see *Iraq* III [1936] 100 f.; *OLZ* XL [1937] 593 f.); possibly *UE* X, No. 542, from Ur (see *AJA* LVIII [1954] 340; close to stamp seals of Type III in style). The rendering of some of the animal eyes on Gadd 6 and De Clercq 26 by a dot-in-circle matches a feature of the Type III stamp seal style. On Indus stamp seals the eye is commonly shown as a dot in a lentoid shape which seldom approaches the circular as it does in *MD* I, seal No. 382, and *MD* II, seals Nos. 554, 673. The cylinders Gadd 6, De Clercq 26, and *UE* X, No. 542, can therefore be related to Type III rather than to Type II.

semblance to Type I in shape, Type II seals should belong to the same period. Though few have been published, they may be deemed to represent the early phase of "Persian Gulf" glyptic. No cylinders with Indus relations are attested from that region, but those from Mesopotamia of pronounced Indus character no doubt belong to the same early phase (see n. 13).

Type III, to which the designs shown on Plate XVI *C* and *D* belong, includes Gadd 8-14, Bahrein I-II and V-VI, and all of the published seals from Failaka.¹⁴ These seals are closely similar in shape. The boss on the back is lower and much broader than in Types I-II and, instead of one groove across it, usually has three, but it differs most distinctively in bearing four evenly spaced dot-in-circle devices. Like the typical Indus seal, apparently all seals of Type III are of steatite and were probably once white coated.

The style of engraving in these seals shows great uniformity, with three possible exceptions. Gadd 10 is simply gouged and has a subject comparable with Bahrein IV of Type II. The engraving of Gadd 11 resembles that in most seals of Type III, but in the treatment of its subject, a scorpion, it recalls a number of Meso-

¹⁴ The following unpublished seals of Type III are known to the writer.

Two in the Bibliothèque Nationale, from casts numbered M 3456 and 7121. The design of the first somewhat resembles Gadd 14; that of the second resembles Bahrein II but is more explicitly erotic. Both of the latter may depict "normal" intercourse, but they recall Neo-Sumerian scenes with the women in the superior position (Louvre T.88; André Parrot, *Glyptique mésopotamienne* ([Paris, 1954] No. 259). It is interesting to note that in the two possibly erotic scenes of Indus origin—neither so described—anal intercourse could be depicted (see *MD* I, Pl. CXVI 14 [right]; *MD* II, Pl. XCI 12 [right]), this being also the most common subject of explicit eroticism in ancient Mesopotamia.

One from Ishchali in the Diyala region (Ish. 34:134), marked "Late Larsa locus," with four rectangles about a central circle. For these elements cf. our Pl. XVI *C*.

One from Susa (Louvre Sb 1015) with animals, like the one on Gadd 8, back to back.

To these should perhaps be added several seals from Susa that are in the Louvre: Sb 883 and 885, with a linear cross on low rounded back and a notched edge; Sb 886, 995, and 996, all discoid with a circle or star-filled cross on one side and a figured design on the other (see also *RA* XXIV [1927] 21, Fig. 82). The engraving of these seals somewhat resembles that characteristic of Type III, being coarsely gouged with much interior hatching. Furthermore, the back of the first suggests the bosses of Type III, while the discoids recall the unpublished discoids cited above in n. 5 under Failaka III-VI. Such seals may be prototypes or derivatives of seals of Type III.

potamian stamp seals probably of Neo-Sumerian to Larsa times.¹⁵ Gadd 13 appears to be a crude example of the predominant Type III style. If turned around, its design could be taken for a coarsened version of the figure with "shield" in Failaka III; see also the two figures with conflated shields in Bahrein V.¹⁶ The engraving of the other fourteen seals of Type III shows deep sharp gouging with much interior hatching and heavily rounded accents. Broader, more flatly cut forms are usually defined by sharp linear outlines. Also distinctive is the rendering of animal eyes by the dot-in-circle and of the human head by two vertical gouges from which the features project. So closely similar in style are these seals that they might all be products of the same workshop; certainly they do not represent a long period of time. The tablet on which the design shown in Plate XVI *C* was impressed indicates that one seal of Type III was in use near the end of the 20th century B.C. Bahrein II came from a higher level than Bahrein IV, which is of Type II. Some of the Mesopotamian parallels of Gadd 11 have been dated to Larsa times. Gadd 12 came from Kassite(?) rubbish, but as a perfect example of this very homogeneous group it must be dated with the others. Obviously the Larsa remains under the Kassite(?) rubbish are more relevant to the problem. Lastly, the style of the group in general resembles that of provincial glyptic of the 20th to 19th centuries. These few indications, combined with the written evidence of Ur's trade with Tilmun under the middle Larsa kings, suggest a date of about 1900 B.C. for Type III. Presumably it represents the later phase of "Persian Gulf" glyptic, and because of trade associations seals of this type may be called the "Tilmun group."

Because so few "Persian Gulf" seals have been published, discussion of iconography will be largely limited to that of the designs shown in Plate XVI *C-D*. Suffice it to say that the available examples show little clear evidence of Indus influence, save in the rendering of animal forms. Except perhaps for Gadd 12, the signs of the

¹⁵ *AJA* LVIII 340; *JAOS* LXXIII (1953) 228.

¹⁶ Cf. the shield carried by a warrior on Louvre A.861, probably Neo-Sumerian, possibly early Cappadocian.

Indus script, if present, seem no longer used as such.¹⁷

Probably the most interesting element in the designs of *C* and *D* is the bucranium, two of which appear in Failaka IV. This motif, so popular in prehistoric art, had virtually disappeared from the cylinder seal repertory.¹⁸ It reappeared in Syro-Cappadocian or early Syrian cylinders, probably of the early 19th century¹⁹ and remained popular in the glyptic of the Levant throughout the second millennium. The association of birds and bucranium in *D* recalls the common Cappadocian motif of a bird mounted on the back of a bull on an altar. It may be accidental that a similar theme without an altar is perhaps depicted in Gadd 7, a cylinder related to the Indus civilization. The bucranium itself, however, does not appear on known Indus Valley seals. A similar, if less drastic, problem is presented by the two facing seated figures drinking through a tube from a vessel. This motif was common in Early Dynastic times and continued into the Akkadian period.²⁰ A similar motif appears on provincial Syrian cylinder seals, perhaps of the 21st to 20th centuries, but usually with only one figure depicted in a scene sometimes completed by a bull on an altar.²¹ The Syrian connection thus suggested by both the bucranium and the drinking scene makes it seem

¹⁷ For the Indus signs see *MD I*, Pls. CXIX–CXXIX. The crosshatched squares in our Pl. XVI *C*, in Failaka IV, where they have been called fans, and in Bahrein II, where the one example seems to be a platform or an altar, recall signs cxcviii–ccc; the hatched square with a projection in Bahrein I suggests signs cxxviii–cxcix, while the lentoid shape in Gadd 11 and Bahrein V looks very much like sign xlvi. The birds in our Pl. XVI *D* and the fish in Failaka III have no very close counterparts among the bird and fish signs. For the apparent signs on Gadd 12 see Gadd, *op. cit.* pp. 11 f.

¹⁸ For one of the rare early occurrences see De Clercq 27, probably of Early Dynastic I.

¹⁹ See Louvre A.895; Speleers, *op. cit.*, No. 1457 on p. 138.

²⁰ See B.N. 56–57 and *UE II*, Pl. 212:299. The vessel on the last resembles those in our Pl. XVI *C*.

²¹ For a single drinking figure with a bull on an altar see Frankfort, Pl. XL *k* (perhaps ca. 2000 B.C.). Two drinking figures appear on a seal (*ibid.* Pl. XXXIX *f*) which in composition and style recalls our Pl. XVI *C–D* and could be post-Akkadian (ca. 2100 B.C.). Weber 418, said to be from Kültepe, also contains two drinking figures. It might be regarded as a crudity of the late 2nd millennium or even as a fake. However, it resembles our Pl. XVI *D* in the rendering of the legs and the lower part of the bodies. It may therefore be a Levantine product of about the 20th century B.C.

possible that around 2000 B.C. the Persian Gulf merchants had a relationship, other than one involving trade, with some ethnic element in Syria (merchants or colonists?). The Syrian evidence, slim as it is, also suggests that seals of Type III should be dated about 1900 B.C. at the latest.

The "Persian Gulf" seals have certain implications bearing on the trade with Tilmun, Magan, and Meluhha.²² The Type III seal found at Lothal makes it almost certain that the Tilmun trade was somehow connected with India. Since it comes from a port rather than inland, it can hardly be thought to have trickled across country. Then, too, the discovery of so many seals at Failaka (see n. 5, under Bahrein VI), all those published being of Type III, indicates that the island was an important center of the Tilmun trade and suggests that it may have been Tilmun itself.²³ If so, it becomes possible that Bahrein is the site of Magan, apparently the principal entrepôt in Ur III times. To some extent this possibility is confirmed by the presence there of two seals of Type II, which seems definitely earlier than Type III.

No site that could be Meluhha has yet been found southeast of Bahrein on or near the Persian Gulf. The Danish expedition, however, discovered a cemetery on the Persian Gulf side of Oman with graves containing pottery perhaps related to the Kulli culture of Baluchistan²⁴ and

²² For recent literature on this subject see Leemans, *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period*, esp. pp. 5–12 and 159–66. Cf. M. Birot in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient V* (1962) 91 f.; S. N. Kramer in *Antiquity XXXVII* 111 f.

²³ P. B. Cornwall (*Journal of Cuneiform Studies VI* [1952] 137–45) has plausibly argued that Bahrein was the site of Tilmun. The main support for his case is a single inscription from Bahrein which mentions a divine name connected with Tilmun. However, this name may have been used elsewhere (*ibid.* p. 141). Most of his other arguments apply to Failaka as well as they do to Bahrein—some perhaps better. Thus his attempt to locate Tilmun by means of the distance to it cited by Sargon of Assyria (*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research No. 103* [1946] pp. 4–5) assumes that this distance was measured from the mouth of the Euphrates, whereas a check of his references suggests that it was measured from Babylon.

²⁴ *Kuml*, 1962, pp. 208 f. On the Kulli culture see Stuart Pigott, *Prehistoric India to 1000 B.C.* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1950) pp. 96–118 (including on p. 117 a reference to Gadd 6).

suggesting a mixture of ethnic elements such as might be found at an early entrepôt in that general area. The possibility that Meluḥḥa may have originally been located on the Persian Gulf is also suggested by a tablet in the British Museum, which is another copy of the so-called Cruciform Monument of Maništusu, Akkadian king of about 2300 B.C. Though this monument is now regarded as an Old Babylonian forgery, it is believed to contain historical elements. One line in it that refers to a king of Anšan and Šeriḥum reads, in the British Museum copy, "king of Anšan and of the city of Meluḥḥa."²⁵ Anšan lay somewhere near Susa, its focus being perhaps in the mountains to the east, while Šeriḥum may refer to part of the Iranian shore of the Persian Gulf. If Šeriḥum can in any sense be equated with Meluḥḥa, the problem of the original site of the latter might be roughly solved. However, this is all based on a document of dubious pedigree involving places of uncertain location. Another reason to look for Meluḥḥa on the Iranian shore may be provided by some pottery from Bushire on that shore, which perhaps resembles ware found on Bahrein and Failaka.²⁶ However, Bushire need not be the site of Meluḥḥa, since other places than those mentioned may have been connected with the Gulf trade.²⁷ Furthermore, the generally accepted order Tilmun, Magan, and Meluḥḥa implies that Meluḥḥa lay beyond Magan. Nevertheless, a location of Meluḥḥa on the Persian Gulf would perhaps better fit Sargon's famous reference to the boats of Meluḥḥa, Magan, and Tilmun than if it and the others are placed so early at increasingly remote distances.

Much depends on whether an imported commodity named for a foreign land derived its name from its place of origin or from the entrepôt at which it entered Mesopotamian trade. The latter seems more likely for objects named after Tilmun, Magan, and Meluḥḥa. To locate

Meluḥḥa in India would leave unexplained the relative scarcity of Indus Valley objects in Mesopotamia and the virtual absence of Mesopotamian objects in India. To locate Magan in Egypt presents even greater difficulties of the same nature.

The proposed location of Tilmun on Failaka Island could solve some other problems if the name was ever used more broadly to refer to the adjacent mainland at the head of the gulf. Such use would explain the presumably overland caravan sent to Tilmun in Hammurabi's time and perhaps also the mention of Tilmunites in Samsuiluna's time.²⁸ If extended far enough to the east it might even satisfy those who insist that in this direction Tilmun must be sought.

The "Persian Gulf" seals also have implications bearing on the dating of the mature Indus civilization. On the one hand this civilization has often been dated 2500–1500 B.C., and on the other hand its essential uniformity throughout has been stressed. Such prolonged stability seems impossible. The longest known stretch of apparent cultural stability in a civilized society is that covering the 4th through most of the 6th dynasty in Egypt, a period of about 400 years. There is no reason to expect that the more widespread Indus civilization would have lasted as long without substantial change. One reason advanced for extending the Indus civilization to as late as 1500 B.C. is the find-spot, Kassite(?) rubbish, of Gadd 12. The date of Type III seals that is suggested by the impressions on YBC 5447 makes this no longer tenable. Furthermore, the earlier phase of "Persian Gulf" glyptic should be roughly of Akkadian times and was undoubtedly associated with the mature Indus civilization. No such association has been established for the later, "Tilmun" phase. The Type III seal from Lothal as a surface find can perhaps more easily be related to the late decadent Indus phase at the site than to any earlier.²⁹ Though possibly of slight consequence, these factors sug-

²⁵ E. Sollberger in *Compte rendu de l'Onzième Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (Leiden, 1964) pp. 6 f.; Gadd in *The Cambridge Ancient History I* (rev. ed.; 1963) chap. xix, pp. 24–26.

²⁶ *MDP XV 21* [type II], Pls. III 3–4 and VI 5; cf. *Kuml*, 1955, Fig. 12 on p. 188, refer p. 192, and *Kuml*, 1958, p. 170.

²⁷ See Leemans, *Foreign Trade*, p. 12, n. 1, regarding Gupin.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 141. Regarding Tilmun territory on the mainland see Cornwall, *op. cit.* p. 139.

²⁹ On the stratigraphy of Lothal see *Ancient India*, Nos. 18 & 19 (1962 & 1963) pp. 178–81, and cf. p. 213.

gest that the mature Indus civilization should be dated from Sargon's time, about 2350 B.C. or even somewhat later in the Akkadian period, to about 2000 B.C.³⁰ To some extent such a range has been recently confirmed by a compilation of the carbon 14 dates from India.³¹ However, on the early side there are as yet no carbon 14 dates at all, while those from Lothal imply that an

³⁰ A similar date for the end of the mature Indus civilization has often been proposed, as in Piggott, *op. cit.* Table II, p. 243.

³¹ See B. B. Lal in *Ancient India*, Nos. 18 & 19, pp. 212-14 and 219. Carbon 14 dates are still the subject of controversy, even when we allow for a wide margin of error. However, they become quite plausible when, as in the case of Lothal, a number of them form a consistent pattern.

aspect of the mature phase lasted there as late as 1900 B.C.

The problem will no doubt be resolved by the work now being done by Indian archeologists toward differentiating the phases of the Indus civilization, especially in its late and derivative aspects of the second millennium.³² The results so far obtained need to be checked by more extensive comparison and by much more digging. Furthermore, they are subject to a revision of dates, if those tentatively proposed above should prove to be approximately correct.

³² See S. R. Rao *et al.* in *Ancient India*, Nos. 18 & 19, pp. 5-207.

TAVERN KEEPERS AND THE LIKE IN ANCIENT BABYLONIA

ALBRECHT GOETZE

Yale University

The tablet presented here belongs to the collection preserved in the Library of Smith College at Northampton, Massachusetts,¹ and bears there the number 240. The copy accompanying this article (p. 213) was made many years ago, and a transliteration was communicated to Professor Landsberger; he took great interest in it and contributed valuable remarks to its interpretation.

The content shows that the document ultimately came from Sippar (Abū Ḥabbah). Quite

unusual in its kind, it records—if I understand the text correctly—an oath sworn by the *rabiānu*'s of several villages in the vicinity concerning the tavern keepers and cookshop operators under their jurisdiction and the fulfillment of their administrative duties with respect to them. It appears that these men owed the palace (at Sippar) an annual tax, the year in question being the 36th year of Ammi-ditana;² the "scribe" Utul-Ishtar, well known otherwise,³ had been commissioned to collect these taxes.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

Obverse

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1 <i>aš-šum sabī^{meš} ù nuḫatimmī^{meš} w[a-]š[i-ib]</i></p> <p>2 <i>ša mu: Am-mi-di-ta-na, l[ugal-e]
mu.bil.egir Bād.Am-mi-di-ta-n[a^ki]
bī.in-dū-a</i></p> <p>3 <i>ša a-na Ū-tūl-Ištar tupšarrim</i></p> <p>4 <i>a-na šu-ud-du-nim na-ad-nu</i></p> <p>5 <i>gu-um-mu-ri šu-uš-tū-ri-im-ma</i></p> <p>6 <i>kasap ne-me-et-ti-šu-nu a-na ekallim ba-ba-lim</i></p> <p>7 <i>sabiam ù nuḫatimmam la pu-uz-zu-ri-im</i></p> <p>8 <i>wardī^{meš} ša a-wi-le-e a-na pa-ni sabīm ù nuḫatimmim ša ālānī^{ḫist-a²}</i></p> <p>9 <i>la ša-ka-nim</i></p> <p>10 <i>ù sabiam ù nuḫatimmam ša-qī-īl kaspim a-na ŠU.BAR-RA</i></p> <p>11 <i>la šu-uš-tū-ri-im</i></p> <p>12 <i>a-na Šamaš [[ra-bi]] ra-bi-a-nu i-lu-ni[-ma]</i></p> | <p>1 Concerning getting the tavern keeper and cookshop operators liv[ing in]</p> <p>2 during the year: new year after Ammi-ditana, the king, built Bad-Ammiditana,</p> <p>3 who to Utul-Ishtar, the scribe,</p> <p>4 have been assigned for collecting (the taxes),</p> <p>5 completely inscribed (in the register),</p> <p>6 (concerning) bringing the silver of their impost to the palace,</p> <p>7 (concerning the rule) not to keep concealed a tavern keeper or a cookshop operator,</p> <p>8 (concerning the rule) not to substitute</p> <p>9 slaves of free men for a tavern keeper or cookshop operator of the villages,</p> <p>10 (concerning the rule) not to get inscribed</p> <p>11 a tavern keeper or a cookshop operator liable to paying silver on the list of those tax exempt—</p> <p>12 the <i>rabiānu</i>'s went up to Šamaš(?) and then</p> |
|--|--|

¹ See Elihu Grant, *Cuneiform Documents in the Smith College Library* ("Biblical and Kindred Studies" No. 1 [Haverford, Pennsylvania, 1918]); Cyrus H. Gordon, *Smith College Tablets, 110 Cuneiform Texts Selected from the College Collection* ("Smith College Studies in History" XXXVIII [1952]). The tablet 240 does not figure in either publication.

² See A. Ungnad, "Datenlisten," *RLA* II (1938) 189, No. 247; Ammi-ditana is the third successor to the famous Hamurapi.

³ Occurrences of his name have been collected by F. R. Kraus, *Ein Edikt des Königs Ammi-šaduqa von Babylon* (1958) pp. 108 ff. They show that Utul-Ishtar was promoted between the 6th and the 10th year of Ammi-šaduqa to "father" of the (work)men" (*abū šābī*); I mention this here because it throws some light on the functions he performed as "scribe" (of the palace?).

13 ¹ Il-šū-l[^{i?} ī- ⁱ]b?-lu-uṭ wakil gallābī ^a	13 Ilšu-libluṭ, the foreman of <i>the gallābū</i> , ^a
14 ^l ^b	14 ^b
15 ^l ^b	15 ^b
16 ^l ^b	16 ^b
17 ù šī-bu-u[t]	17 and the aldermen [of their villages]
18 ki-a-am [iq-bu-ú-ma um-ma šu-nu-ma]	18 [spoke] thus; [this is what they said:]
19 1 sabīam x[.....]	19 “One tavern keeper [.....],
20 1 nuḥatimmam x[.....]	20 one cookshop operator [.....]
Lower Edge	
21 ! ša [..... nu-ša-aš-ṭe ₄ -er]	21 of [the village we got inscribed (in the register)].
22 x 1 sabīam x[.....]	22 ... one tavern keeper ...[.....]
23 x 1 nuḥatimmam x[.....]	23 ... one cookshop operator ...[...]
Reverse	
24 ša i-na Kar- ^a Šamaš ^{ki} in-nam[-ru]	24 who turned up in Kar-Šamaš
25 nu-ub-lam	25 we brought here (to Sippar)—
26 e-zu-ub 1 sabīam 1 nuḥatimmam an-nu-ut[-ti-im]	26 except these one tavern keeper and one cookshop operator
27 ša nu-ša-aš-ṭe ₄ -ru	27 whom we got inscribed (in the register)
28 sabīam ù nuḥatimmam la nu-pa-az-zi-ru	28 we did not keep concealed any tavern keeper or cookshop operator
29 wardī ^{meš} ša a-wi-le-e a-na pa-ni sabīm ù [nuḥatimmim]	29 we did not substitute slaves of free men
30 la ni-iš-ku-nu-ma	30 for any tavern keeper or cookshop operator,
31 ù sabīam ù nuḥatimmam ša-qí-il kaspim a-na ŠU.BAR-RA	31 nor did we get any tavern keeper or cookshop operator liable to paying silver
32 la nu-ša-aš-ṭe ₄ -ru	32 inscribed on the list of those tax exempt.”
33 an-ni-tam iq-bu-ú-ma	33 This they spoke and
34 nīš ^a Marduk ù Am-mi-di-ta-na šar-ri	34 swore an oath
35 is-ku-ru	35 by Marduk and Ammi-ditana, the king.
36 a-na sabīm ù nuḥatimmim ša ^o	36 For any tavern keeper or cookshop operator belonging to ^o whom they will keep concealed,
37 a-na wardī ^{meš} ša a-wi-le-e ù ŠU.BAR-RA a-na pa-nim ša-ka-nim	37 (for) substituting slaves of free men and tax-exempt people
38 ša ^{aw} qá-ab-ba-ḥu-ú a-na ekallim	38 whom (afterward) the q.
39 ú-ub-ba-lam	39 will bring to the palace,
40 ù a-na sabīm ù nuḥatimmim ša i-ḥa-al-li-qú	40 and (for) any tavern keeper and cookshop operator who will disappear
41 pí-ḥa-tam ekallam i-ip-pa-lu	41 they will be responsible to the palace.
<hr/>	
42 ! waraḥ Sebūtum ūmam 20[-kam]	42 Month Sebūtum, 20th day.
Upper Edge	
43 mu: A[m-mi-d]i-ta-na,[lugal-e]	43 Year: new year after Ammi-ditana, the king,
44 m[u.bil.egir Bá]d[.Am-mi-di-ta-na ^{ki}]	44 [built]
45 [bi-in-dù-a]	45 [Bad-Ammiditana].

^a End of line blank.^b These lines are left blank after the initial determinative of a personal name.^o The omitted word looks like *ar.di.ki*. See Commentary.^a End of line blank.^b Left blank.^o Place name?

obv.

5

10

15

20

lower edge

rev.

25

30

35

40

upper edge

*add

The structure of the text is easily understood.

I. Lines 1–11: The subject matter (Utul-Ishtar's mission).

For accomplishing the mission properly it is required (apparently from the *rabiānu*'s)

(a) that a complete register of all tavern keepers and cookshop operators is to be provided (line 5);

(b) that their "impost" is to be brought to the palace (line 6);

(c) that none of these people is "concealed" (line 7);

(d) that for none of them slaves of free(born) men are substituted (lines 8–9);

(e) that none of those liable to pay money are placed on the tax-exempt list (lines 10–11).

II. Lines 12–35: The oath of the *rabiānu*'s.

The section runs parallel with the preceding one. The *rabiānu*'s and the aldermen (of the respective villages)⁴ are recorded to have sworn that the five requirements (a) to (e) have been duly fulfilled.

III. Lines 36–41: Implications of the oath.

The recording authorities declare that the *rabiānu*'s are liable to the palace for any loss to the palace resulting from non-fulfillment of requirements (c), (d), and (e) or "disappearance" of any tavern keeper or cookshop operator.

IV. Lines 42 ff.: Date.

COMMENTARY

I. The tavern keepers (LÚ.TIN.NA.MEŠ = Akk. *sabū*) and cookshop operators (MU.MEŠ = Akk. *nuḫatimmū*) are said to have been "given" or "assigned" (*nadnū*) for (literally) "causing (them) to give," i.e., "collect," (from them the tax due).⁵

(a) (*aššum*) *gummuri šušturim* is a clear hendiadys⁶ "concerning causing to be without exception registered." At the basis of the phrase is the statement *sabū gamrū šaṭrū*, "the s. are complete and written up"; cf. my paper read at the American Oriental Society meeting in Washington, D.C., April 9th, 1953 (*JAOS* LXXIII 190).

(b) *nēmettum*, lit. "impost"; it consisted of money (silver). Lines 22–24 seem to indicate that the persons obligated to pay came themselves (or were brought) to Sippar in order to pay. *babālum* is the normal form of the infinitive and stands for **wabālum*; see A. Ungnad in *ZA* XVII (1903) 357 f.

(c) *puzzurum* D, lit. "make hidden," i.e., an action which results in the situation that the tavern keepers etc. "are hidden," "concealed," and therefore remain unknown to the tax collector.

⁴ The words between parentheses are lost owing to mutilation of the tablet.

⁵ See for the phrase *ana šuddunim nadin* Kraus, *Edikt*, pp. 49 f. Because of section (b), connected with (a) by the enclitic *-ma*, one is inclined to believe that the phrase more fully should be *ana nēmettim šuddunim nadnū*; for *nēmettam šuddunum* see Kraus, *Edikt*, p. 48.

⁶ Listed as such (from the present text!) in *CAD* V 31b.

(d) This requirement makes sense if it is assumed that slaves (servants) of *awilū* ("free men"), because of the elevated social standing of their masters, had not to pay the *nēmettum*. The exact meaning of *ana pani sabim* (etc.) *šakānum* is debatable; I do not think that a translation "to put in the tavern keeper's service," which might first come to mind, does full justice to the situation. I suggest as preferable "substitute for the tavern keeper." It seems to me that *ana panim* (*pani-šu* etc.) always implies a contrast between two persons and thus means "instead of ..." (cf., e.g., *ABPh.* No. 69:6 ff.; *VAS* XVI, Nos. 8:15 f. and 21:14).⁷

(e) Note the opposites *ša-qi-il kaspim* "liable to pay money" and *ŠU.BAR.RA*, which in the context can only mean "tax-exempt." The ideogram corresponds frequently enough with *wuššurum* (*muššurum*),⁸ "release (a person)," "cancel (a debt, or obligation)," but it still remains to be demonstrated whether we are entitled, in cases like the present one, to use the Akkadian adjective *wuššurum*, plural *wuššurūtum*.⁹

II. The section poses certain problems.¹⁰

⁷ See also *a-na pa-ni-šu* in *CH* § 135, where the suffix refers to the husband who is a prisoner of war in foreign lands; he has a rival called *šanūm*, "the other man." In this passage *ana pani-šu* cannot possibly mean "before his return" (Eilers, Driver) but only "in his place," i.e., so that she might have a (nother) provider.

⁸ *ŠL* II 354, 120.

⁹ Compare the Mari occurrences listed in *ARMT* XV 278, s.v. *wašārum*.

¹⁰ As pointed out in some detail by Landsberger in a letter to me.

Above all one expects the place mentioned where the oath is administered. The proper place in Sippar would be *e-babbar*, the temple of Šamaš.¹¹ Of course, Šamaš-rabi (line 12) is a perfectly good personal name. But what should an otherwise unknown man—and he would have to be of high rank!—be doing in this context? One wonders whether *ra-bi*, presumably the second element of this name, might not simply be a ditto-graphy caused by the following *ra-bi-a-nu* and is therefore to be stricken from the text. Lines 13–16 are intended to give four personal names. Only the first one (line 13) is actually given; lines 14–16 are left blank. The given name, now mutilated, may have been *Īl-šū-l[i?]-b-lu-ut*, the PA.ŠU.I (*wakil gallābi*) that follows his title. I am by no means convinced that ŠU.I is “marker” (A. Ungnad). One would like to assume here that the man in question was simultaneously *rabiā-num* of a village near Sippar. Does the fact that the names are omitted indicate that the tablet is actually only a first draft?

The oath, in as far as it is well preserved, covers clearly the requirements (c) (*lā nupazzirū*, “we did not conceal”; line 28), (d) (*lā niškunū*, “we did not substitute”; line 30), and (e) (*la nušašterū*, “we had (them) not registered”; line 32). The part (c) is made more complicated in that an exception is introduced with the words “except these tavern keepers and cookshop operators whom we had registered” (lines 25 f.). This must refer back to lines 19–21, where at the end of line 21 *nušašter*, “we had (them) registered,” should be restored; mention was made there of one tavern keeper and one cookshop operator (by name?) who, we must presume, had previously avoided registration. The exception also includes another like pair who turned up in the village Kār-Šamaš¹² (*ša ina K. in-na[m-ru]*; line 24); the *rabiānu*'s say under oath: “we brought (them) here” (to Sippar) (*nublam*; line 25), namely to pay the amount which they previously had failed to pay.

III. In the present-future *uptazzaru* (line 36)

¹¹ However, in line 34 Marduk is invoked.

¹² This town is frequently mentioned in Sippar texts; see, e.g., *TCL* I 55; *CT* VI, Pl. 6; *LIH*, No. 90 (= *VAB* VI, No. 72); Crozer 155 (*JCS* II [1948] 95, line 5; on the Euphrates). Kar(ra)-Šamaš of the date formula Hammurapi 42 (on the Tigris) and Kar-Šamaš of the OB Itinerary UIOM 2134 i 15 (*JCS* VII [1953] 51 ff.), with the duplicate YBC 4499 (*JCS* XVIII [1964] 57 ff.), cannot be the same place.

the infixed *ta* must have a lexical function (see A. Goetze in *JAOS* LVI [1936] 322 ff.); in all probability it is “separative,” “they are hidden away,” “will be hidden away” (*ibid.* p. 324). The verb clearly resumes the (*aššum*) *lā puzzurim* of line 7 and the *lā nupazzirū* of line 28. The word after *ša* remains undeciphered. It looks like (*ša*) *Ar-di^k*, but such a name is unknown to me. And why single out a specific village where only a reference to any village belonging to the district of Sippar seems to make sense?

Line 37 resumes lines 8/9 and 10 of Section I and lines 29/30 and 31/32 of Section II. Two cases previously distinguished as (d) and (e) are here combined. It is here foreseen that the *qabbāhu(m)* is bringing the enumerated people who tried to avoid their obligations to the palace. The person so called, also mentioned in letters of Abī-ešuḥ (*LIH*, Nos. 83:15 and 32,¹³ 89:5 and 17), seems to be a police officer whose duty includes bringing dodgers to justice.¹⁴ Finally (line 40) the case is taken into consideration that a tavern keeper or cookshop operator “disappear.” The vague expression suggests that this addition, without correspondence in what precedes, is merely made in order to catch all those pertinent cases which have not been expressly mentioned in Sections I and II; thus the *rabiānu*'s are made liable for damages in every conceivable case.

The significance of the tablet rests on the information it provides on the legal position of tavern keepers and cookshop operators. This information is in the strictest sense valid for Sippar only but should, in all probability, be extended to include the other cities of Lower Mesopotamia as well. We learn about these people the following facts: (1) that they had to be properly registered and licensed; (2) that they had to pay (in silver) a tax (*nēmattum*) to the palace in the district to which their respective villages belong; and (3) that the *rabiānū* of these villages were responsible for the proper implementation of the regulations relating to their registration and the payment of their tax (*nēmattum*).

¹³ The word here closes an enumeration which includes *šangū dayyānū Sippar utullū šatammū ērib bitim gudapsū u aw-ga-ab-ba-ḥu-ū*, “the ‘priests,’ the judges of Sippar, the herdsmen, the oeconomi, the temple officials, the *g.*'s, and the *q.*'s.”

¹⁴ Landsberger (in a letter) compares the *munaggirum*, “denouncer” (a private person); see *JCS* IX (1955) 123 f.

THE JOURNEY OF THE DIVINE WEAPON

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The renting of the "journey of the divine weapon" (GIŠ.TUKUL)¹ is an unusual phenomenon. Only in Sippar in the Old Babylonian period is the practice of one person renting the divine weapon of a god, Šamaš or Adad, from another person for a given length of time found. The lessee would then bring the sacred object to some specified place where it would be carried in a procession. Various interpretations have been offered to account for this curious transaction: that the divine weapon was used in a religious festival celebrated during the period of harvesting,² that it was used to measure fields,³ or that it was used for the collecting of taxes.⁴ But Professor B. Landsberger, in our opinion, arrived at the correct understanding of the weapon rentals when he said that "die Symbolwaffe des Gottes . . . diente nicht nur zur Wahrheitsfeststellung durch assertorischen Eid, sondern mit ihrer Hilfe konnte auch bei Besitzstreitigkeiten auf magischem Wege die Grösse des strittigen Objektes festgestellt (= *burru*) werden."⁵

That oaths were taken by the various symbols of the gods is well known from the Old Babylonian textual material of northern and southern Babylonia.⁶ In these instances the declarations

of the litigants were made in the temple or other sacred precincts. But at times the symbols, usually the divine weapon, might be transported from the chapel or temple where they were housed to some other place so that the oath might be administered. In all references to the transporting of the divine symbol the basic purpose to which it was put, as pointed out by Professor Landsberger, may be summed up by the Akkadian term *burru*, "to establish the truth by an oath." The man who swore falsely would surely incur the wrath of the god and suffer a terrible punishment.

The earliest reference to the transporting of the divine weapon appears in a Sippar legal text⁷ dating from the reign of Apil-Sin⁸ (*CT* VI, Pl. 22 a⁹):

(When) the weapon of Šamaš came here from Sippar, Salilum, Iqīpum, and Sin-rēmēni¹⁰ established that the orchard of 1 GÁN 16 SAR, adjacent to (the or-

⁷ The phrase GIŠ.TUKUL ša Šamaš was misread as a personal name in *HG* III, No. 753. But Landsberger read it correctly (*ZDMG* LXIX 498).

⁸ The date formula is unknown. The text has been assigned to Apil-Sin because some of the persons mentioned in it are mentioned in dated Apil-Sin texts also.

⁹ 1. GIŠ.TUKUL ša dUTU
2. iš-tu UD.KIB.NUNKI
3. il-li-kam-ma
4. 1 GÁN 16 SAR GIŠ.SAR
5. DA Zu-du-ru-um
6. 33½ SAR GIŠ.SAR
7. i-na Ša-e-ni-im
8. 1 GÁN A.ŠÀ i-na Ša-Ū-la-a-ḫi
9. mŠà-li-lum
10. mI-qi-pu-um
11. ù m^dEN.ZU-ri-me-ni
12. a-na Ia-ḫi-la-tum
13. NIN.DINGIR ša dUTU
Rev. 14. a-ḫa-ti-šu-nu
15. ú-ki-in-nu
16. IGI GIŠ.TUKUL ša dUTU . . .

¹⁰ These are the children of Abi-Ḫar. See Iqīpum son of Abi-Ḫar in *VAS* VIII, No. 19:19, and *CT* VIII, Pl. 34 a 13. Sin-rēmēni is the father of Waqartum, probably a *nadītu* of Šamaš (*ibid.* lines 5-7).

¹ For this rather broad meaning of GIŠ.TUKUL see *AHw.* p. 423. In certain contexts specific kinds of weapons may be subsumed under the category of GIŠ.TUKUL, but for the present purpose the more general term was deemed adequate. McGuire Gibson in his study, "The Mace, the Axe, and the Dagger in Ancient Mesopotamia" (Master's dissertation, University of Chicago, 1964) p. 181, states that "the mace [subsumed under GIŠ.TUKUL] was not generally used as a weapon by men in any period considered [Protoliterate to Neo-Babylonian times], but was a symbol of weapons and power. . . . The mace was, then, a symbol of sanctioned use of power."

² See *HG* III, p. 242.

³ Walther, *Gerichtswesen*, p. 202.

⁴ Lindl, *Das Priester- und Beamtentum*, p. 337, No. 1323, translates *muttallik pani* as "Sammelgänger" and describes this lease as "Vermietung des Steuersammelganges."

⁵ *ZDMG* LXIX 498. On *burru* see *AHw.* p. 108.

⁶ See e.g. Walther, *Gerichtswesen*, pp. 192 ff.

chard of) Zuddurum, an orchard of 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ SAR in (the region of) Ša-Ēnim,¹¹ a field of 1 GÁN in (the region of) Ša-Uta-aḫi,¹² belongs to Iaḫilatum, their sister, an *ugbaltu*-woman of Šamaš. In the presence of the weapon of Šamaš

We would suggest that the background of this text is as follows. A dispute over the division of the paternal estate had arisen. The brothers of the *ugbaltu* balked at giving their sister her rightful share. Generally, a dispute of this kind was settled in the temple,¹³ but on this occasion, for reasons unknown to us, the weapon of Šamaš was taken from the Šamaš temple in Sippar and brought to the properties in dispute. The text contains no oath formula, as is characteristic of litigations. Perhaps, therefore, the brothers swore in the presence of the sacred weapon (it being the first witness)¹⁴ that such and such is their sister's property.

In a Larsa text dating from the reign of Rim-Sin (YOS VIII, No. 76), the divine hand (symbol) of Maḫ, the dog (symbol) of Gula, and the spear(?)¹⁵ (symbol) of Ištar are all brought into the garden whose ownership is in dispute. In the presence of these symbols (which represent the gods) the declaration is made as to who is indeed the rightful owner.¹⁶

In another Larsa text of the same period (YOS VIII, No. 159) two men are convicted, by means of the oath taken in the presence of a divine symbol¹⁷ which had been brought for this purpose, of stealing pigs. In this instance the owner would have sworn that such and such pigs in

¹¹ The name of a region, perhaps meaning "Belonging to the Spring."

¹² Personal names for regions are rare in the Sippar texts. When they do occur, it is usually after *tawirtum*, e.g. *tawirtum Ili-andul* (PBS VIII 2, No. 239:2) and *tawirtum ša Adallal* (CT VIII, Pl. 49 a 9).

¹³ See CT VI, Pl. 7 a, where a *naditu* of Šamaš brings her brothers to court for failing to give her her share of the paternal estate. The case is presented in the chapel of Šamaš.

¹⁴ The appearance of the divine weapon as witness is connected with the appearance of gods as witnesses, a subject the writer will discuss elsewhere.

¹⁵ See CAD VII 126, *imittu* E.

¹⁶ Lines 4-10: *i-lu an-nu-tum i-na li-bi GIŠ.SAR iš-ta-ak-nu-ú-ma . . . ki-a-am it-[ma]*.

¹⁷ Lines 1-6: *aš-šum 4 ŠAḪ.ḪI.A ša ḫa-al-qú 'X'.X.GAL il-li-kam-ma . . . i-na ŠAḪ.ḪI.A ša-ra-qi-im bu-úr-ru-ú*.

the possession of these men were really his. The pigs would then be returned to him.

Perhaps a clue as to why the divine weapon was transported to the scene of the dispute on certain occasions may be found in a legal text from Sippar dating from the time of Ammišaduqa (CT VIII, Pl. 19 a). This text is difficult because a crucial passage is no longer preserved. But it seems that a man had leased a field from two brothers and their partner. Although the lessee had received the sealed document for the field, he had not paid the rent agreed upon. The lessors had appealed to the assembly. At this point the text is broken. But it would seem that the case was not settled the first time and that a new appeal was brought by the lessors. The lessee declares that the document is now lost. "And the weapon came here. Any (sealed document) which appears will be destroyed."¹⁸ Despite our difficulties in understanding all the facts of the case, one point seems clear: this dispute was not settled at once. Therefore, the divine weapon was brought in to decide the matter. We would suggest that it was carried to the house of the lessee, at which time the house was searched for the lease contract. An oath would then be taken by the lessee that the document was lost. A new contract is drawn up stating the facts, and the matter is closed.

The divine symbol of a god is also used in a legal text from Kutalla (Jean, *Tell Sifr*, No. 71): "In the presence of the prefect of Kutalla Iddin-Sin circumambulated the orchard, carrying the ax of the god ^dLUGAL.KI.DUN₂(BÚR).NA¹⁹ and established (his ownership) and regained possession of it."²⁰ In this case the boundaries of the orchard may have been in dispute. Iddin-Sin swears by the symbol that such and such are the demarcations of his orchard and reinforces his declaration by carrying the symbol along the boundaries. This does not mean, as Walther has suggested,²¹ that he measured the orchard by the symbol.

¹⁸ *ú GIŠ.TUKUL il-li-kam i-il-li-am-ma ḫi-pt*.

¹⁹ This god also appears in Jean, *Tell Sifr*, No. 37:25.

²⁰ Lines 14-19: *ra-bi-a-nu-um ša URU.KI Ku-ta-la iz-zi-zu-ma ^dI-din-^dEN.ZU pa-aš-ta ša ^dLUGAL.KI.DUN₂.NA in-na-ši-im-ma GIŠ.SAR is-ḫu-ur-ma ú-bi-ir-ma il-qt*.

²¹ *Gerichtswesen*, p. 203.

In the legal cases discussed thus far the sacred weapon or symbol was brought to the actual scene of the dispute. This was not always and perhaps not even usually the case. Ordinarily in such disputes the litigants went to the temple, where the oath was taken and the litigation decided. But apparently there were occasions when the litigants were not able to go to the temple because of their distance from it. Or perhaps in certain situations in which the object in dispute, such as a field, a garden, or a pig, was not transportable the divine symbol was brought so that the truth would be learned. In such instances the owner of the object would declare in the presence of the divine symbol that such and such was indeed his. The statement made in the presence of the sacred object would have the same force as a statement made in a temple.

More is learned about the special use of the divine weapon from Old Babylonian letters. One letter in particular yields surprising information (*PBS VII*, No. 85²²):

As to the weapon of Šamaš which I (myself) received from the cloister,²³ I have sent it (back to) you . . . Let them deposit (the barley in the presence of) this weapon of Šamaš alongside the weapon of Šamaš (with) which they measured the barley and which is in your hands. . . .

The names of the writer and the addressee are not mentioned, and the standard salutation of Old Babylonian letters is omitted. A reference to the *nadītu* of Šamaš later in the letter would suggest that the addressee lived in Sippar and perhaps that he was connected with the cloister. But relevant for our subject is the mention of two weapons of Šamaš! At least two weapons, and perhaps more, might circulate for the same purpose: for use at different locations where oaths might have to be taken by persons who for

various reasons were not able to go to the temple in Sippar or because the punitive power of two weapons would be greater than that of one. From the legal texts we have seen that the conveyance of the divine weapon or symbol might be required in disputes over the division of property or over the boundaries of real estate or in matters of theft. This letter shows that its presence might be required at harvest time when the barley would be divided between the lessor and the lessee of fields and for the subsequent storing of the harvest. In Mesopotamia, where barley ripens slowly and where pilfering is, therefore, easily practiced, it would be of concern to the owners and tenant farmers of fields that each received his just share of the harvest. In the presence of the divine symbol the amount of barley harvested and stored would be declared.

References to this special use of the divine weapon are found in letters which concern the royal administration. In three of these Ḫammurabi writes to Šamaš-ḫāzir, his representative in Larsa. In *TCL VII*, No. 40, the question of the ownership of a field must be settled. Ḫammurabi writes: "Let the weapon of the god go down to the field, and you, the city, and the elders should establish the matter of this field before the god."²⁴ It must be assumed that the god referred to here is Marduk and that his weapon was brought from Babylon to the field in the vicinity of Larsa to establish by an oath the truth of the matter. The dispute dealt with in another letter (*BIN VII*, No. 7) has arisen over the removal of earth which has accumulated near a certain canal. Šamaš-ḫāzir is told to have the elders of the city and the inhabitants of the region "determine by the weapon of the god"²⁵ who is to remove the earth. In the third letter (*OECT III*, No. 1) Ḫammurabi writes to Šamaš-ḫāzir about a shepherd's field which was illegally taken from him four years previously. The man who has seized the property has had usufruct of it all this time. Šamaš-ḫāzir is to "establish by means of

²² 1. [GIŠ.TUKUL] ^dUTU

2. [ša a-na-ku] i-na GÁ.GI₄.A

3. am-ḫu-ru a-na ma-aḫ-ri-ka

4. uš-ta-bi-lam . . .

9. GIŠ.TUKUL ^dUTU šu-a-ti

10. it-ti GIŠ.TUKUL ^dUTU ša še-am

11. im-du-du ša ma-aḫ-ri-ka

12. li-iš-pu-ku-ma

²³ The cloister may have housed one of the weapons of Šamaš for use by the *nadītu*'s of Šamaš who were engaged in many leased transactions.

²⁴ Lines 31-34: GIŠ.TUKUL ša DINGIR a-na A.ŠÀ-im li-ri-id-ma at-tu-nu a-lum ù ši-bu-tum a-wa-a-tim ša A.ŠÀ-im šu-a-ti ma-ḫar DINGIR bi-ir-ra-ma.

²⁵ Line 16: i-na GIŠ.TUKUL ša DINGIR bi-[ir-r]a.

the weapon of the god"²⁶ the amount of barley which has been taken during these years and to recompense the owner.

Illegal possession of a field seems to involve the use of the divine weapon in *OECT* III, No. 40, also. Šamaš-ḥāzir writes to Awēl-Ninurta about the claims of a man who had been a servant in the palace in Babylon and who after becoming a shepherd discovers that a certain field is rightfully part of his paternal estate. In a poorly preserved section of the text the present situation of the field must have been described. Awēl-Ninurta is to have the matter settled through "the weapon of the god of the city in the presence of the elders of the city and the old men."²⁷ In this case the weapon of Marduk was not needed; instead, the weapon of the chief god of any city might be equally efficacious.

The just distribution of the harvest yield between lessor and lessee required the intervention of Ḥammurabi in *LIH* I, No. 28. His official, Sin-iddinam, is to "let them (the city officials) establish with the help of the weapon of the god the amount of barley that grew on the field of Ibni-Amurru (the lessor) and take the share (of the lessee)²⁸ from it."²⁹

The divine weapon might be used to insure the just collection of taxes from the holdings of the *rēdū* soldiers. In one case (Holma, *Zehn altbabylonische Tontafeln in Helsingfors*, No. 9) the weapons of Marduk and Adad are brought for this purpose.³⁰ The two weapons may have been used together to increase the coercive power of the oath, or they may have been used separately to expedite the tax collection.

The legal texts and letters reveal nothing about the way the divine weapon was released by the temple for this special purpose. Perhaps in certain places a letter from the king or his representative would suffice. But in Sippar, at

²⁶ Line 30: *i-na* GIŠ.TUKUL ša DINGIR *bi-ir-ra-ma*.

²⁷ Lines 24-26: *i-na* GIŠ.TUKUL ša DINGIR *a-li-im ši-ib URU.KI ù a-we-lu-ù la-bi-ru-tum li-iz-zi-zu-ma li-bi-ir-ru*.

²⁸ On *miksum* see Kraus, *Edikt*, p. 136.

²⁹ Lines 11-13: *i-na* GIŠ.TUKUL ša DINGIR *še-am m[a-l]a i-na A.ŠÀ Ib-ni-^dMAR.TU ib-ba-šu-ù li-bi-ir-ru-ma mi-ik-sa-am li-il-qú-ù*.

³⁰ Lines 18-19: *i-na* GIŠ.TUKUL ša ^dAMAR.UD *i-na* GIŠ.TUKUL ša ^dIM KÙ.BABBAR ša *i-na* *bi-ta-ti* UKU.UŠ.MEŠ *uš-ta-ad-di-nu bi-ir-ra-nim*.

least, the procedure was more formal. A person acting on behalf of the temple and the recipient of the weapon entered into a contract.³¹ However, since the object leased was not a house or a field but a sacred object, a circumlocution was used in formulating the transaction. It was the "journey" of the divine weapon which was rented and not the divine weapon itself. We now turn to an analysis of the six "journey" leases from Sippar.

The earliest "journey" lease dates from the first year of Ḥammurabi (*CT* VIII, Pl. 8 c³²):

(For) the Tail Region of the Edin Canal, one double mile of field, Ipqatum and Dāmiq-Marduk have rented the journey (of the divine weapon) from Aškudum son of Rīš-Gibil. As rent for the journey they will pay 3 GUR 110 SILA of barley according to the *sūtu* of Šamaš in Kār-Sippar. And 1 shekel of silver, the interest, Ili-abi will pay. Witnesses.

Some information about the lease of the "journey" is revealed by this text. But we are hampered by our ignorance about the participants.³³ The phrase used here for the rental of the "journey," *girram šušū*, is later changed somewhat and becomes standardized. The "journey" is made in a specific region: the Tail Region of the Edin Canal.³⁴ Mention of the region or place through which the divine weapon is to be carried is a feature of all the later leases. Whether or not the payment which Ili-abi is to make is part of

³¹ See also the remarks on *YOS* XII, Nos. 48 and 354, on p. 224 below.

³² 1. *si-ib-ba-at* ID.EDIN.NA
2. *bi-ra-am* A.ŠÀ
3. KI *Aš-ku-di-im*
4. DUMU *Ri-iš-^dBIL.GI*
5. ^m*Ip-qa-tum*
6. *ù Da-mi-iq-^dAMAR.UD*
7. *gi-ir-ra-am*
8. *ù-še-šú-ù*
9. GUN *gi-ir-ri-im*
10. 3(GUR) 1(PI) 4(BÁN) GUR ŠE *i-na* GIŠ.BÁN ^dUTU
Rev. 11. *i-na* Kar-UD.KIB.NUN³¹
12. Ì.ÁG.E.MEŠ
13. *ù 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ḥu-bu-lam*
14. ^m*Ì-li-a-bi i-ša-qa-al . . .*

³³ Rīš-Gibil son of Šamaš-nāšir, a witness here, also appears as witness to the gift which a father gives his *nadītu* daughter in *CT* VIII, Pl. 5 b rev. 13.

³⁴ It is not entirely certain that *sibbat* ID.EDIN.NA is to be treated as if it were *zibbat* ID.EDIN.NA as is done in *CAD* XXI 102, for to our knowledge never does *si = zi* occur in Old Babylonian texts.

the “journey” lease is not clear. From the later contracts it would seem that this lease marks the beginning of the practice of renting the “journey,” for the later leases are formulated in a set pattern not observed in this text.³⁵

The next “journey” rental dates from the twenty-second year of Samsuiluna (*TCL* I, No. 140³⁶):

The harvest journey of the weapon of Adad (going) from Ša-Aru-malik³⁷ to Ša-Mariānum,³⁸ Sinatum son of Nannatum has rented from Sin-ḫāzir. As rent for the journey he will pay 2 GUR of barley, measured according to the standard *sūtu* of Šamaš, in Kār-Sippar. Witnesses.

By the twenty-second year of Samsuiluna the standardization of the “journey” lease formula was already under way: *girri . . . ša GIŠ.TUKUL ša DN ana GUN ušēši . . . GUN girrim . . .* Ī.ĀG.E, “the journey of the weapon of DN he rented, as rent for the journey he will pay . . .” The divine weapon rented here is that of Adad, who is closely connected with Šamaš in the Sippar texts.³⁹ The earlier contract does not mention the god whose weapon was carried on the “jour-

³⁵ There are too few “journey” leases to enable one to delineate the development of the “journey” formula. The writer was able to do this with the *šalmu balṭu* texts (*JCS* XIV 134). However, the changes one observes even in the few extant “journey” leases suggest that the changes coincide with time as in the *šalmu balṭu* loans.

- ³⁶ 1. *gi-ir-ri* EBUR ša GIŠ.TUKUL ša dIM
2. *iš-tu Ša-A-ru-ma¹-lik*
3. *a-di Ša-Ma-ri-a-nu-um*
4. KI dEN.ZU-ḫa-zi-ir
5. mSi-na-tum DUMU dŠEŠ.KI-tum
6. a-na GUN ú-še-ši
7. GUN *gi-ir-ri-im*
8. 2 ŠE.GUR i-na GIŠ.BÁN dUTU
9. i-na me-še-qi-im
10. i-na Kar-UD.KIB.NUNKI
11. Ī.ĀG.E . . .

³⁷ Perhaps Ša-Aru-Malik is to be connected with the canal Ḫari-malik of *BE* VI 1, No. 46:5, also written Ḫaru-malik in the unpublished text Yale 4975 rev. 5 (kindly put at our disposal by Professor J. J. Finkelstein).

³⁸ Many geographical names are formed with the suffix *ānu* in the Sippar texts, e.g. Gamanānum (*CT* II, Pl. 41, line 6), Ḫigānum (*CT* II, Pl. 16, line 1), Marmarānum (Waterman, *Bus. Doc.* No. 69:1).

³⁹ Note that an oath is taken by Šamaš and Adad in *CT* VIII, Pl. 12 b, and that sheep are brought for Šamaš and Adad in *BE* VI 2, No. 79. There is even the possibility that the SANGA of Adad, Elali (*VAS* XIII, No. 32 rev. 9), is to be identified with the SANGA of Šamaš of the same name who lived in the same period (*PBS* VIII 2, No. 248:7).

ney.” Presumably it was that of Šamaš. But, again, little is known about the transactors. The lessee, Sinatum son of Nannatum, appears elsewhere only as a witness.⁴⁰

The next three contracts date from the time of Ammišaduqa. The earliest is *CT* IV, Pl. 18 c:⁴¹

The journey of the weapon of Šamaš (for) the sesame harvest of the city of Šamḫija, in procession. Šamaš-banī son of Ibni-Gibil has rented the journey from Iddin-Marduk son of Ipiq-Antum. He will pay 5 *сила* sesame oil (according to) the *sūtu* of Šamaš at the conclusion of its journey in Sippar. Witnesses.

By the time of Ammišaduqa the formula of the “journey” rental had been lengthened and new phrases had been added: *mutallikti panī*,⁴² *ina šalām girrišu*.⁴³ The latter phrase is borrowed from the wording of business loans. But whereas *harrānu* and, far less frequently, *girru* are used for “business trip,” the term *girru* alone is used for this special “journey” of the divine weapon. Here the weapon of Šamaš is to be carried about in the sesame fields near Šamḫija, which must have been a relatively short distance from Sippar. In the earlier texts the rent is paid in barley from the barley fields; here sesame oil is paid from the sesame fields. Again, nothing is known about the lessor or the lessee.

The second Ammišaduqa “journey” lease de-

[⁴⁰ In *YOS* XII, No. 400:15. One of the witnesses here, Erib-Sin son of Ipiq-Amurru, also appears as witness in the unpublished tablet BM 16937:19 and acts as judge in *BE* VI 1, No. 119 rev. i 4.

- ⁴¹ 1. KASKAL GIŠ.TUKUL ša dUTU
2. EBUR.ŠÈ ŠE.GIŠ
3. URU Ša-am-ḫi(!)-ia(!)KI
4. *mu-ut-ta-al-li-ik-ti pa-ni-i*
5. KI I-din-dAMAR.UD DUMU SIG-qi-An-tum
6. m^dUTU-ba-ni DUMU Ib-ni-dBIL.GI
7. *gi-ir-ra-am a-na GUN*
8. *ú-še-ši*
9. *i-na ša-la-am gi-ir-ri-šu*
10. 5 SİLÀ Ī.GIŠ GIŠ.BÁN dUTU
- Rev. 11. *i-na šà UD.KIB.NUNKI*
12. Ī.ĀG.E . . .

⁴² The phrase *muttallikti panī* (also *muttallik panī* and *LÚ muttallikti panī*) is difficult to understand. Its three different forms suggest that the ancient scribe may have had the same difficulty. The form *muttallikti panī* is here translated “procession,” *muttallik panī* as “leader”; the *LÚ* of the final form is perhaps a scribal error. It is assumed that the phrase refers to the divine weapon’s position as leader of the procession.

⁴³ See e.g. *YOS* VIII, No. 145; *TCL* I, No. 113:7. For this special use of *girru* see *CAD* V 93 and *Ahw.* p. 285.

parts from the usual pattern. In contrast to the contracts quoted above, it is formulated from the point of view of the person hired to carry the weapon on its journey (Szlechter, *Tablettes*, p. 122, MAH 16147⁴⁴):

(For) the journey into the countryside (with the divine weapon) to the devotees of the god and goddess who live in the countryside, (in order) to collect barley as tithe and bring (it) to Sippar, Abum-waqar, bailiff of Sippar, has hired Warad-É.GAL.MAḪ. He (Warad-É.GAL.MAḪ) will take $\frac{2}{3}$ shekel of silver at the conclusion of its journey. Witnesses.

From this text we learn a great deal more about the lease of the "journey." It should be noted first that since the text is actually a hire text, it should have been formulated: PN (obj.) from himself/his father PN₂ (subj.) for such and such a purpose has hired But perhaps the scribe began with KASKAL, "the journey," because he had the "journey" lease formula in mind and to be certain that it was known that this transaction dealt with the very special "journey" of the weapon added the gloss *gi-ir-ri-im*. The region in which the weapon is to be transported, as in the usual "journey" lease, is mentioned next: "into the countryside." In this contract the purpose for the conveyance of the sacred object is stated explicitly: to collect the tithe from the devotees of Šamaš and Aia. Little is known about these devotees of the gods;⁴⁵ this text reveals that they were required to contribute one-tenth of their harvest to the Šamaš temple. In this case, then, the divine weapon may have been carried in procession from field to field in

the countryside; at each stop the owner of the field would declare in its presence that so much barley was indeed the tenth of his harvest which was due the temple. Here it is the bailiff of Sippar⁴⁶ who acts, it would seem, on behalf of the temple. The hired man, Warad-É.GAL.MAḪ, is known from another text⁴⁷ to have been the son of Iddin-Šamaš who was the administrative head (SANGA) of the temple of Gula. Therefore, although we know nothing about the position which Warad-É.GAL.MAḪ himself held, it may have been his father's office which gave him entree to such a lucrative temple service as the carrying of the divine weapon. The hire that Warad-É.GAL.MAḪ received, which may have been only part of his actual remuneration, is comparable with the normal hire received by a worker for one month.⁴⁸

The third Ammišaduqa "journey" lease is very similar to the first (*CT* IV, Pl. 29 a⁴⁹):

The journey of the weapon of Šamaš at the barley harvest, (as) leader (in) the city of Šamḥija. Warad-Sin, *gudapsû*-priest, son of Šamaš-tappāšu, has rented the journey for one year from Iddin-Marduk son of Ḫunnatum. He will pay 3 GUR of barley according to the *sūtu* of Šamaš at the conclusion of its journey. Witnesses.

Here, as in the first Ammišaduqa lease, the procession, with the divine weapon leading, is to take place in the city of Šamḥija. Although the

⁴⁶ The office of bailiff is usually a judicial one (see Walther, *Gerichtswesen*, p. 158).

⁴⁷ In Szlechter, *Tablettes*, p. 28, MAH 16387, he borrows one GUR of barley from the prefect of the assembly (*rabiānum*). Note that in MAH 16147 the first witness is also a prefect. This suggests that the collection of the tithe is both a temple and a municipal interest.

⁴⁸ See e.g. Friedrich in *BA* V 496, No. 19, where a man is hired for royal service for one month for 1 shekel; in another text (see Goetze in *JCS* XI 25, No. 13) the hire is $\frac{1}{2}$ shekel for one month's work.

⁴⁹ 1. KASKAL GIŠ.TUKUL ša dUTU
2. EBUR še-e
3. mu-ut-ta-al-li-ik pa-ni-i
4. URU ša Ša-am-ḥi-ia^{KI}
5. KI I-din-dAMAR.UD DUMU Ḫu-un-na-tum
6. m̄IR-dEN.ZU GUDU₄.ZU.AB
7. DUMU dUTU-lap-pa-šu
8. gi-ir-ra-am
9. a-na GUN a-na MU.1.KAM
10. f̄B.TA.È
11. i-na ša-lam gi-ir-ri-šu
Rev. 12. 3 ŠE.GUR GIŠ.BÁN dUTU
13. Ì.ÁG.E . . .

⁴⁴ 1. KASKAL^{gi-ir-ri-im}
2. ŠÀ ma-tim
3. a-na DUMU.MEŠ ì-li
4. ù DUMU.MEŠ iš-ta-ar
5. ša i-na ŠÀ ma-tim wa-aš-bu
6. še-am a-ši-ir-tam
7. šu-ud-du-nim-ma
8. a-na UD.KIB.NUN^{KI} ba-ba-li
9. m̄A-bu-um-wa-qar
10. NIMGIR UD.KIB.NUN^{KI}
Rev. 11. m̄IR-É.GAL.MAḪ
12. i-gur-šu
13. i-na ša-la-am gi-ir-ri-šu
14. $\frac{2}{3}$ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR i-li-iq-qí . . .

⁴⁵ The exact meaning of *mārē ili* and *mārē ištar* is not certain. The context seems to suggest that they were groups of people who, though attached to Šamaš and Aia, were not special classes as were the *nadītu*'s. They were perhaps the "congregants" of the Šamaš temple.

position of Iddin-Marduk, the lessor, is not known (perhaps either he or Iddin-Marduk son of Ipiq-Antum of the first Ammišaduqa contract is to be identified with Iddin-Marduk the *gudapsû*-priest of the lease to be discussed next), we are told that the lessee is a *gudapsû*-priest.⁵⁰ This fact would strongly suggest that it was temple personnel, or people related to temple personnel (as in the case of Warad-É.GAL.MAḤ), who were granted the right to engage in the “journey” transactions. It may be assumed even on the basis of our limited data that it was the Šamaš temple which profited from the fees paid for the use of the divine weapon. Indeed, the temple may have received a larger payment for this special service than for oaths administered within the temple. If so, this, among other reasons, might account for the unusual practice of leasing out the divine weapon. The “journey” to Šamḥija was most likely employed to insure the just distribution of the harvest between the lessors and lessees of the fields nearby, since it was made “for the barley harvest.”

The last extant “journey” rental dates from the time of Samsuditana (*CT* IV, Pl. 23 c⁵¹):

The journey of the weapon of Šamaš for the barley harvest (in) the city of Dunne-zaḥdi,⁵² in procession. Ina-Esagila-zēr, the foreman of the workers, son of Rīm-Adad, has rented the journey for one year from Marduk-muballiṭ, *gudapsû*-priest, Iddin-Marduk,

⁵⁰ In the Sippar texts, it is only in the “journey” contracts that the *gudapsû*-priests serve in what is certainly a temple matter.

- ⁵¹ 1. KASKAL GIŠ.TUKUL ša dUTU
2. UD.EBUR.ŠÈ še-e
3. URU Du-un-ne-za-aḥ-di^{KI}
4. LÚ mu-ut-ta-al-li-ik-tim pa-ni-i-im
5. KI dAMAR.UD-mu-ba-li-iṭ GUDU₄.ZU.AB
6. mI-din-AMAR.UD GUDU₄.ZU.AB
7. mE-tel-pu GUDU₄.ZU.AB
8. ù A-ḥu-ni GUDU₄.ZU.AB
9. mI-na-É.SAG.ILA.NUMUN UGULA ERÍN.MEŠ
10. DUMU Ri-im-dIM
11. gi-ir-ra-am
12. a-na GUN a-na MU.1.KAM
13. íb.TA.È.A
14. i-na ša-la-am gi-ir-ri-šu
- Rev. 15. 15 GUR ŠE.GUR GIŠ.BÁN dUTU
16. i-na É dNa-bi-um
17. Ì.ÁG.E . . .

⁵² That Dunne-zaḥdi was not far from Sippar is indicated by the passage *ištu Sippar ana Dumni-zaidi*^{KI}, “from Sippar to Dumni-zaidi,” in a letter (*VAS* XVI, No. 64:19). I am grateful to Professor I. J. Gelb for this reference.

gudapsû-priest, Etelpu, *gudapsû*-priest, and Aḥuni, *gudapsû*-priest. He will pay 15 GUR of barley in the temple of Nabium at the conclusion of its journey. Witnesses.

Here, too, the “journey” formula is maintained with but minor changes. The four lessors are all *gudapsû*-priests, of Šamaš presumably. The lessee, an official in charge of a contingent of workers, must also have been a man of some importance. We would suggest that his father, Rīm-Adad, is to be identified with the Rīm-Adad who was a *gudapsû*-priest in the time of Ammišaduqa.⁵³ If this identification is correct we have another example (as in the case of Warad-É.GAL.MAḤ) of the father of the lessee being a member of the temple personnel and another indication that there were restrictions as to who might engage in the “journey” rentals. Here the rent is much higher, perhaps because there are four lessors. The income thus derived by the *gudapsû*-priests, who seem to be chiefly involved in these rentals, might have been quite large, especially in view of the existence of more than one such weapon.

There is one final text from Sippar, dating from the thirteenth year of Hammurabi, which, although not a “journey” lease is, nevertheless connected with the special “journey” (Scheil, *Sippar*, p. 133, No. 287⁵⁴):

The journey . . . of the (cities) Sin-iqišam and Nār-Zilaku, one journey, the share of Ibnī-Gibil which he took from his associate by (casting) lots into the water. He will pay the (administrative) head of the temple the rent for the journey. Witnesses.

That this text belongs with the special “journey” texts⁵⁵ is indicated, first, by the fact that

⁵³ See Waterman, *Bus. Doc.* No. 15:2.

- ⁵⁴ 1. KASKAL . . .
2. ša 30-i-qi-ša-am^{KI}
3. ù íd Zi-la-ku^{KI}
4. 1 gi-ir-rum
5. ḤA.LA Ib-ni-dBIL.GI
6. i-na is-qi-im i-na me-e
7. KI tap-pi-e-šu ùl-qi
8. GUN gi-ir-ri-im
9. SANGA i-pa-al . . .

⁵⁵ But note also the passage in *CT* VIII, Pl. 21 c 2-4: “Apart from the ½ shekel ša SANGA.MEŠ ki-ma ŠE girri iddinu which the (administrative) heads have given as the barley of the ‘journey.’” This text deals with the payment of silver described as the IGI.SÁ tax of the chief temple singer. The *girru* here may perhaps be the special “journey.”

it begins with KASKAL, "the journey." Secondly, it contains the phrase GUN *girrim*, "rent of the journey," which is otherwise limited to the "journey" leases. Here, too, geographical names follow the term "journey" (the intervening words cannot be read): Sin-iqīšam⁵⁶ and Nār-Zilaku.⁵⁷ That lots were cast into the water, perhaps to decide who was to lease the "journey," is suggestive but elusive. There is, to our knowledge, no other example of a decision being reached in this manner. The use of lots here suggests that the rentals were sought-after enterprises. It is the temple administrator (SANGA) who is here paid for the rental of the "journey." One of the witnesses in this text, Aškudum, is perhaps to be identified with the lessor of the first "journey" contract discussed above (pp. 220 f.).

The curious practice of leasing the "journey" may not have been confined to Sippar. A similar transaction is mentioned in a text of unknown provenience (*YOS XII*, No. 354) dating from the reign of Samsuiluna. Here the "journey of (the image of) Adad" is rented out. The image of the god, then, may have been carried in procession as was the divine weapon of the Sippar texts and for similar purposes. In *YOS XII*, No. 48, dating from the same king, a settlement of accounts for transportation, "the barley of the journey of Adad," is also referred to. The renting of the "journey" of either a divine weapon or a divine image may, indeed, have been a far more widespread practice than the extant textual material indicates.

⁵⁶ The "field of the city of Sin-iqīšam," which may be the Sin-iqīšam of our text, is referred to in *TCL I*, No. 33:5.

⁵⁷ The personal name Mār-¹⁰Zilaku appears in *CT VIII*, Pl. 32 b 10.

The divine symbol or weapon might be transported for various reasons in view of the evidence of the Old Babylonian letters, legal texts, and contracts: to ensure the just collection of taxes and tithes and the fair distribution and storage of the harvest yield and to bring settlement of disputes by means of the oath taken in the presence of the sacred object. In Sippar this practice became a source of revenue for the temple. It would seem, to judge from the later "journey" contracts, that only temple personnel or persons related to temple personnel were permitted to engage in this enterprise. Although the processions with the divine weapons of Šamaš and Adad were primarily for the purpose of ensuring the just distribution of the harvest, in Sippar they may have served also to settle disputes.

Why this custom arose in the Old Babylonian period and at no other time is a provocative question for which we can supply no answer.⁵⁸ Underlying the effectiveness of this means of discovering the truth in any given situation was the inherent magic power of the divine symbol, weapon, or image, as the case might be. For what was said of the ancient Hebrew was equally true of the ancient Babylonian: "He who swears puts the whole of the substance and strength of his soul into the words he speaks; . . . If he be just, then his soul may also bear this tension and carry through its cause. If he has spoken untrue, then his soul which has centred entirely in falsehood, is wasted from within and dissolves; he must be struck down by misfortune."⁵⁹

⁵⁸ In this period, too, were formed the special classes of women and the cloister institutions which also disappeared with the end of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

⁵⁹ Johs. Pedersen, *Israel II* (Copenhagen, 1926) 407.

EIN EDIKT DES KÖNIGS SAMSU-ILUNA VON BABYLON

F. R. KRAUS
Leiden

In seinem für das Verständnis des altmesopotamischen Rechtslebens grundlegenden Artikel "Die babylonischen Termini für Gesetz und Recht"¹ hat Landsberger im Vorbeigehen auch das Wesen gewisser Verwaltungsmassnahmen altbabylonischer Könige aufgehell², die er nach dem Akkadischen "mēšaru-Akte" nennt, und einen lange bekannten Textrest als "mēšaru-Verordnung" des Ammi-šaduqa, zehnten Königs der I. Dynastie von Babylon, bestimmt.³ Ein als Duplikat dazu angesehenes, viel besser erhaltenes Exemplar aus dem Altorientalischen Museum zu Istanbul habe ich später veröffentlicht und bearbeitet,⁴ wobei ich für "mēšaru-Akt" und "mēšaru-Verordnung" die allgemeineren Bezeichnungen "Erlass"⁵ und "Edikt"⁶ einzuführen versucht habe. Dasselbe Museum besitzt das Fragment eines weiteren ähnlichen Edikts, das ich mit behördlicher Genehmigung hier vorlege.⁷

1. Si. 507 ist ein von Scheil in Sippar ausgegrabenes⁸ längliches Fragment mit einem Teile des linken Tafelrandes, von der oberen bis zur unteren Bruchkante 12.2 cm lang, vom Rande links bis zur Bruchkante rechts 4.6 cm breit und bei teilweise ausgebrochener Oberfläche der

¹ *Symbolae ad iura Orientis antiqui pertinentes Paulo Koschaker dedicatae* ("Studia et documenta ad iura Orientis antiqui pertinentia" II [1939]) S. 219–34.

² *Ibid.* S. 230 f., h.

³ *Ibid.* S. 230 f., Anm. 44.

⁴ *Ein Edikt des Königs Ammi-šaduqa von Babylon* ("Studia et documenta . . ." V [1958]). Im folgenden "Ed." genannt.

⁵ S. *Ed.* S. 194.

⁶ Über sein Verhältnis zum Erlass s. *Ed.* S. 243 ff., 3. Abschnitt.

⁷ Der Direktion der Archäologischen Museen der Türkischen Republik zu Istanbul danke ich verbindlichst für ihre Erteilung, der Niederländischen Organisation für Reinwissenschaftliche Forschung (Z. W. O.) für die Subventionierung meiner Reise nach Istanbul, welche es mir ermöglicht hat, auch diese Frucht nebenher zu pflücken.

⁸ Vgl. Scheil, *Une saison de fouilles à Sippar* (Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, "Memoires" I [1902]); Si. 507 dort im Katalogauszuge auf S. 135 übrigens nicht erwähnt.

Rückseite bis zu 4.1 cm dick. Die Tafel, von der ein ohne die obere und untere linke Ecke noch so langes Fragment von solcher Dicke übriggeblieben ist, muss gross gewesen sein. Nach der Art zu urteilen, auf welche das Bruckstück beschrieben ist, wird sie auf beiden Seiten je vier Kolumnen Inschrift getragen haben, von denen jetzt nur noch die erste und die letzte, ursprünglich vermutlich die achte, teilweise erhalten sind. Meine Suche nach dem Rest dieser Tafel bzw. nach weiteren Fragmenten ist leider ergebnislos geblieben.

Die zur I. Kolumne gehörige Inschrift der Vorderseite des Bruchstücks beginnt unter einem Querstrich nach einer Lücke, deren Länge sich nach der äusseren Form des Fragments auf etwa zehn Zeilen schätzen lässt, und besteht aus achtzehn aufeinanderfolgenden Zeilen aus der Kolumnenmitte, von denen mehrere fast ganz zerstört sind und keine vollständig erhalten ist. Ihr Text lautet:⁹

¹[x s]IG₄ UD [. . .] ²[m] u sa-am-s[u . . .] ³u r u d u
k[] x [. . .] ⁴'x [. . .] ⁵HI x [. . .] ⁶DU.DU [. . .]
⁷é ma ḥ é [. . .] ⁸i g i a n d i n a n [a . . .]
⁹u ḡ . d i [. . .] ¹⁰m u . u n . g i [. . .]—Querstrich—
¹¹LAL+U PA.TE.SI s i p a d [. . .] ¹²na-wi ù na-aš
[. . .] ¹³aš-šum l u g a l mi-š[a . . .] ¹⁴iš-ku-nu
uš-š[u . . .] ¹⁵l ú mu-ša-ad-[. . .] ¹⁶a-na é na-aš
[. . .] ¹⁷ú-u[] i-[. . .]—Querstrich—¹⁸x [. . .]

Am Kolumnenende ist die Tafeloberfläche in Höhe von etwa vier Zeilen abgebrochen, dann aber der untere Rand noch nicht erreicht. Die ursprüngliche Kolumne mag demnach ungefähr 35 Zeilen enthalten haben.

Auf der Rückseite sind nach einer kleinen Lücke am Anfange sieben Zeilen der letzten Kolumne relativ gut erhalten:

¹'a-na k ù . b a b b a r i[n]-na-[d]i-[x] ²'ú-lu a-na
ki-iš-ša-t[im] ³'ik-ka-ši-i[š] ⁴'ú-lu-ma a-na ma-za-za-

⁹ Z. 1'–5' nur noch in Spuren; Tafeloberfläche dort abgefallen. In der Umschrift erscheint Sumerisches gesperrt, Unsicheres kursiv. Frau Hatice Kızılyay danke ich herzlich für Nachprüfung verschiedener Lesevorschläge am Original.

ni[m] 6'in-ne-zi-ib 6'an-du-ra-ar-šu 7'ú-ul iš-ša-ka-a[n]—Doppelquerstrich.

Es folgt ein unbeschriebener Raum in Höhe von sieben Zeilen, dann ist die Oberfläche mit Raum für acht Zeilen abgebrochen; der Rest fehlt.

Wenn man die Möglichkeit, dass der untere und eventuell der obere Tafelrand ganz oder teilweise beschrieben war, ausser Acht lässt, kann man die ursprüngliche Inschrift der Tafel grob auf 255 + x Zeilen schätzen.¹⁰

Die jetzt vielfach beschädigte Inschrift ist in sehr guter, deutlicher altbabylonischer Normal-schrift geschrieben. Sie ist nicht liniert, aber durch Querstriche übersichtlich in Abschnitte geteilt, von denen noch vier zu erkennen sind, nämlich drei auf der Vorder- und einer auf der Rückseite des Fragments; letzterer endet mit einem Doppelquerstrich.

2. Der relativ best erhaltene Abschnitt von Si. 507, der letzte, Rs. 1'-7', stimmt wörtlich und fast Zeichen für Zeichen und—was Exemplar A betrifft—sogar in deren Verteilung auf die Zeilen mit dem Ende des § 19' des Ediktes des Ammisaduqa überein, wie folgender Vergleich zeigt.

Si. 507	Edikt A VI ¹¹
1'. a-na k ù . b a b b a r i[n]-na-[d]i-[in]	3. [a-na k] ù . b a b [b a r] in-n[a-di-in]
2'. ú-lu a-na ki-iš-ša-t[im]	4. [ú-l]u a-[n]a [k]i-iš-ša-tim
3'. ik-ka-ši-i[š]	5. [i]k-k[a]-ši-iš
4'. ú-lu-ma a-na ma-za-za- ni[m]	6. [ú-l]u a-na m[a-an/az]- za-za-ni
5'. in-ne-zi-ib	7. [i]n-ne-[z]i-ib
6'. an-du-ra-ar-šu	8. [an]-d[u]-ra-ar-[š]u
7'. ú-ul iš-ša-ka-a[n]	9. [ú-ul] iš-ša-a[k-k]a-an

Infolgedessen lässt sich dieser letzte Abschnitt von Si. 507 nach § 19' des Edikts ergänzen, der in verbesserter Übersetzung¹² lautet: "Wenn

¹⁰ Diese Zahl ergibt sich bei der oben vorgeschlagenen Annahme von sieben Kolumnen zu je 35 Zeilen; zu $7 \times 35 = 245$ sind dann noch die $[3] + 7 = 10$ Zeilen der letzten Kolumne hinzuzuzählen und das jetzt abgebrochene Kolumnenende, das auf einen unbeschriebenen Raum folgt, mit x (vielleicht = 0) Zeilen anzusetzen.

¹¹ S. *Ed.* S. 40 f. Die geringen Reste des Textes von Exemplar B, Rs. II 1'-3', sind durch Unterstreichung markiert.

¹² Gegen *Ed.* S. 41 ist das dort nur wegen der Annahme, dum u in Verbindung mit einem Stadt- oder Stammnamen bedeute stets "freier Bürger von . . .," am Ende von V 36 trotz der Anm. zu dieser Zeile, S. 40, und S. 174, Anm. 4, fälschlich ergänzte [ša] im Anschlusse an CAD VII (1960) 71, Ende des Artikels ildu, hier weggelassen; danach der Kommentar, S. 172 und S. 174, zu ändern.

eine Sklavin (oder) ein Sklave (oder) ein im Hause geborener (Sklave)¹³ aus Numhia, aus Emut-balum, aus Ida-maraz, aus Uruk, aus Isin, aus Kisura, aus Malgûm [. . .] . . . [. . .] für Silber verkauft oder in ein Gewaltverhältnis genommen oder als Pfand überlassen worden war, wird seine Freiheit nicht hergestellt."

Der in Querstriche eingeschlossene erste erhaltene Abschnitt, Vs. 1'-10', bietet teils jämmerlich zerstörte (Z. 1'-5'), teils gut lesbare (Z. 6'-10') Reste eines Datums. Den Jahresnamen, Z. 2'-10', dessen Zeilen von der zweiten (Z. 3') an um etwa einundeinehalbe Zeichenbreite eingerückt sind, wie es in Urkunden die Regel ist, hat Landsberger brieflich am 6. X. 1960 praktisch nur aufgrund des unsicheren [m] u sa-am-s[u . . .], Z. 2', und m u . u n . g i [. . .], Z. 10', als den des Jahres Samsu-iluna 8¹⁴ bestimmt. Es muss sich um die volle Form des Namens handeln, welche in einem königlichen Edikte am Platze ist, sonst aber nie vorkommt,¹⁵ was auch bei anderen Jahresnamen zu beobachten ist.¹⁶ Ein unverbindlicher Vorschlag für die mir nicht ganz gelungene Ergänzung lautet:

- 1'. [i t u s] i g ₄ u ₄ [x . k a m]
- 2'. [m] u sa-am-s[u - i - l u - n a l u g a l (. e)]
- 3'. u r u d u k [i l] u [g a l g u b . b a (. a)]
- 4'. í [d h u r . s a g d i d l i . b i (. t a)]
- 5'. h e . n [u n h é . g á l . b i]
- 6'. t ú m . t ú m [k i g u b (. b a) . n e . n e]
- 7'. é m a h é [. . .]
- 8'. i g i a n ^d i n a n [a . k a . š è]
- 9'. u ₆ . d i [. . .]
- 10'. m u . u n . g i . [n a . a] .

Bemerkungen. Z. 3'-6': Art und Zweck solcher in Jahresnamen—und nur dort?—bezeugter Kupferbildwerke(?) sind unbekannt. Z. 4': Reihenfolge der Wörter sonst meist h u r . s a g í d; hier wegen der nicht zu HUR, wohl aber zu A (von íd) passenden Zeichenreste am Zeilenanfang nach *TCL* I (1910) Nr. 125, Z. 22', ergänzt. Z. 5': h e . n u n in Jean, *Tell Sifr* (1931) Nr. 83, Z. 29, aber Rest hier nicht gut zu NUN passend. Z. 6': Für die unsichere Ergänzung siehe *TCL* I, Nr. 125, Z. 23', und vgl. Ungnad, *RLA*

¹³ S. *Ed.* S. 172-74, 1, und vgl. Finkelstein, *JCS* XV (1961) 99 rechts.

¹⁴ Vgl. Ungnad, *RLA* II (1938) 182 f., Nr. 153 (8).

¹⁵ Vgl. Barbara Morgan, *MCS* III (1953) 60.

¹⁶ Vgl. etwa meine Bemerkung, *JCS* III (1951) 12, 3. Absatz.

II (1938) 182, Nr. 151 (6). Z. 7': Der Name des Tempels nicht ergänzbar, s. u. zu Z. 8'. Zur Ausdrucksweise "erhabener Tempel, E. . .," vgl. Ungnad, *RLA* II 190 f. [265]. Z. 8': Weihgeschenke für An und Inana scheinen sonst in den Jahresnamen der I. Dynastie von Babylon nicht vorzukommen. An Uruk ist nicht zu denken, andererseits von einem Kultus des An im Istartempel E-tur-kalama in Babylon¹⁷ nichts bekannt. Z. 9': Für denkbare Ergänzungen s. *ŠL* II 449, 150 f.

Der zweite erhaltene Abschnitt der Vorderseite, Z. 11'–17', lautet mit Ergänzungen:

- 11'. LAL+U PA.TE.SI sipad [x x]
 12'. na-we ù na-aš [g ú . u n]
 13'. aš-šum lu gal mi-[ša-ra-am]
 14'. iš-ku-nu uš-š[u-ur/ra]
 15'. lú mu-ša-ad-[di-nu-um]
 16'. a-na é na-aš [g ú . u n]
 17'. ú-u[l] i-[ša-as-si]

"Die Rückstände des Lehnbauern,¹⁸ des 'Hirten,' [der Schankwirtin] (auf) dem Lande und des (Staats-) Pächters—weil der König gerechte Ordnung geschaffen hat, sind (sie) erlassen. Der Eintreiber geht nicht (mit Zwangsmassnahmen) gegen das 'Haus' des (Staats-)Pächters vor."

Bemerkungen. Wenn die I. Kolumne, von welcher kein einziges Zeilenende erhalten ist, ursprünglich ebenso breit gewesen ist wie die letzte, können in Z. 13' ausser den vier vorhandenen noch drei Zeichen gestanden haben; statt der Formel aššum šarrum mišaram ana mātīm iškunu, welche im Edikte des Ammi-šaduqa siebenmal vorkommt,¹⁹ ist hier also die kürzere Formel aššum šarrum mišaram iškunu einzusetzen. Zu der erschlossenen Kolumnenbreite stimmt die zwangsläufige Ergänzung von Z. 15' zu lú mu-ša-ad-[di-nu-um]²⁰ aufs beste. Für die in beiden Fällen angenommene Mimation kann man sich auf die Formen Rs. 2' und 4' berufen (aber na-we, Vs. 12', ohne Mimation!).

Z. 11': Der Ausdruck SAL lú DIN . n a na-we-e im Edikte des Ammi-šaduqa, § 14',²¹ und der Inhalt dieses Paragraphen sprechen hier für eine analoge Ergänzung, aber für SAL lú DIN . n a ist nach dem

¹⁷ Vgl. Unger, *Babylon* (1931) S. 144 f., XV.

¹⁸ Eine Verlegenheitsübersetzung; was der altbabylonische *iššakkum* war und wodurch er sich von *nāš(i) biltim* unterschied, bleibt trotz *CAD* VII 266, wo übrigens das letzte Zitat des Artikels, "Kraus Edikt 266," als nichtssagend zu streichen ist, unbekannt.

¹⁹ S. *Ed.* Glossar, S. 249.

²⁰ S. *Ed.* S. 50 ff.

²¹ S. *Ed.* S. 38, Exemplar A V 5.

eben gewonnenen Masstabe kein Raum; für andere Schreibungen des babylonischen Wortes für "Schankwirtin" vgl. *Ed.* S. 161 f., 2. Abschnitt, a. Z. 12' und 16': na-aš kann inhaltlich und nach dem verfügbaren Raume nur zu na-aš [g ú . u n] ergänzt werden. An Belegen für die *status constructus*-Form nāš²² im virtuellen Genetiv seien genannt *BE* VI 1 (1906) Nr. 83, Z. 10 (Ammi-ditana 37); *CT* VI (1898) 35c, Z. 10 (Ammi-šaduqa 2); *VAB* V (1913) Nr. 105, Z. 16²³ (Ammi-šaduqa 10); *VS* VII (1909) Nr. 104, Z. 7 (Ammi-šaduqa 15); *VS* IX (1909) Nr. 183, Z. 11 (ohne Jahr). Z. 14': Eine sichere Ergänzung lässt sich aus den einander widersprechenden Beispielen LAL . ḫ i . a . . . ú-uš-šu-ur, Edikt des Ammi-šaduqa Exemplar A IV 26/29 und 30, 31/34, aber [L]AL.DU . . . uš-šu-ra, Exemplar B, Rs. I 3'/6',²⁴ nicht gewinnen; zur Orthographie s. *Ed.* S. 47 e. Z. 17': Zur Ergänzung vgl. sachlich *Ed.* S. 57 ff.; auch hier bleibt die zu ergänzende Form ungewiss, für Beispiele s. *Ed.* S. 15, 4. Absatz.

Vom dritten erhaltenen Abschnitte der Vorderseite, Z. 18', ist nur noch ein oberer schräger Keil des ersten Zeichens übriggeblieben; es wäre nicht unmöglich, dass er zum Zeichen šum von [š]u[m-ma] gehört hat.

3. Das Fragment Si. 507 gewährt uns nur einen äusserst beschränkten Einblick in den Inhalt des ursprünglichen Edikts, von dessen Text es kaum noch ein Zehntel aufweist.²⁵

Die Präambel, mit welcher das Edikt begonnen haben wird (s. u.), ist verloren.

Der jetzige erste Abschnitt, Vorderseite Z. 1'–10', dürfte der zweite des Edikts gewesen sein; er gibt den Stichtag an, an welchem die Bestimmungen des Edikts in Wirkung traten, genauer gesagt: den *terminus ante quem* für das Zustandekommen der Verbindlichkeiten oder Rechtsverhältnisse, welche das Edikt neu regelt. Dieser Stichtag ist von ausschlaggebender Wichtigkeit für das Rechtsinstitut des *mīšarum*-Aktes.²⁶

Von den Bestimmungen selbst sind nur noch zwei Paragraphen vorhanden, der erste, Vorderseite Z. 11'–17', und der letzte, Rückseite Z. 1'–7'. § 1 betrifft den Erlass der "nachzulie-

²² W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (1952) § 64 i, leicht abweichend von *ZA* XL (1931) 218, zu 11.

²³ Zitiert, weil mir die Originalpublikation fehlt.

²⁴ S. *Ed.* S. 36.

²⁵ S. die Schätzung oben, S. 225.

²⁶ Vgl. *Ed.* S. 244 f.

fernden Rückstände"²⁷ von vier Berufsgruppen, "Lehnbauern," "Hirten," "[Schankwirtin] auf dem Lande," und "Staatspächter," ausser der Wirtin Staatsbedienstete, welche auch im ersten Erlass des Samsu-iluna an erster Stelle berücksichtigt werden.²⁸ Die Art der Rückstände ist im Text als bekannt vorausgesetzt, vielleicht, weil sie im verlorenen ersten Abschnitte angegeben war. Es muss sich um für uns kaum zu definierende Zahlungen und Leistungen handeln, die wir mangels wirklicher Einsicht in ihr Wesen als "öffentliche Abgaben" andeuten. Der Rückstandserlass geht jedenfalls zu Lasten des Staates. Warum das ergänzende Verbot der Zwangseintreibung, Z. 15'-17',²⁹ nur für das "Haus" des Staatspächters ausgesprochen wird, kann ich nicht erklären.

Der letzte Paragraph des Fragments, Rückseite Z. 1'-7', muss nach Analogie von § 19' des Edikts des Ammi-šaduqa, mit welchem er, soweit erhalten, wörtlich übereinstimmt,³⁰ zu einem vorhergehenden Paragraphen gehört haben, welcher § 18' des Edikts entsprach³¹ und die Freilassung von Personen betraf, die durch Verkauf, Untergebung³² oder Verpfändung bzw. Selbstverkauf, Selbstuntergebung oder Selbstverpfändung ihre Freiheit verloren hatten. Ob diese Personen näher definiert waren, was in § 18' der Fall ist, und wenn ja, wie, bleibt uns unbekannt. Der teilweise erhaltene letzte Paragraph nahm Sklaven von dieser Bestimmung aus.

Inhaltlich bieten diese geringen Reste nichts, was nicht schon aus dem Briefe des Samsu-iluna³³ und dem Edikte des Ammi-šaduqa³⁴ bekannt wäre; eine Definition des letzteren, "eine Sammlung von Vorschriften sozialen Charakters . . . , dazu bestimmt, gewisse vorwiegend wirtschaftliche Misstände . . . vorübergehend zu beseitigen oder zu lindern,"³⁵ scheint auch für Si. 507 zuzutreffen.

²⁷ Vgl. *Ed.* S. 88 ff., 3. Abschnitt, besonders S. 94 f., d.

²⁸ Vgl. *Ed.* S. 226.

²⁹ Vgl. *Ed.* S. 50-54, 2 und 3, S. 57-59, 2.

³⁰ S. o. S. 226.

³¹ *Ed.* S. 40 f.; vgl. S. 167 ff.

³² Vgl. *Ed.* S. 175-79, 3. Abschnitt.

³³ Vgl. *Ed.* S. 226.

³⁴ Vgl. *Ed.* S. 189-91, 5. Abschnitt.

³⁵ *Ed.* S. 189 f.

Der neue Ediktrest, an sich von bescheidenem Werte, erweist sich einigermaßen nützlich für unser Verständnis des Edikts des Ammi-šaduqa infolge der durch die wörtliche Übereinstimmung seiner Zeilen Rückseite 1'-7' mit dem Ende von § 19' des letzteren offenkundigen Verwandtschaft beider Texte. Sie berechtigt uns zur hypothetischen Annahme gleichen oder ähnlichen Aufbaus der zwei Edikte, aus welcher die Möglichkeit folgt, Schlüsse aus dem Anfange des Ediktrestes auf den fehlenden Anfang des Edikts zu ziehen. Dabei ergibt sich eine willkommene Bestätigung der über die Ergänzung geäußerten Vermutungen.³⁶ Eine Präambel ist zwar auch in Si. 507 nicht erhalten, dort aber mit Gewissheit aus dem Umstande zu erschliessen, dass der Abschnitt Vorderseite Z. 11'-17', auf das Datum, Z. 1'-10', folgend, der erste Paragraph des Edikts gewesen sein muss, was auch sein Inhalt, eine Bestimmung allgemeinen Charakters, bestätigt. Vor dem Datum kann nur eine Einleitung in die gesamte vom Edikte zu behandelnde Materie erwartet werden. Nach der Präambel wird auch das Edikt des Ammi-šaduqa ein Datum enthalten³⁷ und dann mit einer Bestimmung allgemeiner Art eingesetzt haben.³⁸ Wegen Verlust des Tafelendes lässt sich aus Si. 507 ebensowenig wie aus Exemplar A und B des Edikts des Ammi-šaduqa³⁹ ersehen, ob auf den letzten Paragraphen ursprünglich noch irgendein Schlussvermerk folgte.

Konnte, ja musste man früher das Bruchstück BM 78259 (Exemplar B), dessen neun Paragraphen bzw. Paragraphenreste Duplikate zu neun Paragraphen der Tafel Ni. 632 (Exemplar A) bilden,⁴⁰ als Duplikat von jenem betrachten, obgleich es § 13' des Exemplars A auslässt, so darf das nunmehr nur noch als Hypothese angesehen werden. Die oben vermerkte wörtliche Übereinstimmung eines Teils von Si. 507, Rest eines Edikts des Samsu-iluna, mit einem Teile des mindestens 95 Jahre später entstandenen Exemplars A des Edikts des Ammi-šaduqa

³⁶ S. *Ed.* S. 44, S. 190 a, S. 186, 3. Abschnitt, 3. und 4. Absatz mit Anm. 1.

³⁷ Man würde gern dessen Verhältnis zu dem Datum in § 3' (*Ed.* S. 28 f.) kennen: gleich oder später?

³⁸ Die Reste I 1'-3' des § 1' (*Ed.* S. 26 f.; vgl. S. 44, 2. Absatz) passen übrigens nicht zu Si. 507 Vorderseite Z. 11'-12'.

³⁹ Vgl. *Ed.* S. 5 unten.

⁴⁰ Vgl. *Ed.* S. 1 f.

zwingt uns mit der Möglichkeit zu rechnen, dass Exemplar B, wie nahe es Exemplar A auch stehen möge, Fragment eines anderen Edikts ist.

4. Seine briefliche Deutung des Jahresnamens Vorderseite Z. 2' ff.⁴¹ hatte Landsberger mit dem Satze beschlossen: "Please write me at once a sensational note about the *š-mittā* (every 7th year) in OB!"

Bereits ein Blick auf die Liste der bekannten Erlässe zeigt, warum ich dieser Aufforderung nicht nachkommen konnte. Wir besitzen zu wenig Belege, um uns ein Bild von der Frequenz der Erlässe machen zu können. Nehmen wir nur die rund 150 Jahre betragende Regierungszeit der letzten fünf Könige aus der I. Dynastie von Babylon von Samsu-iluna bis Samsu-ditana, so kennen wir für diese Periode jetzt achtzehn Hinweise auf insgesamt höchstens fünfzehn Erlässe.⁴² Noch ungünstiger wird das Verhältnis, wenn man Hammu-rabi einbezieht, auf dessen 43 Regierungsjahre zwei Hinweise entfallen.⁴³ Auch wenn neue Funde diese Liste verlängern, was als sicher gelten kann,⁴⁴ bleibt die Aussicht auf eine genügende Anzahl Belege gering. Überdies bereitet die Datierung der belegten Erlässe Schwierigkeiten.⁴⁵

A. Hammu-rabi. (1) Nr. 33:⁴⁶ Hammu-rabi 1;⁴⁷ (2) Nr. 34:⁴⁶ undatiert.

B. Samsu-iluna. (3) Nr. 35:⁴⁸ unmittelbar nach der Thronbesteigung, also noch im Jahre Hammu-rabi 43 oder schon im Jahre Samsu-iluna 1? (4) Nr. 36:⁴⁹ Samsu-iluna 2⁵⁰ oder Samsu-iluna 1?⁵¹ (5) Si. 507: x. III. Samsu-iluna 8.

⁴¹ S. o. S. 226.

⁴² Für vierzehn dieser Belege s. *Ed.* S. 225, Nr. 35, bis 230, Nr. 48.

⁴³ *Ed.* S. 225, Nr. 33 und 34.

⁴⁴ S. hier den Beitrag von Finkelstein (S. 233–46).

⁴⁵ Im folgenden nach *Ed.* zitiert, soweit möglich.

⁴⁶ *Ed.* S. 225.

⁴⁷ Nach der auch überall im folgenden angenommenen Regel von Thureau-Dangin, s. u. Anm. 51.

⁴⁸ *Ed.* S. 225–27.

⁴⁹ *Ed.* S. 227.

⁵⁰ So nach der Regel Ungnads, *RLA* II 132 rechts, Ende des 2. Absatzes; vgl. Goetze, *JCS* VII (1953) 41, Anm. 48.

⁵¹ Thureau-Dangin, *La chronologie de la première dynastie babylonienne* (1942) S. 1–2, erwähnt keine Ausnahme von seiner eigenen kategorisch geäußerten Regel "on datait non par l'événement de l'année, mais par celui de l'année précédente"; allerdings zitiert er Ungnads Regel (s. o. Anm. 50) aus *AfO* XIII (1939–1941) 146 links, ohne Widerspruch (S. 3).

C. Abi-ešuh. (6) Nr. 38:⁵² Abi-ešuh 1;⁵³ (7) Nr. 39 und 40:⁵² im Jahre vor dem noch nicht einzuordnenden Jahre Abi-ešuh "s."⁵⁴

D. Ammi-ditana. (8) Nr. 41:⁵⁵ Ammi-ditana 1; (9) Nr. 42:⁵⁶ Ammi-ditana 20.

E. Ammi-šaduqa. (10) Nr. 44 und vgl. Nr. 43:⁵⁷ XIII. Ammi-ditana 37 (= Thronbesteigungsjahr des Ammi-šaduqa);⁵⁸ (II) Jahresnahme Ammi-šaduqa 2⁵⁹ (vgl. Nr. 43⁵⁷): Ammi-šaduqa 1;⁶⁰ (12) Nr. 46:⁵⁷ Ammi-šaduqa 9.

F. Samsu-ditana. [(13) Auf einen *mīšarum*-Akt bezieht Landsberger den unvollständig überlieferten Jahresnamen Samsu-ditana 3:⁶¹ Samsu-ditana 2.]

G. Nicht datierbar. (14) Nr. 37;⁶² (15) Nr. 47;⁶³ (16) Nr. 48;⁶³ (17) vielleicht Exemplar B des Edikts des Ammi-šaduqa.⁶⁴

Die Jahre Hammu-rabi 2, Samsu-iluna 2, Abi-ešuh 2 sind nach Erlässen benannt, ebenso Ammi-ditana 2 und Ammi-šaduqa 2, deren Formeln unvollständig überliefert sind, nach einer Annahme Landsbergers,⁶⁵ die für Ammi-ditana 2 jetzt als sicher gelten kann.⁶⁶ Andererseits sind Erlässe nach der Thronbesteigung des Samsu-iluna (oben B 3) und des Ammi-šaduqa (oben E 10) bezeugt. Der Schluss ist wohl nicht zu kühn, dass ein der Thronbesteigung folgender Erlass stets im Namen des zweiten Jahres festgehalten wurde, gleichviel, ob er schon vor oder erst

⁵² *Ed.* S. 228.

⁵³ Vgl. Landsberger, *JNES* XIV (1955) 146, zu VIII 2.

⁵⁴ S. Goetze, *JCS* V (1951) 101 links unten.

⁵⁵ *Ed.* S. 228.

⁵⁶ *Ed.* S. 229.

⁵⁷ *Ed.* S. 229.

⁵⁸ Datum oder *terminus post quem* des Edikts des Ammi-šaduqa, Nr. 44, ist der 2. XIII. Ammi-ditana 37; der auf einen *mīšarum*-Akt verweisende Name des Jahres Ammi-šaduqa 1, von Finkelstein, *JCS* XV 93 links, aus den bei Ungnad, *RLA* II 189 rechts und 191 links, als 249 (1) und [267] (17 + c) gebuchten unvollständigen Formeln zusammengesetzt, wird in *VS* VII (1909) Nr. 67, Z. 35–27, bereits am 4. I. gebraucht.

⁵⁹ Vgl. Landsberger, *JNES* XIV 146, zu X 2.

⁶⁰ Auch wenn man hierin einen zweiten Erlass des Ammi-šaduqa sieht, s. o. im Text, bezieht sich Nr. 45 vom 3. X. Ammi-šaduqa 1, wie *Ed.* S. 229 angenommen, auf E 10, weil seiner Abfassung ein langer Prozess vorausging.

⁶¹ *JNES* XIV 149 f.

⁶² *Ed.* S. 227.

⁶³ *Ed.* S. 230.

⁶⁴ S. o. S. 228 f.

⁶⁵ *JNES* XIV 146.

⁶⁶ S. *Ed.* S. 228, Nr. 41.

während des ersten Jahres stattfand, weil der Name des ersten Jahres für eine feierliche Proklamation des Regierungswechsels reserviert blieb.⁶⁷ B 3 und 4 sind mit dieser Vermutung allenfalls vereinbar, nicht aber E 10 und 11. Will man die meines Erachtens unmögliche Annahme zweier Erlässe innerhalb von höchstens dreizehn Monaten vermeiden, so hat man die Wahl zwischen drei gleichermassen unbefriedigenden Ausflüchten: (a) Mein Vorschlag, die unvollständige Formel Ammi-šaduqa "17 + c," welche auf einen Erlass weist, mit der gleichfalls unvollständigen Formel Ammi-šaduqa 2 zusammenzufügen,⁶⁸ ist richtig, die Kombination mit der Formel Ammi-šaduqa 1⁶⁹ falsch;⁷⁰ oder mein Vorschlag ist falsch, aber (b) der Erlass, vor Beginn des ersten Jahres erfolgt, wurde ausnahmsweise in dessen Namen festgehalten, dann aber auch traditionell zur Benennung des zweiten Jahres verwendet; oder (c) das Königsepitheton *sipad* im Jahresnamen Ammi-šaduqa 2 impliziert gegen Landsberger⁷¹ keinen Hinweis auf einen *mīšarum*-Akt. Über (a) und (c) zu entscheiden wird wohl erst möglich sein, wenn komplette Jahresnamen Ammi-šaduqa 1 und 2 auftauchen.

Vorstehender Übersicht lassen sich folgende magere Ergebnisse entnehmen:

1. Im Staate Babylon des Hammu-rabi und seiner fünf Nachfolger war ein durchlaufender siebenjähriger Zyklus von Erlässen unbekannt, wohl aber scheinen Erlässe bald nach Regierungsbeginn die Regel gewesen zu sein.

2. Zwischen B 3 und 4, vielleicht derselbe Erlass, und B 5 könnten sieben Jahre vergangen sein; hiervon ist Landsberger offenbar ausgegangen. Dagegen beträgt der Abstand zwischen E 10 und 11, wie immer man diese datiert, und E 12 nicht sieben Jahre und der Abstand zwischen D 8 und 9 kein Vielfaches von sieben.

3. Auch irgendein Erlasszyklus von mehr oder

weniger als sieben Jahren Intervall ist nicht zu erkennen.

4. Das Material für Babylon vor Hammu-rabi⁷² und für andere babylonische Staaten,⁷³ noch viel dürftiger als das besprochene, ist für die Frage nach Erlasszyklen unergiebig.

So bleibt es zunächst bei dem Eindruck, "dass die königlichen Erlässe in der altbabylonischen Zeit zwar keine geregelte, aber eine häufige Erscheinung waren."⁷⁴ Ihren institutionellen Charakter während der besprochenen Periode unterstreicht der jetzt aus Si. 507 ersichtliche Brauch, bei Abfassung der zugehörigen Edikte feste Formulare zu benutzen.⁷⁵

Zum Wesen der deuteronomischen *šmittā* gehören ausser ihrer zyklischen Wiederkehr ihre sozialetisch fundierte wirtschaftliche Funktion und ihr festes Programm. Wir können auch den Erlässen der babylonischen Könige eine solche Funktion zuschreiben, wissen aber nichts über ihr Programm, solange wir nur ein einziges Edikt, und auch das keineswegs vollständig, besitzen.⁷⁶ Freilich genügt sein Inhalt, mit manchem deutlich situationsgebundenen Zuge, für die Feststellung, dass nicht alle Erlässe völlig identisch gewesen sein können. Nach unserem gegenwärtigen Wissen hat somit Babylonien in der altbabylonischen Zeit keine *šmittā* gekannt. Ob neue Funde das Bild verändern werden, ist abzuwarten.

Vermutungen über die theoretische Möglichkeit eines festen Zyklus von Erlässen können bei unserer totalen Unkenntnis der wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung eines Erlasses nicht mehr als unerlaubt verallgemeinernde Spekulationen sein, die es sich nicht lohnt eingehend auseinanderzusetzen. Das gilt auch von dem an sich vielleicht nicht ganz unwahrscheinlichen folgenden Gedankengange. Erlässe mit festem, also lange vorher bekanntem Datum und einem mindestens teilweise konstanten Programm müssen das Verlangen der zu Begünstigten, den gröss-

⁶⁷ Vgl. Landsberger, *JNES* XIV 145.

⁶⁸ *Ed.* S. 106 f., 4. Abschnitt.

⁶⁹ Vgl. o. Anm. 58.

⁷⁰ Einwand dagegen: dass dieselben Worte *d u t u . g i m* (so nicht auch in YBC 4976?) *k a l a m . m a . n i . š è* in den Namen zweier aufeinanderfolgender Jahre vorkommen sollten, ist sehr unwahrscheinlich.

⁷¹ *JNES* XIV 146.

⁷² Vgl. *Ed.* S. 224 f.

⁷³ Vgl. *Ed.* S. 196, 2. Abschnitt, bis 209, und S. 230, 2. Abschnitt, bis 235.

⁷⁴ *Ed.* S. 239.

⁷⁵ Vgl. oben S. 226 über Duplizierung des Textes Si. 507 Rückseite durch § 19' des Ediktes des Ammi-šaduqa.

⁷⁶ Die Möglichkeit, dass Exemplar B des Ediktes des Ammi-šaduqa vielmehr Fragment eines anderen Ediktes sei (s. o. S. 228 f.) bleibt hier unberücksichtigt.

ten Vorteil aus dem Erlass zu ziehen, ebenso erregt haben wie den Wunsch nach Selbstschutzhörer, welche die Zeche zu bezahlen hatten. Betraf ein Erlass, wie unsere Belege anzudeuten scheinen, in der Regel private Schulden und Schuldknechtschaft sowie Rückstände an öffentlichen Abgaben, so könnte ich mir vorstellen, dass ein Erlasszyklus zunächst gewisse Sektoren des wirtschaftlichen und öffentlichen Lebens störend beeinflusst und über kurz oder lang Handel und Wandel gelähmt, die sozialen Verhältnisse vergiftet, die Obrigkeit beim Volke diskreditiert und die Staatsfinanzen zerrüttet hätte. Mit unerwünschten Folgen der deuteronomischen *šmittā*, zu deren auf das nichtkommerzielle Darlehen beschränktem Wirkungskreise⁷⁷ die besonders geregelte Schuldknechtschaft nicht gehörte,⁷⁸ für das Darlehenswesen und daraus resultierende Verkehrung ihrer wohltätigen Wirkung in das Gegenteil rechnet übrigens auch das Deuteronomium.⁷⁹

Dass *mīšarum*-Akte etwa vierhundert Jahre

⁷⁷ Deut. 15:2-3 und 7-8.

⁷⁸ Deut. 15:12-15 und 18.

⁷⁹ Deut. 15:9-10.

lang in Babylonien vorkommen, spricht für ihre wenigstens relative Zweckmäßigkeit. Diese war am ehesten gewährleistet, möchte ich glauben, wenn Zeitpunkt und Gegenstand des Erlasses von Fall zu Fall je nach Lage und Bedürfnis festgesetzt wurden. Im Staate Babylon war seit Hammu-rabi Thronwechsel ein traditioneller Anlass für solche Akte. Die dabei üblichen Erlässe sollten wohl dem neuen Fürsten die Glorie fürsorglichen Schutzes der wirtschaftlich Schwachen und besonderer Huld für die Lehns- und Dienstleute der Krone verleihen und seiner Regierung den Stempel eines allgemeinen Neubeginns unter glücklichen Auspizien aufdrücken. Sie sind in gewissem Sinne mit den später bei solchen Gelegenheiten gebräuchlichen Amnestien zu vergleichen. Zu anderen Erlässen mögen Hammu-rabi und seine Nachfolger im Laufe ihrer Regierungen durch die Umstände gezwungen worden sein; sie handhabten das Instrument des *mīšarum*-Aktes vielleicht zur Milderung von Nöten, die durch Misswachs oder Kriegswirren entstanden waren, oder wie ein Überdruckventil, wenn die Schwächen des Wirtschafts- und Lehnssystems ihrer Zeit zu allzu drückenden Misständen geführt hatten.

SOME NEW *MISHARUM* MATERIAL AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

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The publication of the "reform" Edict of Ammišaduqa in recent years may be said to have added a third dimension to the studies of the socio-economic institutions of the Old Babylonian period.¹ In these studies we are still far from perceiving all of the implications and ramifications of the *misharum* institution,² let alone from the expectation of satisfactory understanding. New and basic source material for these institutions is therefore especially to be welcomed, even if at the present juncture it serves only to develop the complexity of the problems involved rather than to offer solutions to individual questions. It is gratifying to be able to present such new material in honor of one who was among the first to perceive the importance of the *misharum* institution in Old Babylonian times.³

The main text with which this paper is concerned is a report or, more exactly, a petition protesting a decision by an official which hinged on the question of the relevance of a royal *misharum*-act to a particular instance. The tablet, BM 80318, belongs to the Sippar material

acquired by the British Museum⁴ in the last decades of the nineteenth century, portions of which were published largely by Pinches in *CT* II, IV, VI, and VIII. The surface of much of the tablet is completely eroded. As will be seen, this loss prevents us from grasping the details and merits of the particular case, but the better preserved sections, especially the reverse, offer new information about the administrative and juridical processes brought into play by the promulgation of a *misharum*-act. The text bears no date but does mention a year-date in line 12 which could be either Sinmuballit 15 or Samsuiluna 24 (see pp. 240 f.); a choice between the two is difficult because of the damage to the line and the problematic reading of the last signs in it, which may also be part of the year-date formula. On paleographic grounds the most that can be ventured with reasonable assurance is that the text belongs to the middle part of the First Babylonian Dynasty, that is, between Sinmuballit and Samsuiluna.

TRANSLITERATION

i-nu-ma be-li *ⁱ*di-pa-ar* KÙ.GI
a-na UD.KIB.NUN^{ki} *iš-šu-ú*
mi-ša-ra-am a-na *^a*Šamaš ra-i-mi-šu i[š-ku-]nu-ma*
¹*Ta-ri-ba-tum ša-pi-ir* AGA.UŠ^{meš}
 5 DI.KUD^{meš} KÁ.DINGIR-RA^{ki} *ù* DI.KUD^{meš} UD.KIB.NUN^{ki}
i-na UD.KIB.NUN^{ki} *ú-še-ši-bu-ma*
di-na-a-tim ša LÚ.UD.KIB.NUN^{ki.meš} *i-mu-ru-ma*

¹ F. R. Kraus, *Ein Edikt des Königs Ammi-šaduqa von Babylon* ("Studia et documenta ad iura Orientis antiqui pertinentia" V [1958]), hereinafter abbreviated as *SD* V.

² For convenience, the term *misharum* is used in this article in a generic sense as applying to all of the enactments by the kings of the Old Babylonian period and earlier that aimed at economic reform or adjustment, following *SD* V 192, even when the exact word (or its Sum. equivalent *n i g . s i . s á*) is not used in the original source. Also for convenience, it is not necessary for the present purpose to distinguish between the *misharum* as proclaimed and the literary evidence giving the

detailed provisions of such an act (for the distinction see *SD* V 243 ff.).

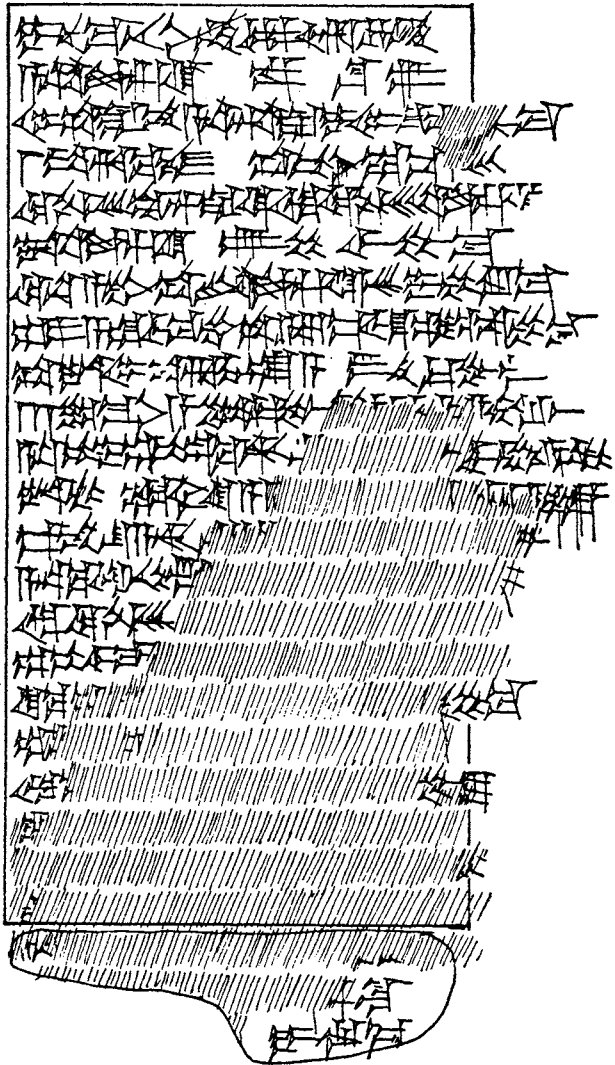
³ B. Landsberger, "Die babylonischen Termini für Gesetz und Recht," *SD* II (1939) 219-34.

⁴ I am indebted to Drs. R. D. Barnett and E. Sollberger of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities of the British Museum for permission to publish this text here and to quote from other unpublished Old Babylonian tablets in the collections under their care.

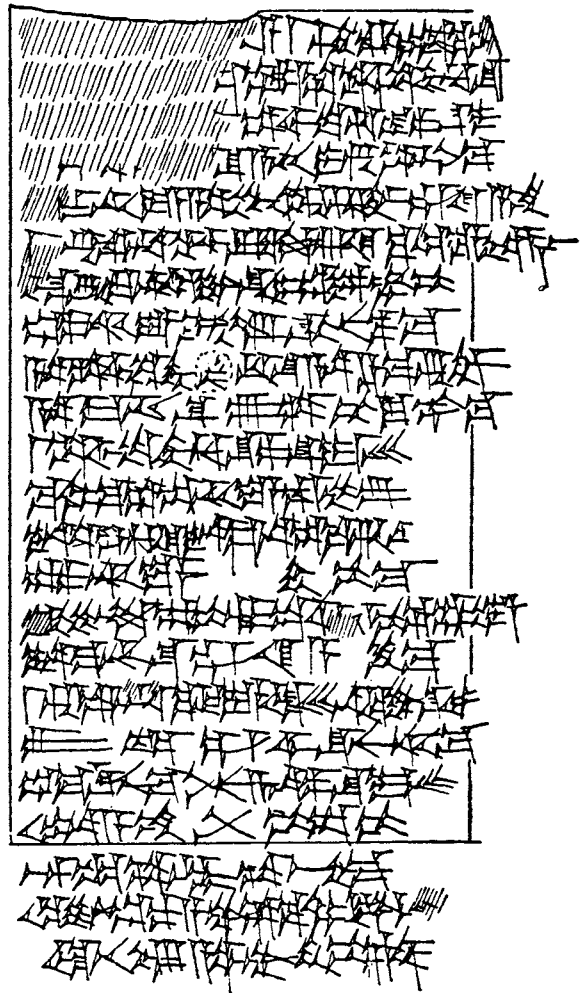
- tup-pa-a-at ši-ma-tim ša A.ŠÀ É ù GIŠ.SAR iš-mu-ú*
ša i-na mi-ša-ri wa-ši-a ú-ḫe-ep-pu-ú
- 10 3 SAR É.DÙ.A *li-ib-bu* ¹UD.KIB.NUN^{ki}-y¹a-ah-ru-rum
a-na pí-i tup-pí um-ma-ti-šu[-nu(?)] x-im(?)-zi(?) iš-ša-mu
i-na m u b à d Kiš^{ki}- a x [.] x x x x x
É^{am} šu-a-ti x x x [.] x
a-na-ku ù be-el x [.] x
- 15 ù DI.KUD^{mes} [.]
tup-pí ši-ma-t[i]
ki-ma x [. i]ḫ-pu-ma
tup-p[a-.]
 ù x [. i(?)-]pu-lu
- 20 x [.]
 [.] x
 x [.]
 (lower edge) a(?)-na(?) [.]
 [.] x-la
- 25 [.] *i-ru-ba/ma*
 (reverse) [.] x-a ¹Gi-mil-lum UŠ(?) .KU.MA[Ḫ(?)]
 [.] x x x ša Ša-lim-ṭe₄-eh-ḫu-šu
 [.] ¹Ša-lim-ṭe₄-ḫu-šu UGULA.ŠU.I
 [.] šu-a-ti i-ri-ša-an-ni-ma
- 30 [*tup*]-pa-ti-ya a-na(?) pu-uh-ri-im al-qí-a-am
¹Ri-iš-^dŠamas wa-ši-ib UD.KIB.NUN^{ki} Ku-di-ya GU.ZA.LÁ
 ù ⁴Sin-na-di-in-šu-mi DUB.SAR ZAG-GA
tup-pa-ti-ya i-mu-ru ik-nu-ku-ma
a-na Ša-lim-ṭe₄-eh-ḫu-šu a-na a-ma-ri-im
- 35 a-na É^{ti}-šu ú-ša-bi-lu-šum-ma
¹Ša-lim-ṭe₄-eh-ḫu-šu UGULA.ŠU.I^{mes}
ba-lum-ma ša-ap-ti-ya iš-mu-ú
i-na UD.KIB.NUN^{ki} i-na É na-ap-ṭa-ri-šu
tup-pa-ti-ya iḫ-pí-ma
- 40 *iq-bu-nim ap-pí aq-du-ud ḫu-pé-e tup-pí-ya*
i-na É^{ti}-šu al-qí-a-am-ma
¹Ri-iš-^dŠamaš Ku-di-ya ù XXX-na-di-in-šu-mi
ú-ka-al-lim-šu-nu-ti-ma
um-ma šu-nu-ma ni-nu a-na UGULA.ŠU.I^{mes}
- 45 *mi-na-a-am ni-qá-ab-bi*
 (upper edge) AN *ka-ta ak-ta-aš-dam*
di-in tup-pa-a-tim ša ba-lum DI.KUD^{mes}
 ù *be-el a-wa-tim ḫe-pé-e-em*
- (left edge) *be-lí li-di-na-an-ni-ma*
- 50 *ki-ma en-šum a-na da-an-nim*
ma-ḫar be-li-ya la iš-ša-ar-ra-ku
 UD.KIB.NUN^{ki} *ka-lu-šu li-mu-ur-m[a(?)]*
dan-nu a-na en-ši-im ḫa-ba-lim x [. . .]

BM 80318

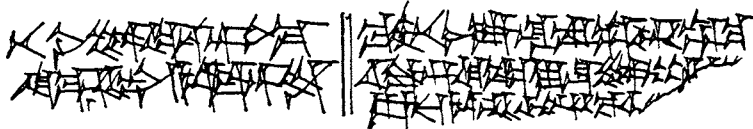
obv.



rev.



left edge



TRANSLATION

(1-2) When my lord raised high the Golden Torch for Sippar, (3) instituting the *misharum* for Shamash who loves him, (and) (4-6) convened in Sippar Taribatum the "Secretary of Infantry," the judges of Babylon and the judges of Sippar, (7) they (re)viewed the cases of the citizens of Sippar, (8) "heard" the tablets of purchase of field, house, and orchard (9) (and) ordered broken those (in which the land was) to be released by (the terms of) the *misharum*. (10) Three *sar*'s of improved real estate inside Sippar-yahrurum (11) which, according to their(?) original(?) contract, were purchased . . . , (12) in the year: (13) That house . . . (14) I and the owner of . . . (15) and the judges . . . (16) the tablets of purchase . . . (17) according to . . . they broke. (18) The tablets . . . (19) and . . . they replied. (Lines 20-25 are almost totally missing.) (26) . . . Gimillum, the high incantatory-priest(?) (27) . . . of Shalimṭeḥushu (28) . . . Shalimṭeḥushu the "Captain of Barbers" (29) that . . . demanded of me. (30) I took my tablets to the assembly, (31) Rish-

Shamash, the "Resident" of Sippar, Kudiya the "sedan-bearer," and (32) Sin-nadin-shumi, the cadastral secretary, (33) reviewed my tablets and affirmed (lit. sealed) them. (34-35) They (then) sent them to the house of Shalimṭeḥushu the "Captain of Barbers." (36-37) Shalimṭeḥushu the "Captain of Barbers," without giving me a hearing, broke my tablets in Sippar in his *b. naptarim*. (40-41) Upon being informed, and in consternation, I collected the pieces of my tablets from his house (42-43) and showed them to Rish-Shamash, Kudiya, and Sin-nadin-shumi, (44-45) but they said: "What can we say to the 'Captain of Barbers?'" (46) To you, O Divine one, I have (therefore) come. (47-49) Let my lord offer me the ruling in the case of the breaking of tablets in the absence of judges and of the principal party to the case. (50-51) Just as my lord would not countenance the surrender of the weak to (the power of) the mighty, (52) may all Sippar see (53) that . . . the mighty to injure the weak.

NOTES TO THE TEXT

Lines 1-2.—I am aware of no other allusion to the "Golden Torch," nor have I been able to find anything identifiable with it in the iconography. The present context makes it clear enough, however, that such an object did exist and that the ceremonial "raising" of it unmistakably heralded the enactment of a *misharum* (see also pp. 239 f.). It might be guessed that the symbol was a golden object in the shape of a reed torch, on the top of which there may have been a receptacle for a real fire. Some of the questions raised by the reference to such a ceremony are: (a) Where did it take place, at Babylon or Sippar? (We shall suggest below that it was the king who performed the ceremony or symbolic act.) (b) Did the act of raising this torch have a lustrative connotation—and is it therefore presumed to have taken place within the precincts of some temple⁵—or is it to be related to the established technique of torch-signaling to an-

nounce important events throughout the realm?⁶ On the latter view, it might be imagined that, in the interest of achieving a simultaneous effectiveness of the edict throughout the land, the initiating torch-raising ceremony was performed by the king and that the signal was then taken up quickly and "telegraphed" by similar means through the countryside—it being understood, of course, that the specific provisions of the particular *misharum* would have to be disseminated through the realm by more practical, if slower, means. (c) The specification of Sippar in our text raises the further question of the intended area of effectiveness of the *misharum*. Is it that this text happens to be one written at Sippar, so that the stress on this city (see lines 5-7) is accidental and is not to be interpreted as indicating that the act was exclusively directed to this city? Or, are we indeed to conclude from the wording of this text that the *misharum*-act was in this instance one that concerned Sippar alone—thus

⁵ In this sense the *dipāru* would be construed as a synonym of *gizillū*, the cultic torch, reflecting Sumerian *gi.i.zi.lá* (*CAD* III 156, V 113).

⁶ As has been established for the Mari region (Dossin in *RA* XXXV 174 ff.).

leading to the further suggestion that not all such acts were intended to have universal applicability?⁷

Line 4.—The title is not a common one in the documents,⁸ and the actual function of this official is still unknown. The translation of it given here is meant only as a literal explanation of the term but at the same time may suggest that the office need not have been a strictly military one.⁹ There is the possibility, however, that the *šāpir redē* might be identical with *šāpir Sipparim* (or, as the case may be, the *šāpir* of Dilbat, Kish, etc.¹⁰), an office known to have borne high administrative functions. In one Old Babylonian letter¹¹ we read of a case involving possibly improper suit for the collection of interest, which had been referred to the *šāpir Sipparim*. The subject of this letter, despite its obscurities, bears some similarity to the present text.¹²

Line 9.—Literally, “to pass out (of the possession of the current titleholder and to revert to its original owner)”; cf. Hebrew *yāšāʾ bayyōbēl* in Lev. 25:28 ff., 54. *BIN VII*, No. 166, may actually be a contract solemnizing precisely such a reversion of title. In this contract, which Kraus¹³ has already identified as one related to a *misharum*-type of enactment of Rim-Sin, an orchard, described as the property of PN₁, PN₂ *ina awat šarrim ú-še-ši* (lines 9 f.). The *awat*

šarrim must denote a royal act of the same type as our *misharum*. The “causing to go out” in this case cannot therefore denote “rental” or “lease” (the normal use of *šūšū*) but must refer to the act of reversion of title. A similar usage is to be understood also in *CT II*, Pl. 34 = *HG III*, No. 687. In this document of the time of Sumula²el, a field described as the *zittu* (ḫA.LA) of PN₂ (line 6), the daughter of PN₁ caused to revert (line 11: *ú-še-ši*). The quit-claim formula is then inserted against the erstwhile possessor of the field. It is almost certain, therefore, that this procedure was a consequence of the *misharum* of Sumula²el.

Line 11.—For *tuppāt ummatim* cf. *CT VI*, Pl. 6, Bu. 91-5-9,270 = *VAB V*, No. 281, where Schorr translates it as “Ursprungsurkunde(?)” followed by R. Harris in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient VI* (1963) 154. Whether or not this is the correct literal meaning of the term, its usage remains obscure.¹⁴

Line 12.—If the undeciphered signs at the end of the line are part of the date formula, I have not been able to identify them with any of the phraseology of known year formulas beginning with B à d K i š^{ki} etc.

Line 27.—The person with the same name mentioned in *CT IV*, Pl. 27 d (= *VAB VI*, No. 156), line 4, is probably not to be identified with the official named here.

Line 28.—This official, occurring infrequently in the documents, as well as the *gallābum* (šU.I), exercised important administrative and executive functions in First Dynasty times (cf. Walther, *Gerichtswesen*, pp. 177 f.). In *TCL I*, No. 20, which is an unfortunately fragmentary letter, the UGULA šU.I, just as in the present case, appears to have been acting in a reviewing capacity in a matter regarding a contract.

Line 30.—The reading *a-na*(!) presumes a slightly defective sign and the construction is also difficult grammatically, but I can see no alternative to this rendering.

Line 31.—Ordinarily *wāšib* city N. need mean nothing more than “resident” or “citizen” of GN, as in *PBS VII*, No. 100:15 (*wāšib Sipparim ša Annunitum*), where the reference is to a person already described as a *tamkarum*. In the

⁷ These implications would tend to agree with those of *SD V 244 f.*, namely that the mere announcement of a *misharum* implied nothing certain about its content, which will have varied from time to time and place to place.

⁸ For other occurrences see *VAS XVI*, No. 103, *TLB I*, Nos. 79:29' and 127:8, along with Leemans in *SLB I 3*, pp. 5 and 23 f., where other occurrences are also cited.

⁹ So Leemans, *op. cit.* p. 5, but cf. Landsberger's reconstruction of the military hierarchy of this period in *JCS IX* 122.

¹⁰ Walther, *Gerichtswesen*, pp. 135 ff.

¹¹ *CT XXIX*, Pl. 41 = *VAB VI*, No. 111.

¹² The writer of the letter tells the addressee that the tablet (*kanikum*) which the latter had shown him he then reported (*šunnū*) to the *šāpir Sipparim*, to which the latter responded thus: *iš-tu-ma ši-ib(!)-tu i-ša-ās-su-ú tup-pa-su hi-pi* (lines 11-13). Without hoping to make complete sense of the passage in view of the patent grammatical difficulties (cf. the two hesitant attempts in *CAD VII* 289 and VI 172), it might be presumed to indicate that the official had ordered the invalidation of a tablet of some debt on account of a wrongful attempt to collect interest, which in turn might suggest that a *misharum*-act is in the background.

¹³ *SD V 204*.

¹⁴ It occurs also in *BM 80982:4* (unpub.) in a broken and non-informative context. Note also now *CT XLV*, No. 102 (*BM 78302*) line 29.

present instance the person so described is associated with two other persons bearing official titles, which suggests that the appellation *wāšib Sipparim* implied a more positive function than that of "resident," "citizen." Perhaps he was the presiding officer of the *puhrum* as well as the "chairman" of the council designated to review contracts during the *misharum* period.

The other known references to the *guzalū*, the literal meaning of which also disguises an administrative office (see *CAD* V 146), do not throw much light on his actual duties, except possibly *TCL* XVIII, No. 152:12, which implies that he exercised the authority of arrest.

Line 32.—The *d u b . s a r . z a g - g a = zazakku*, according to Landsberger,¹⁵ served as the "public secretary of high officials." From the rare references to this official in the documents it would appear that his duties were concerned with tax assessment in connection with real estate. His occurrence in the present context would seem to point in the same direction but is not really decisive.

Line 38.—The *nap̄tarum* and *bit nap̄tarim* have been much discussed, with results that have so far been largely inconclusive. This is not the place to attempt a comprehensive review of the problem, an undertaking which the present writer plans to publish elsewhere. Some of the conclusions of particular relevance to the present occurrence may, however, be anticipated here. A *n.* is a person who, by his social status, has the power to "go bail" for other persons, in the sense that he can offer temporary sanctuary or immunity to persons or objects for longer or shorter periods of time (*paṭāru*: lit. "to render immune, inviolable against interference by third parties"). Such protection is customarily effected in the house, or some part of the house, of the *n.* Hence *bit n.*, "the house of a *n.*," is never found in the absolute form, for it is not a public building or institution but the residence of a specific individual. Depending on the circumstances, the function of such a place must be construed variously. For example, it serves as a place of refuge or sanctuary for persons to whom the *n.* extends his hospitality,¹⁶ or it may be a

place of detention or custody if the occasion requires.¹⁷ When objects belonging to other persons are accepted for custody and safekeeping it functions as a kind of "bonded warehouse."¹⁸ The common element in all of these functions is the assumption by the owner of the house, that is, the *nap̄tarum*, of responsibility for the well-being or safety of the things or persons placed or accepted into his care. In the present instance the *UGULA.ŠU.I* was a *n.* (by virtue of, or in addition to, his formal office) and as such obviously had the authority to retain the disputed tablets in his custody pending their future disposition. The petitioner protests only that this function was overstepped and misused by the official.

Line 40.—Cf. "Descent of Ishtar" rev. 1 (Speiser in *ANET*, p. 108): "his countenance was fallen, his face was clouded" (*quddud appašu panūšu arpu*).¹⁹

Line 46.—Assuming that the addressee of this petition is the king (see next section), it need not cause any surprise that he should be addressed as a god; there need be no deeper implications in such an address than in the modern usage of "Your Majesty," "Your Honor," etc. For other Akkadian references to the king as god see *CAD* VII 91 f., especially p. 92 left bottom. Note especially *šarru UZU.DINGIR.MEŠ šamši ša nišišu*, "the king, flesh of the gods, sun of his people" (from *Ludlul I*), a characterization particularly appropriate here, where the king is petitioned to render judgment.²⁰

¹⁵ See especially the Mari occurrences as interpreted by W. von Soden in *ArOr* XVII 2, pp. 371 f. Note also the *CAD* renderings "townhouse" (Vol. III 12) and "private residence" (Vol. VII 16).

¹⁷ This may be the background of *PBS* VII, No. 101:13 ff., in which a woman who dwelt in the *bit n.* of the plaintiff for twenty years simply decided to quit and walked out. There is a related implication in *TCL* XVIII, No. 91. The writer here is telling the addressee, apparently his associate, to alert the servants (*šuharam* ù *SAG.GEMÉP*¹) of his *bit n.* against forcible search (and seizure?) by some persons who were trying to round up (read *i-sa-ab-hu-ru* in line 11) persons who had been assigned to them (for work detail?) and who had disappeared (see line 18).

¹⁸ This usage is best illustrated by "Laws of Eshnunna" § 36. For *n.* in § 41, I can here only refer to my forthcoming article.

¹⁹ For the verb cf. Landsberger in *ZDMG* LXIX 512.

²⁰ Note especially *PBS* VI 2, No. 10 = *VAB* V, No. 292:4: *ḫammurapi l u g a l - e*, in the context of a legal suit actually brought before the king himself.

¹⁶ With *SD* V 139, but cf. *CAD* XXI 75 f. and *ARMT* XV 78, 281.

It might not be totally pointless to note that a reading of the first three signs as the personal name *Anum-pī-ša*, as this common name is usually written in this period, is excluded in the present instance by the context.

Line 47.—The *ša* does not properly configure in this construction with the infinitive *ḥepēm* of the following line, which might suggest that the scribe had anticipated a finite subjunctive form of the verb.

Lines 50–51.—These lines are echoed in the Middle Babylonian bilingual from Ashur: *en-ša ana da-an-ni i-šar-ra[-ku]*, “he (who) hands over the weak (in)to (the power of) the mighty” (Lambert, *BWL*, pp. 118 f. and Pl. 32, lines 13–14).

It would be more idiomatic (as Kraus pointed out to me) to construe line 52 as the main clause together with the preceding two lines, thus: “May all Sippar see that my lord will not coun-

tenance the surrender of the weak to the strong.” This, however, leaves the last line independent and somewhat abrupt, for not more is lacking at the end than a verb (e.g. *rašū*, *nadānu*), probably in the negative, either in the second person, that is, a reiteration of the plea to the king not to allow this to happen in the present case, or in the first person, in which case it would be the petitioner protesting his own innocence of such a design.

Line 53.—Here of course we have the echo of the well-known phrase of the Hammurapi prologue to the “Code” (ia 37 ff.) and epilogue (xxivb 59 f.): *dan-nu-um en-ša-am a-na la ḥa-ba-lim*, “to prevent the mighty from injuring the weak . . .” This is not to imply, however, that that inscription (or any other prototype of the line) was being consciously quoted by the petitioner.

THE CHARACTER OF THE TEXT

The entire tenor of the document points unmistakably to the conclusion that we have here a petition addressed to the king. Had the first two lines been a reference in the third person to the *misharum*, the writer would almost certainly have referred to him as simply *šarrum*, rather than as *bēlī*, “my lord.” Despite the long lacuna on the obverse it seems equally clear that the petitioner is not some official who is appealing a reversal of his decision by a higher authority but is himself the party to the dispute (see lines 48–49) who stood to lose by that reversal, which he claims to be unjust and illegal. Probably for the king’s benefit, the writer proceeds (lines 10 ff.)²¹ to give a history of the property in question, which was obviously the subject of litigation before the *misharum* was enacted and regarding which some decision had earlier been reached (see line 17 end), or alternatively—on the basis of the year mentioned in line 12—the status of the property had come into question at an earlier *misharum*. Shalimṭehushu, the UGULA.ŠU.I, was already involved at the earlier stage in

the actions regarding this property (lines 27–28). On the occasion of the new *misharum*, the petitioner was apparently ordered once again (possibly by the UGULA.ŠU.I) to produce documents for review by the assembly, a summons with which he complied (lines 29–30). A commission of officials, presumably acting in the name of the assembly, examined the case, apparently finding for the petitioner, in the sense that his title to the property in question was not affected by the terms of the current *misharum*. The documents in question, presumably together with the evidence of their certification by the commission, were then deposited with the UGULA.ŠU.I, either for safekeeping pending final approval by some higher authority or for his own approval. This official, without holding further hearings, overruled the commission’s decision and revoked the contracts by literally smashing the tablets. The commission that had reviewed the case refused to participate in any protest—it seemed to fear the power of the UGULA.ŠU.I (lines 44–45)—leaving the petitioner to act in his own behalf. From the last four lines of the text, I infer that the petitioner is the one who had first acquired the property in question as the result of a sale and had sought on various grounds to show that his

²¹ It is conceivable that all of the first nine lines are the protasis governed by the initial *i-nu-ma*, but this would not strike the reader as likely. It is more probable that the apodosis begins with line 7, and it is this view which the translation given attempts to reproduce.

title to it was not to be affected by the royal edict. By the act of the UGULA.ŠU.I, the petitioner is made to appear in the eyes of the citizenry of Sippar as a rich man who was trying to take advantage of the poor and whose avaricious design was thwarted by the zeal of the UGULA.ŠU.I. This imputation, the petitioner protests, is unjustified, and his petition to the king for redress is intended not only to restore to him the title over the property in question but also to vindicate his motives and his standing in the estimation of his fellow townsmen.^{21a}

It will be obvious that the present text offers

THE DATE OF THE TEXT

The only clear clue that the text itself offers for its dating is the year formula mentioned in line 12, beginning *m u b à d K i ški - a . . .*. According to the list of year-date formulas compiled by Miss B. Morgan,²² the choice for the date of this formula—not necessarily the date of the text itself—lies between Sinmuballit 15 and Samsuiluna 24.²³

A factor complicating the evidence for the date of our text is posed by the information given in yet another unpublished Old Babylonian text in the British Museum, BM 82274/5, a completely preserved tablet and case of a loan contract for a quantity of barley and silver at the standard rates of interest. Exigencies of space preclude the publication here of the full text, the stipulations of which do not in any case offer anything unusual. It is only the date of the text and its postscript which are of interest here. These are *m u - ú s - s a ^{1d}A - a - ħ e - g á l*, which is Sinmuballit 9, followed by the post-

^{21a} Or, on the basis of the interpretation of the last lines suggested by Kraus (see above, note on lines 50–51), it is the petitioner who is portraying himself as the *enšum* who has been wronged by the *dannum*, i.e., the UGULA.ŠU.I.

²² MCS IV 32–55.

²³ *Ibid.* Nos. 134 and 133/5 respectively. Miss Morgan lists a dubious *b à d K i ški* formula (No. 137) for Sumula²el 29. Apart from the unlikelihood, on paleographic grounds, that our text can be ascribed to this date, I have been unable to trace this entry to its source. According to Miss Morgan's own listings in MCS III 18 and IV 56 three tablets attest Sumula²el 29, and two of these show the expected UD.KIB.NUN^{ki} in the date formula, either in whole or in part. The third (CT VIII, Pl. 44 b) shows *m u b à d DAL (= dil, ?) - b a t Su-mu-la-el b a - d ù*, which is a still unlocated formula for this king (cf. RLA II 165).

us a rare glimpse of the practical effect of a royal edict at the time of the First Babylonian Dynasty and an all too familiar view of the plight of the individual in the eternal toils of bureaucracy. On the other hand, the readiness of the petitioner to take his cause directly to the king will probably strike the present-day reader favorably, even if he must retain a skeptical attitude toward the merits of the petitioner's case. In terms of the facts of Mesopotamian social history, however, the present text succeeds in raising many new questions rather than providing answers to old ones.

script along the left edge: *wa-ar-ki šar-rum di-pa-ar* KÙ.GI *iš-šu-ú*, "after the king raised high the Golden Torch."

One immediately senses that the allusion to this ceremony in such a laconic fashion was sufficient for any contemporary to identify it as a reference to a *misharum*-act. The reference to the ceremony therefore served exactly the same purpose as the more explicit phrases otherwise found in parallel contexts: *warki RN mišaram iškunu*, *warki šimdatim*, etc.²⁴ Should it be assumed that the ceremony of the Golden Torch as a signal for a *misharum* was peculiar to Sinmuballit, we would then have to infer further that BM 80318 refers to a second (or third) *misharum* of this king, one that took place in his fifteenth year or later. It seems to me more reasonable to assume, despite the absence of further evidence, that the ceremony of the Golden Torch probably accompanied the announcement of a *misharum* for the First Babylonian Dynasty as a whole and might even have been part of the ceremonies attending the *misharum* in other cities as well. On this assumption we would have to admit the possibility of the *misharum* of our text being one of Hammurapi or of Samsuiluna, even if the date in line 12 proved to be Sinmuballit 15.²⁵ For the mention of this year in our

²⁴ For the different phrases used to denote the *misharum* see SD V, chaps. xiv–xv. The *misharum* of Sinmuballit's 9th year is otherwise referred to as the *šimdatum*.

²⁵ Litigation in Old Babylonian records involving contracts drawn up in earlier generations is not uncommon; see e.g. VAB V, No. 317, a litigation of Samsuiluna 18 which states explicitly that it concerns a real-estate sale concluded in year 9 of Hammurapi, i.e., 52 years earlier. Among the unpublished

text is probably to be construed not as the date of the *misharum* in question but as a point of reference, or as the date of the real-estate transaction that was at the root of the legal dispute.

The latest possible date of the formula in line 12 is Samsuiluna 24. Should this ultimately prove to be the correct date, we would be obliged to follow our reasoning expressed above and infer therefore that the *misharum* of the text was one that was proclaimed still later in the reign.

LEGAL IMPLICATIONS

The most substantial contribution of BM 80318 to the social history of the Old Babylonian period is the confirmation it provides for the existence in Mesopotamia at this time of certain attitudes and institutions affecting real estate which are revealed in more obvious form in the civilization at Nuzi around the middle of the second millennium B.C. and in biblical law. The attitudes amounted essentially to a resistance in principle to the alienation of patrimonial land, the establishment of procedures and institutions for the redemption of such land after it had been alienated, or—as was the case at Nuzi²⁶—to cloaking such alienations in a formal dress that would retain the pretense of loyalty to the sacrosanct principle. In Babylonia, where historical and environmental factors (that we need not enter into here) differed so drastically from those that determined biblical legislation, such feelings about patrimonial land might have been attenuated but were not totally extinct.²⁷

The one surviving prescriptive statement attesting the existence of this attitude is § 39 of

contracts of the Morgan collection at Yale there are references in late Old Babylonian records to contracts drawn up in the time of Sinmuballit.

²⁶ See F. R. Steele, *Nuzi Real Estate Transactions* ("American Oriental Series" XXV [1943]) pp. 14 ff.

²⁷ The fact that Mesopotamian prescriptive "legislation" is less often apodictic and generalizing than the biblical and almost never offers explicitly the principle or rationale that underlay its specific rules should not beguile the student into the belief that such principles or "ideals" did not exist in particular fields. It may well prove to be that the Babylonians were no less concerned—on the ideal level—with the preservation of patrimonial integrity than the Israelites; on the other hand, were there to be found documents illustrating Israelite practice in this regard as there have been in Mesopotamia, the gap between theory and practice in the one society might prove after all to have been just as wide as in the other.

In the light of the evidence that *misharum*-acts were proclaimed periodically (see pp. 243–46), the remaining fourteen years of Samsuiluna's reign constituted a span long enough to warrant such an additional enactment. A later date than Samsuiluna seems precluded, as suggested at the outset, by the paleography of the tablet. Within the possible limits, however, we do not have as yet the prosopographic evidence that would help to narrow the choice still further.

the "Laws of Eshnunna."²⁸ It provides that a person constrained to sell his house because of straitened economic circumstances (*enēšu*) retains a redemptory right of a sort when (and if?)²⁹ the buyer offers it for resale.³⁰ The well-known biblical analogy to this rule, which Goetze himself noted,³¹ is that of Lev. 25:25 ff. It similarly provides for redemption of patrimonial land sold out of dire necessity, either by the seller or by his close relative, at any time after the sale but stipulates in addition that under any circumstances the land in question is to revert unconditionally to the seller at the beginning of the jubilee year.³²

A number of surviving contracts from the Old Babylonian period seem to attest precisely the exercise of this prerogative and were so identified by the scholars dealing with them.³³ One of

²⁸ See A. Goetze, *The Laws of Eshnunna* (AASOR XXXI [1956]) pp. 105 f.

²⁹ The formulation of the rule plainly implies that it was unthinkable that anyone would part with his inherited real property of his own volition. There might also be the parallel inference that the "buyer" of the land—in the first instance, at least—was a creditor of the impecunious seller or someone who held over him some other obligation that had fallen due or even a "speculator" who was always ready to buy up real estate from people sorely in need of ready "money." In any case there appears to be the presumption that the property in question would be put up for resale as a matter of course. The cases cited below (*BE VI 2*, Nos. 38 and 64) might illustrate a part of just such a chain of transactions.

³⁰ Restore in Goetze's transliteration: *u₄-um ša-a-ya-ma-nu i-na-ad-di-nu* as per translation and the autograph copy (Goetze, *op. cit.* pp. 191, iii 26 f., and 196, iii 11).

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 113.

³² With the exception of house-lots within walled cities, for which the redemptory privilege is lost at the end of a full year from the date of sale.

³³ The full literature is cited by Goetze, *op. cit.* p. 113, n. 21. The relevant documents were collected by M. San Nicolò, *Die*

these, *BE VI 2*, No. 64, is of special interest and must be studied together with *BE VI 2*, No. 38, for they both pertain to the same plot of land. In No. 38 the plot is bought from a seller who is not identified as having possessed it as any kind of patrimony. In No. 64 the same plot is "redeemed" from the more recent purchaser by a person who owns the neighboring plot, the redeemed plot being explicitly described as part of his patrimony. What this case implies, therefore, is that redemption privilege was not restricted to the time of first resale and perhaps not even to times when the plot in question came on the "market." In other words, the privilege might have been even closer in scope to the biblical rule than would appear from § 39 of the "Laws of Eshnunna."

From the existence of Old Babylonian deeds of sale for land as well as other types of contracts relating to real estate,³⁴ all of which include explicit references to *misharum*-type acts,³⁵ the inference is also plain that at least certain of these royal acts affected directly the retention of title to purchased immovable property; the postscript in certain contracts, noting that the sale was concluded *after a misharum* had been proclaimed, was obviously designed to protect the new titleholder against potential litigations based on that *misharum*. Some of the surviving records of litigation over real estate of the Old Babylonian period plainly revolve around the question of the relevance of a *misharum*-act to the disposition of the title to the property in question.³⁶

Our own text can therefore be seen as supply-

Schlussklauseln der altbabylonischen Kauf- und Tauschverträge (München, 1922) pp. 9 f. The characteristic formula of these documents is (*egel*) *bīt abīsu ip̄tur* = (Sum.) é - a d - d a - n i ì - d u s , "(the field of) his patrimony he redeemed."

³⁴ These are contracts couched in the form of exchange agreements, which are analyzed in *SD V*, chap. xv.

³⁵ These are collected and included among the letters and documents enumerated consecutively *ibid.* chaps. xiv and xvi. Those relevant here are Nos. 10, 13, 23, 25, 29, 30, all of which are sale contracts for real estate.

³⁶ These are *YOS VIII*, No. 52, a litigation over an orchard *aššum šimdat šarrim* of Rim-Sin 25 (*SD V* 203, No. 11); *TCL X*, No. 105, of Rim-Sin 31 (*SD V* 205, No. 20); Jean, *Tell Sifr*, No. 58 (= *VAB V*, No. 259) of Hammurapi 41 (see comments in *SD V* 207 f., No. 26); *CT VI*, Pl. 42 a (= *VAB V*, No. 274; see *SD V* 224, No. 27), in which the seller fails to get his orchard back.

ing a unifying thread for a series of legal texts of seemingly unrelated types and enabling us for the first time to descry the rudimentary outlines of a well-established institution that retained living force in Old Babylonian society. And it was not merely an institution that was honored only in the breach. Astounding as it must appear to our normally skeptical eyes, there is no way of discounting the factual account of our text that at the promulgation of the *misharum* formal commissions were established to review real-estate sales and that they in fact executed their mandate in a presumably conscientious manner. In other words, we would not be justified in dismissing the *misharum* institution—insofar as it was concerned with purely economic matters—as a pious but futile gesture. To be sure, we have as yet no way of knowing what percentages of the real-estate sales would have been theoretically subject to the effect of the *misharum*, nor the conditions which would have included some but not other land transfers within the meaning and scope of the act,³⁷ nor yet the devices resorted to by the persons concerned to evade the consequences of the act and the relative success of such evasion. In the light of the very existence of a text such as *BM 80318*, however, at least a fair degree of effectiveness must be conceded to the *misharum* institution, and the periodic re-appearance of the *misharum* must be rooted in grounds other than any inherent futility of the measure itself.³⁸

³⁷ Apart, of course, from the certainty that patrimonial lands (*zittu*) would fall within the affected category.

³⁸ As suggested by J. Bottéro in his article based on the Edict of Ammišaduqa, "Désordre économique supposé par le 'rétablissement de l'équité,'" *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* IV (1961) 160 f. Bottéro is, of course, correct to emphasize that the *misharum* institution is not to be thought of as a real reform, in the sense that there was envisaged in it any basic alteration in the social or economic structure, but rather that the measure had the modest goal of mitigating the extreme imbalances that were the inevitable consequence of a basically inequitable society. The *misharum*, on this account, might best be characterized as a specific against symptoms rather than against the disease, and hence there was necessity for its reapplication every few years. While my own appraisal of the measure (*JCS XV* 103 f.) was perhaps overly optimistic, the documentary evidence nevertheless suggests that within its limitations (and apart from outright revolution does any modern state intend anything more ambitious by its socio-economic legislation?) the *misharum* did attain some measure of effective force in the economic life of the times. One might even say that it was precisely the *mish-*

THE PERIODICITY OF THE *MISHARUM*-ACT

There is now an accumulation of evidence sufficient to show that royal acts which can generically be characterized as *misharum*-acts were not limited in occurrence to the beginning of a king's reign. For the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon before Hammurapi, as well as for the kings of the Larsa Dynasty, we do not have the direct information that would enable us to pinpoint with any precision the years in which such enactments took place, since the custom had not yet arisen whereby the kings signalized such acts in their year-names. All that we have to go by at present are the allusions to such acts in private documents, some of which are not even dated except as the name of the current ruler is given in the oath formula. Only prosopographic studies are of any avail in such cases in determining the actual date of the enactment, and even then—assuming the success of such analysis—there can be no exactitude other than indicating a more or less brief span of years during which the enactment may have taken place.

For Rim-Sin of Larsa there is a record of at least three such enactments, falling at about the 26th, 35th, and 41st years of his reign.³⁹ For the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon before Hammurapi we are on more tentative grounds, because of the limited use of year dating in the contracts of the period. Nothing can therefore be said about the date of the known *misharum* of Sumula²el.⁴⁰ In fact it is not even possible to say whether all the relevant references to this king's enactment allude to a single occasion. We are certain, on the basis of previous evidence⁴¹

ture of its measure of success with ineffectiveness over the longer range that recommended it to the rulers and helped to institutionalize the *misharum* in its regular, recurrent form.

³⁹ See Landsberger in *SD II 231* and Kraus, *SD V 203 ff.* One might postulate, however, an even earlier *misharum* in the reign of Rim-Sin on the basis of *TCL X*, No. 40 (*SD V 203*, No. 10), dated to Rim-Sin 15, and still another on the basis of *YOS VIII*, No. 110, of Rim-Sin 49, which, as Kraus himself observed (*SD V 207*, No. 25) is hardly to be related to the *misharum* of year 41. Thus we may have to reckon with at least five such enactments by Rim-Sin, despite the curious *warki šimdat šarrim 3-k a m - m a* of *VAS XIII*, No. 81 (*SD V 207*, No. 23).

⁴⁰ *SD V 224-25*, Nos. 27-31.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 225, No. 32.

and from *BM 82274/5*, that Sinmuballit enacted a *misharum* in his eighth or ninth year.

Hammurapi enacted a *misharum* in his first year, which is commemorated in the formula for his second year. There is no direct evidence for such enactments in subsequent years of Hammurapi, but it would be a safe guess that the formula for his 22nd year, *a l a n Ḫ . l u g a l - n í g - s i - s á*, conceals an allusion to precisely such a *misharum*-act in his 21st or 22nd year. And there is sufficient ground to postulate another enactment of the same kind in Hammurapi's twelfth year. A legal suit, dated in this year, concerning some real estate, was brought by the plaintiff *ina šimdat šarrim*.⁴² Landsberger rejected the possibility that the phrase in that instance could refer to a *misharum*.⁴³ But the internal evidence of the document speaks rather for such an association. The suit is one in which the seller of a field, which he describes as being part of his inheritance, sues the buyer for the return of the property. There is nothing in the testimony to suggest that the purchase was not *bona fide* nor that the price had not been paid.⁴⁴

⁴² *VAS VII*, No. 7 (= *VAB V*, No. 307) lines 4 ff.

⁴³ *SD II 231 j.*

⁴⁴ In line 11 of this text Landsberger reads *a-na dup-pu-um la sa-ru-ma id-di-nu-šu-ma*, "They remanded him [i.e., the defendant, the buyer of the field] (to swear the oath before the deity) that the tablet was not fraudulent." While this reading certainly makes sense, the possibility of a *misharum* background for the litigation is not at all precluded by it. Apart from such a background, a suit by the vendor against the buyer of some real estate normally revolves either around the non-payment of the agreed price (not the issue in this case) or the discovery that the actual dimensions of the plot exceeded those to be understood at the time of sale, in which case the settlement takes the form of an additional payment by the buyer for the area in excess; see e.g. *VAB V*, Nos. 275, 276, (not a sale but an exchange of plots), 278 (in which a check of the dimensions proved that the plot was too small rather than excessive, so that the seller had to deliver to the buyer an additional plot). From the wording of *VAS VII*, No. 7, however, it would not appear that this was the issue. In the first place, the phrase *ina šimdat šarrim* (line 4) does not appear in any of the other cases of the categories just mentioned. Secondly, by the terms of the settlement, which was reached amicably (*imtagru*, line 16), the buyer retains only one *ikū* of the field, whose total dimensions were not stated at the outset; a comparison with the dimensions of fields involved in other sale contracts would suggest that this represented one fourth or less of the total area. In other words, the sale was *bona fide* but was, in effect, nullified by an extraneous factor, which could only have been

The case is indeed settled by the decision to return most of the field in question to the plaintiff (seller), the buyer being left with only a token fraction of the field. The most reasonable ground of the suit, therefore, is to assume a *misharum* as the background to which the phrase *ina šimdat šarrim* might well allude. This view is supported by still another document, an unpublished text from Sippar (BM 82064) that is dated to Hammurapi 13. It concerns a loan of a quantity of silver, the tablet for which (lines 5 ff.) *i-[na še]-em-da-at LUGAL tup-pa-am a-na [he]-pé-em ú-ul i-di-im 'ha'-li-iq iq-bi-i-ma*, which I would render thus: "The tablet he did not hand over(?) for cancellation at the royal *šimdatum*. 'It is lost,' he (the creditor) said." An unusual symbolic action is then performed in which a clod of earth is broken in lieu of the tablet (*ki-ma tup-pi ki-ir-ba-na-am he-pé-e*).⁴⁵ The standard phraseology of such texts then resumes, in which the original tablet, should it ever again turn up, is to be considered null and void. In this text, too, there is nothing to indicate that the debt had been paid (as the grounds for the cancellation), so that the only obvious ground for the action is the *misharum*. That we have two texts, from successive years, the twelfth and thirteenth of Hammurapi, strengthens the case that both relate to a *misharum* that occurred in the twelfth year. This conclusion, in turn, might suggest that *CT VIII*, Pl. 35 b, an undated text with Hammurapi oath but with the *warki šimdat šarrim* clause, is also to be associated with a *misharum* of Hammurapi 12.⁴⁶

Finally, we might also have to reckon with still another *misharum*, enacted by Hammurapi

the intervention of the *misharum*. The fraction remaining in the possession of the buyer might have been in consideration of some factor in the negotiation which the extant document does not specify.

⁴⁵ On this symbolic action see now E. Cassin in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* V (1962) 133 ff. In the light of the present occurrence, however, the gesture may represent quite simply the substitution of a clod of earth for a document in the Nuzi occurrences as well; in the disinheritance procedure, the smashing of the *kirbanum* signified the abrogation of a theretofore legal and binding mutual relationship for which no original contract need even have existed.

⁴⁶ See *SD V* 225, No. 34, for the inconclusive prosopographic evidence for the dating of the text.

after his 30th year, if the *šimdat šarrim* clause in *RA XXI* 43, No. 56:9, is to be understood as an allusion to such an enactment.⁴⁷ In this case the official writing reports the reversion of the sold field to the seller. Possibly four *misharum* enactments might therefore be postulated for Hammurapi, in years 1, 12–13, 20–21, 30+.

For Samsuiluna we have of course the evidence from the formula of his second year of the *misharum* enacted in his first year.⁴⁸ New evidence will be shortly available for the enactment of a *misharum* by Samsuiluna also in his 8th year.⁴⁹ There is also the possibility that a similar enactment took place in yet another year.⁵⁰

Abiesuh enacted a *misharum* in his first or second year and then once again later in his reign, as evidenced by his formula for year "s."⁵¹ We shall not be able, however, to determine the exact year in which that event took place until the chronological sequence of this king's year dates becomes known.

Ammititana also enacted a *misharum* in his first or second year, as evidenced by the formula for his second year, and then once again in his 20th or 21st year,⁵² as evidenced by the formula for his 21st year.

⁴⁷ Cf. Landsberger in *SD II* 232 k. The letter is part of the Larsa correspondence and thus cannot be earlier than Hammurapi's 30th year. It is of course possible that, upon Hammurapi's defeat of Rim-Sin and the incorporation of the latter's domains within his own realm, a *misharum* was enacted by Hammurapi for these southern regions only, which need not have had effect in the north.

⁴⁸ *SD V* 227, No. 36, which is the date formula for the second year. As regards No. 35 (*ibid.* p. 226), a letter of Samsuiluna which speaks of his accession to the throne and his enactment of a *misharum*, it is highly doubtful that it refers to a *misharum* independent of the one commemorated in the formula for the second year. This of course leaves unsolved the problem of the *ú s - s a* formulas attested for the early months of the second year found on some contracts (cf. *SD V*, *loc. cit.*).

⁴⁹ See the text published by Kraus in the present volume (pp. 225–31).

⁵⁰ Here I refer to a letter (*VAB VI*, No. 207), with the reservations about its dating already expressed by Kraus (*SD V* 227). If the text is to be dated by Samsuiluna, then the content, in which a creditor writes to his debtor in anticipation of a future royal *misharum*-act, would suggest that it refers to an enactment subsequent to the one proclaimed at the king's accession.

⁵¹ For date formula for year 2 see *SD V* 228, No. 38. For the *misharum* of year "s" see *ibid.* Nos. 39–40; see also n. 55 below.

⁵² *SD V* 228–29, Nos. 41–42.

Amiṣaduqa's now-famous *misharum* Edict reflects this king's enactment in his first year, commemorated in his formula for the first year. But another enactment of the same kind is commemorated in the formula for his tenth year⁵³ and must have occurred in either the ninth or tenth year.

We have no certain information as yet about any *misharum*-type enactments of Samsuditana, the last king of the First Dynasty of Babylon. However, if Landsberger is proved correct in his surmise about the connotation of *inim-zi(d)* in date formulas,⁵⁴ then a *misharum* might be postulated for this king's second or third year.

From the foregoing it will be seen that it is not yet possible to establish any fixed interval of recurrence of *misharum* enactments. The most suggestive analogy is of course that offered by the provisions of the biblical jubilee year (Lev. 25:8 ff.) and by the Deuteronomic version of the prescriptions for the sabbatical year (Deut. 15).⁵⁵ But apart from this analogy, the inner logic of the situation—once the recurrent character of the *misharum* is established, as it now is for the Old Babylonian period at least—requires the further presupposition that enactments of this type had to recur *at fairly regular or predictable intervals*.⁵⁶ Were this not the case, and had the kings been free to announce the *misharum* without warning and at widely disparate intervals, there would have occurred a drying-up of the sources of credit and a virtual

paralysis of economic activity every few years—after a reasonable lapse of time from the previous enactment. At worst, arbitrariness in such activity on the part of the crown would have served only to encourage subterfuges on the part of creditors and debtors, buyers and sellers, etc. to avoid being affected by the *misharum*, so that the very purpose of the act would have been frustrated. As it was, the provisions of these acts anticipated a certain amount of skullduggery and fraud aimed at circumventing the effect of the edict, and the prescription of the death penalty for such practices⁵⁷—even if we take it solely as *in terrorem*—proves that such circumventive arrangements were not uncommon.

We are therefore led unavoidably to the hypothesis that the institution of the *misharum* was not only of periodic occurrence but, apart from the period of the royal accession, took place also at fairly regular intervals thereafter. Not all such acts—at least not those occurring over a relatively short span of time—need have covered the same types of obligations, nor need all of them have been applicable over the same extent of territory; some, perhaps the *misharum* of BM 80318 for example, might have been directed to one city only. Here we are already in the realm of too many unknowns. To test this hypothesis, the extant contractual and legal documents of the period would have to be analyzed and classified along lines not yet undertaken in any systematic way, for example by city (where such evidence is certain), date, subject matter (loan, sale of real estate, etc.). Correlations would have to be carried out with such data as frequencies of different kinds of contracts by dates, differentials in interest rates,⁵⁸ rents, sales prices, etc. for roughly comparable areas of land in different years. The cumulative data in the various categories might then be plotted along a span of years which would include a significant number in which *misharum*-acts were known to have

⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 229, No. 46.

⁵⁴ *JNES* XIV 149 f., formula for Samsuditana's third year.

⁵⁵ Allowing for the ambiguity still prevailing over the question of whether an event commemorated in a year-name occurred in the same year or in the previous year, the closest approximations to the seven-year cycle from the middle of the First Babylonian Dynasty onward are therefore:

Yr. 1–2: presumably all.

8–10: Sinmuballit, Samsuiluna, Amiṣaduqa.

14–16: Sinmuballit? (doubtful interpretation of BM 80318, line 12).

21–22: Hammurapi(?), Ammiditana.

This, it must be admitted, is very inconclusive at best for an exact parallel to the seven-year cycle, and most of the additional evidence would not support it at all.

⁵⁶ Cf. also *SD* V 227 apropos of the Old Babylonian letter referred to in n. 50 above.

⁵⁷ See e.g. §§ 4'–5' of Amiṣaduqa's Edict (*SD* V 28 ff.).

⁵⁸ See Leemans in *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité* V (1950) 7 ff., where he establishes the fixed rates of interest in the Old Babylonian period as 33½% for corn and 20% for silver, but some aberrant cases of higher rates are also known (*ibid.* p. 21, n. 52).

taken place. We might then detect a series of regular fluctuations in prices, interest rates (at least marginal ones), etc. and simple frequency fluctuations. If our hypothesis proves valid, the years immediately preceding a *misharum* should show a low rate of frequency in transactions in general, higher interest rates, lower sales prices for real estate, etc. (the risk to the potential buyer and creditor being then much greater). Additional *misharum*-acts might even be postulated where none are now known if suggested by the

emergent pattern. The period immediately after a *misharum* would be expected to show a pattern that would be the reverse image of that of the years before such an enactment. All this, naturally, presupposes that the extant documents are sufficiently representative and of a quantity sufficient to warrant such an analysis—a presupposition that is admittedly optimistic. Nevertheless, if we hope to probe any deeper into the social reality of the *misharum*, studies along the lines just suggested will have to be undertaken.

DEAD OF NIGHT

ERICA REINER

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When Pantagruel and Panurge approach the oracle of Bacbuc, "la dive Bouteille," they are enjoined to observe silence in that hallowed place: "là estoit le lieu auquel convenoit favoriser par suppression de parolles et taciturnité de langues."¹ Culling the Akkadian phrases for "suppression of talk" and "taciturnity of tongues" in the light of the etymological prototype of Rabelais's term *favorer*,² the Latin phrase *favere linguis*, we are led upon a road of philological analysis that it is only fair to dedicate as tribute to the master of philological method in Assyriology, Benno Landsberger.

The final injunction in certain ancient Mesopotamian exorcistic rituals is in Sumerian formulation *e m e . ħ u l . g á l b a r . š è ħ é . i m . t a . g u b* and in Akkadian translation *lišānu lemuttu ana ahāti lizziz*, with the literal meaning "let the evil tongue stand aside." The section of these rituals—apotropaic rituals, conjurations, *Kultmittelbeschwörungen*—which ends with this line asks either that the man for whom the ritual is performed "be purified" (from the evil that has befallen or that threatens him) or that "the evil be taken away, skyward by the birds, into the deep by the fish."

Since in these sections of the rituals the words *e m e . ħ u l . g á l* or *lišānu lemuttu*, "evil tongue," do not appear parallel to "evil demon," "evil god," "evil spirit," "evil mouth," etc., the standard enumeration of evil powers, the particular reference to the evil tongue in this context is surprising.³ An examination of the set-

ting of the ritual will lead us toward an understanding of its mention; moreover, we are fortunate to be able to refer to a classical parallel to understand both the setting of the ritual and the phrasing of its last injunction.

The classical parallel is, of course, the Latin phrase referred to above. In the imperative form *favete linguis* it was uttered by the herald at the performance of a sacrifice; I shall return to the translation and the popular etymology of these words presently. In this situation this injunction was a call for silence, in order that no accidental utterance of bad portent interfere with or annul the rites to be performed.

The need for silence during the performance of a rite, the so-called cultic silence or holy silence, has often been studied in connection with classical and primitive religions and with the Christian liturgy, to which I shall return presently. In the following I would like to give first a few examples from cuneiform literature which indicate that in ancient Mesopotamia as well certain rites were to be performed in silence in order to be protected against a chance utterance of bad portent.⁴ This is the setting in which the words "let the evil tongue stand aside" receive their natural interpretation.

The longest description of a quiet—and nocturnal—setting for a ritual is contained in the "Prayer to the 'Gods of the Night,'" published by Oppenheim in *Analecta Biblica* XII (1959) 282 ff. In the Old Babylonian version of this prayer we read (*ibid.* p. 296): "Night has put on her veil; the palace is quiet, the countryside does not utter a sound." In the Standard Babylonian version these lines are phrased as follows (*ibid.* p. 287): "My lips are clean, my hands washed; the countryside is quiet, the land does not utter a sound, the cattle have been placed in the folds, the people are asleep, the doors (of the

¹ Rabelais, *Le Cinquième et dernier livre des faits et dits heroïques du bon Pantagruel* (Paris, 1957) chap. xxxv.

² Incidentally, this further indication that "Rabelais fut miraculeusement instruit dans les sciences cunéiformes" would have delighted Boissier, author of "Rabelais et l'assyriologie," *Revue d'études Rabelaisiennes* IX (1911) 127 f. (cf. Boissier in *RA* VIII [1911] 34 f.).

³ Cf. ". . . das häufige Vorkommen von *e m e . ħ u l . g á l*, der 'Bösen Zunge' [ist] deshalb besonders beachtenswert, weil sie in den sonstigen Beschwörungstypen nur äusserst selten erscheint" (Falkenstein, *Haupttypen* p. 80).

⁴ Sumerian *inim.gar*, Akkadian *egirra*; see Oppenheim in *Afo* XVII (1954-56) 49 ff.

houses) are locked, the city gates are closed." Still other versions of this prayer offer, with slight variations, a description of the city asleep (*ibid.* pp. 291 f.). In the Old Babylonian text the description of the silent night introduces the request of a haruspex for a propitious sign in his extispicy; in the recensions that we know only from later copies, the nocturnal ritual is exorcistic. Nocturnal setting for both purposes is attested elsewhere, too. Nocturnal extispicy is known from the Cassite period, from the report published by Scheil in *RA XIV* (1917) 146b and from the collection of reports published by Lutz in *JAOS XXXVIII* (1918) 77 ff.⁵ The latter text, since its publication, has been considered, according to a suggestion by Lutz, a report on

⁵ The introductory formulas to the Cassite extispicy reports use the optative to state the query to which the extispicy is to give a favorable or unfavorable answer, a formulation which occurs, instead of the *šumma*-clause, in some protases of omens. These queries can now be better understood since the publication of reports on acts of extispicy by Goetze in *JCS XI* (1957) 89 ff. Six of the eight Cassite reports there published or cited contain such queries, and, of these six, No. 17 (= *JAOS XXXVIII* 77 ff.) contains several and, incidentally, the clearest example of all. This is the introduction to the last section (line 56): *ana harrāni lillik*, "should he start on a journey (or campaign)"; this statement of the query is followed by the report on the findings of the extispicy. The three preceding reports in the same texts are all introduced by the same formula, in which only the divine name differs: *liš-pur-ma* ⁴*Nin-lil li-se-ep-pu-ú* (line 37), *liš-pur-ma* ⁴*Nusku KI.MIN* (line 45), *liš-pur-ma* *MUL.KAK.SI.SÁ KI.MIN* (line 51), to be translated perhaps "should he give orders that they pray to(?) DN." The same verb *suppá* is used in the query introducing the reports Nos. 19 and 20 (Scheil in *RA XIV* 146a and 146b): [. . .]-*šu ša-ab-tu*, *EN.KUR.KUR*/⁴*Nusku li-se-ep-pi*, the beginning to be restored perhaps [*mala libba*]*šu*, i.e., the query would be translated "should he pray to DN for whatever is on his mind." Another query asks whether the performance of a ritual to conciliate the angry god should take place: *nēpišam ana DINGIR.ŠÁ.DIB.BA lišēpišūšu* (No. 16 = *BE XIV*, No. 4). No. 18 (= *JCS XI* 90, CBS 12696) begins with x x x *aššum šulmāna ana* ⁴*INNIN la ušēbilu ašar panūšu šaknu lillikma u ina elē šulmāna ana* ⁴*INNIN lišēbil*, ". . . because he had brought no gift to Ištar, should he go wherever he intends to and bring a gift to Ištar when he comes back (lit. 'up')?" The fragmentary introduction to No. 22 (= *JCS XI* 92, CBS 10493) and the obscure end of the first section of No. 17 clarify each other. In No. 22 we may read [. . .] *li-iq-qú-ú* [*EN.KUR.KUR ana hi-ti* [*la*] *i-ša-ab-ba-ta-aš-šu*, "should he perform a sacrifice (restore *niqī* or *maqīta*?), (so that) Enlil does not hold it against him as a sin," and consequently we must emend line 8 of No. 17 to *ana lemutti la i(!)-šab(!)-ba(!)-ta-aš-šu*.

The translation of *lišēpi* given above is based on the assumption that the verb is *suppá*, "to pray." This is uncertain because in the subscript to one of the Old Babylonian reports the infinitive of the simple stem is used: *ša ta-ri-im ù se-pi-im* (No. 11 = *YOS X*, No. 8), which is to be connected with *ša*

livers "seen by the *bārū* in a dream"; I propose, however, that we follow the suggestion of Scheil in *RA XIV* 150 and note to line 9 and interpret the signs *MÁŠ.GE₆* not as "dream" (*šuttu*) but as "nocturnal extispicy," to be read in Akkadian probably *bār mūši* (cf. *tabrūt mūši* in Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* [1956] pp. 225 f.). This interpretation is borne out by the subscript of the Cassite report in *RA XIV* 146b, which states: *MÁŠ GE₆ šī ana damiqtim*, "this nocturnal extispicy portends favorable omens." The demonstrative *šī* after *MÁŠ GE₆* is in the feminine either because it refers to *mūšu*, "night," or because the reading of *MÁŠ* here is *tabrītu* rather than *bīru*.

Another divination to be performed in the dead of night is one which derives portents from dreams; in *STT I*, No. 73, for which see my article in *JNES XIX* (1960) 23 ff., the person who wishes to receive an omen in his dream performs a ritual "when people sleep and silence has fallen" (line 82).

The words rendered above by "silence," "to be silent," etc. are Akkadian *šuharruru* and *qūlu*. The latter word, and the verb from which it is derived, has a curious history in Assyriology. Delitzsch, *HWB*, p. 582, differentiates two verbs, *qālu I*, "to shout," and *qālu II*, "to heed," and to each of these stems assigns a noun *qūlu*. In *ZDMG LXXIV* (1920) 441 Landsberger remarked that the meaning "to heed" developed from the meaning "to be silent" which is established from a vocabulary passage cited by Ebeling in *ZDMG LXXIV* 178.⁶ The references to *qālu*, "to shout," were eventually all interpreted in some other fashion, and it was finally established that there is no more than one verb *qālu* and that it contains no antonymy⁷ meaning both "to shout" and its opposite "to be silent" but has only the meanings "to be silent," "to heed." On the other hand, the Sumerian corre-

tārim, written *ša gur* in No. 17, lines 13 and 25, both of which introduce a second extispicy report; hence *ša tārim* possibly refers to the second performance of the extispicy, although this is normally expressed in these reports by the term *piqittum* (see Goetze in *JCS XI* 95).

⁶ *qālu* = *sakātu*, Izbu Comm. 141.

⁷ Such words have been discussed by Nöldeke, "Wörter mit Gegensinn (*Aqdād*)," *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Strassburg, 1910) pp. 67 ff.

spondence to *qālu*, n í g . m e . g a r , is taken to have the twofold meaning "to be silent" (Akkadian correspondence *qālu*, *qūlu*) and "to shout," "to jubilate" (Akkadian correspondence *rīšātu*); see in the last instance Falkenstein, *Götterlieder*, pp. 75 f.

It is beyond the scope of this article to examine whether any of the occurrences of *qālu* and *qūlu* might still be connected with the sphere of meaning "to shout," "to jubilate," "to applaud," or the like, as, for instance, the occurrences of Sumerian n í g . m e . g a r ; I prefer here to draw a parallel, cultural and semantic, to illustrate the possibilities of a philological approach that other, more fortunate, disciplines have been able to apply.

The semantic parallel is the Greek verb *euphemein* and the Latin phrase *favere linguis*. *Euphemein* is given the dictionary definition "avoid all unlucky words during sacred rites, hence, as the surest mode of avoiding them, keep a religious silence." A second definition given to this verb is "shout in triumph."⁸ Benveniste has shown how from its etymological meaning, "to speak words of good portent," *euphemein* has developed, in certain situations, the meaning "to keep silent": "Il n'existe pas de *euphemein* 'garder le silence' employé librement en contexte narratif au sens de *siōpan*, mais seulement des circonstances dans le culte où l'invitation à 'parler auspicieusement' (*euphemein*), lancée par le héraut, oblige d'abord l'assistance à faire cesser tous autres propos."⁹

The expression used in parallel situations by the Romans is *favete linguis*. The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, similarly to the two definitions of *euphemein*, gives these two meanings under the special meanings of *favere*: A. *favete* corresponding to *euphemeite*, that is, "Keep silent!" and B. *i.q. plaudere, applaudere, cum clamore consalutare* (Vol. VI 1, pp. 376 f.). The popular etymology of *favete linguis* as "to favor with words" is evidenced by a remark of Seneca (*De vita beata* xxvi. 7) cited by Kurt Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (1960) p. 386, n. 8: "hoc ver-

bum non ut plerique existimant a favore trahitur, sed imperat silentium ut rite peragi possit sacrum nulla mala voce opstrepente."

The semantic evolution retraced by Benveniste from "to speak words of good portent" to "to keep silent" may be applied to parallel situations. In the cultures and rites dependent on classical antiquity there are numerous references to similar calls for silence in cultic situations, some of which are cited by Mensching.¹⁰ Some of the more striking parallels in the Eastern Mass rites may be cited here, after Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia* (English ed.; 1950): "In the interpretation of the Syrian liturgy . . . (9th cent.) . . . the deacon, before the first lessons, cries out 'Sit down and be quiet,' before each of the other lessons, 'Be quiet!'" (*ibid.* Vol. I 406, n. 15). "In the Mozarabic Mass . . . after the greeting [Dominus vobiscum] preceding the second lesson another song is inserted, whereupon the deacon calls for quiet: *Silentium facite*" (*ibid.* n. 12). Note further "There is also evidence here and there in the West of an admonition to be quiet. . . . At the Duomo in Milan the custom is still preserved of having a deacon and two *custodi* call out to the people at the start of the Gospel at High Mass: *Parcite fabulis, silentium habete, habete silentium!*" (*ibid.* n. 15).

The "cultic silence" also found its way into the Byzantine court ceremonial. "Diese Bedeutung scheint noch durch in der nur im Zeremonienbuch gebrauchten Wendung *silention didónai*, womit jene Anweisung bezeichnet wird, mit welcher der im persönlichen Dienst des Kaisers stehende Praepositus während einer Zeremonie den Beteiligten ein Zeichen gibt zu schweigen, oder sich zu sammeln oder zu entfernen (De Caerim. 108-9, 157)."¹¹

To draw a perfect semantic parallel between the classical and Akkadian terms, I would need to show that Akkadian *qālu*, too, had at one time the meaning "to speak auspicious words" and only subsequently acquired the meaning "to be silent." Not only can I not prove this, but I

⁸ Liddell, Scott, and Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, cited by Émile Benveniste in "Euphémismes anciens et modernes," *Festschrift für Professor W. Havers (Die Sprache I [1949])* pp. 116-22.

⁹ Benveniste, *op. cit.* p. 117.

¹⁰ Gustav Mensching, *Das heilige Schweigen* ("Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten" XX 2 [Giessen, 1926]).

¹¹ Aikatherine Christophilopulu, "Silention," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* XLIV (1951) 79.

would like to stress that I do not consider it relevant to the point I wish to make.

To be sure, one could cite such examples as the translations of *n í g . m e . g a r* with both *qūlu* and *rīšātu* in the vocabularies (see Falkenstein, *Götterlieder*, p. 75), but they would provide no gain in semantic insight nor a step forward in our philological investigation. On the contrary, the above examples from classical literature, which could be multiplied from the abundant examples provided by the sophisticated methods and rich results of classical and Romance philology, show how one could and should proceed if one only had the necessary material available. What the lexicographer of Akkadian would have to show in this case is not necessarily a close analogy in the semantic development of *qālu* and its derivatives to that of *euphemein* but, more important, whether and how, within the range and limitations of Akkadian contexts, the meanings “to heed” and “to be silent” are interrelated. The Sumerian lexicographer, on the other hand, faced with the double meaning of *n í g . m e . g a r*, might explore more fruitfully the classical parallel rather than arbitrarily posit a *Grundbedeutung* “erregt sein.”

The *Grundbedeutung* approach is not sufficient for successful philological analysis. Philology is, rather, a careful retracing of the fate of a word, following its changes of meaning in changing contexts and situations. Much is necessary to achieve it: a wealth of material and a painstaking search through it, a sensitive ear, and, not least, the lucky chance of happening upon an obscure or forgotten passage which suddenly elucidates the connection between an object and its name or the reasons behind a shift in meaning. Words are not abstractions but take their connotations, their meaning, from their environment, linguistic as well as situational; they do not “live” in themselves, as if originally endowed with a “basic meaning” from which, by some logical but rigid process, the meanings actually attested develop. Semantic development and transfer can only be illustrated from numerous contextual passages in which a shift of emphasis, or perhaps the inherent ambiguity, give rise to shifts in connotation, at first imperceptible, then progressively more pronounced, until the new meaning becomes completely divorced from the

old. Assyriologists, unfortunately, often lack material sufficient to provide the semantic links which would permit such philological analysis.

We may, however, enlightened by the classical parallels, establish for Mesopotamian culture, too, the existence and awareness of cultic situations which call for silence and the absence of ominous utterances. We know from many rituals and incantations that the performance of the cultic action is hedged in by many restrictions—hedged in in the literal sense as well as in transferred meaning. The conjurer and diviner stand apart, often on the roof of a building, sometimes in a place described as “where no one sets foot,” or even within a magic circle. It is also reasonable to assume that a nocturnal performance further insures the absence of evil or tabooed occurrences. The nefarious powers which might adversely affect the ritual are apparently less likely to manifest themselves at night; to be sure, demons and witches lurk in the dark (*rābiš mūši*, *muttallik mūši*), but the human hubbub is effectively avoided (*hubūr nišē*, a phrase whose recurrence in the mythological literature of the ancient Near East will have to be studied in another context). The necessity for the avoidance of ill-portending words can be shown, to my knowledge, by two phrases only: the mentioned “let the evil tongue stand aside” and the phrase, which occurs among the *veniae* asked by the haruspex about to perform the extispicy, in the queries for oracle under the Sargonids: *ezib ša ina pa-a-ti* (var. *pi-a-ti*) *idabbubu ula idabbubu* [. . .], “disregard (O Šamaš) that people speak *with their mouths*(?) or that they speak [. . .]” (see *PRT*, p. xvi).¹² Similarly, the words “let the evil tongue stand aside” have to be interpreted as an injunction to refrain from uttering evil-portending words. Since the participants of a ritual are not normally addressed (the ritual directions being couched in a style which addresses the performer), it is not surprising that such a direct injunction as *favete linguis* does not occur except, perhaps, in the phrase and situation just cited. However, the specification of a nocturnal performance, especially since it is associated with the word for silence, permits us to assume the need for silence during the ritual. This speci-

¹² Variant from BM 98974 (= Ki.1904-10-9,3), courtesy of J. Aro.

fication, with the words *ina qūlti māši*, “in the dead (lit. ‘silence’) of night,” occurs, apart from the instances cited by Meissner, *BAW* I 64, in *LKA*, No. 93 rev. 5, in a conjuration which is fragmentary but seems to be intended to avert the evil portent of an *egirru* (INIM.GAR *tušešši*), which precisely is a chance utterance of ominous character (see Oppenheim in *AfO* XVII 49 ff.; see also *BA* V 670, No. 27:4).

The few attestations of the verb *qālu* and of its derivatives do not warrant the interpretation that one of its meanings is “to abstain from evil words” or “to speak good words.”¹³ However, in view not only of the semantic parallel *euphemiein* but especially of the Sumerian correspondence *n í g . m e . g a r* cited above and also because it is unwise to disregard completely the insight of earlier scholars who posited such a twofold meaning for *qālu*, we should not dismiss the possibility that some of the occurrences of *qālu* and *qūlu* might indeed fall in the semantic range of speaking propitious words. Even if such is not the case, the classical parallel will have shown us a fruitful path of investigation.

Such parallels, where they are not purely idiomatic but based on the same image or metaphor as a result of a similarity of cultural context, may throw light on other not fully understood Akkadian expressions. I would like to cite here such an example to elucidate the use of the verb *kubbutu* for putting out a fire (for references see *AHw.* p. 416b D 2, to which add *JNES* XV [1956] 138, lines 115 and 119, and [*šumma IZI IZI*].GAR *ina [šika]ri ú-kab-ba-tu* of *CT* XXXIX, Pl. 34, line 9, and parallel *ibid.* Pl. 37, K.11973:

¹³ For Sumerian *KA . š a 6 . g a*, “to speak propitious words,” see Jacobsen in *PAPS* CVII (1963) 475, n. 6.

6, *šumma ālu* Tablet XCI, also *nu-ra tu-ka-ba-at* in a *namburbi*-ritual to a preceding line of *šumma ālu* Tablet XCI, *CT* XXXIX, Pl. 34, lines 2–5, restored from the unpublished duplicate K.10832:4'–8'). This meaning (“Feuer ersticken,” “erlöschen”) was heretofore connected with the meaning for *kubbutu* “schwer machen” (*AHw.* p. 416b D 1) and not with “ehren,” “achtungsvoll behandeln” (*ibid.* D 5). Nevertheless, it is with this latter meaning that the meaning “to put out a fire” must be connected, on the basis of multiple parallels from various languages in which words for putting out, that is, killing, a fire are avoided as taboo and replaced by words for honoring, protecting. For many such expressions see Havers, *Neuere Literatur zum Sprachtabu* (*SAWW* CCXXIII, 5. Abhandlung [Wien, 1946]), and especially the study of Benveniste cited above (see n. 8). In Benveniste's study evidence is adduced for the use of the idiom *ignem tutare* as a euphemism for putting out a fire; it is through this metaphor that French *tuer*, from Latin *tutare*, has acquired the meaning “to kill.”

In dedicating to Benno Landsberger this small essay and by drawing attention to both the needs and the failings of what we should proudly term “philology” in the field of cuneiform studies, I wish to honor the scholar who has not only most penetratingly of all but also most stubbornly and lovingly followed the fate of a great many terms of the Akkadian lexicon, to the extent that they have become his familiar friends, each with its individual features. I am proud to have the privilege to share, in my work, the methods and results of his philological detective work day after day.

A NOTE ON THE SCRIBES IN MESOPOTAMIA

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Among the desiderata of long standing in Assyriology, one vividly felt by scholars who search for a holistic grasp of Mesopotamian civilization is an investigation of the scribe, his craft, role, and status in society.

For the time being, all we have at hand is the incisive and, as always, ingenious sketch from the pen of Benno Landsberger in *City Invincible* (Chicago, 1960) pp. 94–101.¹ There, however, as is likewise the case in a number of articles by A. Falkenstein, C. J. Gadd, S. N. Kramer, and B. Landsberger himself,² the scholarly interest is focused on the education of the Mesopotamian scribe. In other words, the curriculum of the scribe, his training in schools, elementary and advanced, is the central theme. To be sure, such a line of approach is bound to yield important results, concerning not only the topical repertory of the scribe's education but also the history of Mesopotamian literature. One could, however, envisage the problem of the education of the Mesopotamian scribe from a different vantage point as well; instead of investigating his training, one could turn toward his achievements, the sum total of his literary and practical knowledge—the fountainhead which determined the nature and range of his activities and the views he held of the world and of himself.

Any broad and penetrating study of the Mesopotamian scribe will have to be structured according to the several distinct phases of internal development and regional variation of the long-lived and intricate Mesopotamian civilization. Furthermore, it must show the scribe in all his domains, that is, the scribe in the service of the great households (temple and palace), in the service of the king as head of the realm, in the service of the community for the recording of

data and contracts, in the writing of letters, and the scribe as scholar and poet concerned with the preservation as well as the constant evolution of form and content in the literary and intellectual traditions. Out of such a study of the two aspects of the scribal craft, the curriculum of the training and the full gamut of its application, the Mesopotamian scribe is likely to emerge as a central figure in the workings of his civilization. The role and importance of the *tušarru* might be likened to those of the clergy in medieval Europe; his lore, *tušarrūtu*, to that extensive body of knowledge, skills, and *savoir-faire* covered by the Islamic term *adab*. Out of such comparisons and contrasts might eventually evolve an image of the scribe which could lead us toward a more real understanding of Mesopotamian civilization.

As a modest contribution toward such a study, which I keep hoping some younger scholar will undertake one day, I have collected in this paper several passages from letters addressed to kings or to their scribes that quite forcefully illustrate the importance of the scribe at court.

Everything referring to the king or emanating from him—official utterances such as edicts, directives addressed to officials, letters to fellow and subject kings, the so-called “royal inscriptions”—testifies to the work of the royal scribe as political propagandist and is, at the same time, representative of the scribe's literary ambition and of his role as arbiter of style. Equally crucial is the scribe's position as the king's secretary, because in this capacity he exercised control over the communication of written information to the ruler. Letters, reports, and other types of written messages formed an essential link between the king and the world outside his palace. For every realm of some importance, we must assume a constant influx of messages addressed officially to the royal person; they were either recited to the king by their carriers or read to him by his own secretary. It is likely that the

¹ See also Landsberger, “Babylonian scribal craft and its terminology” in *Proceedings of the Twenty-Third International Congress of Orientalists* (Cambridge, 1954) pp. 123 ff.

² For a bibliography, see *City Invincible*, pp. 101 f., and my *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Chicago, 1964) p. 377, n. 17.

former procedure was reserved for diplomatic exchanges or matters of particular import and that messages of less urgency, or those in foreign tongues, were read to the king by his secretary.

The letters to be discussed below, in chronological sequence, attest to the awareness of the king's officials, subjects, and allies of the key position held by the secretary through whose hands certain if not all of their messages to the king had to pass. The chronological and geographic distribution of the pertinent evidence, small though it be, bears out this statement.

The Mari letter *RA XXXIX 80* (= *ARM II*, No. 132) runs as follows:

Tell Šunuhrahalu: Habdu-malik sends the following message: Because you are the one who has always read the tablets addressed to the king—and there is nobody else who reads them—I have not dispatched to you any more (my) answers to the tablets of the king (addressed to me). Now, however, I am sending a tablet to the king and in duplicate (one) to you. I shall repeat the previous message to you. Read this tablet and—if it is appropriate—read it to the king.

The following situation is reflected in this exceptionally outspoken missive. The official Šunuhrahalu had been intercepting messages directed by the writer, Habdu-malik, to the king, despite the fact that Habdu-malik's letters constituted answers to royal letters, as Habdu-malik points out in the letter translated above. When Habdu-malik realized that he could not circumvent Šunuhrahalu, he decided to accept the interference and sent the present letter, together with a duplicate letter addressed to the king which he asked Šunuhrahalu to read to the king after taking cognizance of its contents. It was presumably Šunuhrahalu's official duty to read to the king letters brought by messengers or, perhaps, to control the admission of messengers carrying letters to the king. At any rate, for some reason he had ignored Habdu-malik's letters, probably fearing that they contained information which he did not want the king to receive.

One could object to this interpretation on the grounds that the messenger himself was supposed to recite the content of the clay tablet he was to hand over to the addressee.³ In fact, a provision of the treaty between a Hittite king

and the king of Kizwatna, Šunaššura, insists on this procedure to make sure that written text and oral delivery of the message would be identical.⁴ This practice does not seem to have prevailed in the internal correspondence of the kingdom of Mari, possibly owing to lack of personnel able to memorize and recite texts in Babylonian, a foreign language. Therefore, when Habdu-malik accepted Šunuhrahalu as "intermediary" between himself and the king, he resorted to the idea of sending two letters at the same time, one to the king and a duplicate to Šunuhrahalu. The letter was accompanied by the tablet *ARM II*, No. 132, which was to explain the reasons for this novel procedure. The two men must have had about the same standing in the official hierarchy, so that Habdu-malik could do nothing about the interference of the king's secretary, and, since he evidently had nothing to hide from Šunuhrahalu, he graciously submitted to the control exercised by his suspicious colleague. Still, the wording *tuppī šarrim attāma tašassīma mamman šanūm la išanassīma* conveys a polite but firm disapproval of the position arrogated by the addressee with respect to himself.

The Amarna letters contain a number of passages which illustrate our topic. Of the six extant letters written by Abdi-Hepa of Jerusalem, there are four (*EA*, Nos. 286–89) in which the correspondent addresses himself directly to the scribe of the Pharaoh (*ana tuppšar šarri bēlija*) in a postscript (in No. 287 separated from the text by a ruled line) which urgently demands that a specific message, apart from the content of the letter, be relayed to the king.

These postscripts show only slight variations. The first formulation is preserved solely in *EA*, No. 286 (rev. 17–22), and runs as follows:

To the scribe of the king, my lord, Abdi-Hepa sends the following message: Bring it with "good words" before the king, my lord: all the countries of the king, my lord, (in Palestine) are lost.

In *EA*, No. 287:64–70, we read as the second formulation:

To the scribe of the king, my lord, Abdi-Hepa sends the following message: I prostrate myself at

³ See O. Schroeder, "Ein mündlich zu bestellender altbabylonischer Brief," *OLZ XXI* (1918) 5 f.

⁴ See E. F. Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien* (Leipzig, 1923) p. 108, col. iv 32 f.

the feet (of the messenger) saying: I am your slave! Bring it with "good words" before the king, my lord: I am a common soldier⁵ of the king and of yours, indeed.

This is repeated in *EA*, No. 288:62–66, with this slight change in the phrasing, "I am your slave and your child," while *EA*, No. 289:47–51, has the variant "bring it with 'good words' to the king: I am indeed very much [your] slave."

Seen from a purely formal angle, the writer of these letters instructs the court scribe to communicate a specific message to the Pharaoh. The message consists of a very short sentence, in most cases containing a profession of loyalty styled in the first person singular; in one instance (*EA*, No. 286) it contains the statement "All the countries of the king, my lord, are lost." Since there is no specific relation between the wording of the postscripts and the tenor of the individual letters, each of the letters contains in fact two messages: an official one styled in the pompous, long-winded, and excited diction of the missives from Syria and Palestine to the Egyptian court and a private one containing only one short sentence, addressed not to the Pharaoh but to his scribe.

The reason Abdi-Hepa turned to the secretary of the Egyptian king in the postscript is clearly to be found in the recurrent demand to bring the message in "good words" to his master. This could mean that the scribe is asked to add to the recitation of the letter impromptu declarations in the tenor indicated by the postscript, that is, either protestations of loyalty on behalf of Abdi-Hepa or warnings to the Pharaoh that the Asiatic possessions of Egypt are in danger of being lost. Thus, the scribe is given express permission to improvise, in "good words" of course, and to entreat the Pharaoh personally in order to further Abdi-Hepa's cause. On the other hand, the phrase "with good words" could also be taken as a request that the specific messages of the postscript be rendered in Egyptian so that they will have more impact on the Pharaoh. Since we cannot and will not know whether the letters written in Akkadian and Hittite to the Egyptian

court were ever read to the Pharaoh (see below) or just filed in the archives of the Foreign Office, we cannot opt for either of the offered possibilities, both of which may in some way have corresponded to reality. One could suggest that the ruler of Jerusalem may well have known from experience or hearsay about the treatment such letters usually received at the court in Amarna and that his postscripts were meant to serve a practical purpose—to bring an urgent message, a warning or a declaration of loyalty, directly before the king.

Rib-Addi, the king of Byblos, used another diplomatic method. He had an agent at the Egyptian court, an official named Amanappa, to whom are addressed six of his 54 extant letters. In these letters he discusses matters of importance and, at times, asks his correspondent to convey verbatim to the Pharaoh such short and urgent messages as (in *EA*, No. 82:52) "come here as quickly (as possible)" or (in *EA*, No. 73:33–38) "my face is turned toward you because you are like a father and a master to me."

I would like to mention in this context a letter (*EA*, No. 316) of a ruler of the small town of Jursa. It exhibits a clear difference between the content of the main text (lines 1–15) and that of a postscript (lines 16–25). The former, addressed to the Pharaoh, contains only the customary assurances of loyalty and obedience, while the latter, addressed to an official bearing the Egyptian name Šaḥšiḥašiḥa, deals with the real purpose of the letter. The writer offers excuses for his failure to send a caravan to Egypt, presumably with tribute long due. His house being without any valuables, he promises his correspondent to send soon a "goodly caravan." This letter seems to show that the correspondence coming from Palestine and Syria was brought not directly before the Egyptian king but rather to the "Syrian desk" in the Foreign Office, to be referred then to the specific departments according to the content of individual letters. Thus our letter, while ostensibly addressed to the Pharaoh, was in reality destined for the official in charge of incoming tribute, Šaḥšiḥašiḥa.

Problems of communication are reflected by another Amarna letter. This is the Hittite letter formerly dubbed "Arzawa Letter No. 2," which has recently been translated by Liane Rost,

⁵ The Egyptian term *w'w* (expressed here as *u-e-eh*) denotes a soldier of low rank, a recruit. See T. Säve-Söderbergh, *The Navy in the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty* (Uppsala, 1946) pp. 72 f.

“Die ausserhalb Boğazköy gefundenen hethitischen Briefe” (*MIO* IV 328 ff.). The text (now *VBoT*, No. 2) seems to represent the “second page” of a long letter addressed to the Pharaoh by the ruler of Arzawa concerning a dynastic marriage of the latter’s daughter. The tablet contains the following postscript, clearly marked as such by a double division line after the main body of the letter:

May the god Nabû(?), the “king of wisdom,” and the Sun-god of the *hīlammā* kindly protect the scribe who is to read this tablet (to the king); may they hold their hands protectively around you. Do, please, write me, O scribe. Also, put your name at the end (of the letter). Do write all tablets which they will bring me in Hittite (lit. “in Nesian”)!⁶

The postscript consists of two sections. First come blessings to the scribe, then three requests: that the letter be answered, that the name of the answering scribe be indicated, and that any answer be written in the language of the letter itself, that is, in Hittite. These requests require little comment although they are atypical. The demand that a letter be answered is, in cuneiform letters, normally addressed to the correspondent, but the situation may have been more complex at the court in Amarna, and the scribe may have been trying to establish a personal relationship with the secretary in Amarna who could read and write letters in Hittite. This he does first by presenting his good wishes, then by asking for the scribe’s name, and finally by suggesting that Hittite should be used in the answering letter. Stylistically, the entire passage corresponds to the remarks added by the Hittite scribes at the ends of official letters, which illustrate the professional ties between the representatives of the important scribal craft, as has been seen by H. Otten, “Hethitische Schreiber in ihren Briefen” (*MIO* IV 179 ff., esp. pp. 183 f.).⁷

The blessings contained in the Arzawa postscript should, however, be considered in a different light. A much later letter (*ABL*, No. 1250), addressed to Assurbanipal, contains such a blessing, likewise an obvious *captatio benevolentiae*.

⁶ For Nesian as a native designation for Hittite, see F. Hrozný in *Journal asiatique* CCXVIII (1931) 317 ff. and, recently, Hans G. Güterbock, “Kaneš and Neša: Two forms of one Anatolian place name?” in *Eretz Israel* V (1958) 46 ff.

⁷ I am grateful to my colleague Dr. Güterbock for drawing my attention to the cited article of Dr. Otten.

In the Assyrian letter, the situation is clearer than in the Hittite, the addressed scribe being a very influential person who reads to Assurbanipal whatever letters he pleases, who even dares on occasion to omit certain passages, but who is also in a position to recommend petitioners or to bring about their rejection.⁸ The passage (*ABL*, No. 1250 rev. 17–22) runs as follows:

Whoever you are, scribe, who is going to read (the preceding letter), do not conceal anything from the king, my lord. Speak kindly (of me) before the king, my lord, so that Bēl and Nabû should speak kindly of you to the king.

The reference to the patron deities of the scribal craft in both the Arzawa letter and *ABL*, No. 1250, suggests that their function was not only related to the lore, but that these gods were equally concerned with what we would call today the “ethical standards” of the profession. While in the Hittite letter the phrase is simply used to bless the scribe and thus to obtain his good will, the letter to Assurbanipal proceeds in a more sophisticated way, appealing to the scribe’s professional honor and promising him divine reward.

Postscript.—My interpretation of the letter *RA* XXIX 80 (= *ARM* II, No. 132) has now been confirmed by a small group of Mari letters published by M. Birot in *ARM* XIII, Nos. 47–52. Four (Nos. 47–50) or possibly five (No. 52, fragmentary) of them are sent to the same addressee (Šunuhrahalu) notifying him that the writer has dispatched to the king a letter which the addressee is asked to bring to the king’s attention (*šuqūlu* in No. 47:16, *šumū* in Nos. 48:9, 49:10, and 50:8). The contents of these letters to the king sent “under separate cover” are repeated verbatim in Nos. 47–49 but not in No. 50. Thus, a high official like Išim-Sumū found it necessary to keep the powerful secretary informed on certain of his own letters sent to the king; this illustrates again the importance of Šunuhrahalu in controlling communications to the ruler.

⁸ Only a man of the prominence of Balassu could permit himself in a letter addressed to Esarhaddon to cast aspersions on a scribe of the king who, as he suggests, was not able to understand what he, Balassu, had written to his king: “Heaven forbid that the scribe who read the tablet to the king did not understand (it)” (*ABL*, No. 688:15–17).

JEUX NUMÉRIQUES DANS L'IDÉOGRAPHIE SUSIENNE

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A certaines époques, en certains domaines, les scribes akkadiens ont aimé les jeux subtils des graphies savantes. L'homonymie leur en fournissait les moyens, lorsqu'ils écrivaient, par exemple, *šuatî*, « ce », par MU.MEŠ (= *šumâti*, « noms »)¹ ou *ummâti*, « chaleurs », par AMA.MEŠ (= *ummâti*, « mères »).² Ailleurs, ils combinaient volontiers, à l'intérieur d'un même mot, l'insolite juxtaposition de valeurs idéographiques et de valeurs phonétiques. Ils aboutissaient ainsi à des graphies étranges, telles que KÙ.GI pour *qu-târu*,³ « fumigation », GA-a-nu pour le nom de plante *šizbânu*,⁴ ou, comme l'a récemment signalé B. Landsberger, *paḥ-PA* pour *paḥâri*.⁵

Parmi tous les jeux graphiques auxquels se sont ainsi livrés les scribes, ceux qui font appel à des transpositions numériques ne sont pas—et de loin—les moins intéressants. Certains sans doute peuvent n'être qu'une classification plus ou moins élaborée, comme celle que nous propose la désignation des quatre points cardinaux par de simples chiffres 1, 2, 3, 4. Encore faudrait-il expliquer l'ordre dans lequel ils sont de la sorte classés Sud, Nord, Est, et Ouest. Mais, la plupart du temps, l'emploi de *nombres* au lieu d'idéogrammes suppose un système cohérent de « chiffage », parfois même de complexes spéculations symboliques.

Beaucoup restent pour nous énigmatiques. C'est le cas notamment des transpositions numériques des noms propres. La phrase célèbre de Sargon II d'Assyrie qui, à propos de la construction de sa capitale, écrivait⁶ « Je donnai à son

mur la dimension de 4 sar, 3 ner, 1 uš, 3 cannes, et 2 coudées (correspondant à) l'énoncé de mon nom (*nîbit šumi-ia*) », ne nous a pas encore livré son secret.⁷ Et tout aussi obscur nous demeure le colophon d'une tablette d'Uruk,⁸ que son rédacteur signait ainsi: « Tablette de 21.35.35.26.44, fils de 21.11.20.42 ». ⁹

Dans ces deux derniers noms, celui du père et celui du fils, O. Neugebauer a supposé, vraisemblablement avec raison, que le nombre commun par lequel ils commencent, 21, représente le nom du dieu Anu.¹⁰ S'il en est ainsi, cet exemple nous introduit, de façon aberrante d'ailleurs,¹¹ dans un des plus importants systèmes de références numériques employés par l'écriture akkadienne, celui des symboles numériques des dieux. La tablette K.170¹² nous en donne un tableau

⁶ Cylindre inscription, ligne 65. Le nombre est ainsi écrit 3600 3600 3600 3600 600 600 600 60 3×6 2, soit 16.280 coudées.

⁷ On a tenté à plusieurs reprises de résoudre ce problème, Fr. Hommel notamment, dans son étude « Die Zahl « meines Namens » in Sargons Zylinderinschrift » (*OLZ X* [1907] 225–28); la démonstration reste plus ingénieuse que convaincante.

⁸ *TCL VI*, n° 51.

⁹ Cette tablette, qui porte le texte de l'Exaltation d'Ištar, a été traduite et commentée par Fr. Thureau-Dangin, dans *RA XI* (1914) 141–58. A propos du colophon, il pose le problème sans le résoudre: « Quel était le propriétaire de la tablette? La ligne finale donne son nom et celui de son père, mais les deux noms sont écrits en chiffres. Le rédacteur nous a proposé une énigme dont je n'ai pas la clé » (p. 143). Dans le même recueil des tablettes d'Uruk, d'autres textes (*TCL VI*, n° 26 et 28) portent également des notations chiffrées.

¹⁰ O. Neugebauer, « Unusual writings in Seleucid astronomical texts » (*JCS I* [1947] 217–18): « That 21 is a cryptogram for Anu is evident from passages like TU 26 rev. 12 where we read *pa-liḥ 21 50 10 40* for *pa-liḥ Anu u An-tu* ». La deuxième partie de l'égalité ne me paraît pas évidente.

¹¹ Car on verra plus loin que le symbole numérique d'Anu est 1 et non pas 21.

¹² *CT XXV*, Pl. 50. Le tableau, qui est donné de la ligne 6 à la ligne 16, comprend trois colonnes; la deuxième donne les symboles numériques et la dernière les noms des dieux. Dans la première, la plus large, sont proposés des commentaires plus ou moins justificatifs; cf. ci-dessous, notes 13, 14, et 15.

¹ Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabuchodnosor*, n° 135; etc.

² *AMT* 98,3:5; etc.

³ E. Reiner, *Afo XVIII* (1957–58) 394b.

⁴ W. von Soden, *Afo XVIII* 394a.

⁵ Hg. I 36 (*MSL V* 187); cf. aussi *Afo XIX* (1959–60) 150, n. 1. Les quelques exemples donnés dans le paragraphe ci-dessus ne font qu'illustrer quelques-uns des procédés employés par les scribes.

« raisonné », dont nous ne rappellerons ici que les données essentielles:

1 = Anu	10 = Bêl, Marduk
50 = Enlil	15 = Ištar, souveraine des dieux
40 = Ea	50 = Ninurta, fils du dieu 50
30 = Sin	12 = Nergal, Sumuqân
20 = Šamaš	10 = Gibil, Nusku
6 = Adad	

De plusieurs de ces nombres l'explication va en quelque sorte de soi: Anu est 1, parce qu'il est le père de tous les autres dieux;¹³ 30 est le « chiffre » de Sin, en tant qu'il est la divinité lunaire, régulatrice des trente jours du mois;¹⁴ etc. Pour les autres, les exégètes anciens s'ingénierent à les justifier en invoquant les rapports d'égalité, de supériorité, ou d'appartenance qui pouvaient exister entre les dieux eux-mêmes.¹⁵ Leurs spéculations ne sont pas seulement abstraites et théoriques, car elles avaient, dans le calendrier quotidien, des répercussions pratiques¹⁶ que B. Landsberger a bien mises en lumière dans son *Kultische Kalender*.¹⁷

Outre la théologie spéculative, il était un autre domaine privilégié de la cryptographie, et plus particulièrement de la cryptographie chiffrée; c'est l'haruspicine.¹⁸ Même si l'on laisse de côté certains prétendus chiffres qui ne sont en fait que des « acrogrammes »,¹⁹ la science secrète des devins, la *niširti barûti*, révèle un « chiffrage » énigmatique mais sûr.²⁰

¹³ [DINGIR] *reš-tu-ú a-bi* DINGIR.MEŠ, « [dieu] primordial, père des dieux » (ligne 6).

¹⁴ ... EN EŠ.BAR ITI, « ...; seigneur des décisions du mois » (ligne 9).

¹⁵ Cf., par exemple, à propos du symbole numérique attribué à Gibil et à Nusku (10): « [10] A.RÁ 2 20 *tap-pi-e* 20 », « [10] × 2 = 20; (ils sont) les compagnons du (dieu) 20 (= Šamaš) » (ligne 16).

¹⁶ Adad, patron du 6^e jour; Šamaš, du 20^e.

¹⁷ Cf. notamment pp. 114, 127, 130, 137.

¹⁸ Le plus célèbre cryptogramme hépatoscopique est ME.NI, qui, à partir d'une certaine époque (néo-ass.), a remplacé l'expression imagée KÁ É.GAL, « la Porte du Palais ».

¹⁹ Par exemple, U, « doigt » (au lieu de ŠU.SI, employé auparavant), est, non le nombre 10, mais l'acrogramme de u(*bānu*). On rencontre des abréviations semblables dès l'hépatoscopie paléo-babylonienne; cf. J. Nougayrol, *RA XLIV* (1950) 21 s.; A. Goetze, *YOS X* (1947) 10, n. 69.

²⁰ Cf. en dernier lieu R. Borger, *BiOr XIV* (1957) 190-95, auquel on pourrait ajouter d'autres références. J. Nougayrol me signale l'alternance BUZUR₂ et BUZUR₃ dans l'expression

Parmi les éléments de ce « chiffrage », le couple 15 et 2.30 (= 150), qui désignent respectivement 15, la « droite », et 2.30, la « gauche », mérite une mention spéciale. Son emploi déborde en effet de beaucoup les textes hépatoscopiques pour s'étendre non seulement aux diverses branches de la divination, à la magie, à la médecine, mais aussi à bien d'autres domaines de la littérature. Ici comme là, à partir d'une certaine époque,²¹ il a supplanté le couple idéographique ZAG et GUB, qui était antérieurement employé pour traduire les notions de « droite » et de « gauche ».

Les raisons qui ont présidé au choix de ces nombres nous échappent encore. Dans son étude « Wie bedeutet 15 « rechts » und 2.30 « links »? » A. Schott en avait proposé une explication de caractère astronomique, qui ne paraissait pas sans mérite.²² Mais sa démonstration n'était pas absolument convaincante. Elle se trouve en tout cas aujourd'hui contredite par un élément nouveau qu'apportent à ce problème des textes de Suse récemment découverts.

Ces textes ont été retrouvés par R. Ghirshman au cours de sa campagne susienne de 1962. Il était en train de prospecter une couche d'époque paléo-babylonienne, lorsqu'il mit au jour un lot de onze belles tablettes « de bibliothèque ». ²³ Mais elles n'appartenaient pas en fait à leur contexte archéologique. Elles avaient été manifestement enfouies dans une cache, et relevaient par conséquent d'un niveau supérieur, de date plus récente, qu'il n'était plus possible alors de préciser avec exactitude. Ces documents contiennent des textes littéraires, religieux, médicaux, et

hépatoscopique KI BUZUR₃ / BUZUR₂ (K.4003:5 [= Boissier, *Choix*, pp. 100 ss.] / *KAR*, n° 148 ii 22), au sujet de laquelle on pourrait se demander si BUZUR₂ n'est pas une simple notation chiffrée (= 20).

²¹ J. Nougayrol, *Actes du XXI^e Congrès des Orientalistes, Paris ... 1948*, pp. 146-47.

²² *ZA XLIV* (1938) 200-205, dont voici les conclusions: « 15 ist die Leuchtzeit des Mondes zu einer Zeit, wo er « rechts » am Himmel steht, also 15 = rechts; 2.30 ist die Dauer der nächtlichen Unsichtbarkeit des Mondes zu einer Zeit, wo er « links » am Himmel steht, also 2.30 = links » (p. 204).

²³ Numérotées TAS XII 1 à 12; les deux fragments 9 et 10 ont été joints depuis leur découverte, car ils représentent respectivement la face et le revers d'un même texte, de caractère médical.

divinatoires. Ce sont ces derniers qui nous intéresseront plus particulièrement ici.

Le syllabaire qu'ils emploient atteste l'usage, à Suse habituel, de *ša*, de *ši* (à côté de *šī*), de *sī*, celui, plus surprenant, de *sa*, de *ša*, et de *rū*,²⁴ et l'emploi systématique de certains sumérogrammes, tels que ÉŠ pour *ana* et TA pour *ina*.²⁵ On y relève aussi—et c'est là surtout où je voulais en venir—l'usage de plusieurs symboles numériques nouveaux,²⁶ qui viennent enrichir le dossier des « notations chiffrées », dont j'ai tenu à rappeler brièvement les principales références.

Le premier de ces symboles intéresse le couple « droite » et « gauche ». Il ne se rencontre que dans quelques-uns de ces textes. D'autres conservent en revanche la notation traditionnelle. C'est le cas notamment de la tablette TAS XII 4:25-26, qui appartient à la série des présages tirés des naissances (š. *izbu*):

DIŠ (SAL.ŠAḤ Û.TU-*ma*) IGI 15-šu NU Ì.GÁL ...
DIŠ IGI 2.30-šu NU Ì.GÁL ...

« Si (une truie met bas et que le petit) n'ait pas d'œil droit Si (*idem* et que le petit) n'ait pas d'œil gauche ... ».

C'est également le cas pour le texte médical TAS XII 9 + 10, où l'on lit, par exemple (ii 2-3): UD GIG ... GİR šà 2.30 ÉŠ 15 ... *i-ša-ah-ḥi-it*, « si d'un malade ... le pied gauche saute vers la droite ... », ou encore pour le texte TAS XII 12, dont la ligne 9 parle des ailes gauche et droite d'un oiseau (DIŠ *a-ḥi* MUŠEN šà 2.30 *u* 15 ...).

Mais, à côté de ces emplois normaux, on trouve brusquement dans d'autres textes une notation différente. Si le « chiffre » 15 y est conservé pour désigner la « droite », la notion de la « gauche » n'y est plus symbolisée par 2.30, mais par 16: ainsi dans TAS XII 6:14-15, qui appartient également à la série š. *izbu*:

DIŠ MÍ Û.TU-*ma* IGI 15-šu NU GÁL ...
DIŠ MÍ Û.TU-*ma* IGI 16-šu NU GÁL ...

« Si une femme accouche et que (le nouveau-

²⁴ *is-sa-ap-pa-ah*, *i-pa-aš-ša-ra*, *ul-tab-ba-rū-ma*.

²⁵ Noter également, dans le texte n° 1, l'emploi constant de *dīm* pour *epēšu*.

²⁶ C'est à l'emploi jusqu'alors inconnu de ces notations chiffrées que j'ai fait allusion lorsque, au cours de la XII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, j'ai annoncé la découverte faite à Suse par R. Ghirshman de 12(!) tablettes littéraires. Une erreur d'interprétation a pu faire croire au très dévoué K. Deller qu'elles étaient « in unbekanntem Schrift » (*Or.* XXXIII [1964] 176, ligne 6).

né) n'ait pas d'œil droit Si une femme accouche et que (le nouveau-né) n'ait pas d'œil gauche ... »,

ou encore (ligne 19):

DIŠ MÍ Û.TU-*ma* 3 IGI-šu 2 TA 15 1 TA 16 GAR ...

« Si une femme accouche et que (le nouveau-né) ait trois yeux, deux à droite et un à gauche ... »,

et partout où, dans ce texte, apparaît la même notion, on constate que le « chiffre » 16 a été substitué à 2.30 comme symbole numérique de la « gauche ». Deux questions viennent alors à l'esprit: pourquoi ce changement et pourquoi le choix de ce chiffre? A la seconde question je ne vois pas pour l'instant de réponse satisfaisante, sinon peut-être l'hypothèse que les scribes susiens, ayant le sentiment que, dans le couple numérique « gauche » et « droite », le « chiffre » de la « gauche » était supérieur à celui de la « droite » (15 et 150), ont cru respecter le trait essentiel de ce rapport en affectant à la « gauche » le « chiffre » immédiatement supérieur à celui de la « droite » (15 et 16).

On peut, semble-t-il, fournir plus aisément une réponse à la première question. L'abandon du « chiffre » 2.30 pour désigner la « gauche » me paraît être la conséquence directe d'une autre innovation que l'on constate dans ces textes et dont il nous faut maintenant parler.

On sait que les scribes élamites ont fréquemment employé le symbole numérique 3.20 (= 200: EŠŠANA)²⁷ comme idéogramme du mot « roi ». On le trouve sous cette forme et avec cette acception dans le premier des deux textes š. *izbu* que je viens de citer (TAS XII 4:33):

DIŠ 4 IGI-šu EŠŠANA GABA NU TUK

« Si (le petit) a quatre yeux: le roi n'aura pas de rival ». ²⁸

Or il se trouve que dans d'autres textes une confusion s'est produite entre 3.20 et 2.30. Les deux signes en effet sont assez proches l'un de l'autre, puisqu'ils ne diffèrent que par un seul de leurs cinq éléments. Voici trois exemples de cette confusion, empruntés à la tablette TAS XII 2, vraisemblablement hépatoscopique:

²⁷ Cf. ŠL II 593, 9.

²⁸ On trouve également dans nos textes l'emploi de l'idéogramme courant LUGAL; cf. TAS XII 3:16: DUMU LUGAL *a-ba-šu i-ba-ar*, « le fils du roi chassera son père ».

2.30 KUR.BI BAL-su (rev. 2)

« le roi, son pays le renversera ».

2.30 ù DAM-su ul-tab-ba-rù-ma EGIR-šu-nu
DUMU.MEŠ-šu-nu KUR i-be-el-lu (rev. 46-47)

« Le roi et son épouse vivront vieux, et, après eux, leurs fils gouverneront le pays ».

ZI.GA KALA.GA ÉŠ 2.30 i-ZI (rev. 38)

« Une attaque puissante aura lieu contre le roi ».

On comprend ainsi que le nombre 2.30 (= 150) ayant été employé par certains scribes dans le sens de « roi » (au lieu de 3.20²⁹), il devenait difficile de lui conserver sa signification de « gauche ». Une innovation s'imposait dans ce domaine; nous avons vu ce qu'elle avait donné.

Pour aussi insolites que soient ces inventions graphiques, elles ne sont pas les seules que l'on peut relever dans ce même texte. A la ligne 28, on y lit en effet l'apodose DUMU 2.30 TA 1.20 AD-šu DŪR-ab; elle ne peut signifier que « le fils du roi s'assiéra sur le trône de son père », le symbole numérique 1.20 (= 80) remplaçant ici l'un des idéogrammes (GIŠ.GU.ZA ou AŠ.TE) du mot *kussú*, « trône ».

Qu'il ne s'agisse pas ici d'une erreur ou d'une confusion fortuite de signe, le montrent tous les autres passages du texte où apparaît le mot « trône »; partout il y est traduit par ce « chiffre » 1.20:

DAM 2.30 2.30 i-bar-ma 1.20 i-tab(-bal) (rev. 48)

²⁹ Pour ce même signe, une confusion analogue semble s'être également produite avec un autre signe numérique voisin, 3.30, qui est d'ordinaire employé comme simple signe de répétition: V R 30, n° 1:5 (ŠL II 593, 11): 3.30 (iš-še-bu) = šarru.

« L'épouse du roi chassera le roi et emportera le trône »;

2.30 šEŠ-šu TA 1.20 ú-ZI-šu (rev. 40)

« Le roi, son frère le chassera du trône »; etc.

A ces diverses notations numériques on peut enfin joindre l'emploi du chiffre 1 comme idéogramme du mot « homme » (*amêlu*). L'usage en était déjà connu par les syllabaires (SANTAK = MIN [c.-à-d. *a-me-lu*] EME.SUKU₂.A: ŠL II 480, 3), et il explique l'emploi généralisé du signe comme déterminatif des noms propres d'homme; mais, à ma connaissance, on ne l'avait pas encore rencontré dans le clavier idéographique des textes de présages. Or, dans le texte TAS XII 6, l'apodose É LÚ is-sa_s-ap-pa-ah (lignes 6, 9, 20), « la maison de (cet) homme s'effondrera », est écrite É 1 is-sa_s-ap-pa-ah, lignes 7, 25, 29, et 32 du revers, où l'on trouve également (ligne 13) l'expression É 1 i-zÁḤ (= *bit amêli ihalliq*), « la maison de (cet) homme sera détruite ».

Parmi les particularités de ces nouveaux textes de Suse, et sans attendre la publication d'ensemble de ces documents,³⁰ il m'a paru utile de signaler, dans leur idéographie, ces jeux numériques insolites (16 pour *šumêlu*, « gauche »; 2.30 [= 150] pour *šarru*, « roi »; 1.20 [= 80] pour *kussú*, « trône »; 1 pour *amêlu*, « homme »), et il m'est agréable de faire l'hommage de ces prémices au Professeur B. Landsberger, qui eut l'occasion de s'intéresser à des questions du même genre.

³⁰ J'ai demandé à D. O. Edzard et D. A. Kennedy d'assurer avec moi cette publication, que m'a confiée R. Ghirshman.

THE STRINGS OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS: THEIR NAMES, NUMBERS, AND SIGNIFICANCE¹

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When King Shulgi proclaims in one of his hymns² that he is adept at the musical arts, being an accomplished performing artist as well as expert at tuning and stringing instruments,³ we can only envy him his enlightened position in understanding the music of his day. That the Sumerians and their successors had a full musical life is known not only from pictorial representations but also from texts that describe professional musicians and their numerous categories of hymns, laments, jubilation and love songs, which could be accompanied by instrumental music or performed *a cappella*, solo, or in unison.⁴ But with regard to technical information concerning the music itself the documents have offered no help. Though we know dozens of words for musical instruments,⁵ we are not always able to make an exact identification. As to the few supposed musical notations⁶ found in the margins of late *kalû* literature,⁷ one guess has

been as good as another inasmuch as we have no idea what the single syllables mean. Particularly off course was, as is well known by now, the attempt of Curt Sachs⁸ to interpret as musical notation those lists of syllables that Landsberger later proved⁹ to belong to a scholarly collection of personal names.¹⁰

Recently, however, a new door has been opened on the study of Sumero-Babylonian music by some lines included in a mathematical text of the Kassite period that was published by the writer a few years ago in *Orientalia*.¹¹ Those lines, when considered together with other passages concerning musical strings, may prove to shed light not only on Babylonian music but also on the origins of Pythagorean music theory and terminology that was part and parcel¹² of the field of Greek mathematics. Though such a study is beyond the scope of the present writer, it is her intent in this paper to collect the information that may be gleaned from the texts about the strings of musical instruments in the hope that it may contribute to the understanding of ancient music.

¹ The writer expresses her gratitude to the American Association of University Women for enabling her to continue her research in 1964/65. Thanks are also due to the Assyrian Dictionary Project of the Oriental Institute in Chicago for allowing her to use its facilities.

² *UET* VI, No. 81 rev.: (2) *níg.na.me.bi la ba.an.da.gilim.e* (3) *tigi* (NAR.BALAG) *a.da.ab nam.nar....*

³ *Ibid.* rev. 17: *ad.pad.da gid.i tu.lu gid[é ...]*.

⁴ *PBS* I 1, No. 11 rev. iii 52: *ša ri-gi-im-šu-nu iš-ti-ni-iš 'šu'te-eš-[mu-u]*, "whose voices were brought into accord"; Sumerian (rev. iv 84) has *ašta.me.eš téš.bi sè.ki.bi.ne* (for the *ašta* sign see S^b I 229; *MSL* III 115).

⁵ Shulgi Hymn *UET* VI, No. 81 rev., names the following instruments (which may now be added to the sources collected in *MSL* VI 119 f.): *giš.zà.mí* (line 7), *giš.sa.XXX* (line 8), *giš.al.gar*, *giš.sa.bí.tum* (line 9), *giš.mi.rí.tum* (line 10), *giš.ur.za.ba.bi.[tum, giš.ĜA]ĜA* (line 11), *giš.gù.di* (line 14).

⁶ They are collected and discussed in *SBH*, pp. xvi-xvii. Cf. *CT* XLII, Pl. 1, No. 1.

⁷ It is not always clear what the differences are between the various singers. For the *eštalû*, *ħallatuššû*, *zammeru* and *zam-*

mertu see *CAD*; for the *kalû* see *AHw*. Others are the *nāru* and *nārtu*, *nargallu* and *šakkinu* (e.g. Lú = *ša* IV 210-14), and the *tigû* and *tigûtu* (Proto-Diri 510-12; Lú = *ša* III 20).

⁸ *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 1925, pp. 1 ff.

⁹ B. Landsberger, "Die angebliche babylonische Notenschrift," in *Festschrift Max Freiherrn von Oppenheim* (Berlin, 1933) pp. 170-78.

¹⁰ M. Çiğ and H. Kızılyay, *Zwei altbabylonische Schulbücher aus Nippur*, mit einem Beitrag von B. Landsberger (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından, VII. Seri, No. 35 [Ankara, 1959]). Personal-name lists are presented and discussed on pp. 66 ff.

¹¹ "Two new lists of key numbers for mathematical operations," *Or.* XXIX (1960) 273-308. Transliteration, translation, and commentary on the section on musical strings are given on pp. 278, 281, 298-300.

¹² The part played by the strings of musical instruments in Greek mathematical theory is discussed by H. Husmann, *Grundlagen der antiken und orientalischen Musikkultur* (Berlin, 1961) chap. i.

The three categories of Sumero-Babylonian musical instruments¹³ are the percussives (drums, cymbals, gongs, metal and wooden clackers), the winds (of wood and reed), and the strings (harps, lyres, lutes). The Sumerian word *sa* = *pitnu* (or *pidnu*) refers specifically to the strings of instruments of the last-named category, whereas *GIŠ.NA₅* (= *ša*) = *pitnu* refers to an as yet undetermined wooden piece of craftsmen's equipment and certain parts of furniture and other furnishings.¹⁴ To make a clear-cut distinction between *pitnu*, "string," as opposed to

pitnu, "stringed instrument," is rather artificial, just as today one may refer to "the strings" (in an orchestra etc.). Moreover, we do not know whether *pitnu* refers to a specific instrument or is instead a general term for any stringed instrument. Also, the relation between the stringed instrument and the wooden furnishing remains unclear.

Before we proceed to the occurrences of *pitnu* as a musical term, a few remarks are in order regarding the non-musical senses of the word.

NON-MUSICAL REFERENCES

The passages relating to *pitnu* as a wooden object have been collected by Armas Salonen in his recent book on furniture.¹⁵ To his references may be added the following passages, in which *pitnu* is clearly a non-musical item.

1. *pitnu* as a furniture part

In Nuzi: *pitnu* of beds and chairs (e.g. *HSS XV*, Nos. 130:4 and 6, 167:13); with other inlaid furnishings (*RA XXXVI* 147, lines 5 and 9).

In MB Alalakh: 80 *GIŠ pi-it-nu* 11 *GIŠ.GU.ZA* (Wiseman, *Alalakh*, No. 424:5 f.).

In a MA inventory of furnishings: 1 *pi-it-nu ša EGIR GIŠ.GU.ZA iz-za-zu* (*AfO XVIII* 306, line 11'; cf. line 19').

In view of the meaning "string" elsewhere, one is tempted to interpret these examples of *pitnu* as "rungs," "staves," etc. of furniture.

2. *pitnu*, meaning unknown, used in astrological omens

In a commentary concerning clouds (*ACh*, Adad No. XXIX 3 f.): *AN ša-mu-ú GUD UDU*

KUR [], *AN-ma pi-it-nu ša AN-e* []. Cf. Antagal¹⁶ A 154: *[a]n.gu₄.ud = MIN (= pitnu) ša AN-e*.

3. *pitnu* in ambiguous context, where either a wooden furniture part or a musical instrument could be meant¹⁷

Antagal A 153: *[g i š] . ^{na}ša = pi-it-nu*. Nabnitu XXIII 61: *[(x)].URU×GU = MIN (= ša-ba-tu) ša pit-nim*, "to sweep over, said of *pitnu*."

Though one might propose a sweeping motion across the strings as a technique of playing an instrument, the lines immediately above and below apply the same verb to pots, grain, and the flood, and therefore any interpretation is dubious.

In a NB economic text: *GIŠ.NA₅ ša É rim-ki* (*Nbn.* No. 289:1).

Between words for "staff," "crook" and fourteen known names of stringed instruments in Diri III 42: *na-a = GIŠ.ša = giš-[. . .] = [pi-it]-nu* (see *MSL VI* 119).

THE MUSICAL STRING

Pitnu is clearly distinguished in the A-tablet (lines 662 ff.) from other glosses to Sumerian *sa* that refer to body parts (tendons, intestines, etc.) and the names of nets.¹⁸

¹³ All the names of instruments and musical terms have been collected and discussed by H. Hartmann, *Die Musik der sumerischen Kultur* (Frankfurt am Main, 1960).

¹⁴ Discussed by Landsberger in *ZA XLII* (1934) 155 f.

¹⁵ Armas Salonen, *Die Möbel des alten Mesopotamien* (Helsinki, 1963) pp. 207 ff.

¹⁶ All unpublished lexical-text citations are taken from Landsberger's compositions in the *CAD*'s manuscript collection.

OF THE LYRE

Antagal A 155: *[sa]-a = MIN (= pitnu) ša sammê (zà.mí)*.

The lyre and its parts are listed in *Hh VII B* 44 ff. (see *MSL VI* 121).

¹⁷ If any of the examples of *GIŠ.NA₅* do refer to musical instruments, the relation between the unknown wooden object and an instrument could be based on the shape of the resonator (already suggested in *ZA XLII* 155); cf. Salonen, *op. cit.* p. 208.

¹⁸ See *CAD V*, under *gīdu*, lexical section.

TYPES OF INSTRUMENTS

A three-stringed *pitnu* in Hh VII B Gap a , line *b*: *giš.sa.3* = *pitnu še[lašti]* (*MSL VI 124*).

At least five more varieties of the three-stringed *pitnu* occur in fragments of Hh VII B to be published by Landsberger. In those same fragments the *inu* instrument is equated with *giš.sa.3* as well; Hh VII B shows, then, that the *inu* instrument could range in size from three to thirty strings (in line 132, *MSL VI 126*).

A *giš.sa.XXX* is also attested in the Shulgi Hymn *UET VI*, No. 81 rev. 8.

For a nine-stringed instrument see page 265.

CHARACTERISTICS AND PROPERTIES
OF THE INSTRUMENT1. The sound of the *pitnu*

Nabitu B (section *ragāmu*) 199: *KA.UR.a.ra.ra* = MIN (= *ragāmu*) *šá pit-ni*, "to make a sound, said of the *pitnu*"; cf. *ibid.* line 200: *KA.UR.dé* = MIN *tím-bu-ut-ti*, "ditto, said of the harp."

áA VIII₂ 13: [. . .] = [š]îr = *za-ma-rum šá pit-ni*, "to sing, said of the *pitnu*."

In astrological omens, thunder is likened to the sound of a *pitnu* instrument; in a commentary to *Enuma Anu Enlil* we find (*Adad rigimšu*) *GIM pi-it-ni šub // pi-it-nu šá x*.¹⁹ *MURUB₄*, "(If Adad) thunders like a *pitnu* // (that means) *pitnu*, of the . . . (type)" (*Sm. 9 ii [RA XVII 175] line 233*). Cf. like passages wherein thunder is said to sound like drums: ^d*Adad KA-šú GIM ḫal-ḫal-la-ti . . . (ACh, Adad No. XI 10), . . . GIM a-li-e (ibid. line 15), . . . GIM li-li-si (ibid. line 16)*.

2. Playing of the *pitnu*

KAR, No. 361 rev. 8, with duplicate No. 105 rev. 13: *lupput pitnišu eli nišišu limraš elēlišu lu siḫil balti (GIŠ.NIM)*, "May the strumming of his stringed instrument be painful to his audience, his jubilation-music the scratch(ing sound) of a thorn."

The Nergal prayer reconstructed by Zimmern in *ZA XXXI 116*: (22) *ki sa.gar.ra.ba na.a.n.ni.ku₄.ku₄.dè(.en)* (22a) *a-šar*

¹⁹ x like *UB* or *DU*, written over erasure, collated; perhaps to be read *nid/t(!)* in accordance with the term *nīd/t qabli* known from the musical passage in *KAR*, No. 158, for which see pp. 267 f. below.

pit-nu šak-nu la ter-ru-ub, "Do not enter where stringed instruments are played,"²⁰ (23) *na r t u r s a* (var. *šîr*). *z u . b a n a m . m a . r a . a b . è . (e n)* (23a) [*n*] *a - a - r a š e - e ḫ - r a m u - d i - e pit-ni la tu-še-eš-ša-a*, "drive not forth the young musician skilled in stringed instruments."

3. Stringing and adjusting stringed instruments

Nabitu Q 5 f.: [] . x²¹ = *šu-tu-u šá ma-ḫa-ši*, "to string, said of weaving"; [] . d ù = MIN *šá pit-ni*, "to string, said of a stringed instrument." Cf. Hh XIX 198-201 , referring to the warp and woof of cloth: *t ú g . d ú b . d i* = *ka-an-du*, *t ú g . d u n . d u n* = MIN, *t ú g . d u n . d u n* = *šá-tu-ú*, "strung" (words for the warp), *t ú g . š à . t a g* = *maḫ-šu*, "woven"²² (i.e., the woof).²³

Stringing goes together with tightening (or "pulling taut," "stretching") in *Emesal Voc. III (MSL IV 38) 114 f.*: *z é . z é* = *BU.BU* = *nu-su-ḫu*, "to make taut"; *z é . z é* = *d u n . d u n* = *ša-tu-u*, "to string."

The technical terms for tightening and loosening the strings occur as a pair in various musical contexts. In Nabitu XXXII (a musical treatise; see below) rev. iii 20'-21' we find *g í d . i* = *na-sa-ḫu . . .*], "to tighten (strings)," and [*t*] *u . l u* = *ne-^x[y . . .]*, "to loosen (strings)." The same pair of words, *g í d . i* and *t u . l u*, appears in the long section of Proto-Lu that deals with musical terms (lines 624 f.) as well as in the Shulgi Hymn *UET VI*, No. 81 rev. 17.

A student's character is said to be "taut" in the late Babylonian bilingual *Edubba* text "Examenstext A" (an unpublished edition by Landsberger), line 49: *pi-it-ne-it* (var. *pi-it-ni-e-ti*) *ul ta-ra-bi-ib*, "You are taut, do not be slack!" Here we must have a denominative verb, **petēnu*; cf. *NB puttunu*, "to make firm," "to

²⁰ For a discussion of the Sumerian song categories (*sa.gí.d.da*, *sa.gar.ra*, etc.) see Falkenstein in *ZA XLIX 93 ff.* The terms are also discussed by Hartmann, *op. cit.* pp. 184-252.

²¹ x = *d u l* on copy of K.4497, *CT XIX*, Pl. 46; photo looks like *d[u]n(?)*.

²² Note that *šutú* is given as synonym of *maḫāšu* in *Malku I 111* (see Kilmer in *JAOS LXXXIII 426*).

²³ See the article on *maḫāšu* by M. Held in *JAOS LXXIX 175*, n. 116 (correct to *šá-tu-ú* and *š à . t a g*).

²⁴ x like *i[s]* or *s[i]* in copy; see *RA XVII 165* (K.9922) line 21'. Since *Malku II 272* lists as synonyms *ne-²-u* and *ra-ba-bu*, perhaps *nē²-u* is intended in Nabitu XXXII 21'.

make strong," used side by side with *dunnunu*, "to strengthen" (see *CAD* III 85); Sumerian differs: *n a m . n e r . g á l n a m . ḥ a . t u . l u* (variants not given).

Another allusion to the tautness of musical strings is found in the *šà.zi.ga* incantations. The unique use of *šerānu*, usually "muscle," instead of *pitnu* for the musical string is exhibited in Robert D. Biggs, "The *šà.zi.ga* Incantations: Sumerian and Akkadian Love Charms" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 1962) p. 161:

(line 14) *nī-iš lib-bi-ia lu* A.MEŠ ÍD GEN.MEŠ

(line 15) *i-šá-ri lu sa-an* (var. *šer-an*) *sa-am-mi-e* (var. *sa-mi-e*), "May my potency be (like) flowing river water, may my penis be (as taut as) a lyre-string."

(line 17) *DÙ.DÙ.BI SA ZÀ.MÍ* (var. *sa-am-me-e*) *TI-qi . . .*, "Its ritual: you take a lyre-string (and tie it around his hands, for potency)."

4. The names of individual musical strings

As discussed in the *Orientalia* article cited in note 11, an unpublished tablet from Ur (U.3011) that deals entirely with musical terminology²⁵ provided the key to our understanding of certain words applied to the *sa*'s found in the list of coefficients CBS 10996. The identification of U.3011 as the thirty-second tablet of the series Nabnitu was made by Landsberger from the catchline of Nabnitu XXXI. The first column of Nabnitu XXXII is here presented in transliteration and translation from a hand copy of Professor O. R. Gurney, who will publish the tablet in the future.

Nabnitu XXXII column i

<i>sa.di</i>	<i>gud-mu-u[m]</i>	fore (string) ²⁶
<i>sa.uš</i>	<i>šá-mu-šu-um</i>	next (string) ²⁷
<i>sa.3 sa.sig</i>	<i>šá-al-šu qa-a[t-nu]</i>	third, thin (string)
<i>sa.4.tur</i>	<i>A-ba-nu-[ú]</i>	{Sum.: fourth, small Akk.: Ea-creator ²⁸
5. <i>sa.di.*5</i> (text 4)	<i>ḥa-am-[šu]</i>	fifth (string)
<i>sa.4.a.g.a.gul</i>	<i>ri-bi úḥ-ri-i[m]</i>	fourth of the behind (string)
<i>sa.3.a.g.a.gul</i>	<i>šal-ši úḥ-ri-im</i>	third of the behind (string)
<i>'sa.2.a.g.a'.gul</i>	<i>ši-ni úḥ-ri-im</i>	second of the behind (string)
<i>[sa.1]. 'a'.g.a.gul.la</i>	<i>úḥ-ru-um</i>	the behind-one (string)
10. <i>[9].sa.a</i>	<i>9 pi-it-nu</i>	nine strings
<i>[] x (y)²⁹</i>	<i>pi-is-mu</i>	. . . ³⁰
<i>[]</i>	<i>i-šar-ti</i>	. . . ³¹
<i>[]</i>	<i>[t]i-'tú¹-ur i-šar-tum</i>	bridge, . . .
<i>[]</i>	<i>[ki-i]t-mu</i>	cover
15. <i>[]</i>	<i>[x y(z) k]i-it-mu</i>	. . . cover
<i>[]</i>	<i>[x y]-um</i>	. . .
<i>[]</i>	<i>[x y-u]m</i>	. . .

(remainder of col. i broken)

²⁵ A duplicate fragment is K.9922 (see n. 24), cited in *MSL* VI 119.

²⁶ I.e., *sa.di* for *sa.did*, "string one"; for Sum. *did*, "one," see Falkenstein, *Gerichtsurkunden* III 97 (correct *Or.* XXIX 299, n. 4).

²⁷ I.e., as loanword: *sa.uš* > *sawuššu* > *šamūšu*, "the one that follows," "the next one."

²⁸ Cf. the writing ⁴*É-a-dù* in CBS 10996 i 17 and 20 (see pp. 266 f. below). For *é* pronounced *a* note e.g. *Diri* VI 1, *á* = *é.A.* = ⁴*En-ki*; *Emesal* Voc. III (*MSL* IV 36) 94, *á-ma-r* =

é-ga-ra. Ea as the god of arts and crafts and creativity is well known (see Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta*, pp. 288-90).

²⁹ Like 'NUM' + GAR.

³⁰ The word *pismu* is known elsewhere as a description of a sheep disease, similar to *ḥinqu* (see *CAD* VI), "stricture." Some restricting device (such as "damper" or "mute"?) may be intended here (and cf. *kitmu*), perhaps in contrast to *išartu*, "normal," in the sense of unrestricted in some way. Cf. the word *napsamu*, "muzzle" (see W. von Soden in *Or.* XX 267-69).

³¹ See n. 30.

As will be seen below (p. 266), lines 11–17 of Nabnitu XXXII i contain some of the words that occur in CBS 10996 i. The remaining three columns of Nabnitu XXXII deal with instruments and their parts, with technical musical terms, and with song categories.

The string names of what we take to be a particular nine-stringed instrument are, then,

- 1st = *qudmu*
- 2nd = *šamūšu*
- 3rd = *šalšu qatnu*
- 4th = *A-bānū*
- 5th = *hamšu*
- 6th = *ribi uḫri*
- 7th = *šalši uḫri*
- 8th = *šini uḫri*
- 9th = *uḫru*

The Sumerian word for the first string in Nabnitu XXXII was loaned into Akkadian as *sadīdu*, “first (string).”

Malku III 68–70: *qu-ud-mu* = *maḥ-[ru]*, “first,” *ul-lu-ú* = *maḥ-[ru-u]*, “the first,” *sa-di-du* = MIN, “ditto.”

An enigmatic Akkadian rendering of a first and a last string is offered by *ASKT*, p. 128, rev. 5 f. (Ishtar praises herself): *sa . a i . b í m è n sa . a a . b a m è n LI maḥru anāku LI arku anāku*, “I am the first string, I am the last string.”

The noun *sadīdu* with the meaning “vanguard,” “advance guard” must also be a loanword from **sa . did*, as for example in OB omen apodoses: (“If the gall bladder . . .”) *LÚ KUR-rum sa-di-di-ka u mu-ḫa-ti-pi-ka* [. . .], “the enemy [will . . .] your vanguards and your . . .”³² (*YOS X*, No. 28:10), or (“if the ‘yoke’ . . .”) *kuṣṣu dannu ibbašši ana kakki sa-di-id-ka* [*nakrum idāk*], “there will be fierce cold; regarding warfare, [the enemy will kill] your vanguard” (*RA XLIV 13* [VAT 4102] line 12, with note on p. 16).

Also derived from **sa . did* > *sadīdu* may be the noun *saddum*, “advance guard(?)”, known from the Mari tablets: [. . .] *sa-ad-da-am adi pāni abullija* [. . .] (cited in Bottéro, *Le problème des Ḫabiru*, p. 21, No. 26:24); *nakrum* . . . GN *ilqú[ma] u sa-ad-[da-am] ana* [*libb[i mātim] uwaššeru alpī u šall[latam] ilqú*], “the enemy . . . took GN and, having dispatched an advance guard into the interior, they took cattle and booty” (*ARMT IV*, No. 21:5–11).³³

³² Meaning unknown.

³³ The word occurs again in a Mari letter in which a woman is said to belong to the *saddum* of the Jaminites (passage cited in *Mél. Dussaud II* 994).

Uncertain, but connected in meaning, are such passages as (“If an area of the liver”) *gu sa-di-id* . . . “is streaked with string . . .” (*TCL VI*, No. 3:8); cf. *sadīdūm*, “stringlike filament(?)”, as used in oil omens (*YOS X*, No. 58 rev. 11).

5. SA as note and interval on the musical scale

The evidence for this use of the word comes from the aforementioned list of coefficients CBS 10996, published in *Orientalia* (see n. 11). This text has shed new light on ancient Near Eastern music if we accept the convincing analysis of the pertinent lines by a historian of musical instruments.

A year or more after the appearance of the *Orientalia* article, Dr. Marcelle Duchesne-Guillemin, while on a visit to Chicago, became apprised of and immediately interested in the cuneiform passage dealing with musical strings that is part of this list. Whereas the discussion in *Orientalia* only made guesses at the implications for music that those lines might have, Dr. Duchesne-Guillemin had some concrete proposals as to the precise character of the passage (col. i). In testing her hypothesis she engaged in conversations with the writer and with Professor Güterbock. According to her, the double-number combinations in lines 6–10 and in the second halves of lines 11–24 refer to intervals on the scale (and not to chords as suggested in *Orientalia XXIX*), which intervals appear to be provided with names, some of which she attempted to explain. Moreover, the lack of numbers above 7 and the substitution of 1 for expected 8 (in line 14) and of 2 for expected 9 (in line 16) led her to conclude that a heptatonic scale is involved.³⁴

Her study was based on those preserved lines of the tablet in which the string numbers are written syllabically (using the first seven string names discussed above) and which thus dictated one obvious correction.³⁵ She then noticed that

³⁴ The exact meaning of another musical term, *tigū* < *tigi* (NAR.BALAG), in the expression *tigi.7.e* remains unknown and may or may not have a connection with the posited heptatonic scale. Add to Hartmann’s references (*op. cit.* p. 87, n. 6) from an Enki hymn that in a Shulgi hymn (*ZAL 70*, line 81): *nar.mu tigi.7(e) šir ḫa.ma.a.n.e.e.š* (read *tigi.za(!)za* by Falkenstein); this reference I owe to M. Civil.

³⁵ Lines 15 and 16 have 3, 4 and 2, 4 instead of 3,*7 and 2,*7.

the underlying musical theory presented itself in a cyclical fashion. Professor Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin observed that, provided one postulated a few changes in the readings, lines 6–10 might be identical with the second halves of lines 20–24. The tablet was then kindly made available by Professor Kramer for collation, thus enabling Professor Güterbock and the writer to verify the proposed new readings³⁶ and thereby to confirm the repetitive character of the text as well as to fill the gap at the beginning of the column.

Following the publication of Mrs. Duchesne-Guillemin's study, "Découverte d'une gamme babylonienne," in the *Revue de Musicologie* XLIX (1963) 3–17, we examined the passage once again and present the following improved edition of the section on strings.

As can now be seen, 9 lines, and not 6, were broken at the beginning; they are restored here, though we still follow (by using letters) the line numbering of the earlier edition. Lines a–5 are restored from lines 11–19, lines 21–24 from lines 7–10.

CBS 10996 column i

[a. 1, 5		SA <i>niš</i> GAB.RI]
[b. 7, 5		SA x(y) z]
[c. 2, 6		SA <i>i-šar-tum</i>]
[d. 1, 6		SA <i>šal-šá-tum</i>]
[1. 3, 7		SA <i>em-bu-bu</i>]
[2. 2, 7		SA 4-tu]
[3. 4, 1		SA NIM MURUB ₄]
[4. 1, 3		SA GIŠ.NIM.MA]
[5. 5, 2		SA MURUB ₄ -tu (= <i>qablītu</i>)]
6. 12, 4		SA <i>ti-tur</i> MURUB ₄ ¹ -tum ³⁷
7. 6, 3 ³⁸		SA <i>kit-mu</i>
8. 3, *5 ³⁹		SA <i>ti-tur i-šar-tum</i> ⁴⁰
9. 7, 4		SA * <i>pi-tum</i> ⁴¹
10. 4, 6		SA <i>muš-du</i> ⁴²
11. SA <i>qud-mu-ú</i>	ù SA 5-šú	1, 5 SA <i>niš</i> GAB.RI ⁴³
12. SA 3 <i>uḫ-ri</i>	ù SA 5-šú	7, 5 SA x(y) z ⁴⁴
13. SA <i>ša-GE</i> ₆ ⁴⁵	ù SA 4 <i>uḫ-ri</i>	2, 6 SA <i>i-šar-tum</i>
14. SA <i>qud-mu-ú</i>	ù SA 4 <i>uḫ-ri</i>	1, 6 SA <i>šal-šá-tum</i>
15. SA 3 ⁴⁶ -šú SIG	ù SA 3-šú <i>uḫ-ri</i>	3, *7 ⁴⁷ SA <i>em-bu-bu</i>
16. SA <i>šá-GE</i> ₆	ù SA 3-šú <i>uḫ-ri</i>	2, *7 ⁴⁸ SA 4-tu
17. SA ^d <i>É</i> -a-DÛ	ù SA <i>qud-mu-ú</i>	4, 1 SA NIM ⁴⁹ MURUB ₄
18. SA <i>qud-mu-ú</i>	ù SA 3-šú SIG	1, 3 SA GIŠ.NIM.MA
19. SA 5 ⁵⁰ -šú	ù SA <i>šá-GE</i> ₆	5, 2 SA MURUB ₄ -tu (= <i>qablītu</i>)

³⁶ As can be seen from the photo in *Or.* XXIX, the script is unusually difficult.

³⁷ Collated.

³⁸ 6, 3 collated; cf. line 21.

³⁹ Text has 3, 6; emended according to line 22.

⁴⁰ In all probability to be connected with the *eširtum* (see *CAD* VII 224, under *išaru*, adj.) in *KAR*, No. 158 (see p. 267 below).


⁴¹ Read *sa-ti-tum* in the earlier edition; new reading based on *KAR*, No. 158 (see p. 267 below). Text has ⁺*gat* (collated) for *pi*.

⁴² Previously read *sa-muš-šum*; collated.

⁴³ Previously read *man-ga*(!)-*ri*, "reed basket." Corrected after parallel in *KAR*, No. 158 (see p. 268 below).

⁴⁴ We retract the earlier attempt at reading SAR.NIGIN₂. Perhaps read *še-e*(!)-*ru*(!) (cf. *zamar še-e-ri*, a type of song, known from *KAR*, No. 158 viii 19).


⁴⁵ I.e., *ša-mūšu*, the second string, as in *Nabnitu* XXXII i 2.

⁴⁶ Text writes 3 as  (but cf. *Nabnitu* XXXII i 3).

⁴⁷ Text has 3, 4; emendation noted in *Or.* XXIX 300, n. 4.

⁴⁸ Text has 2, 4.

⁴⁹ Because of the term *ni-id*/t MURUB₄, ". . . of the middle," in *KAR*, No. 158 (see p. 268 below), it is tempting to try to emend this line accordingly. Though NIGIN₂(!) is a possibility, the NIM sign is exactly the same as that in the following line, and a reading *nītu* is not attested for NIGIN₂.

⁵⁰ Text writes 5 as ; that it must be *hamšu* is known from the number 5 at the end of the line and because 5 is written normally in line 22 (cf. *Nabnitu* XXXII i 5).

20. SA šá-GE ₆	ù SA ^d Ē-a-DÙ	2, 4 SA 'ti-tur ¹ MURUB ₄ -tú
21. SA 4 uḫ-ri	ù SA 3-šú SIG	6, 3 S[A kit-mu]
22. SA 3-šú SIG	ù SA 5-šú	3 ¹ , [5 SA ti-tur i-šar-tum]
23. SA 3-šú uḫ-ri	ù [SA ^d Ē-a-DÙ	7, 4 SA pi-tum]
24. SA ^d Ē-a-DÙ	[ù SA 4 uḫ-ri	4, 6 SA muš-du]
(remainder of col. i destroyed)		

There is good reason to believe that the statement concerning the strings ended with line 24 inasmuch as the full repetition of lines a–10 has been accomplished. The terms referring to the individual strings are translated above (p. 264). As to the terms (in lines a–10 and at the ends of lines 11–24) used to describe the intervals (fifths, fourths, and thirds), we hesitate to offer translations, though the following may be given tentatively:

- lines c, 13: *išartum*, “normal”⁵¹
 d, 14: *šalš(ā)tum*, “a third”/“thirds”⁵²
 1, 15: *embubu*, “flute”
 2, 16: 4-tu, “a fourth”/“fourths”/
 “fourth”⁵³
 5, 19: *qablītu*, “middle”
 6, 20: *titur qablītu*, “bridge, middle”
 7, 21: *kitmu*, “cover”⁵⁴
 8, 22: *titur išartum*, “bridge, normal”
 10, 24: *mušdu*, “comb(?)”

The names of the intervals in order, that is, as one moves along the scale by the string numbers, are, then,

	INTERMEDIATE INTERVALS ⁵⁵
1st = <i>niš</i> GAB.RI	x(y) z
2nd = <i>išartum</i>	<i>šalš(ā)tum</i>
3rd = <i>embubu</i>	<i>rebî/â/ūtu</i>
4th = NIM MURUB ₄	GIŠ.NIM.MA
5th = <i>qablītu</i>	<i>titur qablītu</i>
6th = <i>kitmu</i>	<i>titur išartu</i>
7th = <i>pītu</i>	<i>mušdu</i>

⁵¹ Our original translation “upright” was based on the Hh VII B 47 entry *giš.zà.mí.sí.sá* = *išartu*, said of the lyre. But see now the remarks in n. 30 above.

6. The names of the SA intervals used as a technical description of songs

The long catalogue of vocal and instrumental music *KAR*, No. 158, has a summary of the totaled entries in its last column (viii). In line 45 of that column (*KAR*, p. 272) begins the last preserved category of music that is summed up, the GABA.MEŠ (= *irātu*). That this particular music belongs to the genre of love songs is revealed by the content of the individual titles, recently discussed by M. Held in connection with the OB love dialogue.⁵⁶

It will be noted that in the lines of *KAR*, No. 158 viii, given below, all the preserved descriptive words are found as names of intervals on the scale in CBS 10996 i (see above).

<i>KAR</i> , No. 158 viii	CBS 10996 i
45. 23 <i>irātu ša e-šir⁵⁷-te Akkadî</i> K1	lines c, 13
“23 love songs, of the ‘normal’ (type), Akkadian”	
46. 17 <i>irātu ša ki-it-me</i>	7, 21
“17 love songs, of the ‘cover’ (type)”	
47. 24 <i>irātu ša eb-bu-be</i>	1, 15
“24 love songs, of the ‘flute’ (type)”	
48. 4 <i>irātu ša pi-i-te</i>	9, 23
“4 love songs, of the . . . (type)”	

⁵² *šalšātum* is the plural form of the fraction; if the fraction is not intended here, one must posit an erroneous singular *šalšatum*.

⁵³ 4-tu may be read as the ordinal *rebūtu* or the fraction *rebītu* (sg.) or *rebātu* (plur.).

⁵⁴ The earlier rendering “cover(ed flute)” was based on the occurrence of *kitmu* preceding *embubu*, “flute,” in *KAR*, No. 158 (lines 46 and 47). In view of the new evidence, however, there is no reason to assume that *kitmu* (as well as *pītu*) is a type of flute.

⁵⁵ See the diagram on p. 269 of Dr. Duchesne-Guillemin’s remarks appended below and her musical transcription (given in “do-re-mi” for the sake of convention).

⁵⁶ *JCS* XV 12 ff.

⁵⁷ Here the *štr* sign is distinct from the *šar* in, e.g., col. ii 25 (*KAR*, p. 268).

- | | | |
|--|-----------|--|
| 49. [] <i>irātu ša ni-it/d</i> ⁵⁸ MURUB ₄
“... love songs, of the . . .
(type)” | cf. 3, 17 | the music of our period would, at least, not be contradicted by this evidence, though its meaning remains elusive. |
| 50. [] <i>irātu ša ni-[*]iš</i> (copy: <i>i'l</i>)
GAB.RI
“... love songs, of the . . .
(type)” | a, 11 | <i>eširtu</i> = 2nd
<i>embubu</i> = 3rd
6th = <i>kitmu</i> |
| 51. [] <i>irātu ša</i> MURUB ₄ - <i>te</i> (= <i>qab-līte</i>)
“... love songs, of the ‘middle’
(type)” | 5, 19 | <i>nīd/t qabli</i> = 4th
<i>qablītu</i> = 5th
7th = <i>pītu</i>
1st = <i>nīš</i> GAB.RI
[broken] |
| 52. [<i>irātu ša</i>] (x)y ⁵⁹ | | |

An observation that is as tantalizing as it is unintelligible is that the lines quoted above exhibit an ordered sequence with regard to the intervals known from CBS 10996 i (see p. 267) and that they likewise present an alternating pattern, but one that differs from CBS 10996 i. Just as in CBS 10996 i, seven intervals appear,⁶⁰ though here the sequence starts with the 2nd and ends(?) with the 1st. It appears reasonable that the cyclical theory and the heptatonic scale advanced by Dr. Duchesne-Guillemin for

It is hoped that the foregoing collection of material on the strings of musical instruments, piecemeal and inconclusive as it is, will attract some further remarks by those who are better able than the writer to discuss the topic from the theoretical viewpoint as well as to draw comparisons from the musical terminology outside the cuneiform world.

Dr. Duchesne-Guillemin has kindly sent the writer a few additional remarks, which are appended here and for which we thank her.⁶¹

APPENDIX

NOTE COMPLÉMENTAIRE SUR LA DÉCOUVERTE DE LA GAMME BABYLONIENNE


MARCELLE DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN

Le temps écoulé depuis la publication de mon article* sur la tablette CBS 10996 et des études subséquentes en musicologie comparée m'ont permis de proposer une solution à quelques points demeurés obscurs et, grâce à l'une ou l'autre lecture améliorée présentement par les éminents philologues que sont les professeurs Güterbock et Mrs. Kilmer, de compléter les éléments de théorie musicale que recèlent cette inestimable tablette et celle d'Ur (U.3011), qui sera éditée complètement prochainement par le

professeur Gurney. (Mrs. Kilmer a eu l'amabilité de me communiquer quelques précisions de plus sur cette dernière tablette.)

Qu'il me soit permis, pour fixer les idées, et pour résumer cette intéressante partie de la tablette CBS 10996 consacrée aux arrangements des cordes d'un instrument, de transcrire dans un schéma graphique ce qui est exposé en toutes lettres, en ayant soin d'indiquer par des flèches

⁵⁸ Cf. the gloss *pitnu ša x.MURUB₄* cited above on p. 263. Either *nītu* < *nētum* (see *JCS* XV 14) or *nīdu* < *nadū* may be meant here: "... of the middle."

⁵⁹ (x)y =  in copy. A possible restoration is [total number . . . songs *ak-ka-d]u-ú* (cf. lines 6, 16, 18, 24, and 28), which would indicate the end of a "set."

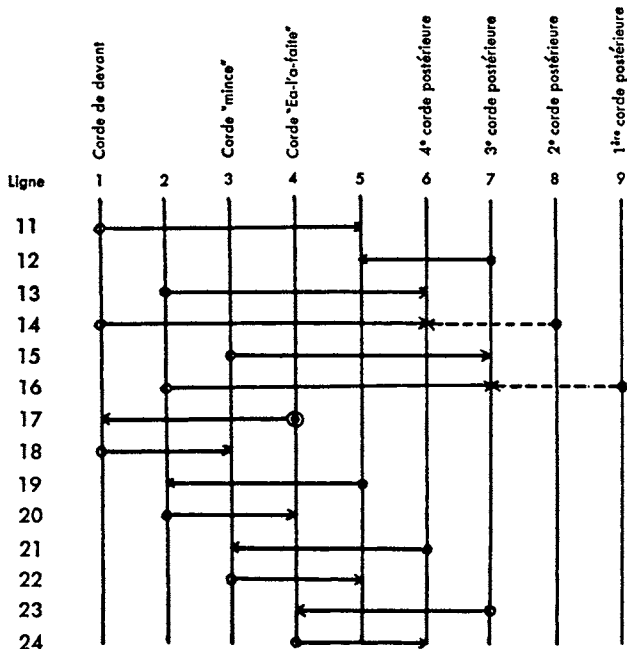
⁶⁰ One wonders what "intervals" are doing in a song catalogue, unless the scribe is telling us something that would be similar to our "x-songs in the key of . . ."

⁶¹ Dr. Duchesne-Guillemin had at the time of writing not yet been informed about the passage in *KAR*, No. 158 viii, but she has been kind enough to discuss it in a postscript to her remarks.

* « Découverte d'une gamme babylonienne », *Revue de musicologie de Paris* XLIX (1963) 3-17.

la direction de la démarche. Ce graphique prouve à l'évidence: (1) que nous avons à faire à une *théorie cohérente* et non à des éléments dispersés, comme c'est souvent le cas dans les « key-numbers »; (2) que toute la démonstration est *centrée*

REPRÉSENTATION GRAPHIQUE DU TEXTE



autour de la note « Ea-l'a-faite » (ou « Ea-créateur »), la quatrième (Mèse, à notre avis); (3) que la théorie est *cyclique* et qu'elle porte en elle ses limites par le recommencement, le retour des mêmes degrés à l'octave.

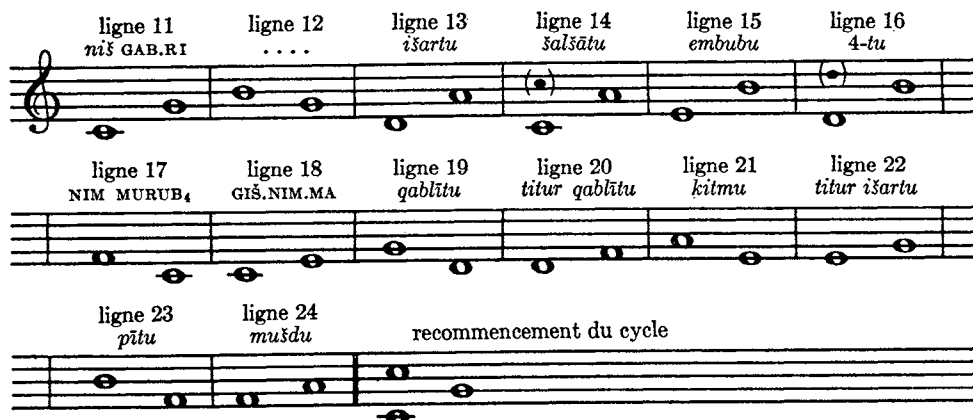
Dans le schéma, j'indique par des pointillés l'hypothèse de la substitution des sixtes aux tierces donnant une explication aux termes « troisième » et « quatrième » (lignes 14 et 16).

Je me borne à transcrire graphiquement cette seule partie de la tablette (lignes 11 à 24) parce qu'elle se suffit à elle-même et ne nécessite aucune correction dans les chiffres écrits en toutes lettres. Mais il est évident que cette partie explicite répète des données exposées une première fois, de façon plus succincte, par les seuls « key-numbers ». Cela paraît indiquer chez le scribe un souci de correction dû à la difficulté de la matière ou peut-être à sa nouveauté.

La transcription sur portée, donnée ensuite ci-dessous, aide à mémoriser les significations musicales que j'ai proposées dans mon premier article. Il est utile de rappeler que la correspondance de la 1^{re} corde au do³ est une simple convention de commodité: elle rend compte de la place des demi-tons, mais elle n'a rien à voir avec la hauteur absolue des notes. Cette transcription nous sera utile dans la comparaison avec la tablette d'Ur (= Série lexicographique SIG₇ + ALAM = Nabnitu tablette XXXII).

Au point de départ de mon exégèse se trouvait le nom donné à la troisième corde, dite « corde mince ». Il existe un parallèle à cette appellation: elle s'est conservée jusqu'à nos jours dans la terminologie des instruments à cordes africains en Uganda. Kl. Wachsmann dans l'importante description des instruments de musique qui complète l'ouvrage de M. Trowell, *Tribal Crafts of Uganda* (Oxford, 1953), nous livre quelques noms de cordes parmi lesquels nous trouvons « Akakoba » ("the thin string"; p. 403). En considérant l'échelle donnée à la table 8, nous voyons de plus que la corde « mince » se situe à

TRANSCRIPTION MUSICALE: NOM ET POSITION DES INTERVALLES
(CONVENTIONNELLEMENT EN DO)



un demi-ton d'intervalle du degré voisin, si on les replace dans l'ordre de succession de la gamme. Or, la harpe en arc horizontal de l'Uganda est un lointain rejeton de la harpe semblable sumérienne. En effet, elle diffère complètement de celle qui a été apportée à l'Afrique par la civilisation égyptienne et qui est tenue quasi verticalement avec son bois rapproché de l'épaule ou appuyé sur elle. Dans la harpe horizontale, inversement, le bois forme un arc dont la concavité est tournée vers le musicien, les cordes sont tendues dans cette concavité et s'étagent les unes au-dessus des autres. L'Égypte n'a jamais adopté ce type d'instrument, remarquais-je dans mon article de « L'Encyclopédie de la Pléiade » (*Histoire de la Musique I* [Paris, 1960]) p. 357, pas plus que la harpe angulaire horizontale et n'a donc pu la transmettre à ses voisins. Le chemin suivi par la harpe horizontale a été indiqué trop brièvement par Wachsmann dans une communication au *Journal of the International Folk Music Council VIII* (1956) 23-25; il convient d'y insister et mes études récentes m'ont persuadée du bien-fondé de cette découverte qu'il développera prochainement dans un article plus étoffé. Ce petit fait vient appuyer son hypothèse et nous donne une fois de plus la preuve de la pérennité des détails dans l'histoire des instruments de musique.

Les nouvelles lectures *ti-tur* MURUB₄-*tu* et *ti-tur i-šar-tum* sont aussi extrêmement fructueuses, car elles nous apportent un élément de comparaison et pour leur donner un sens, il suffit d'un simple raisonnement. Qu'y a-t-il de commun entre l'intervalle ré-fa et l'intervalle mi-sol sinon l'étendue: un ton et demi dans chaque cas? Qu'y a-t-il de différent sinon leur place respective: *ti-tur* MURUB₄ situé sur le premier trihémiton de la gamme, ré-fa, *ti-tur i-šar-tum* sur le second, mi-sol?

Ceci nous permet de donner un sens plus plausible et plus précis encore à notre hypothèse concernant les appellations « troisième » et « quatrième »: ce pourraient être les 3^e et 4^e *ti-tur* ou « ponts » (sous-entendus).

Pour tenter d'interpréter *muš-du* (peigne?), je suggérerai seulement l'hypothèse d'un peigne à trois dents égales (trois notes séparées par deux intervalles égaux), mais les Suméro-Babyloniens employaient-ils de tels peignes et s'en servaient-ils comme points de comparaison?

Il me reste maintenant à considérer la tablette d'Ur (U.3011) qui nous a été si précieuse au début de la recherche, en permettant de connaître la curieuse appellation des neuf cordes de l'instrument: (1^{ère}) corde de devant, 2^e, 3^e, 4^e, 5^e, 4^e postérieure, 3^e postérieure, 2^e postérieure, 1^{ère} postérieure, numérotation si inattendue que si nous ne l'avions pas connue l'exégèse de la tablette CBS 10996 n'aurait pu être entreprise.

Nous verrons que la tablette d'Ur profite à son tour, pour l'éclaircissement de certains points, de la compréhension de la tablette CBS 10996.

En effet, après l'énumération des cordes une à une avec leur noms respectifs dans les 9 premières lignes, nous voyons (ligne 10) l'expression « neuf cordes ». Comment l'interpréter? Ce pourrait être soit le nom de l'instrument (comme nous avons *trichordon* en Grèce), soit une notion abstraite d'étendue. Je penche plutôt pour cette dernière hypothèse, car, sitôt après une ligne obscure, ligne 11, *pi-is-mu*, nous retrouvons des mots familiers tel *i-šar-tum* employé à la ligne 13 de la tablette CBS 10996 et qui désigne une étendue de quinte (de la 6^e à la 2^e corde).

La ligne 13 de la tablette U.3011, *ti-tú-ur i-šar-tum*, exprime la tierce mi-sol dans CBS 10996, lignes 8 et 22. A la ligne suivante, ligne 14, se lit *kit-mu*, qui signifie l'intervalle de quatre cordes la-mi dans l'autre document, lignes 7 et 21. La ligne 15 de la tablette U.3011 a un terme composé, [x]-*kit-mu*, c'est-à-dire une valeur comprise dans la quarte si nous en jugeons par analogie avec *ti-tur i-šar-tum* et *ti-tur* MURUB₄-*tú*; ce n'est évidemment pas l'intervalle mi-sol puisque nous savons que celui-ci est exprimé par le terme *ti-tur i-šar-tum*; ce ne peut être non plus l'intervalle de deux tons la-fa qui est rendu déjà par *muš-du*; ce n'est probablement pas le mot *ti-tur* qu'il faut attendre, mais une autre expression, qui s'appliquera à un autre intervalle que le trihémiton; restent seuls en question le *ton* la-sol (ou sol-fa) ou le *demi-ton* fa-mi. Espérons que nos savants épigraphistes nous apporteront sous peu ces éléments dont l'importance n'échappe pas au musicologue, puisqu'une telle trouvaille fournirait la liste complète des intervalles de l'octave dans le système heptatonique chez les Suméro-Babyloniens.

Une remarque de plus: si le mot *pi-is-mu* pouvait signifier, outre son acception ordinaire,

une notion d'intervalle comme les termes des lignes suivantes, nous aurions à faire dans cette tablette U.3011 à un résumé succinct des principaux intervalles: 9 cordes (étendue totale de la harpe ou lyre), *pi-is-mu* (peut-être octave?), quinte, tierce, quarte et seconde (maj. ou min.). Une sorte de logique formelle se trouverait satisfaite par cette succession du plus grand au plus petit, avec ce dessin alternant.

Pour livrer enfin les dernières réflexions que j'ai faites au sujet de la vieille numérotation des cordes, 1-2-3-4-5-4-3-2-1, je suis de plus en plus persuadée que cette numérotation était celle du système pentatonique; pour l'instrument à 9 cordes, il offre de si belles raisons de symétrie que je ne résiste pas au plaisir de les exposer.

Dans le pentatonisme, où les notes sont disposées avec les mêmes distances qui séparent les touches noires du piano, quelles sont les notes importantes? La première, qui sert de point de départ, sorte de tonique, la troisième, qui est la quarte consonante, la quatrième, qui est la quinte. Si nous avons à faire à un instrument plus étendu, la sixième corde aura immédiatement une importance considérable parce qu'elle sera la consonance par excellence, l'octave; la huitième et la neuvième aussi, comme octaves de quarte et quinte. Remarquons que les quatre notes « postérieures » ont un caractère commun; elles redoublent les notes de devant. Mais ce qui

est particulièrement frappant, c'est que si nous les égrenons en *sens inverse*, comme nous y invite la numérotation inversée des cordes, nous constatons une *parfaite symétrie* des intervalles:

un ton entre la 1^{ère} et la 2^e, ainsi qu'entre la 1^{ère} postérieure et la 2^e postérieure,
une quarte entre la 1^{ère} et la 3^e, ainsi qu'entre la 1^{ère} postérieure et la 3^e postérieure,
une quinte entre la 1^{ère} et la 4^e, ainsi qu'entre la 1^{ère} postérieure et la 4^e postérieure,
 la 5^e corde constituant l'axe de symétrie.

Cette intéressante et commode disposition des cordes n'a pu être conservée lors du passage au système heptatonique. Elle ne sert plus désormais; elle se reflète encore dans le nom des cordes mais n'intervient plus dans le calcul des intervalles; pour celui-ci une seconde numérotation, de 1 à 7, était nécessaire. C'est pourquoi la tablette CBS 10996 a cette double numérotation.

De plus, il a fallu que la quarte soit déplacée de la 3^e à la 4^e corde et que cette importante modification soit fortement signalée à l'attention des musiciens. Peut-être est-il permis de conjecturer qu'on a donné pour cette raison, à la 4^e corde, le nom du dieu Ea?

En conclusion, nous pouvons constater que les lectures des deux tablettes se consolident mutuellement et exprimer le vœu que d'autres documents nous soient livrés un jour pour compléter notre étude.

POSTSCRIPT

La tablette *KAR*, n° 158, dont le texte vient de m'être soumis au cours de l'impression de cet article, nous apporte plus d'un élément intéressant et vaut qu'on s'y arrête avec attention.

En effet, comme le remarque Mrs. Kilmer avec pertinence, « the scribe is telling something that would be similar to our « x songs in the key of . . . » », il y a trois éléments importants, qu'elle a notés: a) les sept termes employés ici nous sont connus, étant parmi ceux de la tablette CBS 10996; b) ils servent de moyen de classification; c) ils se présentent dans un ordre logique, bien que différent de CBS; nous allons tenter d'expliquer pourquoi.

Serrons l'analyse de plus près:

a) Ces sept termes s'appliquent à des étendues de cinq et quatre cordes que nous connaissons:

intervalles de quinte ou de quarte qui, dans ce cas-ci, sont certainement *composés*, c'est-à-dire qu'ils comprennent toutes les notes intermédiaires de la quinte ou de la quarte diatoniques.

b) Un classement se fondant sur de tels intervalles est tout à fait admissible et même *attendu* à ce stade très ancien de la musique, car il part du *nucléus* de la mélodie, de sa constituante essentielle. Très fréquemment en effet, nous trouvons dans la musique du Proche-Orient, que ce soit dans les chants conservés par des communautés juives de tradition très ancienne ou dans le répertoire folklorique des nomades, des mélodies à quatre ou cinq notes (cf. les articles de Léon Algazi, « Musique juive », et de Simon Jargy, « Musique populaire du Proche-Orient », dans *L'Encyclopédie de la Pléiade* I [Paris, 1960]).

L'ambitus de ces mélodies ne se limite pas toujours à la quinte ou quarte qui en forme le nucléus: nous voyons parfois s'y ajouter des notes redoublant celles du nucléus à l'octave, ou même, fugitivement, des notes voisines du nucléus, mais qui n'en altèrent pas le *mode* (c'est-à-dire la disposition des tons et demi-tons dans la portion de gamme envisagée).

Que le scribe de la tablette *KAR*, n° 158, n'emploie que des intervalles de quinte et quarte, cela peut nous faire penser que la notion de mode existe déjà. Le système est simple et suffisant pour la gamme diatonique puisqu'il en épuise les sept degrés.

Les intervalles énumérés dans *KAR*, n° 158 viii, sont tous *différents*: le demi-ton est toujours encadré ou précédé ou suivi par les tons, jamais deux fois de la même façon: ou bien il n'existe pas. En voici le tableau (1 équivaut à ton entier, $\frac{1}{2}$ à demi-ton):

ligne 45	<i>išartum</i>	ré-mi-fa-sol-la	soit 1- $\frac{1}{2}$ -1-1
ligne 46	<i>kitmu</i>	la-sol-fa-mi	soit 1-1- $\frac{1}{2}$
ligne 47	<i>embubu</i>	mi-fa-sol-la-si	soit $\frac{1}{2}$ -1-1-1
ligne 48	<i>pītu</i>	si-la-sol-fa	soit 1-1-1
ligne 49	<i>ni-id/t</i> MURUB ₄	fa-mi-ré-do	soit $\frac{1}{2}$ -1-1
ligne 50	<i>niš</i> GAB.RI	do-ré-mi-fa-sol	soit 1-1- $\frac{1}{2}$ -1
ligne 51	<i>qablītu</i> (MURUB ₄)	sol-fa-mi-ré	soit 1- $\frac{1}{2}$ -1.

c) L'ordre suivi par le scribe dans *KAR*, n° 158, est différent de celui de CBS 10996: il commence, comme l'a vu Mrs. Kilmer, sur la 2^e

corde et finit sur la 1^{re}. Tentons de l'expliquer: *išartum* est, parmi les quintes de CBS, la plus importante parce qu'elle a la note d'Ea juste dans son milieu; cette quinte est citée aussi dans la tablette U.3011 et je lui donne (cf. supra) une signification plus générale qu'aux autres quintes. Il est explicable que le scribe ait commencé par elle. Remarquons en outre que le terme *qablītu* (MURUB₄) qui termine l'énumération correspond à l'intervalle qui place le demi-ton au centre. N'est-ce pas là une symétrie voulue?

Une dernière observation met encore en évidence la note d'Ea (en laquelle je vois de plus en plus l'équivalent de la Mèse grecque): c'est sur cette note que se produit ici, comme dans CBS, la rupture dans la démarche naturelle de l'exposé; là où l'on attendrait la quinte fa-sol-la-si-do, nous trouvons la quarte fa-mi-ré-do: nous voyons donc à cet endroit (lignes 48 et 49) deux quartes successives au lieu de l'alternance quarte-quinte. C'est vraiment le centre de la gamme.

La théorie se présente encore une fois comme *cyclique*, car si on continuait la série qui se termine à la ligne 51, on retomberait nécessairement sur les intervalles par lesquels on a commencé aux lignes 45 et suivantes. Ceci s'accorde avec la restitution de la ligne 52, offerte dans la note 59 (si-dessus p. 268), comme clôture de la série. Les deux résultats se recourent.

En conclusion, les trois tablettes envisagées dans cet article se complètent harmonieusement et reflètent un *ensemble de notions* de théorie musicale.

IŠTAR-ŠÂD AND THE BOW STAR

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In a discussion of the deities whom the Old Assyrian merchants invoked, together with Aššur, in solemn affirmations, Benno Landsberger¹ called attention to the deity whose name is usually spelled *Ištar-ZA.AT*.² It is an analysis of the nature of this and the related deities which I should like to present to him on his birthday, together with my warmest good wishes for many years of health and strength.

At the outset it can be stated that the question as to the gender used with reference to *Ištar-ZA.AT*, a question recently discussed by Hirsch,³ can be disregarded. For as was pointed out years ago by I. J. Gelb,⁴ *Ištar* goddesses can be either male or female, *Ištar* being the prototype of a bisexual deity. It is equally pertinent to note that *Ištar-ZA.AT* occurs only in letters exchanged between Assyrians; hence the possibility that she was one of the goddesses of the native population of Asia Minor can be ruled out. Some positive information can be derived from a letter (*ICK* I, No. 28) written by a woman named *Ištar-bašti*. She reminds the addressee, Aššur-šulûli, that she had given him a "heavy cloth" *ana tadmiqtim*, and she now urges him to hand over the money for this cloth to Amur-ili so that he may bring it to her. In return, she promises to pray for Aššur-šulûli "to *Ištar* and *Ištar-ZA.AT*."

A closely related case is the subject of the letter VAT 13512,⁵ addressed to *Ištar-bašti* by a

¹ See *Belleten* XIV (1950) 258.

² For passages mentioning *Ištar-ZA.AT* see H. Hirsch, *Untersuchungen zur altassyrischen Religion* (*Afo* Beiheft 13/14 [Graz, 1961]) pp. 25 f. and 36.

³ See *ibid.* p. 25, n. 123.

⁴ See *JAOS* LVIII (1938) 548 for a brief résumé of a paper delivered by Gelb at the 1938 meeting of the Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society at Chicago. Cf. Gelb's remarks in *MAD* No. 2 (2nd ed.; 1961) pp. 149 f., where he quotes the Old Assyrian names *Ištar-palil* and *Ištar-bani* (to which now *Ištar-il-šu* [*ICK* I, No. 119: 12] must be added) and the Neo-Assyrian name *Ištar-na'id* with the masculine form of the verb to prove "the double gender of this divinity" (so p. 150).

relative, Kutallânun.⁶ He tells *Ištar-bašti* that he intrusted 15 shekels of silver, her *tadmiqtum*, to a messenger, obviously for the purpose of delivering it to her. As 15 shekels of silver is the amount frequently quoted in the Kültepe material as the price of one *šubâtum*,⁷ it appears that in this instance, too, *Ištar-bašti* had sent a garment for sale to an Assyrian merchant in Anatolia expecting to receive in return the equivalent in silver. Now it is known from numerous examples that the wives, sisters, and mothers of the Assyrian businessmen, while staying at home in Assyria, took part in the export business by producing textiles which they sent from Assyria to Asia Minor for sale and for which the male members of the family then sent the proceeds in gold or silver. Since in these deals the textiles always went from Aššur to Cappadocia and the precious metals always from Cappadocia to Aššur, the two letters make it clear that this *Ištar-bašti* resided at Aššur.⁸

⁵ VAT 13512 runs as follows: ¹*a-na Ištar-ba-áš-ti* ²*ù A-šur-be-lí qí-bi-ma* ³*um-ma Ku-tal-lá-num-ma* ⁴*a-na Puzur-A-šur* ⁵*15 šiqli kaspam ta-ad-mi-iq-ta-ki* ⁶*maḥar En-na-nim a-di-in* ⁷*maḥar Bu-bu-ra-nim* ⁸*a-na Puzur-A-šur* ⁹*ap-qi-id* ¹⁰*ša(?)* ¹¹*A-šur-be-lí* ¹²*(?)* [. . .] *kaspum* (lines 12–15 illegible) ¹⁶*a-ḥa-ti a-ti* ¹⁷*li-bi-ki lá* ¹⁸*i-lá-mi-in*.

⁶ See line 16, where he addresses her as "my sister."

⁷ See e.g. *ICK* I, No. 108: 2 f.; for some further examples see P. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce* (Paris 1963) p. 286.

⁸ Accordingly, she was not the notorious *Ištar-bašti*, daughter of Imdilum, who, as the wife first of an Assyrian, *Âl-tâb*, and then of the "barbarian," Anuwa, resided in Anatolia (cf. J. Lewy in *ArOr* XVIII 3 [1950] pp. 373, n. 44, and 375, end of n. 49). That the two namesakes were close relatives (probably cousins named for the same grandmother) follows from the letter Leiden No. 4, in which we read: ¹*um-ma Ištar-ba-áš-ti-ma* ²*a-na A-nu-wa Puzur-Ištar* ³*Ištar-ba-áš-ti* ⁴*ù A-na-na* ⁵*qí-bi-ma a-na* ⁶*Ištar-ba-áš-ti* ⁷*ù A-nu-wa qí-bi-ma* ⁸*1/3 mand'em* ⁹*šiqli kaspam* ¹⁰*ša-ru-pá-am i-na* ¹¹*šé-ri-ku-nu iš-tù* ¹²*me-er-at-ku-nu* (edge) ¹³*té-ká-ma-ni i-šu* ¹⁴*kaspi* ¹⁵*a-na* (rev.) ¹⁶*ší-íp-tim i-na* ¹⁷*qá-qá-ad mu-ti-šu* (error for *mu-ti-ká*?) ¹⁸*ku-a-ti* ¹⁹*ù me-er-e-šu* ²⁰*lá-pi-it šu-ma* ²¹*a-ḥa-ti a-ti ki-ma* ²²*šup-pi ta-áš-me-ú-ni* ²³*kaspi* ²⁴*ù ší-pá-sú* ²⁵*a-na Puzur-Ištar* ²⁶*ù A-na-na* ²⁷*ša ki-ma i-a-ti* (edge) ²⁸*šu-uq-lá-ma* ²⁹*lu-šé-bi-lu-nim* (left edge) ³⁰*a-na Puzur-Ištar* ³¹*ù A-na-na* ³²*qí-bi-ma a-pu-tum iḥ-da-ma* ³³*kaspi* ³⁴*ù ší-pá-sú* ³⁵*ša-áš-qi-lá-šu-nu*.

For the present discussion it follows from this evidence that the sanctuary of the goddesses Ištar and *Ištar-ZA.AT*, to whom Ištar-bašti promised to pray and for the benefit of which she probably produced and sold the textiles,⁹ was located in Assyria. We are therefore entitled to consider *Ištar-ZA.AT* one of the Ištar goddesses known from numerous texts of later periods to have been worshiped by the Assyrians. The first of these deities was Aššur's spouse, who is frequently referred to as Ištar Aššuritum.¹⁰ The second was Ištar of Nineveh, the planet Venus as both morning and evening star.¹¹ The third and perhaps the most important of the three was Ištar of Arbela, the principal oracle goddess, upon whose advice the Neo-Assyrian kings depended in making their major political and military decisions. The answer to the question as to which of these three goddesses was worshiped in the Old Assyrian period as *Ištar-ZA.AT* comes from a passage in the so-called Broken Obelisk of Tiglath-Pileser I¹² which furnishes both the etymology of the name and the identification of the goddess so designated. In col. iv 13 ff. we read: *ina ūmât^{MEŠ} at 14ku-uš-ši ḫal-pe-e šu-ri-pi ina ūmât^{MEŠ} at ni-pi-iḫ 15 kakkab Kak-si-sà šá ki-ma eri>e i-šu-du*, "in the days of ¹⁴ cold, of frost, of ice, in the days of the appearance ¹⁵ of the star Kaksisa which (then) is fiery red like copper."¹³ As Schaumberger pointed out,¹⁴ the

⁹ It will be noted that in *ICK* I, No. 28, the "heavy cloth" is said to have been given to Aššur-šulīli *ana tadmiqtim*, whereas in VAT 13512 the silver sent back to Ištar-bašti is designated as "your *tadmiqtum*." It is therefore likely that *tadmiqtum* (which Landsberger in *OLZ* XXV [1922] col. 409 appropriately rendered by "Unterstützung") here denotes a donation to a deity. If Ištar-bašti produced the textiles for the benefit of the temple, it was perfectly logical for her to ask the goddesses to bestow their blessing upon him who, by selling the cloth, made the cash donation possible.

¹⁰ For some references see Streck, *Assurbanipal* (Leipzig, 1916) III 746.

¹¹ See H. Lewy in *ArOr* XVII 2 (1949) p. 40, n. 60, and cf. J. Lewy in *HUCA* XXXII (1961) 43 ff., who identified this deity with the goddess Ištar *kakkubum* of the Old Assyrian texts. That Ištar of Nineveh enjoyed wide recognition among the Hurrians can be inferred from the frequent references to her cult in the Nuzi texts; besides the pertinent passages discussed by Speiser in *AASOR* XVI (1935/36) 99, see *HSS* XIV, Nos. 140:9 and 49:48.

¹² See Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria* (London, 1902) p. 140.

passage refers to the acronychal rising of Sirius which, in the Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods, fell in midwinter. Schaumberger concluded that, in a position close to the horizon, the humidity of the winterly atmosphere must have caused the star to appear red to the ancient observers. Supplementing the classical sources to which Schaumberger refers in order to show that the Assyrians were not the only ones to whom Sirius occasionally appeared red, we quote here a passage from al-Bīrūnī, who reproduces the following verses from Ibn al-Raqqāḥ describing Sirius at dawn:¹⁵

The observers saw Sirius distinctly,
As he turned away when the morning prayer approached.
I recognize Sirius, shining red, whilst the morning is becoming white.
The night, fading away, has risen and left him.
The night is not afraid to lose him, since he follows her,
But the night is not willing to acknowledge that he belongs to the night.

To judge by these verses, the huge star offered a most impressive sight standing alone and shining fiery red against the white sky of the early morning;¹⁶ and it is, to all appearances, this aspect of Sirius which the Assyrians revered as Ištar-šād, "Ištar of being (i.e., while being) fiery red." The infinitive form without a case ending can be explained by its use as a noun in the indeterminate state.¹⁷ But it may also be accounted for by the archaic habit, very outspoken in the Old Assyrian period, of using divine names without case endings; among the pertinent examples from Old Akkadian and Ur III texts quoted by

¹³ The rendering of these lines in *CAD* XVI (1962) 59 by "which is as red as molten copper" is unsatisfactory since the text contains no adjective describing the copper as "melted." In fact, the "red metal," as it is frequently called today by the trade, need not be melted or even heated in order to be red.

¹⁴ *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, 3. Ergänzungsheft (Münster in Westfalen, 1935) p. 349.

¹⁵ We quote according to Eduard Sachau's translation *The Chronology of Ancient Nations* (London, 1879) p. 338.

¹⁶ Schaumberger, *op. cit.* pp. 349 f., could have quoted these verses as evidence that Sirius is occasionally visible in daylight.

¹⁷ In the divine name *Namra-šit*, "He is shining upon me while rising," the noun in the indeterminate state seems to express the notion "whenever," even as it does in the name here under discussion.

Gelb¹⁸ several appear in Old Assyrian: so, for example, the moon-god's name *Laban* in the personal name Šû-Laban and the West Semitic divine name *Tibar* in the personal name Šû-Tibar.¹⁹ Nor is it unusual that the name Ištar-šād characterizes the Dog Star only in special circumstances; a close parallel to this nomenclature is offered by the various names attributed to the phases of the moon: *askaru*, "Crescent," is Šin's name from the first through the fifth day of the month; *kalitu*, "Kidney," is his name during the following five days, and *agû tašrihti*, "Tiara of Fullness," during the third five-day period of each month.²⁰

In his discussion of the color of Sirius, Schaumberger points out that, in classical sources, the big star is described not only as red or reddish but sometimes also as blue.²¹ In our latitudes, the bluish Sirius is, in fact, a much more common sight than the red one. On a cold, clear winter night, when both the moon and Sirius are standing high, the latter frequently looks distinctly blue when compared with the white light of the moon. That this aspect of α Canis Majoris was not unfamiliar to the ancients can be inferred from a star name which, ever since cuneiform astronomical texts became known, has been a puzzle to modern scholars, the name being *kakkabqaštum*, the "Bow Star." Various identifications of this heavenly body have been proposed. To mention only the most recent ones, according to Schaumberger the name was used for the "bogenförmige Gruppe bei δ Canis maioris"²² or for δ Canis Majoris alone;²³ according to B. L. van der Waerden "*ban* was the region of δ Canis Majoris";²⁴ and

according to P. Gössmann and E. F. Weidner,²⁵ the Bow Star was "Canis Maior ohne Sirius plus angrenzendem Teil von Puppis." To be sure, the identification suggested by Schaumberger and van der Waerden applies to astronomical texts of the Middle and Neo-Assyrian periods. For instance, in the astronomical calendar of the series ^{MUL}APIN,²⁶ the name *kakkabqaštu* in col. ii 44 refers to the stars around δ Canis Majoris, the star α of this constellation being designated in line 42 as *kakkabkaksisa*.²⁷ However, there is evidence to suggest that originally the name Bow Star was used not for the small and inconspicuous group of stars forming the hind legs of the Great Dog but for the big bright Sirius, the heliacal data of which are easier to ascertain than those of most other stars.

We quote in the first place a much-discussed, though usually misinterpreted text, the so-called Dilbat tablet.²⁸ The text lists in one column the names of the twelve months, in another column the star name Dilbat, and in a third column a fixed star for each month. As Dilbat is the astronomical name of the planet Venus, it appears at first approach perplexing that this planet should be identified each month with another fixed star or fixed-star constellation. Yet it must be kept in mind that the worshipers of the heavenly bodies felt unable to revere a deity which their eyes could not see.²⁹ As Venus, even as all the other moving stars, has well-determined periods of invisibility, the ancients substituted for it a fixed star of similar appearance to which the worshiper could turn during Venus' absence. In other words, the Dilbat tablet must be interpreted

¹⁸ *MAD* No. 2 (2nd ed.) p. 140.

¹⁹ The name Šû-Laban appears frequently; see e.g. *EL*, Nos. 33:3, 217:13; for Šû-Tibar see *ICK* I, No. 96:4. Cf. further Šû-(I)laprat in *EL*, Nos. 114:9 and 210 B 4 etc.

²⁰ See *III R* 55 iii 1-5 and cf. Schaumberger, *op. cit.* p. 277.

²¹ *Op. cit.* p. 348. Schaumberger quotes only classical sources. He could have referred to the English writer Willis who speaks of "mild Sirius tinct with dewy violet. . . ." Tennyson, on the other hand, says "the fiery Sirius alters hue and bickers into red and emerald." For other modern references to Sirius' colors see Richard H. Allen, *Star Names, Their Lore and Meaning* (New York, 1963) pp. 127 f.

²² So *op. cit.* p. 347.

²³ So p. 341.

²⁴ *JNES* VIII (1949) 16b.

²⁵ Gössmann, *Planetarium Babylonicum* (*ŠL* IV 2 [Rom, 1950]) p. 14, sub 47, and Weidner, *Handbuch der babylonischen Astronomie* (Leipzig, 1916) p. 69. See now also Weidner in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* III (1957) 79b, article "Fixsterne," who refers to Gössmann.

²⁶ See cols. ii 36-iii 12 of the tablet BM 86378 (*CT* XXXIII, Pls. 3-4); for a transliteration see Weidner, *Handbuch*, pp. 35-39 and 142.

²⁷ According to computations made independently by van der Waerden (*JNES* VIII 20) and the present writer, the observations on which the astronomical calendar of ^{MUL}APIN is based were made around 1000 B.C.

²⁸ 81, 7-6, 102, published by T. G. Pinches in *PSBA* XXXI (1909) Pl. IV; for a transliteration see Weidner, *Handbuch*, p. 119.

²⁹ For the supporting evidence see H. Lewy in *ArOr* XVIII 3, p. 349, with n. 88.

ed as follows: "If Dilbat is invisible during the month of X, the fixed star Y will take its place."³⁰ As was just intimated, the fixed star chosen to thus represent the big and bright planet Venus must have been big and bright and familiar to the average worshiper. Hence, if this text states, in line 3, that "the Bow Star (*kakkab qaštu*) is Dilbat in the month of Abu," it stands to reason that the writer of the text thought of Sirius and not of the much smaller star δ Canis Majoris as representing Venus in the month of Abu, all the more so since most of the other fixed stars listed in the tablet are of the first magnitude.³¹

³⁰ A comparable text listing twelve stars to be worshiped in the absence of the planet Jupiter is preserved in S. 777 (*CT XXVI*, Pl. 49); for a transliteration see Weidner, *Handbuch*, p. 24.

³¹ Among the other stars representing Venus during its periods of invisibility was MULNUNKI, listed for the month of Ulûlu. It appears that in the Old Babylonian period the Eridu star was Canopus, an identification which, however, does not apply to the Eridu star in the astronomical calendar (see in particular col. ii 45) of BM 86378. It stands to reason that the Eridu star would be a heavenly body characteristic of Ea's holy city, which was, so far as we can tell, the southernmost city of Babylonia. This is true of Canopus which, in the prehistoric period, was for several centuries visible only in Eridu but not yet in the more northern locations of Babylonia. The big bright star which, hovering close to the horizon, could be watched until it plunged into the ocean must, indeed, have appeared as a characteristic feature of the city where the water-god Ea had his main sanctuary. It may be remarked that, in contradistinction to Canopus, the other big southern stars, viz. α and β Centauri and α and β Crucis, were visible throughout antiquity in both Babylonia and Assyria.

For the month of Tašritu, the text lists MULEN.TE.NA.MAŠ.LUM, "Centaurus," as Venus' substitute. α Centauri, one of the animal's two head stars, is the third brightest fixed star, following immediately after Sirius and Canopus. On the possible substitution of the name EN.TE.NA.MAŠ.LUM for the older name, *kusarikkum*, see n. 46 below. For the month of Tebîtu, Venus' representative was *kakkab enzu* (line 8). Here, as in the case of Canopus (see above) and Sirius, the name was applied to different constellations in different periods. Whereas in the older texts the "Goat Star" was Capella (α Aurigae), the later texts so refer to Vega (α Lyrae). It is interesting in this connection that in Arabic one of the stars of Auriga is called العنز (see E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* [New York, 1956] I 5, p. 2173a, who quotes from Qazwîni), which means "she-goat" and is etymologically related to Akkadian *enzu*. The Latin name Capella, in turn, is a diminutive of *caper* and means "the little goat." In the month of Šabâtu, Venus was represented by the constellation 1 *ikû* (DIL.GAN) which, as Schaumberger has shown (*op. cit.* p. 352), contains the variable star Mira Ceti. A comparison of the list of fixed stars in the Dilbat tablet with the fixed stars assigned in the star calendars to each of the 12 months suggests that in most cases the substitutes rose heliacally in the months in which they replaced Venus. This

The passage of the Dilbat tablet just discussed helps us to explain an item in the festal calendar of the medieval Ḥarrânian moon-worshippers who, as the present writer has shown, preserved the essential features and institutions of the Neo-Assyrian state religion until the Middle Ages.³² From the third through the seventh of their month of Âb, the Ḥarrânians observed a "festival for Dilfatân, the image (صنم) of Venus."³³ Dilfatân being the Arabic transliteration of the dual of the Akkadian name Dilbat,³⁴ this entry betrays the Ḥarrânians' acquaintance with the tradition underlying the passage of the Dilbat tablet; it further shows that in the month of Abu a festival was celebrated for the star which, during that month, was the substitute for, or the "image of," the planet Venus. Since, as was just inferred from the Dilbat tablet, this star was Sirius, it is learned that the Ḥarrânians celebrated a Sirius festival in the month of Abu. That this festival, too, was one of the features preserved by the people of Ḥarrân from the official Neo-Assyrian religion follows from a much-discussed passage of Aššur-ban-apli's Cylinder B (col. v 16 ff.): ¹⁶"In the month of Abu, the month of the heliacal rising of the Bow Star, ¹⁷the festival of the honored queen, the daughter of Enlil, ¹⁸while, to render homage to her great godhead, I sojourned ¹⁹in Arbela, her beloved city. . . ." From these lines it follows not only that Aššur-ban-apli celebrated the Sirius festival in the month of Abu,³⁵ but

was a reasonable arrangement because it made it certain that the substitutes were actually visible when the worshipers were looking out for them.

³² See "Points of comparison between Zoroastrianism and the moon cult of Ḥarrân," *A Locust's Leg. Studies in Honour of S. H. Taqizadeh* (London, 1962) pp. 139-61.

³³ See Sachau's edition *Chronologie orientalischer Völker von Alberûnî* (Leipzig, 1878) p. 321, line 11.

³⁴ See H. Lewy in *A Locust's Leg*, p. 143.

³⁵ Aššur-ban-apli's statement suggests that at the time when this festival was first instituted the heliacal rising of Sirius fell in the month of Abu. This inference reveals, at the same time, why Sirius' name as well as those of several other prominent stars and constellations were changed in the course of the centuries. Owing to the imperfection of the star calendar, which most likely figured 365 days for the year instead of 365½, the heliacal rising of Sirius moved backward from the month of Abu into the month of Dûzu. Since the date of a festival, once established, could not be changed for fear of offending the deity for whom it was celebrated, the festival of the month of Abu was, at least in so far as the astronomers were concerned,

also that he celebrated it in Arbela, which means he considered Ištar of Arbela the divine impersonator of Sirius.

In the circumstances thus described by Aššurban-apli the good will of the Bow Star goddess was all the more important to him since he was on the eve of a decisive battle against Elam; and, as is learned from the afore-quoted text BM 86378, Ištar of Elam is likewise defined as *kakkab qaštu*,³⁶ as is Ištar of Babylon in V R 46, line 23 a, b.³⁷ The fact that three nations counted the Bow Star among their great national gods furnishes the decisive piece of evidence that, outside the late astronomical texts, this name denotes Sirius alone and not the small stars forming the hind legs of the Great Dog. It is not without interest that not only the purely religious but also the astronomical texts of the Old Babylonian period refer to Sirius as *qaštum*, the "Bow," thus confirming at the same time that *kakkab qaštum* is the correct reading of the name which, in the more recent documents, is usually written ^{MUL}BAN. Evidence of this usage of the name *qaštum* comes from two texts of the type called by the ancients *ikrīb mušītīm*, that is, prayers addressed to the gods of the nocturnal sky.³⁸ Both texts begin with a poetical description of the quiet which prevails after men, both the exalted and the lowly, have retired to sleep. The supplicant who addresses his prayer to the gods finds himself alone when he watches the sun "enter his abode." Then, to all appearances still in the red glow of the setting sun, he beholds, or expects to behold, the "brilliant Bilgi," which means the planet Mercury as evening star.³⁹

henceforth observed in honor of the star which happened to rise heliacally in the early days of Abu; as around 1000 B.C. this was the bow-shaped group around δ Canis Majoris, it was this constellation which then received the name Bow Star, Sirius' name being changed to Arrow Star (*kaksisa* or *šukudu*).

³⁶ See col. ii 7 of the text cited above in n. 26 and cf. Rm. 2, 174 (*ACh*, Second Suppl., 2^m Partie, No. LXVII) line 15.

³⁷ For a transliteration see Weidner, *Handbuch*, pp. 51 f.

³⁸ See AO 6769, published and discussed by G. Dossin in *RA* XXXII (1935) 179 ff., and the parallel text first published by Schileico of which Dossin (*ibid.* p. 180) gives a transliteration. For the latter text see also W. von Soden in *ZA* XLIII (1936) 306 ff.

³⁹ On Bilgi and Nusku, the divine twins impersonating the planet Mercury as evening star and morning star, respectively, see H. and J. Lewy, "The god Nusku," *Orientalia* XVII (1948) 146 ff.

This particular feature permits us to infer the season of the year in which the two prayers were to be recited. Mercury, as is well known, is always very close to the ecliptic and therefore is highest in the sky and thus best visible when the ecliptic is most inclined to the horizon. For the horizon of Babylonia this is the case when the vernal equinox is setting and the fall equinox is rising. Accordingly, Mercury is best visible as evening star when its greatest eastern elongation occurs within the month before the spring equinox and as morning star when its greatest western elongation falls around the autumnal equinox. Since, as was just mentioned, the supplicant saw Mercury right after the setting of the sun, it appears that he chose a night close to the vernal equinox to submit his plea to the gods.

After having invoked a second planetary god, namely Erra, the planet Mars, the supplicant addressed himself to the fixed stars the first of which is *qá-aš-tum*, the "Bow (Star)."⁴⁰ With regard to the second fixed star, the two prayers are at variance; whereas in AO 6769 (line 18) *zappu*, "the Pleiades," appears in the second place, in the Schileico text this place is given to *nīrum*, the "Yoke (Star)."⁴¹ Regardless of which end of

⁴⁰ AO 6769 adds to *qaštum* the specification *e-la-ma-tum*, "the Elamite." As Dossin remarked in his commentary (*RA* XXXII 186), the designation "the Elamite Bow (Star)" refers to the fact (recalled above) that Ištar of Elam was one of the goddesses impersonating the Bow Star.

⁴¹ In attempting to identify the constellation *nīrum*, "the Yoke," we must first call attention to an Assyrian prayer addressed to the gods of the nocturnal sky (*KAR* I, No. 38; for a transliteration see E. Ebeling, *MAOG* V 3 [1931] pp. 47 ff.); the constellations addressed in rev. 24 are "^{MUL}ŠUDUN standing to the right (and) ^{MUL}ŠUDUN standing to the left." As Schaumberger pointed out (*op. cit.* p. 335), "right and left" in astronomical texts must be understood as relating to an observer looking in the direction of the motion of the stars, i.e., from east to west. Accordingly, right is north and left is south. That the Schileico text refers to the southern Yoke, also called "Yoke of Ea" or "Yoke of the ocean," can be inferred with fair certainty from the fact that the constellation preceding *nīrum* as well as the two following it was located in the southern sky.

As regards the name *nīrum*, it finds its explanation in an astro-mythological idea derived from *Enuma Eliš*. In tablet I, it is related that Tiamat created for her own defense a galaxy of eleven formidable monsters which were to march at the head of her fighting forces; among them there are at least six which were known to the Babylonians as fixed-star constellations: *bašmu*, the "serpent," is the constellation still today called Serpens (for its occurrence in the Schileico text here under discussion see presently); *mušhuššu*, "the Red Hydra," is the constellation Hydra, the red star Alphard obviously providing the

the constellation "Yoke" the worshiper had in mind, that of Canopus or that of α Crucis, both ends were visible in the sky at the time previously determined. The substitution of this constellation for the Pleiades confirms our previous conclusion that the prayers were addressed to the stellar deities within the month before the spring equinox and, moreover, within the half-hour after sunset.⁴² For in Babylon, around the year 2000 B.C., that is, in the early Old Babylonian period, the Pleiades set heliacally about eleven days before the spring equinox.⁴³ Accordingly, AO 6769 implies a date shortly before this event when the Pleiades were still visible in the western sky soon after sunset, whereas the Schileico text presupposes a date within the forty-one days of the Pleiades' invisibility. During that same period, Canopus set heliacally at Babylon

"red" element (for its occurrence in both of our prayers see below); *ugallu*, the "lion," is the constellation Leo; *aqrab-amēlu* is Scorpio, and *kulili* is "Pisces." (For the Babylonians *kulili* was a "fish-man"; the rectangular constellation Pisces is nowadays conceived as consisting of at least two fishes, a western and a northeastern. For the Babylonians, the human half of the fish-man was obviously standing upright, forming a right angle with the fish-shaped tail.) *Kusarikkum*, finally, was, as will be pointed out below (n. 46), a "centaur" and corresponded to what we today call "Centaurus." When Marduk defeated Tiamat, he overwhelmed these beasts, but instead of killing them he laid them in fetters (see tablet IV 116-17). The two yokes, the northern and the southern, then, obviously were meant to tie two of these monsters together so that they moved in a group, always keeping the same distance from each other as fixed stars actually do in contrast to the planets. Those of the monsters that were ecliptic stars were probably thought to be tied together by the ecliptic.

As regards the modern counterparts of *nīrum*, it is known from later sources (in addition to the material discussed by Schaumberger, *op. cit.* p. 325, with n. 2, see K.11306 [CT XXVI, Pl. 48; for a transliteration see Weidner, *Handbuch*, p. 106] line 7: [MULNU]NKI MULŠUDUN A.AB.BA [^aE-a]) that not only the Eridu star (cf. above, n. 31), Canopus, but also the star *kalitum* belonged to the Yoke. As a yoke is a piece of wood, either straight or slightly curved, with two rectangular pieces to which ropes are attached at each end, it appears most likely that the original "Yoke" comprised the slightly bow-shaped group of stars from Canopus to α Crucis, the constellation Crux being the endpiece of the Yoke and, later on, the "kidney." This interpretation has the advantage of placing the "Yoke of Ea" pretty close to the head of the *kusarikkum*, which was, as mentioned before, one of the monsters laid in fetters by Marduk.

⁴² Mercury, being always very close to the sun, is visible for only about a half-hour after sunset.

⁴³ See C. Schoch, *The "Arcus Visionis" in the Babylonian Observations, with Tables of the Babylonian Calendar* (Oxford, 1924) Table I on p. 6.

three days after the vernal equinox and hence was visible for about two weeks after sunset after the Pleiades had disappeared.

Next, both prayers list *šitaddarum*, "the Giant,"⁴⁴ which means "Orion." This huge constellation, well known to everyone, contains an array of brilliant stars of the first and the second magnitude. Orion is followed in both texts by *mušhuššu*, "the Red Serpent," comprising the constellation Hydra with the bright red star Alphard. With the following constellation, *eriqqum*, "the Cart" or "Truck," both texts turn to the northern hemisphere; for this is the Babylonian name of Ursa Major, "the Great Dipper."⁴⁵ Throughout antiquity, this constellation never set at Babylon. The following star in both texts is *enzum*, "the Goat," which means, for the Old Babylonian period, Capella (α Aurigae; see above, n. 31). With the next constellation, *kusarikkum*, "Centaurus,"⁴⁶ the supplicant again

⁴⁴ For this rendering of the name *šitaddalum* or *šitaddarum* as against that adopted by W. von Soden in ZA XLIII (1936) 307 f. see Schaumberger, *op. cit.* p. 284. As is well known, both the Hebrew and the Arabic names of Orion, namely קְסִיל and جَبَّار, mean "giant." In Greek mythology, too, Orion is a "giant" hunter who was thought to be accompanied by the two dogs, Canis Major and Canis Minor.

⁴⁵ Cf. Schaumberger, *op. cit.* p. 347.

⁴⁶ On *kusarikkum* in the series BAR.ra = *hubullu* see Landsberger, MSL VIII 1 (1960) p. 45, line 310. On *kusarikkum*-monsters among the statuary of buildings see e.g. Borger, *Asarh.* (Graz, 1956) p. 87, line 4, and *BiOr* XVIII (1961) 201, col. ix 8, where ^a*Ku-sa-rik-ku* is listed among the gods "of Esagila and Babylon." As the name *kusarikkum* disappears almost completely from the terminology of the Neo-Assyrian astronomical texts (for the one notable exception see presently), it appears possible that it was replaced by another name. For obvious reasons, the substitute name must have been MUL.EN.TE.NA.MAŠ.LUM. The only astronomical text of the later period in which *kusarikkum* (written GUD.ALIM) occurs is *ACh*, Sin No. XIII, which mentions "its right hand" (lines 18 and 20), "left hand" (line 21), and "left foot" (lines 22 and 25); the fact that the text distinguishes between the *kusarikkum*'s "hands" and "feet" makes it a priori likely that it was a hybrid consisting of a human and an animal part. Its identity with the Centaurus of the Greeks becomes apparent if it is considered, on the one hand, that our text connects *kusarikkum*'s left hand with the constellations NE.GÜN = Antares (α Scorpii; on this equation see e.g. Schaumberger, *op. cit.* p. 307) and *Zibanna mahrū*, "the front (i.e., western) part of Libra," which obviously means α Librae, while his left foot is connected with Antares, α Librae, and one of the stars of Virgo. In other words, *kusarikkum* was thought to stand with its two legs on the ecliptic, between Scorpio and Virgo. On the other hand, the Greek poet Aratos, who used the description of the fixed stars of Eudoxos, an astronomer who wrote around 370 B.C. (see Ludewig Ideler,

turned his eyes toward the south, where he could see the two large and brilliant stars α and β Centauri forming the head of the mythological animal. Whereas AO 6769 concludes the list of the astral deities with *kusarikkum*, the Schileico text adds *bašmum*, "the Serpent," a constellation standing immediately north of Libra, its principal star being today called Unuk.

It will be noted that the list of fixed-star deities invoked in the two prayers contains four of the six largest stars, namely, in their order of magnitude, Canopus, α Centauri, Rigel (β Orionis), and Capella. It would therefore appear that the prayers were meant for use by the layman and hence contained only the most conspicuous stars and constellations which every layman in Babylonia was assumed to know. Under these circumstances it would be most surprising if the brightest and most eye-catching of all the stars, Sirius, were missing, especially since, at the time previously determined for the recitation of the two prayers, α Canis Majoris was visible pretty high in the western sky immediately after sunset. This consideration makes it clear beyond any possible doubt that the Bow Star, which heads the list of the fixed stars in both prayers, was none other than Sirius.

At this point the question arises as to why Sirius was called the Bow Star in the Old Babylonian period. In order to answer this question, we turn for a moment to *Enuma Eliš*, where the Bow Star represents the bow which Marduk carried in his fight against Tiamat. As a reward for the services which the Bow Star at that time had rendered to Marduk, Anu established for it a "royal throne," admitting it, alone among all the fixed stars, to a seat in the assembly of the gods.⁴⁷ If we combine this feature of the Epic of

Creation with the quality of Sirius discussed previously, namely, that it appears sometimes blue and at other times red, which means in the two extreme colors of the rainbow, we come to compare our Akkadian term *qaštum* with the related terms in other Semitic languages. In Syriac, *qešta* designates the rainbow, and the rainbow was conceived as the weapon with which the god Remmân shot off the flashes of lightning. In Arabic, قَوْسُ قَزَحَ is a designation of the rainbow, Quzahî being a deity, or a demon, who was thought to shoot arrows from the rainbow.⁴⁸ It is therefore legitimate to assume that in Akkadian, too, the term *qaštum* could be used for the rainbow and that the latter phenomenon was conceived as one of Marduk's weapons which helped him to defeat Tiamat. If this is so, Sirius' name Bow Star is easily explained as the "Rainbow Star," the star exhibiting the colors of the rainbow.

In order to round out the discussion of the various Akkadian names of Sirius we must analyze the designation Mašad. We mention in the first place the Old Assyrian occurrence of this name in *TC*, No. 15:31 f., where we read about *kaspum* ³²ša *Ma-ša-dim* ša *A-šur*.⁴⁹ As *mašadum* is a regular *maqtal*-formation of the root צור previously discussed in our analysis of the name Ištar-šād, the divine name Mašadum has the meaning "That which (or She who) is fiery red." As we concluded above (p. 273) that

⁴⁷ See tablet VI 92 f.: ^a*A-nu-[um]* ³³*id-di-ma* ^{ik}*kussa šar-ru-ti maḥar ili ša-qa-a[ti]* ³⁴*A-nu ina puḥur ili ša-a-ša uš-te-šib-[ša]*, ³⁵*Anum* ³⁶set up a throne of royalty; it was eminent before the gods. ³⁷Anu let her (i.e., the Bow Star) sit in the assembly of the gods. ³⁸The complete text of this passage is preserved on a tablet from Sultan Tepe; see O. Gurney in *Afo* XVII (1954-56) 355.

⁴⁸ For the Syriac see C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* (2nd ed.; Halle, 1928) p. 703, and cf. G. Hoffmann in *ZA* XI (1896) 249. For the Arabic see Lane, *op. cit.* I 7, p. 2520b. Hebrew קַזַּח also means "rainbow"; see Gen. 9:13 and 16; Ezek. 1:28.

⁴⁹ It should be remarked that the whole text, and this passage in particular, was carefully collated by J. Lewy in October, 1932, and found to be correctly edited. The unusual sign *dim* recurs in *CCT* III, Pls. 2^b + 3^a, line 12, which belongs to the same correspondence as *TC*, No. 15. After having collated the latter text in London in July, 1957, J. Lewy wrote on the margin: "Same scribe as *TC* 15." In fact, the rare writing *A-šur* (instead of *a-lim*³¹) recurs in *CCT* III, Pls. 2^b + 3^a (line 28: *iš-tù A-šur*), thus making it certain that in *TC*, No. 15, the city rather than the god is referred to.

Untersuchungen über den Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen [Berlin, 1809] pp. XII f.), expressed himself as follows: "The Centaur is standing underneath two other constellations; the front part, resembling a man, beneath Scorpio, the rear, resembling a horse, beneath Libra." He continues to relate that his right hand was stretched out toward the constellation Wolf. Hipparchus describes the Centaur as standing under Libra plus Virgo. Including the stretched-out hand, then, the Greek Centaur stood underneath exactly the same constellations of the ecliptic as, according to *ACH*, Sin No. XIII, the *kusarikkum*. Thus there can hardly be any doubt that the Greeks took their designation of this constellation from Babylonian sources.

a sanctuary of Ištar-šād was located in the city where Ištar-bašti, the writer of the letter *ICK I*, No. 28, was living, that is, at Aššur, the explanatory remark "of Aššur" which *TC*, No. 15, adds to the name Mašadum is not surprising: since, as has been seen, the main Assyrian sanctuary of the Sirius goddess was located at Arbelā, it was necessary to specify that in the case referred to in *TC*, No. 15, it was the deity's sanctuary at Aššur where the money came from.

Our explanation of the name Mašad is supported by its repeated occurrence in the Akkadian documents from Susa. For, since, as we have seen, the Sirius goddess was one of the principal deities of Elam, it must be expected that her various names should appear particularly in texts from Elam. A person a small archive of whom came to light at Susa bore the name *Puzur* (written either *Puzur* or *Puzúr*)-*Ma-ša-ad*.⁵⁰ To judge by his seal impression, a drawing of which was published by Scheil,⁵¹ he was *Puzur-Ma-ša-ad mār Dan-Ú-li warad ʿNin-Šubur*. His son, whose seal impression was likewise published by Scheil,⁵² was named *ʿSîn-muba-lí-iṭ [mār] Puzúr-Ma-ša-ad warad ʿNin-Šubur*. Another personal name revealing its bearer's devotion to the goddess Mašad is *Ma-ša-ad-i-lí* in *MDP XXVIII*, No. 443:3.⁵³ The goddess herself, written without the determinative, namely *Ma-ša-ad*, is mentioned in *MDP XXVIII*, No. 515, rev. 9 and 12. Scheil quotes two passages from Elamite texts from Susa⁵⁴ in which the goddess is mentioned, in the one again as *Ma-ša-ad*, in the other, however, as *Ma-an-ša-ad*, a by-form which appears also as a variant writing of the afore-quoted name *Puzur-Mašad*.⁵⁵ This variant might at first approach be taken to indicate that the first radical of the root is not *š* but *ṣ*. However, unmistakable proof that

this is not the case comes from the school text *MDP XXVII*, No. 81, which has the spelling *ʿMa-ši-ad*, the rare sign *ši*⁵⁶ having been used with the obvious desire to write an unequivocal *š*, which could not be done by use of the sign *ša/za*. That, in spite of the awkward by-form *Mašad* in texts from the Old Babylonian period, we are entitled to derive the name from the root *ṣ* follows further from a passage in the explanatory list of gods K.2109 + K.8944 + K.13689,⁵⁷ a shortened version of tablet IV of the series *AN = A-num*,⁵⁸ where, in line 8, *Ma-an-ša-ad* is identified with ^{1d}*Tir-an-na*, both being, in the third column, characterized as Ištar goddesses.⁵⁹ Since Tiranna is the rainbow goddess, this identification fully confirms our previous inferences as to the identity of Ištar-šād with the (Rain)bow Star, Sirius.⁶⁰ It is not without interest that a personal name Tiranna-ummi, "The rainbow is my mother," occurs in the afore-quoted juridical texts of the Old Babylonian period from Susa.⁶¹

It remains to discuss two entries in tablet II of the synonym list *ḪAR.gud* which have some bearing on the divine name Ma(n)šad. The two entries⁶² read as follows: *GIŠ.PIRIG.GAL = lu-ša₁₀-an šá Man-ša-ad = pur-ru-us-su* and *GIŠ.RAB + GAN.PIRIG = lu-ša₁₀-an šá Man-ša-ad = pur-us-su*. The Sumerian words which, as may be recalled, are quotations from *ḪAR.ra = ḫubullu* to be interpreted by the two Akkadian columns, have the meaning "a huge wooden

⁵⁰ That this sign is rare in the Akkadian texts from Susa was emphasized by Erkki Salonen, *Untersuchungen zur Schrift und Sprache des Altbabylonischen von Susa* (Helsinki, 1962) p. 64.

⁵¹ See *CT XXV*, Pl. 31.

⁵² Cf. H. Zimmern, "Zur Herstellung der grossen babylonischen Götterliste An = (ilu) Anum," *BSAW LXIII* (1911) 102.

⁵³ The parallel text KAV 73 + 145 does not contain a reference to either of the two names.

⁵⁴ To be sure, according to K.250 + K.13677 (see Weidner, *Handbuch*, p. 7, and *Afo XIX* [1959-60] 106) col. i 16 and 18, it might appear that not Sirius but Spica (*AB.sfn = šer^u*) was the "Rainbow Star"; for there both *BAN*, the "(rain)bow," and *Tiranna* are paralleled with the star *šer^u*. As Spica is distinctly bluish, it may well be that these two names which characterized Sirius as a colored star were sometimes applied to Spica, too. At any rate, the passage confirms the virtual synonymy of *BAN = qaštu* and *Tiranna*.

⁵⁵ See *MDP XXII* (1930) No. 24:2.

⁵⁶ See Landsberger, *MSL VI* (1958) 143, lines 190 and 192.

⁵⁰ *MDP XXIV* (1933) 101; see also *MDP XXVIII* (1939) No. 422:6.

⁵¹ See *RA XXII* (1925) 150.

⁵² See *RA XXIII* (1926) 38, top right.

⁵³ It will be noted that, even as in the Old Assyrian names cited above in n. 4, the masculine gender is used with reference to the goddess.

⁵⁴ *RA XXII* (1925) 150.

⁵⁵ See *MDP XXIV*, No. 351:6 and 17. However, among thirteen texts recording *Puzur-Mašad*'s transactions only this one uses the by-form *Mašad*.

lion" and "a wooden lion-shaped spirit," respectively. Both terms are explained in the third column as *purussu*, "oracle." In order to understand this identification which seems perplexing at first approach we recall an incident recounted by Aššur-ban-apli in the Rassam Cylinder.⁶³ Before deciding whether or not to lead his army against Šamaš-šum-ukīn, the king consulted the patron god of the royal house about the outcome of his brother's rebellion. The visionary whose task it was to consult the moon-god lay down to sleep and beheld in his dream a statue of Šin on the pedestal of which he read the deity's answer to his inquiry, promising to punish anyone who perpetrated an act of hostility against Aššur-ban-apli.⁶⁴ Accordingly, an oracle (*purussu*) virtually amounted to a vision in which the seer beheld the statue of a deity, in the case of the two entries here under consideration obviously that of a lion-shaped numen. This inference agrees well with the second column, which ex-

plains the oracle as an "utterance of Manšad."⁶⁵ Since, as was mentioned above, the Sirius goddess was, in her quality as goddess of Arbela, the principal oracle goddess of the Assyrians, it must be to her that the two entries refer. The reason why the Sirius goddess should have revealed her answer to the seer's inquiry through the medium of the statue of a lion is easily understood if it is remembered that Nabû-na'id, in col. iii 31 ff. of the Ḫillah Stela, speaks, with respect to Ištār, of *VII la-ab-ba* ³²*si-mat i-lu-ti-šu* ³³*iš-mi-id-su*, "33I harnessed for her ³¹the seven lions, ³²befitting her great godhead."⁶⁶ In fact, on pictorial representations Ištār is frequently accompanied by a lion; for instance, on the wall painting from Mari which shows the appointment by Ištār of a king of Mari the goddess rests one foot on the back of a lion.⁶⁷ It is, therefore, entirely possible that in her quality as oracle goddess the Sirius deity was thought to avail herself of the services of one of her lions in order to reveal the future.

⁶³ See col. iii 118 ff.; cf. pp. 152 f., with n. 2, of the article by H. Lewy cited in n. 32 above.

⁶⁴ As the present writer pointed out *ibid.*, a great god like Šin was not expected to speak to an ordinary mortal. At best he would consent to speak directly to one of his high priestesses.

⁶⁵ As this is a Neo-Babylonian text, the form Manšad, with the inserted *n*, is not abnormal. Cf. W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik* (Roma, 1952) § 32, *sub c*, and p. 125, *sub k*.

⁶⁶ See L. Messerschmidt, *MVAG* I (1896) 75.

⁶⁷ See *Syria* XVIII (1937) 336 and Pl. XXXIX.

A MIDDLE ASSYRIAN TABLET OF INCANTATIONS

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The interest of the *Grossmeister* of Assyriology in the structure and historical development of incantations is known to all in the field. From his Leipzig days the theses of Falkenstein¹ and Kunstmann,² on Sumerian and Babylonian texts respectively, both depend on him in some measure, and both are standard works to this day. The more recent Chicago days have witnessed his work with Jacobsen on an Old Babylonian piece and its reflection in later texts.³ It is appropriate, then, to present in his honour a previously unpublished tablet of incantations (pp. 287–88) of considerable interest and importance for the history of this genre of literature.

The difficulties of writing a history of any kind of ancient Mesopotamian genre are always the same: the surviving materials are usually divided into groups from particular periods, separated by gaps of several centuries at least. Yet the differences between the texts from the periods of attestation prove that development continued for the centuries from which no specimens have survived. The two largest groups of incantation texts are those in Old Babylonian copies, Sumerian especially, Akkadian in smaller quantity, and those from Late Assyrian and Late Babylonian libraries, in which the Akkadian are the more numerous. The prehistory of the Sumerian texts can be traced back in some measure to the Early Dynastic period, and the existence of Akkadian to Sargonid times, but little is available to illustrate how and when the changes took place between the two large groups. The Boghazköy finds have provided some pieces, but the other source for the middle periods, Assyrian tablets from the reign of Tiglath-pileser I, ca. 1100 B.C., has so far yielded little. Weidner's list

¹ A. Falkenstein, *Die Haupttypen der sumerischen Beschwörung* (LSS N.F. I [Leipzig, 1931]).

² W. G. Kunstmann, *Die babylonische Gebetsbeschwörung* (LSS N.F. II [Leipzig, 1932]).

³ "An Old Babylonian charm against *merhu*," *JNES* XIV (1955) 14–21 and XVII (1958) 56–58.

of such pieces known to him⁴ refers only to *KAR*, No. 24, a not particularly important piece of *Utukkū lemnūtu*, and a few unpublished scraps.

Rm. 376 in the British Museum, by kind permission of whose Trustees it is here published, is a Middle Assyrian tablet, identified by the writer among the copies of the late F. W. Geers. To judge from the collection in which it is now registered, the tablet once belonged to one of Ashurbanipal's libraries. Yet, if so, it must have been handed down from earlier times, since clay, sign forms, and orthography combine to prove that it is Middle Assyrian in origin. The tablet has that whitish surface which is characteristic of Middle Assyrian tablets.⁵ This is to be explained entirely from the technique of firing. Tablets baked to about 650° centigrade have a red colour as a result, a temperature reaching about 750° yields a whitish colour, and if still more heat is applied tablets are ruined because vitrification and a greenish colour result. The chief difference between ancient and modern firing is that the electric kiln supplies continuous heat for any length of time while ancient fuel burnt out quickly. Since the Babylonians and Assyrians had no large supply of wood for burning, such things as dry reeds and palm fronds were commonly used. Thus the Middle Assyrian scribes had their tablets baked to the highest safe temperature, but the maximum was reached for only the shortest period, as the fuel was quickly expended. The extreme heat in consequence affected only the outer surface; the inner parts of the tablets are of other colours.

The sign forms of Rm. 376 are also typically Middle Assyrian, the short LI to name one example only, and other matters of scribal convention agree. For example, the use of the ligature *i + na* (inherited from late Old Babylonian times) disappears after the Middle Assyrian

⁴ *Afo* XVI 197 ff.

⁵ See W. G. Lambert in *Afo* XVIII 39–40.

period. It may be noted that the value *káp* (obv. 16) is said only to occur otherwise in Boghazköy. In orthography, the proper case endings are normally kept, but without mimation.

Parts of two columns on each side are preserved, and the shape suggests that the four are the only ones that were ever on the tablet. Only a few traces of the first and fourth columns, according to our understanding of the tablet, are preserved, but much of the second and third can still be read, some at least of each line. At first sight the large beautiful script suggests a masterpiece of the scribal art, but closer study reveals the faults which occur all too commonly on tablets of this type: badly written signs and frequent erasures mar the script, and more extensive kinds of textual corruption are also present. In the one case where duplicate copies are known this can be documented and in part explained; in the other cases we can only guess whether our ignorance or the scribe's incompetence is to blame for the difficulties which the text presents. It is, indeed, an extremely difficult piece, yet one of exceptional interest. The question of how to edit such pieces has much exercised the mind of the *Grossmeister* of Assyriology during the past decade, and he is of the opinion that in many cases we are as yet unprepared to offer editions at all. At the same time it is a pity that such things should be held back altogether, since they never will be understood if they are not read. Accordingly we offer a copy, a transliteration, a general introduction to the text, but no attempt at a full editing. Where the duplicates can be used to check the Middle Assyrian version it is clear that the latter cannot be translated without correction from the other copies.

The first eleven lines of the column preserved on the obverse comprise an Akkadian incantation ending with the conventional *tu₆.én.é.nu.rù*. The *én* is consistently written *IGI + AN* not *ŠU + AN*. The first five lines seem to describe the coming of some demonic power into human society;⁶ the last five deal with the clearing away of this power by an incantation of Ea. Following upon this there is the most complete section of the whole tablet, consisting of a short incanta-

tion written in phonetic Sumerian (lines 12–15) followed by instructions for performing a ritual (lines 16–18). Some parts of the Sumerian are comprehensible. It begins “the great lady is his queen,” she no doubt being Ereskigal, queen of the underworld, the habitat of demons. The first phrase of line 14 is also clear: “like evil, it does not stand on the right.” The incantation concludes with a corrupt version of the formula written elsewhere most commonly *zi.an.na hé.pà zi.ki.a hé-pà*, that is, “be exorcised by heaven, be exorcised by underworld.” The ritual section is not sufficiently clear for the use of this piece to be established.

The rest of the obverse (lines 19–36) is devoted to a new version of the famous Akkadian incantation containing the story of how the moon-god came down to earth and mated with his cow. Eventually the cow gave birth, with much pain, and at this point in the story the text is twisted round so as to become a spell to be recited for women in childbirth. The best preserved copy of this incantation is *BAM*, No 248 iii 10–35, and the following incantation in the same context (lines 36–45) contains some elements of the same story. This is a Late Assyrian copy from Assur, and Ashurbanipal's libraries have also yielded a less complete copy, K.2413 iii 1–25, first published by G. Meloni in *RSO* IV 569–71 and Tav. II and repeated by Thompson in *AMT* 67,1. These two Late Assyrian copies agree against Rm. 376. In part recensional differences explain this, but in as many cases corruption in the Middle Assyrian copy is to blame. At least two lines are telescoped in its line 25, so that the bull calf to be born, instead of its mother, is said to pass through the months of pregnancy! And in line 29 *na AN* is all that remains of *‘sin i-na šamê*. Still another recension of this text is represented by a small fragment from Boghazköy, *KUB* IV, No. 13:1–12. This is certainly a most important text for the history of religion. Böhl gave a Dutch translation of the Assur recension in *JEOL* I 202–4, but neither he nor the new Middle Assyrian copy solves all the problems of text and interpretation.

The greater part of the column preserved on the reverse of Rm. 376 is taken up with a most remarkable Akkadian incantation. The first 18 lines describe some demonic power at work in

⁶ They are duplicated with considerable variation in *BAM*, No. 124 iv 13–17 = No. 127:10–14, a medical incantation.

various spheres of life. Considerable literary art is employed in this section, and the lines dealing with hunters, merchants travelling on land, and then those on the high seas parallel a section of the big Šamaš Hymn.⁷ Then in line 21 the great gods, beginning with Sin and Nergal, are addressed, and in the remaining lines of the piece are invited to dispose of the demonic power, which is grammatically feminine singular, but is not certainly identified. After line 26 a line is drawn across the column, and the great gods Sin and Nergal are invited to put in an appearance on behalf of “so-and-so son of so-and-so,” who is being represented by the reciter of the incantation. This incantation too ended with tu₆.[én. é.nu.rù]. The rest of the reverse (lines 33–39) offers remains of another Akkadian incantation.

The most striking feature of this tablet is the variety of incantations it offers. One is clearly for use in childbirth, but the others are just as clearly for other purposes, even if they cannot be defined exactly. *BAM*, No. 248, and its Ashurbanipal duplicate offer the contrast, for they contain only material relevant to childbirth. The question which is raised by this Middle Assyrian tablet is whether the combina-

tion of diverse types of incantations is the product of a single scribe, or whether in his period this kind of compilation was normal and even traditional. More evidence will have to be found before this question can be answered. The language raises a further question. Quite a number of grammatical forms in the Assyrian dialect occur, for example

<i>lab-bir šal-bir</i>	obv. 9
<i>e-mur-šu-nu-ma</i>	rev. 16
<i>ú-ter-šu-nu</i>	rev. 17, 18

Also single consonants are written where most scribes in most periods would write double, for example

<i>i-di ha-ta</i>	rev. 12
<i>i-na-ad-rù</i>	obv. 4

This is reminiscent of Old Assyrian scribal uses. The question is raised by this phenomenon whether some, or even all, of these incantations might not have been handed down within Assyria from, say, 1900 B.C., rather than having been originals of Babylonia transported to Assyria. Again, more evidence must be awaited before an answer can be attempted.

TRANSLITERATION OF Rm. 376

OBVERSE

- 1 . . .] ki ni [i]š(?) itti kakkab šamé^e x
[. . .
- 2 [x] x x 'šēru(muš) il-qī' mi-ši-il im-te šá
zuqaqīpi(gír.tab) il-qī x [. . .
- 3 [x] iṣ-ša-bat qabal-ši-na x iṣ-ša-bat ^{usu}šir²-
āne^{mes} šu-te-er im-bi(?) -ia x x [. . .
- 4 qa-ta-an kīma EZEN-te ul i-na-ad-rù pa-aq-ri
iṣ-ša-ab-ta x [. . .
- 5 kāla(dù.a.bi) pa-aq-ri ni-ib-sir pi-ir-ka lu
[^{uz}u]šir²āne^{mes} iṣ-ša-a[b-ta . . .
- 6 kīma ^{giš}gišimmari ù mi-ši-il ^{giš}x.X^{mes} ^{usu}šir²-
ānu x [. . .
- 7 u ^{usu}ra-pal-te šipat(tu₆) ^dé-a iṣ-ru-uk-šu-ma
ana bu-lu-ṭu x [. . .
- 8 lú.lu^{mes} iṣ-ru-uk-šu-ma là šUB-di nu pa ša ta
šab x [. . .
- 9 e-li-iš li-li UR-gi-ni lab-bir šal-bir giš la ki x
[. . .

⁷ Lambert, *BWL*, p. 134, lines 135–42.

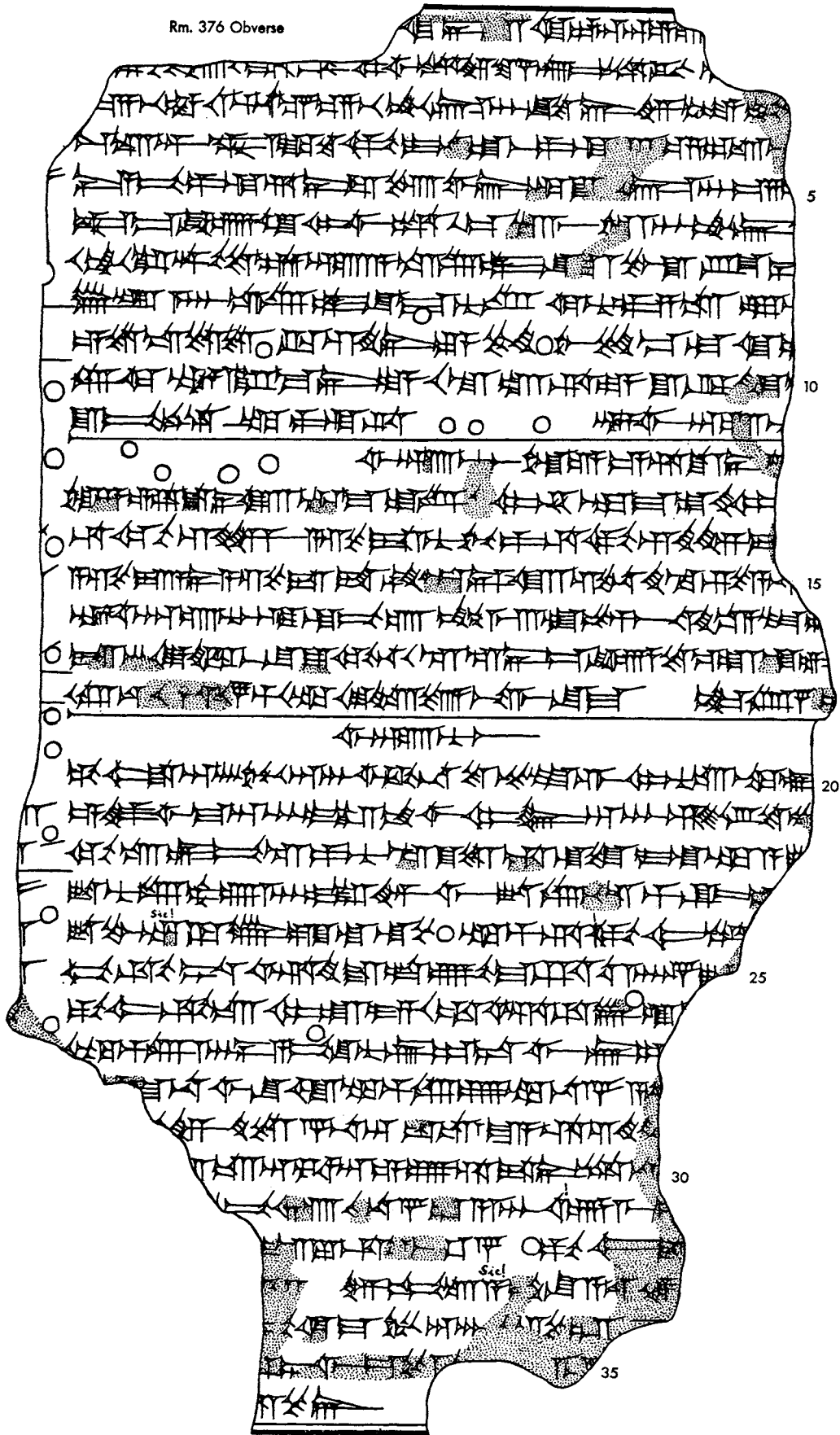
- 10 šUB-di šipta(tu₆) ana ra-ma-ni-ia u su-um-ri-
ia lu-ur-ḫi KU x [. . .
- 11 lu-bi-il-ka pa-aq-ri tu₆.én.é.nu.[rù]
-
- 12 én.é.nu.rù nin.kal e.re.ša.ni x [. . .
- 13 nin.kal e.re.ša.ni KI.MIN ka.ma.ad.ru 'ḫe'
mé.en ka.ma.ad ḫe.mé.[en . . .
- 14 ḫu.ul.gi.im a.zi.da nu.gu.pa ḫu.ul.gi.im d[a
. . .
- 15 a.zi.da.a.ni a.zi.da á gú ab(?) gá(?) KI.MIN
zi.na ḫe.ba zi.a.n[a . . .
- 16 tu₆.én.é.nu.rù kù.kùd.bi é.gibil ina 3(-šú) tu-
káp-pár ina pir-ḫi GIŠ.A.TU.GA[B + LIŠ] . . .
- 17 da x gig kab-rù šu-lu-ul-ti si-si-ni ^{giš}gišim-
mari te-eṣ-ši-x as [. . .
- 18 ru-ti-ti 7-šú(!) eli GIG ta-KAR ina u₄-me-šu-
ma erím šá x [. . .
-
- 19 én.é.nu.rù
- 20 ^{su}dáb ša ^dsin(30) gemé.^dsin(30) ši-ik-na-te
mu-tu-rat mi-nu-ta ka-az-[bat]

- 21 *e-mur-ši-ma* ^dsin(30) *i-ra-am-ši mi-ḫi-ir* ^dsin
(30) *nam-ru-te mu*-. . .]
- 22 *ul-ta-aš-bi-si pa-nu su-ku-li-ša la-tu i-la-ka-a*
i-n[*a ar-ki-šá*]
- 23 *i-na nu-ru-ub šammē*^{mes} *i-ra-²u-ši i-na šub-be*
ša maš-ge-¹e¹ [. . .]
- 24 *i-na pu-zu*(! tablet KA)-*ur* ^{1a}rē² *la la-mad*
ka-pár-ri ^{gud}áb *il*-[*ta-ḫi-it*]
- 25 *būru ek-du ar-ḫi-ša i-na ga-ma-ri ūmē*^{mes}-*ša*
i-n[*a qu-ti-i*]
- 26 ^{gud}áb *ik-ta-mi-ši i-ḫa-al ar-ḫu* ^{1a}rē² *ú* x [. . .]
- 27 *u ka-pár-ru*^{mes} *kāla*(*dù.a.bi*)-*šu-nu sa-ap-du-ši*
sa-ap-[*du* . . .]
- 28 [x] x x *na-ši-šu ù ka-pár-ru ú-ka-na-šá a-na*
[ik-kil-li-šá]
- 29 [*ri-gi*]*i-im ḫi-li-šá na an iš-ta-ma-a ri-gi-i*[*m-*
šá . . .]
- 30 . . .] MIN-*ta* ^dlamassātu(*alād*) *šamē*^e
ú-ri-da-ni il-t[*i-it* . . .]
- 31 . . .] x *bi kù nun ḫi*(?) *na-šá*-¹at¹ *mē*^{mes}
šul-me x [. . .]
- 32 . . .] x *ib ḫu* x x *šá* ^{gud}áb *ša* [. . .]
- 33 . . .] x x *im-qu-ta qaq*(! tablet A)-*qar-šu*
a-na ḫar-. . .]
- 34 . . .] x *ki-ma gemé*.^dsin(30) ¹li¹-*še*-¹ra¹
[. . .]
- 35 . . .] x *du* x x x [. . .] x x [. . .]
- 36 [*e-ri-tu* l]*i-še-er* [. . .]
- 13 *ú-ša-aḫ-ri-ib im-ḫa-aš elī-šu-nu di-na mu-*
t[*a*(?) . . .]
- 14 ^{1a}tamkārū^{mes} *na-šu-ú ki-si mu-ta-gi-šu-ú a-lik*
ar-ḫi[. . .]
- 15 *ḫa-al-pa-a a-lak-ta-šu e-zi-ib-šu* ^{1a}má.laḫ₄
ú-. . .]
- 16 *ša i-du-ú qí-rib a.ab.ba e-mur-šu-nu-ma e-na*
tu si x [. . .]
- 17 *sa-aq-lu sa-aq-lu si-ka-nu-šu-nu ú-ter-šu-nu*
ana ni-ti-li ur. [maḫ^{mes}]
- 18 *ša-gi-mu-te*^{mes} [l]*u-bil šal-pu-tam ina muḫḫi-*
šu-nu ú-ter-šu-nu ana x [. . .]
- 19 *šul*(!)-*la* ¹šat¹-*ba-a a-ki-lu ka la ma ka ni ig ru*
bar ka-mu-¹ú¹ [. . .]
- 20 *ana šadē*^{mes} ^giš¹kīšāte^{mes} ^giš¹apparāte^{mes} ^giš¹ki-*ra-*
te^{mes} *gi-ba i-di-i* [. . .]
- 21 *ilānu*^{mes} *rabūtu*^{mes} ^dsin(30) *u* ^dnergal(*u.gur*)
e-ti-ru-tu ^de-a *bēl šipti*(*tu*₆) ^d[*asal-lú-ḫi*]
- 22 *bēl né-me-qi* ^dgu-*la a-su-gal-la-at ilāni*^{mes}
rabūtu[^{tu} . . .]
- 23 *i-ta-ap-riḫ i-na pa-ni šamē*^e *šamē*^e *ša* ^da-*nim*
a-na x [. . .]
- 24 *lā ba-ni-ta us-ḫa-ši a-na ká.kur.ra li-lik ku li*
ši t[*a*(?) . . .]
- 25 ^denlil(*be*) *li-ti-rù-si* ^dadad *lu-ka-ši-si* ^de-a *bēl*
né-m[*e-qi* . . .]
- 26 *li-sú-uh* ^dmarduk *ap-kal ilāni*^{mes} *lu-še-bi-ir-ši*
[^{1d}ḫu-*bur*]

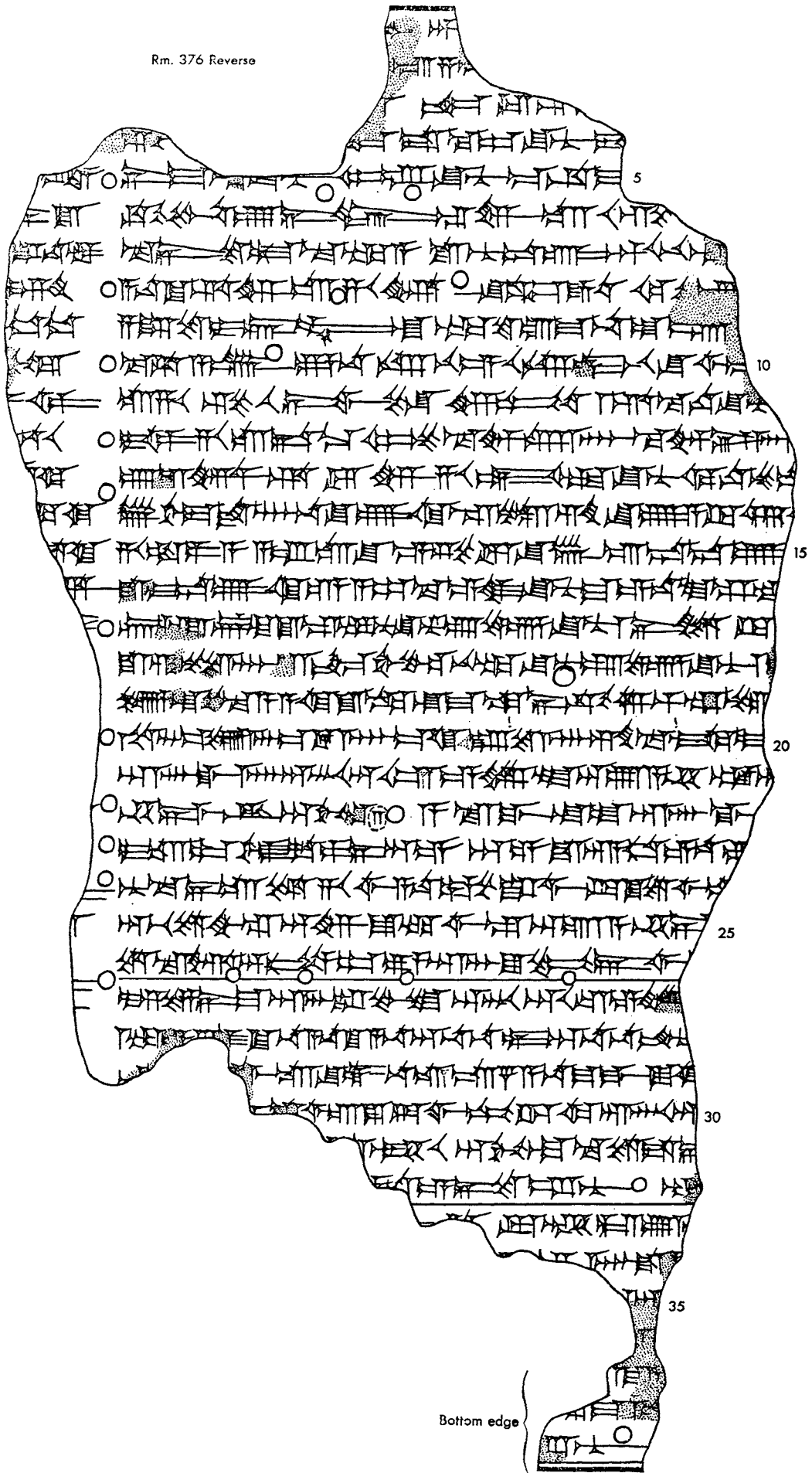
REVERSE

- 1-3 Detached signs and traces.
- 4 *si-i*[*h*(?)-. . .] x *da-ba-ab-šu-nu i*[*d*-. . .]
- 5 *né-ma-la-šu-nu mi-LAK-šu-nu is-ḫu-m*[*a* . . .]
- 6 *ik-pu-ud ú-né-kis si-im-ta u zi* [. . .]
- 7 *ba-ni usukku*(*unú*) *ba-ka-a ša-nu-du-ú-ti ina*
mu[*ḫḫi* . . .]
- 8 *a-na ku-ri im-ta-ḫa-aḫ-šu kīma kaspi ul ú-*
[. . .]
- 9 *za-ra-te i-sa-pan la-ka-te um-ma-na-at ša*[*rri*
. . .]
- 10 *ba-ri*(?)-*a šarra dan-na ru-be-e u ru-ug-be-šu*
ši x [. . .]
- 11 *ta-ḫa-zi u né-pe-še-šu im-qu-ut ana dal.ba.na-*
šu-nu [. . .]
- 12 *i-di ḫa-ta uš-ga-mi-mu ba-²i-ru*^{mes} *ba-²ir*^{mes} x
[. . .]
- 27 *i-zi-za-ni-ma ilānu*^{mes} *ra-bu-tu* ^dsin(30) *u*
^dnergal(*u.gur*) *e-ti-ru*-[*tu* . . .]
- 28 *ana ka* x x (x) *ku na a-na-ku a-na an-na-na*
mār an-na-na am-nu-. . .]
- 29 x x [x x] *x-ta šu-uk-na iš-ta-šá a-na ma-gal*
lu-ki-. . .]
- 30 . . .] x x *ši kid lu-ur-ši qu-ur-di ilāni*^{mes} *u*
^d[*ištārāte* . . .]
- 31 . . .] x ¹dingir¹.maḫ *u* ^dgu-*la ba-li-ṭa-ni*
[. . .]
- 32 . . .] ¹a¹-*na e-ni-te šid-nu tu*₆. [én.é.nu.
rù]
- 33 . . .] x x *ib* ^den-*lil ú-šib* [. . .]
- 34-38 Detached signs and traces.
- 39 . . . š]ID-*nu* [. . .]

Rm. 376 Obverse



Rm. 376 Reverse



AN INTRODUCTION TO BABYLONIAN PSYCHIATRY

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Medical information contained in the cuneiform records of ancient Mesopotamia belongs partly to the history of general medicine, partly to the history of tropical medicine, and partly to the history of psychological medicine. While little enough of abiding interpretational value has been done in the field of the first two of these categories, the whole subject of psychological medicine has been virtually untouched. The time has come to redress this situation and to give to mental disease and treatment its rightful place in the milieu of cuneiform medical texts. Like any pioneer endeavour this statement will make its mistakes; but there can be no better place for it than the present volume, honouring as it does a blazer of trails who has many times opened a way into the cedar forest where no man set foot before.

Since a somewhat parallel paper to that being attempted here will shortly appear in a volume on "Diseases in Antiquity" under the editorship of D. R. Brothwell and A. T. Sandison, the reader may be assured that many of the ideas which follow will not be judged in Assyriological courts only. It should, however, be stated that, for various reasons, little attempt has been made to define the technical terms which must inevitably be used. This may be a matter for criticism; but if it should mean that further enlightenment will then be sought from the proper scientific textbooks, this is no more than the subject itself demands. So involved a process as the working of the human mind, and particularly when it is sick, cannot be simplified or made less complex than it is.

We may easily dispense with further generalities and, being free to choose, may begin by entering the world of delusion. Unlike the delusions of everyday experience, those of psychological medicine are beliefs which are stubbornly held, wildly improbable, and impervious to reason. A first easy text is *KAR*, Nos. 43:1–20 and 63:1–

18, edited by Ebeling in 1915¹ and 1931.² It begins:

[šiptu] at-ta-ša ru-²-tú šá pi-i-ka
[a-]mat abi-ka a-mat ummi-ka a-mat aḫāti-ka
a-mat ku-lu-u² ù ḫa-rim-ti āli
at-ta-din a-na er-še-ti mu-ka-tim-ti
ša la te-pu-šá pi-i-šá la ta-ba-lak-ka-ta lišān-šá

We translate: "Having acquired some of the spittle of your mouth, I am assigning the words of . . . (supply your father, your mother, your sister, love-boy, or city prostitute as the case may be) into the all-hiding earth, which opens not her mouth, whose tongue is not rebellious."

What is noticeable about the persons mentioned in this text is that they are all capable of being loved. It may thus be suggested that some frustration or denial of love has converted the subject's love for them into hate, whereupon the mind's "projection" mechanism has turned the thought of "I hate them" into that of "they hate me which justifies me in hating them," and false ideas that they are trying to annoy or provoke him are assisting the patient in personally justifying this new hatred. It is of interest that the whole procedure of the treatment (lines 8 ff.), including the getting of the spittle and the reciting of the above "incantation," was to be performed by the patient (the "you" of the whole text with the exception of *pi-i-ka* in line 1); but in fact it is not likely that any patient ever carried it out.

Delusions of another kind are provided by the series *é-gal-tu-ra*, edited or discussed by Ebeling in *MAOG* V 3, pp. 30 ff., *ZDMG* LXXIV 175 ff. (cf. Landsberger in *ZDMG* LXXIV 439 f.), and *OLZ* XXIII 56. For new texts see *LKA*, Nos. 104 ff. In Ungnad's succinct phrase (*Afo* XIV 263) the treatise "handelt sich um jemanden, der vor dem König eine Rechtssache zu verfech-

¹ *ZDMG* LXIX 92 f.

² *MAOG* V 3, pp. 16 ff.

ten hat"—which is true up to a point. But this conclusion does not allow for the fact that *é-gal-tu-ra* is shown to be a mental-disease state from its occurrence and associations in *Afo* XIV 258, line 12, and 274 *m* and *Afo* XVIII 290, line 13, so that it then becomes a mental subject who would "enter the palace" and seek justice from the king. Thus when we read (*KAR*, No. 71 rev. 20–22)

*amēl*nāgīru ki-i at-ta-ša-ru ha-za-nu ki-i at-ta-ša-ru
bāba-ma³ ki ap-tū-ú *amēl*nakra ki-i ú-še-ri[-bu]
ina inē¹ šá bēlī-ia ki-i mim-ma la e-pu-šú,
“(It is said) that I took over the watch⁴ from the
nāgīru, that I took over the watch from the
hazannu, that I opened the city gate and let in
the enemy—but before my lord (the king) I
swear I have done no (such) thing,”

we may be sure that no one has made any charge at all and that the patient's fears are but delusional misinterpretations, a fiction of his own mind. Again, a new *é-gal-tu-ra* text (BM 103385), kindly brought to my attention by A. R. Millard, reads in rev. vi 19–20

¹di-ia-na-tu ¹liš¹-mu-ú ¹a¹-ma-tu-ú-¹a¹
¹ana¹-ku ki-ma šam-ni ¹elli¹ ki-ma mē ¹ellūti¹
X X X,

“If (only) female judges could hear my defence I would be [judged pure] as the purest oil, as the purest water.”

Here the thought is logical only to the patient; since the charge against him is of his own making he would not even be tried by male judges.

Ideas of “influence” (from rays etc.) may be seen in the lines (*KAR*, No. 71:15, with *LKA*, No. 107:11) “from one league, two leagues, you scorch and blaze with wrath,”⁵ and the *bēl dabābi* of *KAR*, No. 71 obv. 10 and rev. 3, whose tongue is to be silenced will hereafter be recognized as no ordinary “adversary at court” but as one of the many persecutors of the ancient psychological scene (cf. below). Altogether the delusional picture could suggest a diagnosis of early schizophrenia. Moreover, in schizophrenia “the patient's attitude to his delusions is typical in that he does not usually act appropriately and

thus will go to his doctor when it would have been more logical to have gone to the police.”⁶ This statement explains (as perhaps none other can) how the incantation-priests came to be concerned in situations superficially more legal than medical, and how they came to give the name of “going to the palace” to express the complaint of certain persons coming regularly to their own doors. In fact the palace itself would probably never have been involved.

Delusions may be taken a step further by considering IV R 55, No. 2, edited by Ebeling in *ArOr* XVII 1, pp. 186–90. The passage of our interest reads as follows: (1) *šumma amēlu bēl limutti irašši lišān saḥ-[ma-áš-]tu ireddú-šú* (2) *dib-bi-šú i-dib-bu-bu amātē-šú uš-tan-nu-ú karšī-šú ikkalū* (3) *da-bi-bi⁷ itti-šú kit-ta lā idibbub kišpī ruḥē rušē upšašē limnūti* (4) *ina lā idē NIGIN-šú ilu šarru kabtu rubū tīru na-an-za-zu ú bāb ekalli* (5) *itti-šú ú-šá-áš-ki-nu-ma ze-nu-ú itti-šú*, “If a man has *bēl lemutti*'s who persecute him with rebellious(?) tongues, spread rumours, tell tales about him, and slander him; if whoever speaks with him (is supposed to) speak nothing but untruths; if, without his knowledge, witchcraft, spells, magic, or (other) evil machinations (of men) are turned upon him; and if god, king, superior, elders, or any officer of the palace household or administration (supposedly) have a grievance(?) against him or are angry with him . . . (perform the following ritual).”

In this text interest centers on the *bēl lemutti* (taken to be plural). These “mischief-makers” appear to be those rather vaguely sketched persecutors whom the psychotic patient so often refers to simply as “they”; indeed, the delusions of persecution are very clear and have the hallmark of the technical verb *redū* itself. What is involved is that the patient believes in an organisation supposedly determined to ruin him, so that in the absence of hallucinosis or affective disorder, and with the evident preservation of coherent thinking, the diagnosis is likely to be paranoia seen in the second, or persecutory, stage according to Magnan's analysis. A secondary interest is that the text introduces two of the

³ Unless KÁ. *GAL should be read.

⁴ Following Landsberger in *ZDMG* LXXIV 441, we take the verb to be *našāru*, not *nazāru*.

⁵ [ul]-tu 1 *bēru šar-ḥa-ta ul-tu* 2 *bēru uz-za-ta/at*.

⁶ D. Curran and M. Partridge, *Psychological Medicine* (4th ed.) p. 204.

⁷ Interpreted as *da-bi-bu*.

most important clichés of Babylonian psychiatry, firstly, the *kišpū ruḫū rušū upšašū limnūti*,⁸ evidently considered to be the causing agencies of many of the delusions and ideas of psychotic states, and, secondly, the *ilu šarru kabtu rubū*, namely “those in authority,” who are so often the target of the mental patient’s outbursts and accusations. With regard to the latter phrase, and the apparent “anger” (*zēnu*) of these officials with the subject, it should be realised that this anger was almost certainly “projected.” Not only were the officials *not* angry with the patient, but, such being the mental journeys that deluded subjects can make, the chances are that they were not even aware of his existence.

These officials occur again in one of the most inescapable of all Babylonian psychiatric texts. This is *AMT* 96,7 with *KAR*, No. 26, edited, although without analysis, by Ebeling in *ZDMG* LXIX 96–98. A translation of the integrated prayer to Marduk has been given by W. von Soden (*Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen und Gebete*, No. B.47), and by seeing the conditions mentioned as “vielleicht Geisteskrankheiten” (*ibid.* p. 397) von Soden has paved the way for the following interpretation. “Vielleicht” may in fact be deleted; in the light of its own introduction, *šumma amēlu antašubbū bēl ūri . . .*, the text is to be placed in the first instance under the heading of epileptic psychosis.

This condition is serious. It usually develops when epileptic attacks have continued for a long time without remission. We read: (1) *šumma amēlu antašubbū bēl ūri qāt ili qāt ištari* ‘qāt ešimmī’ (2) *qāt māmīti qāt NAM.LÚ.U_x.LU eli-*(or *muhḫi-*)*šu ibašši* (3) *alū limnu ireddi-šū i-qab-bi-ma lā imdagarū-šū*(*NU.ŠE.GA-šū*) *ubān lemutti arki-šū taršat* (4) *ilu ū ištari itti-šū ze-nu-ū šunāti pār-da-te limnēti la tábāti* (5) *itanammar pu-ul-ḫu šakin-šū ana maḥar ili u ištari ug-gat lib-bi irtanašši* (6) *nu-ul-la-te libbi-šū i-tam-mu puluḫta-šū*(*NÍ-šū*) *šup-luḫ ina pī nīšī-šū zi-i-ru GAR-šū* (7) *ilu šarru kabtu u rubū da-šu-šū i-qab-bi-ma*⁹ *la i-nam-di-nu-šū* (8) *ka-la šērē-šū šim-ma-tū irtanaššū inā-šū* SA₅ SIG₇ u GÍG (9) **dabāb-šū*¹⁰

⁸ All words are plural and thus correspond to the *namrīrrū*, *melammū*, group which expresses “emission” of another kind, namely that of light.

⁹ From *KAR*, No. 26, considered superior to the *i-qab-bu-šū-ma* of *AMT* 96,7.

ittanaker amāti-šū im-da-na-áš-ši SAL(= ša?) *libbi-šū la ir-ri-**iš (text: -su) (10) *a-na kašād šibūti libba-šū lā našī-šū*, “If a man is currently suffering from major or minor epileptic attacks . . . , and an *alū limnu* then begins to inflict him with (ideas of) persecution so that he says—although no one will agree with him that it is so—that the finger of condemnation is being pointed at him behind his back and that god or goddess are angry with him; if he sees horrible, alarming, or immoral ‘visions’ and is (consequently) in a constant state of fear; if he engages in periodic outbursts of anger against god or goddess, is obsessed with delusions of his own mind, *evolves his own religion*, and says—although (again) they will not allow it—that his family are hostile towards him and that god, king, his superiors and elders treat him unjustly; if all his muscles are subject to paralysis, if his eyes exhibit (visual sensations of) red, yellow, and black, if he has a condition of aphasia such that he forgets what he wants to say, has no desire for female relationships and no inclination to pursue any activity (at all) . . . , (details of the action to be taken follow).”

In this syndrome the one physical symptom of paralysis (line 8) is taken to be that epileptic paralysis which is post-convulsive and does not long maintain itself, so that the *tan*-form of the verb is not unimportant for the diagnosis. On the mental side I am forced to interpret the eye condition in terms of visual hallucinations of the “flashes of light” variety, although, if this is so, the thought is not well expressed. In *nullāte libbi-šū itammu* the verb has nothing to do with “swearing” but has a sense denominative from *māmīt* (cf. below). The same phrase occurs in *STT* I, No. 95 ii 84. The term *nullāte*, explained in the *Theodicy* commentary to line 283 as *la kit-tū*, appears to cover the field of “fiction,” “false charges” (with *kapādu*), and “delusional beliefs.” Its certain place in psychiatric terminology may be seen from *KAR*, No. 92, right edge 3–4, where it finds company with *ḫūš hepi libbi*, “mental breakdown,” “neurosis,” and *ḫattu pirittu*, “(morbid) fear,” “anxiety” (as another aspect of neurosis), and “delusions” will fit well

¹⁰ The texts offer *zu-šū* or *su-šū*, neither of which appears satisfactory. The emendation to *ka-šū* is based on Labat, *TDP* I 64, lines 61 ff.

in *ASKT*, p. 85, lines 27–28, where *ma-ru-ús-tú nu-ul-la-tú* precedes *šu-ut-tu la da-mi-iq-tú*, “visual hallucinations.” The loss of libido mentioned in line 9 was a typical insertion of the Babylonian priests (cf. *AMT* 76,1:6; *BAM* II, No. 140 obv. 8’; K.6053:8’–9’ etc.) and is perfectly relevant in the present case as in many another. The delusions, the suspicions, the vivid hallucinations (translated “visions”), the religiosity, disturbance of memory, and loss of interest will all fit the diagnosis suggested.

We cannot, however, leave the text without first giving attention to the four additional psychological states which the scribe inserts in front of the whole group of opening names (lines 1–2) when, in obv. 54 ff., he has occasion to repeat them. These are, in their Sumerian forms, *hul-gig*, *zi-ku₅-ru-da*, *di-bal-a*, and *ka-dib-bi-da*.

These mental states are well known from other sources.¹¹ From their position in the present text they evidently have not yet assailed the patient, and thus to see them as representing sequelae to psychoses is both to understand them within narrow limits and also to realise the seriousness of what they stand for. *Hul-gig*, Akkadian *zīru*, *zērūtu*, is surely “hostility,” although, being misunderstood, its origin was ascribed to influences of magic or witchcraft. That *zi-ku₅-ru-da*, “cutting of the throat,” means “suicide,” “attempted suicide,” or “suicidal tendencies” is hardly doubtful. Line 49 of *STT* I, No. 89, *inā-šú i-bar-ru-*ra* (copy: *úr*) *dāmu ina 'pī'-šú illakū*, “his eyes are ‘glassy’ and blood flows from his mouth,” requires no commentary. In the previous line *ta-lam* is presumably from **talāmu* (root *tlw*), “to hang,” although in *AMT* 90,1 rev. iii 24, *zikurudū* involves bleeding (*lapātu*) an artery (*šer²ānu*) of the leg. For *di-bal-a* I know of no clues other than the name, but it might well mean “mania” with violence, the state of a mental patient who is beyond punishment. Lastly, *ka-dib-bi-da* (“lockjaw” being in the wrong department of medicine) will express a stuporose condition, with mutism¹² and refusal of food. Relevant here

is *KAR*, No. 33 obv. 2 (*TuL*, p. 74), which defines a person whose “mouth is seized” as one who neither eats bread nor drinks water, and one only hopes that the long and elaborate ritual of the text was not too often performed for hysterical patients with the same symptoms.

For some other related terms (cf. e.g. *AfO* XVIII 289–90, lines 11 ff.) we suggest that *šur-hun-gá*, Akkadian *uzza nuhhu*, which must also suit the presumed schizophrenic picture of *KAR*, No. 71 obv. 11, is “apathy” (the state of mind which cannot be moved, shocked, or angered by anything), and the familiar *šinūt/šanē tēmi* and *miqit tēmi* are likewise associated with mood. “Change of mood” appears to have had more than one application in Babylonian psychiatry, but *miqit tēmi* may be simply “affective loss,” that is, a shallowness or poverty of emotional response. As to *rāmu*, none could be thought more influenced by “love-magic” than the hypomanic. Finally, *íd-gur-ra*, “return from the river ordeal acquitted” (Lambert in *AfO* XVIII 295, n. to line 13), would be quite different and probably unique to psychiatry. We see it as a delusion whereby the patient’s fear of death in the ordeal, giving rise to an obsessive-ruminative psychoneurosis not finally to be tolerated, became permanently suppressed into the subconscious.

It is to be noticed that line 53 of our text provides another example of the part thought to be played by “witchcraft, spells, magic, and other evil machinations” in the production of mental symptoms. The line now becomes our cue to discuss *kišpū*.

The witch is, in part, one of the lost images of psychological medicine. To be sure, despite her massive non-existence, she entered the world at large even as in mediaeval Europe, and undoubtedly even the priests believed in one form of her since, in days before psychology and psychopathology, they could find no other explanation for *zīru*, *zikurudū*, and certain other phenomena except in terms of her work. But once a mental subject began to believe in a witch her character changed. She became conditioned by his own illness and his own mind, becoming variously a seducer, snake-charmer, cloud-gatherer, or the like—and here the priests were not deceived and gave treatment accordingly.

Our concern in this paper is with the mental

¹¹ E.g. *BMS*, Nos. 7: 51, 12:1; *Maqlū* I 89–90, IV 13–14, V 61–62; *AfO* XVIII 289, line 12, etc.; and, individually, *AfO* XIV 258, lines 2, 9, 22, 43.

¹² Preferred to “aphasia” (*CAD* XVI 163, under *šibit pī*), although this may be allowable, perhaps, in extreme cases.

attitudes of the "bewitched" and therefore with the great treatise of *Maqlû*, which, if the reader does not already know it or suspect it, was one of the main textbooks of Babylonian psychiatry, being concerned with the burning, or slow melting, of the images of the persecutors of deluded patients. This, at least, is half the story. The other half of it is concerned, firstly, with those witches who were themselves reported as having burnt images of the patient and then as having buried, or otherwise disposed of, the ashes in drains, potters' kilns, the river Hubur, or sundry other unlikely places; secondly, with the grandiose *muštepištu*, the witch who might cause another witch to bewitch the patient; and thirdly, with those again rather recherché witches (*Maqlû* IV 119–23) who were either Elamite, Qutian, Sutilian, Lulubian, or Hanigalbatian (and as such possibly creations of a mind mischievously determined to confound Babylonian priests or gods supposedly able to control only Babylonian witches)—in short, with witches who have nothing to do with persecution in the proper sense of the term but have everything to do with bizarre confabulation. In neither case can I believe that anything more than the background belongs to social anthropology. The essential conflicts in *Maqlû* are mental and personal and belong under the heading of psychosis.

To understand this more clearly it may be said that there is an unmistakable element of illusion (not to be confused with delusion) in *Maqlû*. Thus the incantation of III 140 ff. (*ḥašabtu*¹³ *sūqāti am-me-ni tug-dan-na-ri-en-ni*, "O potsherd of the streets, why are you ever hostile to me?") reveals at once the misinterpretation of something actually being presented to the senses. The potsherd is in fact being interpreted as a witch (*kaššaptu*, line 142), and all that need be said further here is that the psychotherapy "turns the tables" on the witch (this being one of the fundamental procedures of Babylonian psychiatry) so that when the patient answers her back with the words (153 ff.)

"I am the spike of a thorn bush, don't you dare step on me;
I am the sting of a scorpion, don't you dare touch me;

¹³ Considered a "deonant construct" to avoid the rhyme of *-ti . . . -ti* (cf. ZA NF XX, 74 ff. and n. 13).

I am a jagged mountain, see that your witchcraft, spells, magic and evil machinations don't come near me,"

he is being encouraged to think that she in her turn will be suffering from illusions when she looks at him.

For the most part, however, the element of illusion is disguised. Thus it will not be readily apparent in the following (*Maqlû* I 103–6):

"They (my witches) have made me eat bewitched food,
They have made me drink bewitched water;
They have washed me in filthy wash-water,
They have anointed me with salves made from evil drugs."

Nevertheless specific delusions presuppose specific causes, and here are doubtless the delusional elaborations of illusions—illusions that certain sensations of the skin or body, whether in origin mental (hallucinations of touch and taste) or physical (paraesthesiae, or fleeting aches and pains), have come to the patient from some source outside of him. It is in this context that the *mušlahḥatu* or "female snake-charmer" (*Maqlû* III 43, IV 126, etc.) fits very well, for following subjective feelings or sensations attributed to "poison" the snake-charmer becomes the end result of the patient's theorising as to the cause of the poison. Of many difficult kinds of witch the *mušlahḥatu* is, in fact, one of the most understandable. "Two years have gone by," wrote Sadler of a certain patient, "and he has not ceased to entertain the idea that a vast number of conspirators are working to poison him."¹⁴ To be sure the witch has gone, but only because nobody, not even the mentally ill, believes in witches any more.

Two further considerations directly connect the witch with psychological medicine. The first concerns those physical complaints which the patient might ascribe to her influences, saying that *ir-ti id-ri-bu lib-bi un-ni-šu idē-ia, ik-su-u e-še-en-še-ri ik-pu-pu šartī im-lu-su*, "they push in my chest, weaken my heart, bind my arms, bend my back, pluck out my hair," or do much else besides (*Maqlû* II 31 ff. etc.; AfO XVIII 290, lines 16 ff.). But these complaints, like the witches themselves, have mental exist-

¹⁴ W. S. Sadler, *Modern Psychiatry*, p. 491.

ence only, so that either confabulation, or hypochondriasis (of a sort), or psychomotor hallucinations (the feeling that part of one's body is being moved), seems alone capable of providing a solution to the problem.

The second point concerns the witch's fellow persecutors. In *Maqlû* I 73 ff., *Maqlû* II 38 ff., and *Afo* XVIII 289, lines 1 ff., full lists will be found, headed by "witches," "sorcerers," and "enchanters" and followed by the *bēlu*-names of which the *bēl dabābi* and *bēl lemutti* we have met above, thus cross-checking with two other psychiatric texts. The *bēl rēdû* is some sort of persecutor by virtue of his very name. The *bēl ikki* is someone who evidently annoys or irritates the patient (cf. *CAD* VII, s.v. *ikku*), but he becomes more understandable when seen as the figure of a projection (the ascribing of faults to others which one refuses to recognize as one's own). The *bēl egirri* was probably not seen at all, being doubtless that "voice" which may issue short commands or comments, sometimes feared, sometimes respected, in auditory hallucinations. Thus one may tell the witch by the company she keeps.

We pass to a consideration of *Šurpu*, *Maqlû*'s twin. There are no witches in *Šurpu*, for we are leaving the world of psychosis and entering that of neurosis and the psychopathic state. What follows is based on Miss Reiner's fine edition and begins at the statement that "the purpose of *Šurpu*" was "the healing of a sick person" (Introduction, p. 4). Drawing an obvious inference from the fact that there is barely a physical symptom mentioned in the book, we may here confine attention to three passages extracted from the Second Tablet.

I. "Be the (mystery?) resolved in that So-and-so does not know it is wrong . . . when he gives with a small measure (37) . . . uses a false balance (42) . . . takes money not lawfully his (43) . . . sets up a false boundary stone (45) . . . enters a friend's house, has intercourse with his friend's wife, sheds his blood, and steals his clothes (47-50) . . . when his mouth says 'yes' but his heart says 'no' and whatever he says is completely untrue (56-57), when he . . . shakes and trembles (with rage), destroys (things), throws them out (of the house) or makes them

disappear; when he accuses, incriminates, spreads gossip, wrongs, robs or incites others to rob (58-61) . . ."

Here is the Babylonian psychopath—the pathological liar, the swindler, the kleptomaniac, the gossip-monger, the social misfit, the sexual criminal, and the murderer—an unmistakable picture.

II. "Be the (mystery?) resolved in that he does not know why he is compelled to take (things), to hide (things) (83-84) . . . to point the finger (of condemnation) at a protecting deity (87) . . . to step in blood or walk about over a place where blood has been shed (93-94) . . . (or why) he has a phobia of meeting an accursed person or of an accursed person meeting him, or of sleeping in the bed, sitting in the chair, eating at the table, or drinking from the cup of an accursed person (98-103) . . ."

This section is different and concerns the obsessed. Everyone has mild obsessions, but obsessive-compulsive states (an aspect of the *māmît*-state; cf. below) are handicaps to normal living. Phobias (*māmît* again) are closely related, being irrational obsessional fears. The "accursed person" and the bed, chair, table, and cup belong in fears of contamination (an aspect of phobia) and are well known to psychiatry. In such a state the patient "takes to repeated washing, which may lead to his having to wash everything with which he comes in contact . . . even every article of furniture in the house."¹⁵

III. "[Be the (mystery?) resolved in that he does not know why] he has a (morbid) fear of beds, chairs, tables, lighted stoves, lamps (105 ff.), etc. . . . of leaving or entering (such and such) city, city gate, or house, or of (such and such) a street, temple, or road (123 ff.)."

In this passage the relevant verb is *ša'ālu* or *šālu*, but I suspect it is not the common verb "to ask" but that meaning "to turn from, in horror (as a deity from a committed crime)."¹⁶

¹⁵ D. Curran and M. Partridge in J. Conybeare and W. N. Mann, *Textbook of Medicine* (12th ed.) p. 752.

¹⁶ Cf., at least for initial inspiration, Oppenheim in *JNES* XI 130, also Lambert in *Afo* XIX 53, n. to line 160. If the Šamaš Hymn, line 115, is indeed relevant, the lines perhaps mean: (As for the merchant who practises deceit etc.),

"Sooner or later(?) he will earn for himself only the curses of the people;

On this explanation the noun *mašāltu* (*Šurpu* V–VI 67 and *passim*) will properly mean “aversion,” although, since this is not a term of the modern science, the ordinary word “fear” has been used instead. If correct the passage will concern fear of things and fear of places. For lack of information we shall not get far with the first of these groups, although it is possible that the fear of lit stoves and lamps is to be explained as a defence mechanism, being the individual’s shield against an impulse to burn people. But the reason for the fears of the places would be more obvious. In origin they are likely to have been fears for the recurrence of an anxiety attack having an aetiology somehow related to a place, but of which the details have been suppressed into the subconscious together with the guilt, shame, or other emotion originally involved.

Central to *Šurpu* is the *māmīt*-idea, and we cannot leave the subject without a few thoughts on this word despite all the difficulties. Generally speaking, I would see the *māmīt* as a compulsion to do, or a compulsion not to do (and, therefore, a fear of or a phobia for doing), a certain act. We suggest it received its name from the fact that these “compulsions” were seen to be so unbreakable as behaviour habits (as indeed they are) that, to an outsider, it was as if the subject had sworn an “oath” to do, or not to do, the action involved. How far this definition is true may be seen by trying a few examples from *Šurpu* III, selected so as to provide some secondary headings (given in italics). Thus the patient may be “compelled”

(line 35) to slaughter a sheep and touch the death-wound [*blood lust*],

(line 70) to smash doors or door locks [*malicious behaviour*],

(line 16) to implore (stretch out the hands to) the Lamp-god [*pyromania*],

(line 97) to put the breast into the mouth of a child [*sexual perversion*],

(line 144) to lie and blaspheme [*typically psychopathic behaviour*],

(lines 84 ff.) [to play] “Laughing Angels,” “Wander-

ing Demons,” “Returning Ghosts,” “Sneaking Devils;” [to play with] drum or kettledrum, timbrel, or cymbals . . . [to dig] pits and ditches (for the unwary to fall into) [*nerve-racking, noisy, and delinquent behaviour probably to be characterised as childish*].

As to the opposite, he may have a fear or phobia (line 115) of (certain) days or months . . . [*based on suppressed experience*],

(line 123) of hunger or hardship [*based on suppressed experience?*],

(line 124) of having the name of a god invoked in his presence [*guilt complex?*]

(line 131) of eating an accursed man’s food [*fear of contamination*].

One further example of *māmīt* may be introduced here. In Labat, *TDP* I 178, line 17, *šumma taš-[l]i-ma-ti iddanabub muruṣ ma-mīt mariṣ*, “s’il prononce sans cesse des paroles de salutation: il souffre de la maladie de *māmīt*,” the picture is of a patient crying “peace be unto you,” “peace be unto you,” *ad infinitum*. In Russell Brain’s terminology the diagnosis is likely to be “expressive aphasia”¹⁷ involving a cerebral lesion perhaps caused by a blow on the head;¹⁸ but in that, to an observer, the patient could neither help nor stop pronouncing his salutations it is easy to see why this also should have been considered “compulsive” behaviour. Evidently, therefore, as a medical term *māmīt* cuts across all modern schemes of classification, and indeed it should be recognized that some of the entries of *Šurpu* III could be thought equally characteristic of schizophrenic or hypomanic behaviour. There is, further, a use of *māmīt* (with *arnu* etc.) where it appears to mean either “crime” or “mania for crime,” and we have alluded above to a technical denominative sense of *tamû* which may also be recognized in *Šurpu* II 82 ff. But even with this statement the subject is hardly exhausted.

¹⁷ Russell Brain, “Aphasia, apraxia and agnosia,” in S. A. Kinnier Wilson, *Neurology* (2nd ed.) III 1445–47.

¹⁸ In this case the repeated phrase is often that “which the patient was about to use at the time at which the lesion occurred.” The man whom Musil met on *ḫ* is travels (*The Middle Euphrates*, p. 14) and who repeated “at least a hundred times: ‘Oh, may you die even to-day; Oh, that it were your last day in this world’ ” would probably have qualified for the same diagnosis.

Sooner or later(?) he will be turned from in disgust (*i[š]-šá-al*) as being (utterly) contemptible.”

For *piltu*, “scorn,” “contempt,” “abuse,” cf. *CAD* VI, under *batû* A.

What, then, shall we say are the canonical textbooks of Babylonian psychiatry? As I see it, corresponding directly to *Maqlû* and *Šurpu* are two textbooks on therapy, *uḫ-búr-ru-da* for psychoses and *nam-erím-búr-ru-da* for (presumably) psychopathic and obsessive-compulsive states. Unlike the incantation series they prescribe the use of drugs.¹⁹ As suggested above, *é-gal-tu-ra* (no modern equivalent) will be concerned with an aspect of schizophrenia. *Šà-zi-ga* deals with loss of libido.²⁰ It may not be immediately obvious why *edin-na-dib-bi-da* (*KAR*, No. 44:24; K.9875; perhaps K.2546, ed. Sayce in *PSBA* XXXVII 195–97) should concern delirium,²¹ but, as the popular “seeing snakes” so well explains, the hallucinations in delirium involve encounters with sundry hissing or roaring animals and it is thus only mentally that the patient is “crossing the desert.” *Bīt rimki*, having little, I suspect, to do with “the evil portended by lunar eclipses”²² except in so far as this was one of many fears which might produce an anxiety neurosis, is still difficult to define exactly, but at least the condition for treatment is clear at the end of *bīt rimki* III since this concerns the “angry god.” Like so much in psychological medicine this deity (*ilu zenû*, *ilu šabsu*) as well as divine wrath (*kimilti ili*) had no factual existence, and such ideas must be explained either in terms of “projection,” which means that the real and only anger was that of the patient, or else in terms of delusions of sin, which means that the anger was merely a logical inference of the patient’s and false because based on false prem-

¹⁹ *Uḫ-búr-ru-da* is a long series. To references given by Ungnad in *Afo* XIV 266 (but without *KAR*, No. 80) add *KUB* IV, Nos. 60 and 99, XXXVII, Nos. 43–49, 50(?), 51; *LKA*, No. 160; *BAM* II, No. 140; Craig, *ABRT* II, Pl. 18; and, possibly or probably, K.3394, 6053, 6840(?), 8079, 8112, 8840, 8933, 9046, 9488, 10559, 11260, 13236; Sm. 352, 695, 897, 1960. K.6053 (cf. Bezold, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum*, p. 758), a single-column tablet, is Tablet 63 (collated) of one edition. I thus see the “Big Three” of Babylonian medicine as (1) the still titleless therapeutic “medical texts,” for physical diseases; (2) *ana piširti kišpi* or *kišpi [ana pašāri]*, for certain mental diseases; and (3) *ana amēli muršu lā feḫē* for preventive medicine in general, whether for physical or mental diseases (e.g. *KAR*, No. 298, epidemics, and *BMS*, No. 12, psychoses).

²⁰ Cf. *JSS* VII 180.

²¹ As first suggested in *JSS* VII 177.

²² Reiner, *Šurpu*, p. 3.

ises. The main sources for the “angry god” and particularly for delusions of sin are the *ér-šà-ḫun-gá* texts.²³ As to *guruš-líl-lá-meš* and *ki-sikil-líl-lá-meš* (*KAR*, No. 44:10), these compositions concern phantasmata—“spirits of the wind” who became marriage partners of deluded subjects. The delusion here, as commonly, was the result of a wish-fear psychoneurosis—the wish for certain sexual relationships and the fear that society or the moral code or even physical handicaps must frustrate the wish, and indeed Campbell Thompson’s *Moslaū* “who declared he was visited of nights by a spirit in the form of a beautiful woman who had borne him three children” (*PSBA* XXVIII 83) would provide a typical example of this delusion in modern times.²⁴ Nothing is yet known of *máš-ge, *nu* (text: *al*)-*sig, ga* (*KAR*, No. 44:14; cf. *ASKT*, pp. 84–85, line 28), which probably concerned hallucinations, or of *šēp limutti ina bīt amēli parāsu* (*Afo* XIV 259, line 24; *KAR*, No. 44:20; *KAR*, No. 74 obv. 8).²⁵

It would remain to describe a remarkable document written not by the priests but by a “patient.” This is *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, for long years known as “The Poem of the Righteous Sufferer.” It will here be called “The autobiography of a paranoid schizophrenic.”

The one essential question which this diagnosis can answer is whether the book is fact or fiction. I would suggest it was both. It would be fact in that the author sat down and wrote a “true” autobiography about his life as he understood it. It would be fiction in that primary de-

²³ See Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, p. 306, n. 230, for the first move towards a psychological explanation of the *ilu zenû*. Delusions of sin are frequently associated with depression so that it is not surprising to find this additional element in the *ér-šà-ḫun-gá* compositions. Other relevant texts are *BMS*, No. 11; *JRAS*, 1929, pp. 281–84 and 763–66.

²⁴ Nevertheless, although *šá ar-da-at li-li-i i-ḫi-ru-šú*, “the man whom an *ardat lili* has married” (*V R* 50 i 60), was doubtless deluded in the way we have described, the same could hardly be said of anyone who visualized the *ardat lili* as unable to conceive (*ardatu šá ki-ma sin-niš-ti la a-ri-a-tu*) or as suffering from uterine occlusion (*ardatu šá ki-ma sin-niš-ti la naq-bá-tú*) (cf. Sm. 49; Bezold, *op. cit.* p. 1376). Thus, as with the witch, one must distinguish between the *ki-sikil-líl-la* of psychological medicine and the *ki-sikil-líl-la* of popular belief. For the *ki-sikil-ša-ga* see Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies*, No. IV.

²⁵ The last reference as clarified by Landsberger in *ZDMG* LXXIV 442.

lusions of persecution, together with a secondary delusional system involving delusions of grandeur and confabulation, are intervening to confuse the whole manuscript. One gains a first foothold into the text by taking the whole disease story as confabulation, for if a mentally ill person believes he has gone blind, deaf, dumb, lame, and so forth, this requires no explanation; but if it was a healthy person who wrote the work, and whether it be considered fact or fiction, one is forced to explain why this aspect of the account is so widely divorced from normal experience.

There follows a brief medical analysis of the patient's thought as seen through his book, presented in four stages, the first two of which are only artificially separated. We begin with the delusions of persecution, the persecutors being the "courtiers," *nanzāzū*, of I 57 ff., and particularly a "clique of seven," *rikis sibi(t)*, who are supposedly plotting against him and trying to ruin him, much like the *bēl limutti* in a case discussed above. Interesting here is II 102, *kal u₄-me ri-du-ū i-ri-id-da[n-ni]*, "all day long the persecutor would persecute me," and the more so because the technical word *ridū* is also being used in the sense of "a driver (of animals)"—note *qinnāzu*, "whip," and *paruššu*, "goad," in the previous lines—a possible example of the schizophrenic "association of ideas." The second stage fills out the first. In this stage the writer's numerous suspicions and "ideas of reference," his statement that "my friend became my foe" (I 84), his belief, hardly likely to be true, that "my own slave publicly cursed me in the assembly" (I 89), and his final withdrawal from society to live entirely within himself, fit easily into a diagnosis of schizophrenia simplex.²⁶ The next development (stage three) is the patient's evident resentment, somewhat disguised as bewilderment, at his now totally hostile surroundings which extends, he thinks, even to the loss of his personal gods (II 4–5), and he attempts to, and even does, explain it in terms of some master-

plan of Marduk's (delusional also) which finally gives him the compensation he needs. It is particularly this analysis which requires the word "paranoid" to be written into the diagnosis. In the fourth stage are to be placed the delusions of grandeur, considered by psychiatrists to be compensatory also. Such words as "my city" (I 82), "my land" (I 83), "O King" (I 55),²⁷ "the palace" (I 81, II 32) speak for this aspect of the diagnosis (the patient need not have been more than a priest having a rather good knowledge of diseases and incantation literature), and while Lambert does well to have discovered a Cassite hero(?), Šubši-mešrê-Šakkan, bearing the same name as the sufferer, the name is so out of the ordinary that, in the latter case, we would see it as psychiatry's first "Napoleon" and therefore belonging in the delusions of grandeur also. As to the "philosophy" (II 33–48), this is typically schizophrenic (*vide* textbooks) and, as typically, does not make real sense. What is most curious about it is that it mainly concerns persons suffering from a manic-depressive psychosis. Finally, the line *a-di la mi-tu-ti-i-ma bi-ki-ti gam-rat* (II 115), "before I had died lamentation for me was finished," is funny—not, of course, that our patient would have thought so. It reveals disorientation as to time and may be interpreted in the light of M. Levin's "Wit and schizophrenic thinking" (*Am. J. Psychiat.* CXIII [1957] 917 ff.).

In conclusion, let a few brief comments reinforce the extent of our subject. It is a quite extraordinary correspondence which we have between Esarhaddon and his doctors, but I believe the reason for it is that he was malingering.²⁸ Of other personalities, Šamaš-šum-ukīn (cf. *RA* XVI 67; *PBS* I, No. 12; *PBS* X 2, pp. 193 ff.) would certainly appear to have become mentally ill in some way. If, as I suspect, the terms *lillu*, *dunnamū*, and *ulātu* described ailments and congenital idiocy (cf. *CAD* III 183 and Lambert, *BWL*, p. 18, n. 1) yet another dimension is added

²⁷ In that *kišir libbi*, lit. "knot of meaning," is probably a "mystery," as in *lu-up-tur ki-šir libbi-ka*, "I will unravel thy mystery" (*KAR*, No. 63 rev. 15), the lines I 55–56 are taken to mean: "O King, flesh of the gods, the Sun of his people, (the dream) is mysterious and of a bad kind(?) to unravel."

²⁸ Cf. K. A. Menninger, "Psychology of a certain type of malingering," *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry* XXXIII 507 ff., esp. p. 509: "malingering is also an aggression against the physician himself."

²⁶ Cf. standard textbooks. The symptoms "are all the more significant in that they occur in a setting of relative clearness The general intellectual faculties are unimpaired, and the remembrance and grasp of school knowledge are not interfered with" (D. Henderson and R. D. Gillespie, *A Text-Book of Psychiatry* [8th ed.] p. 312).

to an already very representative picture. Further afield we may recall the dramatic storm which led to the hysterical aphonia of Muršili,²⁹ and whether or not Hittite *kurkurima-/kurkurai-* means “(attempted) suicide”³⁰ I would not doubt that *linkai-*, “oath,” extends to the meaning of “psychopathic crime” quite as *māmît*, with which it is equated. In Hebrew not a few of the Psalms have origins in psychological medicine, for example Ps. 35, where verse 3 reads “(O Lord) draw spear and javelin against my persecutors” (*rōd̄pāi*), the delusions being clear from verse 7: “Without cause they hide their nets for me . . .” The Aramaic bowls, although very “popular” and primitive, have at least some connections with mental illness as Montgomery

²⁹ Goetze and Pedersen, *Muršilis Sprachlähmung*; Oppenheim, *Interpretation of Dreams*, pp. 230–31.

³⁰ Conflating Otten in *ZA NF XX* 142 and the suggestion made above for *zi-ku₂-ru-da*.

well recognized.³¹ Finally, if one would the better understand the famous Scrolls where a Teacher of Righteousness is apparently “persecuted” by a Wicked Priest and where one may read of a Prince of Lights, an Angel of Darkness, Sons of Error, an Army of the Holy Ones, a Man of Lies, a Lion of Wrath, Periods of Wrath, an Era of Wickedness, and a fantastic future “War” between Sons of Light and Sons of Darkness, it may be said that the psychiatrist’s word for a “crank” is a paranoiac (Gk. *παρανοέω*, “to think amiss”) and that “some paranoiacs live at liberty as queer inventors, founders of eccentric sects, or as apostles of peculiar social reforms.”³²

Let it be hoped that psychological medicine is with us—to stay.

³¹ J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, pp. 69, 89.

³² Curran and Partridge, *Psychological Medicine* (4th ed.) p. 208.

MAGICAL-EXPERT (=ĀŠĪPU) AND PHYSICIAN (=ASŪ)
 NOTES ON TWO COMPLEMENTARY PROFESSIONS
 IN BABYLONIAN MEDICINE¹

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I. INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM

For many years Professor Landsberger in his lectures and in his capacity as general consultant to the field of Assyriology has stressed the fact that for certain occupations in Babylonian culture two contemporaneous sets of workers can be distinguished: their activities, though roughly parallel, may be competitive, supplementary, or interactive.² Although both Assyriologists and medical historians have recognized for many years the duality of function presented by the medical texts, they have made only negligible attempts to describe the distinctive features of *āšipūtu* (= magical-practice) and of *asūtu* (= physician's skill), preferring, unaccountably, to minimize the differences. However, within the past few years both Kinnier Wilson³ and Oppen-

heim⁴ have indicated the need for clarifying the relation between *āšipu* and *asū*, a task made both more complex and more comprehensive by Köcher's recent publications.⁵ The goal of our present inquiry is to disentangle and to formulate the distinctive functions of the *āšipu* and the *asū* as a prolegomenon to more critical and more detailed future study of the "two-valued" system of healing.

THE METHOD

Method requires that interests basic to a particular inquiry be abstracted from the whole context in which the problem occurs and that tangential interests be temporarily neglected. Thus, by setting up a limited and highly artificial universe of discourse, it is possible to establish relations otherwise obscured by the complexity of the problem viewed under all conditions of its occurrence. We shall, accordingly, limit our present investigation to the data of the medical texts called canonical, naïvely accepting them at face value, and neglect such tangential considerations as the historical position of *āšipu*

¹ In view of the fact that Professor Landsberger first inducted me into the study of Akkadian, and then syllable by syllable led me through the labyrinthine ways of the medical texts, I find it impossible to bracket my indebtedness to him into neat little "credit" footnotes or to acknowledge individually the contributions of his inspired insight, his scrupulous scholarship, and his generously shared knowledge; perhaps it is even more impossible to thank him for generously shared wisdom, for that fun of daring to make sense out of nonsense that Whitehead calls adventure, and, above all, for the sense of wonder with which for him philology not only begins but also continues. . . . And may it long continue. . . .

² Parallel professions:

barbers (Sumerian) *KINDA* : ŠU.I (see *CAD* V 14, *gallābu*)
 brewers *sirāšū* : *sābū*
 farmers *ikkaru/iššakku* : *errēšu*
 millers *alahhīnu/kazidakku* : *ararru*
 singers and musicians *nāru/zammeru* : *kalū*

³ J. V. Kinnier Wilson, "Two medical texts from Nimrud (Continued)," *Iraq* XIX (1962) 46: "In *A.M.T.*, in so far as it is permissible to treat these texts collectively, the element of *āšipūtu* is also clear. . . . But were *A.M.T.* all *āšipūtu* one would expect a much closer connection with the manual *sa-gig* [= Labat, *TDP*] than research can provide. Thus it may be argued that some other factor has complicated the situation,

and it is proposed to name that factor as *asūtu* On this explanation the bulk of *A.M.T.* . . . will represent a combination of both sciences As to the division of work, *pašāšu* and *ina kišādi-šū tašakkan* are surely characteristic of the *āšipu*'s responsibility, *eqū* . . . and *šamādu* . . . are suggestive for the *asū*. . . ."

⁴ A. Leo Oppenheim, "Mesopotamian medicine," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* XXXVI (1962) 103: ". . . the Mesopotamians were fully aware of the effectiveness of both of the two media, medicine and magic, separately. . . . It will take much more specific research work before Assyriologists succeed in establishing a typology of the situations in which medicine or magical procedures, respectively, were considered indicated."

⁵ Köcher, *BAM* I-II. Vol. III arrived too late for comprehensive inclusion; we are able to cite only a few scattered references.

and *asû*, legal and poetic references to them, the vast non-medical literature of *āšipūtu*, and the question of whether these texts were in fact the basis for medical practice.

In order to compare the two kinds of healers we must determine insofar as possible the individual style and function of each; this task is complicated by the fact that the directives are usually addressed to a "you," left unspecified. We must therefore appeal to the occasional oblique reference in the body of a text and to the somewhat more direct indications of the colophons to determine whether a given context is *āšipūtu* or *asūtu* or possibly both. For our preliminary appraisal we shall examine two colophons, the first from the library of Aššur-bān-apli:

... *bullī ištu muḥḥi adi šupri liqti aḥūti* (= BAR^{MEŠ})⁶ *tāḥīzu nakla azugallūt* ^d*Ninurta u* ^d*Gula mala bašmā ina qereb ekalliḫa tuppāni aštur asniq abrēma* (= IGI.KĀR) *ana tāmarti šitassiḫa ukīn* (Küchler, *Beitr.* Pl. 5, lines 59–62, Pl. 13, lines 59–62, Pl. 20, lines 59–62), . . . "healing-prescriptions (effective against diseases) from the top of the head to the (toe)-nails, (including) the non-canonical collections, the most expert learning, the great physician's craft of Ninurta and Gula, whatever was formulated, on tablets I wrote down; I checked them over, examined them; then for my reading and reciting again and again (on request), I deposited them forever within my palace."

This royal hyperbole presents us with a late high point of cultural achievement, which we must be careful not to read backward into earlier periods; from it we gather that the healer is an *asû*, that he uses healing-prescriptions, that Ninurta and Gula are his patron gods, and that the king considers his scholarship to be excellent.

The second comes from a complex series, virtually a handbook of *āšipūtu*, consisting of 40 tablets and involving 5 subseries (Labat, *TDP*); a partial catalogue for the series has been published (Kinnier Wilson in *Iraq* XVIII 130–46

⁶ For BAR^{MEŠ} we accept the translation of *AHw.* p. 22, *aḥū(m)* 4): "serienfremd, unkanonisch (Textabschnitt)"; the translation of *CAD* XVI 251, *šupru* A 2', ". . . collections of the *mašmāšu*" is modified in *CAD* I 212, *aḥū* 2 b) to ". . . from a collection of extraneous (omens)."

and XIX 40–49). The colophon of the second tablet, with many duplicates, runs as follows:

89 MU.ŠITA.BI DUB 2.KĀM *enūma ana bīt marši āšipu* (= LÚ.KA+PIRIG)⁷ *illaku*, "89 lines of the second tablet (of the series) when the *āšipu* goes to the house of a sick man"; (catch line:) š. *ana marši ina teḥēka adi šipta ana ramānika tanaddū ana bulluḫiḫi lā teḥēḫi* (*TDP*, p. 16, lines 84–85), "If in your approach to the sick man (you have not yet done so) until you have cast an incantation on yourself, do not approach him in order to cure him."⁸

⁷ In the colophons of Labat, *TDP*, and parallel texts *āšipu* = LÚ.KA.PIRIG; in the body of these and other medical texts LÚ.MAŠ.MAŠ is most common; exceptionally, LÚ.TU₆.TU₆ (= KA×LI) (*AMT* 95, 2:8); also rare is LÚ.MAŠ (see n. 14:3 below).

⁸ This type of incantation, called "Legitimationstyp" (LT) by Falkenstein (*Haupttypen*, pp. 20 ff.), is characterized by a formula ". . . durch die sich der Beschwörungspriester als Gesandter der Götter der 'weissen Magie' legitimiert. . . . Dadurch, dass die Macht der Götter des Ea-Kreises hinter dem Beschwörungspriester steht (*ibid.* p. 23) . . . und fordert . . . die Dämonen auf, ihm und seinem Besitz nicht zu nahen. . . . *ana amēli marši teḥēḫi mimma lemnu lā iḥēḫika* 'Du kannst dich dem Kranken nähern, ohne dass etwas Böses an dich herankommt' (*ibid.* p. 28)."

We doubt that we gain much insight into the Babylonian's habits of mind by referring to the evil thus warded off as "la contagion maléfique du malade" (Labat, *TDP*, p. 18, n. 27). In the course of his argument that *šer-ānāšu lamādu* means to take the pulse, Kinnier Wilson implicitly accepts the anachronistic analogue *lemnu* = contagion: "Since taking the pulse involved also his touching the patient, it is clear also why the *āšipu* needed to protect himself by incantations and the like . . . before making an examination" (*Iraq* XXIV [1962] 61). If contagion in any meaningful sense were the motive for the incantation, then we should certainly expect that the *asû*, who manipulated the patient's body much more directly, would require similar protection; there is no indication that such was the case. We cannot at present enter into the nature of the *lemnu* that endangered the *āšipu*; but it seems reasonable that the threat was inherent in his type of cure: he forces out the evil demons who possessed the patient, thus unhousing them, so to speak; they are foot-loose, and he is conveniently near and singularly appropriate as their next victim. The *asû*, who cures by forcing out physiological matter (vomitus, feces, serum, blood, rectal scrapings, etc.; see III C 3' and VI), needs no such protection. Certainly, the empirical fact was observed that some diseases spread, such as *šibtu* (= plague), *mutānu* (= pestilence); but does the notion of contagion find resonance in the Babylonian's thinking about disease as we are able to reconstruct it?

The problem of the *sa* (= *šer-ānu*, "vessel/ligament," possibly all long cordlike structures) needs detailed and intensive study; we find it difficult to reconcile the notion of pulse (Oppenheim in *Or.* XXXI [1962] 27; Kinnier Wilson in *Iraq* XXIV 61 f.) and the fact that with few exceptions, e.g. *du-ku*, the *sas* govern verbs in the stative.

We learn that the magical-expert is skilled in incantation and that his goal like that of the physician is to cure; we guess that instead of healing-prescriptions he will use the art of incantation in his treatment, as his name (*āšīpu: šiptu*) indicates.

Āšīpūtu, with its numbered lines and tablets, its intricate subsystems and general order, presents a well-organized whole; its skills were transmitted exclusively by the initiated to the initiated: *niširti āšīpūti*⁹ *mūdū mūdā likallim lā mūdū lā immar ana mārīka ša tarammu šum* ^d*Asalluḫi u* ^d*Ninurta šuškirma kullimšu* (*KAR*, No. 230:10; *AMT* 105 iv 24), "Let the initiated (lit. 'knower') show the secrets of the magical-experts to the initiated; the uninitiated shall not see them; regarding the son whom you favor, make him swear by the name of Asalluḫi and Ninurta (unexpected since he is usually the patron of *asū*), then show him. . . ."¹⁰

In contrast, *asūtu* consists of a rather loose bundle of tablets that have more or less resisted systematization and give no indication of how the "medical" tradition was transmitted. From a welcome exception, the series *suālu* (Küchler, *Beitr.* and K.6703+; also many parallels, for which see table of contents of *BAM* I and II), we adduce the basic data for *asūtu*.

We shall attempt to describe in general terms the distinctive features of each group and to explore the circumstances under which magical-expert and physician acted independently or interdependently, by formulating a hypothesis to account for the characteristic way that each sought to heal.

POSTULATES

As a somewhat primitive and flexible guide for distinguishing between *āšīpūtu* and *asūtu*, terms

⁹ Whereas *niširti āšīpūti* (see III B 1) contrasts with *niširti LUGAL-ti* (see III C 3' e') in the context of *asūtu*, the contrast between the "secret of the master" *niširti UM.ME.A* (see III C 2 c 1) in the context of *āšīpūtu* and "the hands of the master" *šū².UM.ME.A* (see III C 2') in the context of *asūtu* is not clear to us.

¹⁰ We cannot explain the substitution of Ninurta for the expected Ea (see III C); it is a reversal of the general principle underlying our category of "mixed texts" (see IV), in which the intrusion of *āšīpūtu* into *asūtu* is not reciprocal. However, the variants *šar ilī* ^d*Marduk* and *šar ilī* ^d*Ninurta* (*AMT* 97, 1:6, parallel *AMT* 95, 2:15, parallel *BAM*, No. 221 iii 23) meet the conditions of our hypothesis.

that we leave undefined, we set up the following assumptions:

Postulate A

The *āšīpu* qua healer views disease as a particular expression of the wider beliefs that he holds, namely that a chain of events, initiated under the influence of "supernatural" powers or forces, proceeds on a predetermined course to an outcome that can be predicted by the skillful reading of "signs."¹¹

Corollary 1.—The special case of disease: The patient's symptoms indicate that he has become the victim of malignant influences (a) for reasons not discernible by man (II B 1), (b) for transgression knowingly or unknowingly committed (II B 2), (c) in circumstances that for our present purpose we designate as "natural" (II B 3).

Corollary 2.—Based on his understanding of such "signs," the *āšīpu* makes a diagnosis, that is, he specifies a cause or agent responsible for the symptoms (II B).

Corollary 3.—He then makes a prognosis: When it is hopeless he withdraws; when it is hopeful, his intervention is still required in many cases to restore the patient to health; accordingly, he institutes appropriate treatment directed toward freeing the patient from the malevolent forces that grip him; on occasion he provides protective devices against future attacks (II A).

Corollary 4.—The *āšīpu*'s concern with the course and pattern of events conditions his inter-

¹¹ We use the term "signs" loosely; three terms referring to the pattern of disease need further discriminating study: (a) *šikin murši*: the nature or form of the disease, perhaps its syndrome (see n. 14 a; also V B 1 a below and *BAM*, No. 214 i 6: *GAR-in GIG-šū NU.ZU.ZU*); it is an enduring quality of the disease.

(b) *sakkiku*: symptoms (for discussion see Kinnier Wilson in *Iraq* XVIII [1956] 140 f. and V B 1 below). The term ambiguously also refers to a specific disease.

(c) *iltu*: We have noted three occurrences in the medical texts:

(1) *š. amēlu akal ikulu šikar ištū la išebbi libbašu ittanappaḫ* [. . .] *UR₅.GIN₁ it-ta-šu pi-šiq-tam mariš* (Küchler, *Beitr.* Pl. 11, line 37), "If a man who eats food and drinks beer is still hungry (lit. 'is not satisfied'), his belly is repeatedly distended [. . .] such is its identifying feature: he is sick with . . ."

(2) [. . .] *kīa it-ta-ši-na* (*AMT* 17, 6:3), "[. . .] such is their (fem.) . . ."

(3) . . . *kīam it-ta-šū-nu* (*AMT* 30, 2:15), "[. . .] such is their (masc.) . . ." The term in each instance is in the singular, is governed by *kīam*, and has a pronominal suffix, suggesting that *iltu* refers to a specific indication, a pathognomic mark of the disease, such as *bubu²tu*, as referend for *ittašina*.

est in the temporal aspects of disease: duration (Labat, *TDP*, chap. xv and *passim*), critical days and crisis (II A 7), exacerbations and remissions, and recurrence (II A 5).

Postulate B

The *asû*, without reference to a more general system of notions, views disease as the complex of presenting symptoms and findings; by his "practical grasp" (intuition plus accumulated experience) of the immediate situation he proceeds with treatment.

Corollary 1.—He does not affix supernatural "causes" to the disease; he may or may not

make a diagnosis, that is, give the symptom-pattern a name (see II B 2').

Corollary 2.—He does not make prognosis before treatment; with the rare exceptions noted (II A 2'–3') he does not withdraw from treatment, since he makes no fatal forecasts.

Corollary 3.—His therapy is directed toward relief of acute and pressing symptoms, for which he has long lists of alternative healing-prescriptions (*passim* in *suālu*).

Corollary 4.—He does not treat conditions that are prolonged; the references to the passage of time in *asûtu* are to the days required for effective therapy, not to the duration of the disease process as such.

II. COURSE OF DISEASE

The hands of the twin powers of space and time threaten to seize us, so that we present here only a few twigs of the overabundant jungle of material, with the hope that a more comprehensive reconstruction will be possible in the future. Our superstructure in modern terms is a distortion inevitable for intelligibility; we are aware that such transposed approximations make distinctions where none exists and fail to discriminate those that do. In order to minimize the anachronistic infidelity of these equations, whenever possible we shall use the more fluid popular term in preference to the rigid technical one.

A. PROGNOSIS

āšipūtu

1. Favorable Prognoses

- a. *iballut*, "he will live" (176 times; see Labat, *TDP*, p. xxviii).
- b. *išallim*, "he will heal" (*CT* XXIII, Pl. 35, line 49, and Pl. 49, line 5; Köcher, *BAM*, No. 124 iv 33).
- c. PA.NU.TUK (= *hīta ul išu*), "there is nothing wrong with him" (*TDP*, p. 56, lines 26 and 28).¹²

¹² *iballut*: most frequently TI/TI-*ut*; also DIN, TIL.A, AL.TI. *imât*: GAM, BAD, BA.BAD. *ina-eš*; rare: *né-eš* (*BAM*, No. 42 obv. 63 and 67). (Is the notion of recovery connected with *na-ašu* = to sneeze?) PA.NU.TUK: corroborative evidence for Landsberger's observation "Es sei hier angemerkt, dass PA in den diagnostischen Omina nicht die Lesung *miḥṣu* hat; vielmehr: *hīta ul išu*" (*WO* III 55, n. 33) is found in *KUB* XXXVII, No. 195: 10: *mi-im-ma hī-ta ú-ul [išu]*.

- d. *murussu ipaṭṭar*, "his disease will leave" (*TDP*, *passim*).
- e. *ippaššarma iballut* (= BÚR-*ma* TI), "he will be released and live" (*TDP*, p. 34, line 27, p. 106, line 36, and p. 112, line 25).

2. Unfavorable Prognoses

- a. *imât*, "he will die" (423 times; see Labat, *TDP*, p. xxviii, and our n. 12).
- b. *ul ippaššar*, "he will not be released" (*TDP*, p. 34, line 13) (NU = *ul* in apodosis).
- c. *ina pān āšipi ul ipaṭṭar*, "in the presence of the *āšipu* (his disease) will not leave" (*TDP*, p. 20, line 14).

3. Warning to Healer

- a. Three times en route to the sick-man the *āšipu* is warned by signs: . . . *marṣu šû nakud lā tetehḥišu* (*TDP*, p. 2, lines 2, 12, and 13), ". . . this man is subject to dangerous influences; do not approach him."¹³

¹³ In the manuscript of the unpublished section of *Der kultische Kalender* (1914), Landsberger translates ". . . *ana marṣi nakud* für den Kranken: er schwebt in Gefahr. . ." He points out that the notion of circumambient danger is related to that of *ūmu lemnu* (= inauspicious day) of the mythological calendar. Fortuitous indications, such as unnatural happenings on the street while he is en route to the patient, forewarn the *āšipu* not only not to intervene in behalf of the patient but not even to approach him. The danger implicit in *nakud* must be different in kind from that resulting from the patient's physical condition as such, or there would be no reason to distinguish it from the fatal prognosis and from the failure to make a prognosis: it is an extra-medical threat. Hence, we cannot account for *nakud* in the following passages in which the *āšipu*

4. *q̄ba* (= ME.A) *la išakkan*¹⁴

- a. š. [šuklu]ti zumrišu kalūšūma tabkat . . . rābiš musāti āšīpu ana balātišu q̄ba la išakkan (TDP, p. 188, line 13), "If the whole of his body, all of it, is flaccid (lit. 'poured out') . . . it is the 'lurker' of the dirty-water; for his recovery the āšīpu shall give no prognosis."
- b. . . murussu nikittam irši āšīpu ana balātišu q̄ba la išakkan (TDP, p. 154, line 8), ". . . his disease is a grave one; for his recovery the āšīpu shall give no prognosis."

5. Shadings between Life and Death

- a. š. nakkaptāšu išbassuma libbi libbi išanassi qāt eṭimmi šanē qāt Ištar imāt qāt eṭimmi urrakma imāt (TDP, p. 32, line 10), "If the upper part of his face-and-head seizes him, so that he keeps on screaming 'My belly, my belly,' it is the hand of-a-ghost or, alternatively, the hand of Ištar; he will die. If it is

the hand of-a-ghost, he will (suffer) for a long time, then die."

- b. š. qerbūšu tarku na'id (TDP, p. 120, line 38), "If (the contents of) his guts are discolored, he is in a serious condition."
- c. š. qerbūšu arqu nakud (ibid. line 36; see our n. 13), "If the (contents of) his guts are yellowish, he is in a dangerous condition."
- d. [. . .] murussu išanni (TDP, p. 170, line 28), "[. . .] he will suffer a setback (lit. 'his disease will change')."
- e. š. ištu uppi aḥišu adi qablīšu em ištu qablīšu adi šēpīšu kašī uštapaššaqma (= PAP.ḪAL^{MB}) innettirma (= SUR) iballuṭ (TDP, p. 88, line 14), "If he is hot from his shoulders to his hips and cold from his hips to his feet, he will suffer severely but will be saved and will live."

6. Contrast as a Prognostic Principle

- a. Right side versus left, versus both sides: symptom remains constant (*passim* in TDP)

is not enjoined from approaching the patient; his prognosis is based on the patient's symptom:

- (a) š. ina qaqqadišu maḥiṣma ḥasīsišu [uk-ta-at]-ta-at [. . .] ilu šaggaššu nakud imāt (TDP, p. 68, line 5), "If he is struck in the head so that his hearing is intermittent: the murderer god; he is in a dangerous condition and will die."
- (b) š. uzun šumēlišu turrupāt nakud (TDP, p. 68, line 5), "If his left ear is spotted, he is in a dangerous condition."
- (c) See A 5 c below.

¹⁴ For the reading ME.A.(NU).GAR-an = *q̄ba* (*la*) *i/tašakkan* Landsberger in the manuscript cited in n. 13 gives the following evidence: "ME.A.(NU).GAR-an . . . KAR, Nr. 151, Rs. 51, hier öfters phonetisch geschrieben als *q̄i-ba tašakkan* Vs. 7 und 63, daneben *q̄i-ba-a tašakkan* Vs. 59 f." Neither the translation of *q̄ba išakkan* "wird er eine Anordnung geben" (AHw. p. 77, *asātu*) nor the translation of *q̄ba tašakkan* "you perform the divination" (CAD IV 204, *epēš asātu*) fits our texts.

In the "medical handbooks" only the *āšīpu* makes therapeutic prognoses (= *q̄ba išakkan*); in extra-medical texts, such as those cited by Landsberger, the liver-expert (= *bārū*) and rarely the dream-expert (= *šā'ilu*) share this function, though their prognoses are not therapeutic. In the literary texts, by "poetic license," they are linked with *āšīpu* and *asū*, for example:

(a) *sakikkīa išḫuṭu āšīpa u tērētiya bārū utešši ul ušāpi āšīpu šikin muršiya* (see n. 11) *u adanna siliṭiya bārū ul iddin* . . . (Lambert, BWL, p. 44, lines 108–11), "My symptoms troubled the *āšīpu*; the *bārū* was confused by my portents; the *āšīpu* could not make clear the nature of my disease, and the *bārū* could not give (the day of) crisis for my (unbearable) pains."

(b) (From an EME.SAL lament) *bārū:bīru šā'ilu:muššakku [asū]:šindu āšīpu:šiptu*.

In the medical texts, however, we have so far encountered *bārū* and *šā'ilu* only in the following exceptional instances:

(1) . . . [aš]rīšu bārū uššar [šumma bār]ū ašrīšu ūtaššir . . . (BAM, No. 87: 18). The passage is obscure.

(2) . . . [šidd]i kīma ša bārī tašaddad (= BU-ad) . . . (AMT 100, 3: 10), ". . . you stretch curtains (around him) like those of the *bārū* . . ."

(3) [. . .] LÚ.A.ZU LÚ.MAŠ (= *āšīpu*) LÚ.ḪAL LÚ.EN.ME.LI šu-ud-di (TDP, p. 170, line 14). Labat's translation "fais-le savoir au médecin . . ." is accepted by Lambert: "to inform the . . ." (BWL, p. 289), who continues: "The clergy mentioned were, of course, just as essential in illness as the *asū*." His assertion gains no support from the medical texts. We are unable to translate the passage, which is not included in the *i/edū* articles of either CAD VII 33, 6, or AHw. p. 188.

A word about translation: Through lack of understanding or of adequate semantic equivalence, the use of vague portmanteau terms is at times inescapable; however, to blur distinctions that can be made is avoidable: Should we not limit the terms priest and clergy to those who participated directly in the ritual and cultic practices of the temple? In the colophons of BAM (e.g. . . . 6 *nišḫu liqti ša bulṭi ki pī lē'i Akkadī gabarī Uruk šaṭirma barī ṭuppi Kišir-Nabū ša Nabū tuklassu mār Šamaš-ibnī āšip bit* ^dAssur [No. 52 rev. 100–104], ". . . 6 selections, a collection of prescriptions copied from a (wooden) tablet of Akkad, a copy of (one) from Uruk is written and checked; the tablet of Kišir-Nabū, who trusts Nabū, son of Šamaš-ibni, *āšīpu* of the temple of Assur") the *āšīpu*'s function is not that of priest or healer but rather that of learned scribe; the catalogue of the authors or transmitters of the main compositions, published by Lambert (JCS XVI [1962] 66 ff.), shows that from the Kassite period on the *āšīpu* took over the higher level of the scribal craft from the *ḫupsarru*, who was reduced to clerk. We have here further evidence of the duplication of profession.

Since the *asū* is recorded as scribe in no other text, we must regard the writing LÚ.A.ZU in the colophon of KAR, No. 203 (= BAM, No. 1 iv 27) as a scribal error for LÚ.A.BA.

š. *maršu uzun imittišu tarkat murussu kabitma iballuṭ* (TDP, p. 68, line 1), "If a man: his right ear is discolored, his disease will be severe but he will recover."

š. *uzun šumēlišu tarkat nakud* (*ibid.* line 2; see our n. 13), "If his left ear is discolored, he is in a dangerous condition."

š. *uznāšu tarka imât* (*ibid.* line 3), "If both ears are discolored, he will die."

Affliction of the left organ or side is the more serious.

- b. Alternation of symptom: organ remains constant (*passim* in TDP)

š. *tulūšu sāmu hīta ul išu* (TDP, p. 100, line 10; see n. 12 above), "If his breasts are red, there is nothing wrong with him."

š. *tulūšu arqu naḥiṭ* (*ibid.* line 11), "If his breasts are pale (lit. 'yellowish'), it is serious."

š. *tulūšu šalmu arḥiṣ imât* (*ibid.* line 13), "If his breasts are dark, he will die quickly."

In color magic red (pink, flesh color) is healthy; black is fatal.

7. Crisis

- a. š. *pīšu ittanakkir u ašuštu imtanagqussu ana adannišu* (= UD.DUG₄.GA-šú) *ana* UD.3.KÁM [. . .] (TDP, p. 66, line 64), "If his mouth keeps twisting (lit. 'changing') and he keeps on falling into a deep depression (lit. 'a deep depression keeps falling on him'), at his crisis or in 3 days [. . .] (CAD I 98b: 'until the predetermined day')"; . . . *u ibtanakki* . . . (TDP, p. 66, line 65), ". . . and he cries repeatedly . . ." (as above). Cf. Corollary A 4 (pp. 301 f.).

asûtu

1'. Favorable Prognoses (after Treatment)

- a'. *inaeš* (most common; see n. 12), "he will recover."
b'. *iballuṭ; išallim* (rare).

2'. Unfavorable Prognoses

- a'. *imât*, extremely rare: two occurrences in BAM (No. 124 ii 34 and 35, parallel AMT 74, 1:10 and 11) and five in Küchler, *Beitr.*

1. A unique prognostic-diagnostic test: š. *amēlu rēš libbišu ikkalšu ina gešišu marta im-*

tanā amēlu šû qerbēna mariš . . ., "If a man's midriff hurts him and in vomiting he spews out bile again and again, this man suffers from internal disorders [. . .]" (the next seven lines consist of a detailed prescription in which many drugs are made into a preparation that is smeared on a cloth with which the patient is bandaged for three days; on the fourth day the bandage is removed and "you" examine the patient (*tammar*): "if the blister is white his insides will be soothed; if it is red, they hold too much heat; if it is pale, overexposure to sun, rebandage him";) š. *bubuṭu šalmat ušamrassuma ul iballuṭ . . .*, "if the blister is black, it will make him suffer and he will not live" (Küchler, *Beitr.* Pl. 14, lines 1-13).

Without comparative data we cannot determine what motivates the test; color magic, for example black = death, is usually the concern of the *āšipu* (see II A 6 b).

Two features differentiate the next four cases (2' a' 2-5) from numerous similar ones (*passim* in these texts) that do respond to treatment: (1) the spread of the disease process so that "all of him"/"the whole body" is affected, and (2) the fact that the disease is chronic, that is, "its work grows old"/the patient "drags on" (Corollary B 4).

2. š. *amēlu amurriqāna marišma murussu ana libbi inīšu illā* (more symptoms) . . . *amēlu šû kalāšu mariš uzabbalma imât* (Küchler, *Beitr.* Pl. 18, lines 4-5), "If a man is so sick with jaundice that his disease comes up to the center of his eyes . . . this man is sick, all of him: he will drag on (for a while) and die."

3. š. *amēlu aḥḥāza* . . . (rest substantially as in 2) (Küchler, *Beitr.* Pl. 20, lines 43-44), "If a man has *aḥḥāzu* . . ."

4. š. *amēlu amurriqāna marišma qaqqassu panūšu kalu zumrišu u išid lišānišu šabtu šipiršu ilabbir(!)ma imât* (Küchler, *Beitr.* Pl. 18, line 6; passage emended according to BAM, No. 52:67), "If a man is sick with jaundice so that his head, his face, his whole body, and even the root of his tongue are affected, the work (of the disease) will continue (lit. 'grow old') and he will die."

5. š. *amēlu aḥḥāza marišma* . . . (as in 4)

ana marši šuātu asū qāssu la ubbal amēlu šū imât NU [TI] (Küchler, *Beitr.* Pl. 20, lines 45–46), “If a man is sick with *aḥḥāzu* . . . then, toward this man the physician shall not bring forth his hand; this man will die, he will not [live].”

3'. Warning to Healer

In cases 2' a' 2–5 the patient's condition is itself a warning to the *asū* that the disease is beyond his competence; therefore *qāssu la ubbal*, “he does not bring forth his hand” (Corollary B 4).

4'. *qāba la išakkan*

The notion “he shall give no prognosis” is not found.

5'. Shadings between Life and Death

The category of “shadings” is not found.

6'. Contrast as a Prognostic Principle

With the exception noted (II A 2' a' 1) the principle of contrast does not apply.

7'. Crisis

The notion of crisis is not found.

B. CAUSE AND DIAGNOSIS

āšīpūtu

1. Supernatural Causes

- The most frequent agent of disease is the “hand of a god,” *qāt ili* (= ŠU.DINGIR): of a particular god, for example *qāt 4Ištar*; of a demon, *qāt aḥḥāzi* (= ŠU 4DİM.ME.KIL); of a ghost, *qāt eṭimmi* (= ŠU.GIDIM.MA/ŠU.GUD); of the power-of-an-oath, *qāt mamīti* (see Labat, *TDP*, p. xxii, for more complete list).
- Seizure (= *šibit*) by a god or spirit: *šibit eṭimmi* (*TDP*, p. 142, line 6); *š. reš libbišu ittanappaḥ* (= SAR^{MEŠ}) *šibit eṭimmi* (*TDP*, p. 112, line 18), “If his midriff repeatedly blows up: seizure by a ghost.”
- Grasp (= *lipit*) of a god or spirit: *lipit kišpi* (*TDP*, p. 176, line 5), “grasp of witchcraft.”
- Blow (= *mihīš*) of a god or spirit: *š. KIMIN-ma šēpšu ša šumēli imaššar mihīš 4Ba-ú mahīš-ma imât* (*TDP*, p. 238, line 64), “If (his condition) is ditto, but he drags his left foot, the blow of Ba²u has struck him: he will die.”

With the exception of *rašū* (= to have symptoms) the most common verbs designating illness are those of hand motion: *šbt*, *lpt*, *mḥṣ*.

2. Retribution (Corollary A 1b)

- š. ur²ussu ḥaniq ikkib ilišu ikul* (*TDP*, p. 82, line 28), “If his esophagus is constricted, he ate ‘the forbidden’ of his god.”
- . . . *arnu u mamītu išbassu* . . . (*TDP*, p. 180, line 28), “. . . a sin or an oath seized him”
- . . . *amēlu šū ilšu u il ālišu izzur* (*TDP*, p. 36, line 30), “. . . this man has cursed his god or the god of his city.”
- . . . *ana aḥātišu iḥi urrakma imât* (*TDP*, p. 108, line 17), “. . . he approached his sister (sexually); he will linger, then die.”
- . . . *ana enti ilišu iḥi ana UD.31.KÁM ippaš-šarma iballuṭ* (*TDP*, p. 112, line 24), “. . . he approached the priestess of his god; within 31 days he will be released (from his disease) and he will live.”
- . . . *ana aššat amēli iḥi* . . . (*TDP*, p. 116, line 32), “. . . he approached (sexually) a married woman”
- . . . *š. ṭēmšu ištanannišu uzzi ili* (*TDP*, p. 188, line 47), “. . . if he keeps on changing his mind (every minute): the anger of the god.”

3. “Natural” Causes (Corollary A 1c)

- [*š. amēlu mišitti panī ma*] *šidma talammašu išammamšu šipir mišitti imât* (*TDP*, p. 186, line 1), “If a man: he is stricken with a stroke of the face and his whole torso feels paralyzed, it is the work of the stroke: he will die.”
- š. ina tašrīt muršišu ištu ilputūšu adi iklū ištissu umma ištissu kuššu aḥu mala aḥi irtanašši arki ummu u zu²tu ipturu binātišu umma ublānimma umma mala ummi mahri iršīma iptatar arkānu kušša u zu²ta irtaši diḥu erēbu ašū ḥimiṭ šēti UD.7.KÁM issallā²ma iballuṭ* (*TDP*, p. 156, line 4), “If at the onset of his sickness, and from the time it affects him until it is halted, he gets repeated attacks first of fever and then of chills, one as severe as the other, and after the fever and sweats have left, his limbs feel hot (lit. ‘bring heat to him’) and he gets a fever as

severe as the previous one, after which he gets chills and sweats (again), it is intermittent (lit. 'entering and leaving') *dihū*; over-exposure to sun: he will suffer severe pain for 7 days and then get well." (See II A 5 and Corollary A 4.)

- c. š. [iš]tu qaqqadišu adi šēpīšu bubu²ta sām²ta imtanalli (= DIR.DIR) u zumuršu peši itti sinništī ina maḡāli kašid qāt ⁴Sin (TDP, p. 28, line 91), "If from head to foot he is full of red blisters, and his body is blanched, he was infected (lit. 'was reached') (by sleeping) with a woman in bed: hand of the moon god."
- d. š. ina tašrūt muršīšu zu²ta bubu²ta iršīma zu²tu šī ištu kinšīšu adi kišalli u šaplān šēpīšu lā ikaššad maršu šū sili²ti UD.2.KĀM UD.3.KĀM issallā²ma iballu² (TDP, p. 156, line 1), "If at the onset of his illness he has sweats and blisters, but this sweat does not reach his ankles and the soles of his feet, this man will suffer severe pains for 2 or 3 days but will get well."
- e. š. ina ūmi ša imrašu (reading for GIG from Syria XXXIII [1956] 124, line 18) murussu kabissūma mudūšu la uadda imāt (TDP, p. 164, line 73), "If on the very day in which he falls ill, his sickness is so severe (lit. 'heavy on him') that he does not know his closest friend (lit. 'his known-one'), he will die."
- f. š. ištu mē ina elēšu qerbūšu naphu mē pilakki nāri išti (TDP, p. 164, line 64), "If in his coming up out of the water he is bloated (lit. 'his guts are blown up'), he drank the water of 'the spindle' of the river."
- g. š. nakkaptašu išbassūma ištu ereb šamši adi maššarti namarīti urrak ušamša imāt (TDP, p. 34, line 12), "If he gets a sudden severe pain in the upper part of his face-and-head, (which) is continuous (lit. 'is prolonged') from sundown to dawn and he cannot sleep, he will die."
- h. š. nakkaptašu rēš libbišu kunuk kišādīšu išsanabassu . . . ina mārak ūmī šarat šābulīšu išahḡuḡ qāt ardat lilī la²bu (ibid. lines 20–21), "If he gets severe attacks of pain in his upper face-and-head, his midriff, and his Adam's apple (i.e., larynx) . . . and in the course of days his pubic hairs (lit. 'the hair of his thighs') become thin, it is the hand of ardat lilī (or) la²bu."
- i. . . kišpa šūkul u šaḡi (STT, No. 102:2),

". . . he was given bewitched food to eat and drink."

Corollary A 4 (see pp. 301 f.) is supported by examples II B 2 d, e, 3 b, d, e, g, h.

asūtu

1'. Supernatural Causes

- a'. With the exception of "hand of-a-ghost" (see IV) and a few scattered references to ŠU.NAM.ERĪM.MA, "the hand-of-the-power-of-an-oath" (BAM, No. 49:13, parallel No. 51:13 [omits ŠU]; No. 67:2, parallels Nos. 69:3, 168:19, and AMT 57, 7:4), neither the "hand diseases" nor the others of this category occur.

2'. Agent

The "agent of the disease" of *āšipūtu* (see II B 1 a) may become the name of the disease, that is, its diagnosis.

- a'. . . . aḡḡāzu šumšu . . . (Küchler, Beitr. Pl. 19, line 26), ". . . its name is aḡḡāzu."
- b'. . . . aḡḡāzu mariš . . . (Küchler, Beitr. Pl. 20, line 45), ". . . he is sick with . . ."
- c'. š. amēlu lū martu lū aḡḡāzu lū amurriqānu išbassu . . . (BAM, No. 53 rev. 97), "If a man: either gall-bladder disease or aḡḡāzu or jaundice seizes him . . ."
- d'. . . . marḡaš ša mamīti . . . (BAM, No. 52 rev. 58), ". . . lotion against the-power-of-an-oath . . ."

3'. "Natural" Causes

- a'. š. amēlu zumuršu aruq panūšu arqu šiḡḡat šīrī irtanašši amurriqānu šumšu (Küchler, Beitr. Pl. 18, line 7), "If a man: his body is yellow, his face is yellow, he loses more and more weight (lit. 'stripping of flesh'): the name (of the disease) is jaundice" (7 prescriptions follow). (See 2' above.)
- b'. š. amēlu šikara išīma qaqqassu išsanabassu amātīšu imtanašši ina dabābišu upaššaḡ tēnšu la šabit . . . ināšu izzazza ana bulluḡīšu . . . (BAM, No. 59:21, dup. Küchler, Beitr. Pl. 11, line 51), "If a man: he drinks beer, then his head repeatedly seizes him (= suffers from sudden pain), he forgets his words and in speaking mumbles, his mind wanders . . . and his eyes pop (lit. 'stand up'); in order to cure him . . ."

c'. š. *amēlu irassu maršatma kīma šinēti epiri irtanašši ina dabābišu ikkašu iktanerru* [. . .] *u marta iptenerru amēlu šū bi-šID libbi mariš ana bulluṭiṣu* . . . (Küchler, *Beitr.* Pl. 11, line 55), "If a man: his chest is painful, he has repeated attacks like clearing his throat (*šanā'u*) of dust; in talking his temper grows shorter and shorter (i.e., he gets more and more irritable) . . . he vomits bile again and again, this man is sick with . . . of the belly; in order to cure him . . ."

d'. š. *amēlu balu patān libbašu ana parē ētenellā ru'ta magal ittanaddā mē ina piṣu maldariš illaku panūšu iššanundu qerbūšu nuppuḫu qablāšu kinšāšu iltanappatāšu imim ikašši zu'ta irtanašši akalu u šikaru muṭṭu mē kašūti magal išatti iparru ina šuburrišu ušārišu urqa utabbak šer'ānīšu šaknu zīmušu ūtenennū širūšu tabku mimma ikkalma eṭiṣu lā tāb amēlu šū sili'tu imḫassu ana bulluṭiṣu* . . . (Küchler, *Beitr.* Pl. 14, lines 27–30), "If a man: on an empty stomach he repeatedly tries to vomit (lit. 'his inside(s) repeatedly come up'), he dribbles excess spittle, (so that) water steadily runs out of his mouth; he gets dizzy spells (lit. 'his face turns'; see Landsberger in *WO* III 50 f., with n. 26), his guts are blown up, he feels recurrent discomfort in his hips and thighs; he is hot (then) gets

cold, and he has repeated sweats; he has little appetite for food and drink (lit. 'bread and beer are little'), (but) he drinks a great deal of cold water, (then) he vomits; from his rectum and penis he pours out yellowish (matter); his appearance changes more and more, his (blood) vessels are flat (lit. 'placed') and his flesh is flaccid; whatever he eats does him no good; this man, severe gastritis (lit. 'cramping pains') has struck him; in order to cure him . . ."

e'. š. *amēlu muruṣ kabartim marišma šikin muršiṣu* (see n. 11) (var. *širīṣu*) *ešū* (expected: *ešī*) (*BAM*, No. 124 i 26, var. *AMT* 18 obv. 3 + 73, 1:26), "If a man is troubled with edema but the nature of his disease (var. 'his flesh') is unclear . . ." (prescription follows immediately).

Although our examples 3' a'–d' make no overt reference to the duration of the disease (quantifiers in *asūtu* are applied only to the specific details of treatment), the frequent use of the iterative (*-tn-*) form of the verb in expressions such as "his appearance changes," "his temper grows shorter and shorter," "he has repeated sweats" indicates that at least on occasion the patient has been ill for some time; however, the symptoms are presented synchronically, supporting Corollaries B 3 and 4 (p. 302).

III. TREATMENT

A. GOALS OF TREATMENT

(X = disease or symptom)

1. Terms Used in *āšipūtu* and *asūtu*

- a. *ana bulluṭiṣu*, "to cure him" (*passim*).
- b. *ana X nasāḫi*, "to eradicate X" (*passim*).
- c. *ana eṭēriṣu*, "to save him" (*TDP*, p. 192, line 41; *BAM*, No. 158 i 2).
- d. *ana mamīta pašāri*, "to release him from the power-of-an-oath" (*BAM*, No. 174 rev. 20); . . . 25 *šammī* . . . *kišpi pašāru* (= UŠ₁₁.BŪR. RU.DA) (*BAM*, No. 161:6), ". . . 25 drugs to release from witchcraft"; *ana X pašāri* (*passim*).
- e. *ana šU.GIDIM.MA nasāḫi u pašāri* (*AMT* 95, 3:6), "to eradicate or to release from the hand of-a-ghost."
- f. *kišpi ištū u ikulu ana šupšuri* (*BAM*, No. 190:24, dup. *AMT* 48, 2:3), "to release him

from the effect of bewitched food that he ate and bewitched drink that he drank."

2. Terms Used in *āšipūtu*

- a. *ina qāt il āliṣu eṭēriṣu* (*TDP*, p. 192, line 38), "to save him from the hand of the god of his city."
- b. Prophylactic measures: *ZI.KU₅.RU.DA ana amēli la teḫē* (*AMT* 42, 5:14), "to keep 'cutting-off-breath' from approaching a man"; others: *X ana LÚ NU.TE-e* (*AMT* 99, 2 i 10 and 12, and *passim*), "to keep the disease away from a man."

2'. Terms Used in *asūtu*

- a'. *ana mimma murši paṭāri* (*BAM*, No. 171: 27, and *passim*), "to make any disease leave."
- b'. *ana tīb šer'ānī nakkapti* (= *ZI-ib SA.SAG.KI nuḫḫi*) (*BAM*, No. 11 obv. 19), "to relieve

- bulging (lit. 'standing up of') vessels of the upper part of the head-and-face"; *ana X nuḫḫi* (*BAM*, No. 91 obv. 40; *CT XXIII*, Pl. 41, col. ii 2, and *passim*).
- c'. *ana šerānī tebūtī ša qātī u šēpī puššuḫi* (*AMT* 98, 3:13, parallel *BAM*, No. 130 obv. 9), "to soothe prominent vessels of the hands and feet"; *ana X puššuḫi* (*BAM*, No. 186:23 and *passim*); also *ana X šupšuḫi* (*AMT* 35, 5:4; *BAM*, No. 125:24).
- d'. *ana umma u širihṭa parāsi* (*BAM*, No. 174 rev. 31, and *passim*), "to stop fever and burning."
- e'. *ašta ana lubbuki* (*BAM*, No. 124 iii 56, parallel No. 125:25), *šaggi ana lubbuki* (*BAM*, No. 303:22), "to soften stiffness . . . paralysis."
- f'. . . . *murūš lā nasāḫi* (*CAD* III 84, 3', gives *muršu lā tebū*) *išbassu* . . . 'ana' *muršišu lā urruki* (*CT XXIII*, Pl. 46, line 28), ". . . a disease that cannot be eradicated seized him . . . : to keep his disease from being prolonged (from getting worse as it goes on) . . ."
- g'. *ana isilti libbišu šūšuri* (var. *SI.SÁ-ri*) (*BAM*, No. 110:3, var. No. 108 obv. 1), "to make his sluggish bowels move (lit. 'to straighten out his blocked insides')," *u urši hepī* (= *GAZ^{MEŠ}*) *umšāti quttupi*, "and to break up the encrustation and pluck out the hemorrhoid."
- h'. š. . . . *šerānī* (SA, var. *SA^{MEŠ}*) *eqbišu šāra malū ana šuṣē* (*AMT* 73, 1 i 18, parallel *BAM*, No. 124 i 18), "if . . . the tendon of his heel is puffy (lit. 'full of wind'), to drive out (the wind)"; *ana šimerte kalīte šuṣē amēla bulluṭi* (*BAM*, No. 158 iv 26, parallel *AMT* 82, 1:10), "to drive out puffiness (from the region) of his kidney and to cure the man."

B. TYPES OF INGREDIENTS USED IN TREATMENT

1. Drugs

The term for plants *šammū* (= *ú.ḫl.a*) in its extended meaning includes all the healing ingredients of the vast and burdensome drug lists.¹⁵ We are able to mention here only the most

common classes of these drugs, used by both *asū* and *āšipu* but used somewhat differently by each.

The *asū*, who is also the druggist, uses drugs with a lavish hand, compounding them into a wide and intricately varied assortment of remedies (see III C 2'-3'). From Köcher, *Pflanzenkunde*, No. 36, we learn how he stored some of these ingredients: [*naphar*] 16 *ina ḫaṭṭi elīte* (= *GIŠ.PA AN.TA-te*) (*ibid.* col. i 18), "[total] of 16 (plants) on the top shelf"; *naphar* 17 *ina ḫaṭṭi 3-te* (*ibid.* col. ii 11), and so on down. A list of 18 chemicals includes *IM.SAḪAR.NA₄.KUR.RA* (= *aban gabī*), "alum"; *KI.A.^dID* (= *kibrīt*), "sulphur"; *ṭabāti emesallim*, "fine salt"; *ḫaḫū ša utūni*, "ashes from a kiln" (*ibid.* col. iii 22, 27, 32, 37, 40). Stored in a total of 19 *karpete qallete*, "light containers," are the *riqqū*, "aromatic plants"; *A.KAL* (= *ḫīlu*), "sap"; *GI.DÜG.GA* (= *qanū tābu*), "sweet calamus" (*ibid.* col. iv 6). In *DUG qabūtu*, "cups," we find for example *himētu*, "ghee"; *kasū* (= *GAZI^{8AB}*), "mustard"; *šupuhru* (= *úš.^{as}EREN*), "cedar balsam"; *dišpu*, "honey"; *iškuru*, "beeswax"; *saman nūni*, "fish oil"; *suluppī*, "dates" (*ibid.* cols. v and vi).

The *āšipu* tends to work with a more limited selection, shows marked preference for stones, wool, and aromatics, and normally uses fewer for a given cure. Most extraordinary is the following passage: . . . 25 *šammī annūti napšalti šu.GIDIM.MA* [. . .] '*nīširti āšipūti* (*AMT* 94, 2 iii 17; see n. 9 above), ". . . these are 25 drugs for an ointment against the hand of-a-ghost [. . .] the secret of *āšipūtu*"; the drugs themselves are run-of-the-mill, and wherein they constitute a "secret of magical-practice" remains secret from us.

The following are typical common drugs.

- Trees, plants, and their parts: *zēru*, "seed/spore"; *šuršu*, "root"; *ḫabburu*, "green shoot/sprout"; *artu*, "leaf"; *inbu*, "fruit" (which may include blossom in the absence of another word for flower); *ḫaṭṭu*, "twigs/branches"; *išu*, "wood/wood chips."
- Grains: *šēu*, "barley"; *qēmu*, "flour/pow-

ihr stehen. Das genannte Keilschriftwerk, von B. Landsberger als medizinischer Kommentar bezeichnet, umfasst drei Tafeln mit etwa 1500 Zeilen . . ."

For discussion of "drugs" in the medical texts see Thompson, *DAB*, and Thompson, *DAC*.

¹⁵ For pharmaceutical texts see Köcher, *Pflanzenkunde*, p. 3: ". . . den ersten Teil einer Arbeit, die der akkadischen Pharmakologie gewidmet ist. . . . Texte, die zur Serie *ú.URU.AN.NA*: *mal-ta-kal* gehören, oder in verwandtschaftlicher Beziehung zu

- der": a large variety was used, e.g. *naphar* 46 *qēmē* (= zī.DA^{MEŠ}) (*BAM*, No. 124 iii 54), "a total of 46 kinds of flour."
- c. Vegetables and spices: *SUM.SIKIL^{BAR}*, "onion"; *šūmu*, "garlic"; *saḥlū^{BAR}*, "cress"; *tigillū*, "cucumber"; *kakkū*, "lentils"; *ḥallūru*, "chick-peas"; *buḡlu*, "malt"; *ḥašū*, "thyme"; *zibū*, "caraway."
- d. Animals and their parts: *damī šikkī*, "blood of the mongoose"; *ḥašab šeleppl*, "turtle shell"; *išqillātu*, "mussel shells"; *šer^{AN} šabīti*, "sinew of a gazelle"; *mašak enzi*, "skin of a goat"; *mašak unīqi la petīti*, "(strip of) skin of a virgin kid."
- e. Excrement: *piqānu* (= A.GAR.GAR) of sheep and deer; *kabūtu/rubšu* (= ŠURIM = U₈) of large cattle; *zū* (= ŠÈ) of birds.
- f. Stones: *šādānu* (= NA₄.KA.GI.NA), "hematite"; *anzahḥu* (= NA₄.AN.NE.MI/UD), "frit, black or white"; *sāmtu* (= NA₄.GUG), "carnelian."

Whereas the *āšīpu* uses stones qua stones as inherently of magical value for amulets, the *asū* treats them as he does other drugs, crushing them and compounding them into various remedies.

2. Vehicles for Drugs

- a. Liquids and fats: *mē*, "water"; *šikaru*, "beer"; *karānu*, "wine"; *tābātu*, "vinegar"; *šiqqu*, "fish brine"; *damu*, "blood"; *ellu*, "sesame oil"; *šizbu*, "milk"; *lipū*, "animal fat"; *lipī ešemti*, "bone marrow"; *nāḥu*, "lard"; *šīnāti*, "urine."

3. Other Materials

- a. *šubātu*, "(strips of clothing) cloth"; *mašku*, "leather"; *itqu*, "wad of wool"; *šīpātu*, "wool"; *qitū*, "linen."

C. HEALING PROCEDURE

That the incantation (*šiptu* = ÉN)¹⁶ accompanied by its rite (*nēpussu* = DÛ.DÛ.BI/AG.AG.BI) and text (KA.INIM.MA;¹⁷ for reading: *ka-*

¹⁶ Recital of *šiptu* by *āšīpu* or *asū* is expressed by verbs *manā*, "to measure/chant," or *nadā*, "to throw/cast"; in *āšīpūtu* when the patient occasionally participates, the verb is *qabā*, "to speak."

¹⁷ KA.INIM.MA "...nimmt Bezug auf die Dämonen, Übel oder Krankheiten, zu deren Bekämpfung die Beschwörung verwendet wurde..." (Falkenstein, *Haupttypen*, p. 7).

inimmū, see *AHw.* p. 420) in origin and in effective use belongs to *āšīpūtu* is indisputable; however, it does not remain the exclusive property of the *āšīpu*. At some period not yet determined it finds its way into *asūtu* as an ancillary or reinforcing therapeutic measure. We must therefore take issue with the conclusion implicit in Kinnier Wilson's statement: "In *A.M.T.* . . . the element of *āšīpūtu* is also clear. The incantations provide their own evidence . . ." (*Iraq XIX* 46). The incantations reflecting the classical series, such as those of Falkenstein's "Marduk (= Asalluḥi)-Ea-Typ (MET)" (Falkenstein, *Haupttypen*, pp. 44 ff.) are clearly *āšīpūtu*; those invoking Gula, her consort Damu, occasionally Ninurta and Nin-garim (= ^dNIN.A.ḤA.KUD.DU) must be ascribed to *asūtu* (see n. 10).

The Gula-Damu incantations belong to the type "still clearly recognizable as having their origins in the simple spells of folk poetry" (Landsberger and Jacobsen in *JNES XIV* [1955] 14); their Sumerian is usually "a kind of abracadabra" (*ibid.* n. 6), their imagery heavily mythological or "folkloristic." The *šiptu* in *asūtu* tends to be a random thing: it may or may not be integrated into the rite, the number of its recitations is normally unspecified; with great frequency it is accompanied by the qualifying phrase . . . *šiptu ul ḫūttun šīpat^d Enki u^d Asalluḥi*, ". . . the incantation is not mine; it belongs to Enki and Asalluḥi."

We find no analogue in *asūtu* for the frequent, abbreviated directive to the *āšīpu*: *āšīpūssu teppuš*, "you perform for him (the patient) the magical act of healing" (*TDP*, p. 70, line 20, p. 116, line 6, p. 196, line 69; *STT*, No. 89:127; *AMT* 24, 8 + *BAM*, No. 174 obv. 4).

āšīpūtu

1. Incantations

- a. ÉN *bēl šīpat balāti^d Ea šar apsi liddīka . . .^d Asalluḥi āšīp ilī šīpat balāti liddīka* (*CT XXIII*, Pl. 11, line 32), "May Ea, possessor of the incantation of life, ruler of the sweet-water-under-the-earth, cast a spell over you . . . may Asalluḥi, magician of the gods, cast the spell of life over you."
- b. . . . ÉN.UDUG.ḤUL.A^{MEŠ} = *šīpat utukkī lem-nūti tamannu* (*BAM*, No. 150:13), ". . . you recite the incantation against evil demons."

- c. . . . *ša lā* ^d*Ea mannu unāhka ša lā* ^d*Asalluḫi mannu ušapšahka* ^d*Ea linīhka* ^d*Asalluḫi līpe-šihka šipta annīta* 7-*šu ana muḫḫi napšalti tamannūma ēma ilputūšu ippaššašma inaeš* (AMT 97, 1:10–15), “. . . if not Ea, who will relieve you? If not Asalluḫi, who will soothe you? May Ea relieve you, may Asalluḫi soothe you. You recite this incantation 7 times over the ointment, and wherever he hurts, he anoints himself (šēš without -*šu* should refer to the patient) and he recovers.”
- d. During the process of a DÙ.DÙ.BI the patient . . . *kīam iqabbi* (see n. 16) *šiptu ipuš* ^d*Ea ipšur* ^d*Ea paṭar lumni šupšuhī uzzi* . . . ^d*Ea ittīkāma* (CT XXIII, Pl. 2 a 13–14), “speaks as follows: Incantation: ‘Ea did it, Ea released it; let go, evil, be soothed, anger, . . . Ea, it is in your power.’”
- e. In the following composite type (Falkenstein, *Haupttypen*, pp. 54 ff.) Asalluḫi consults his father Enki about a cure: A.NA.IB.AG.EN.NA. BI NU.UN.ZU A.NA BA.NI.IB.GE₄.GE₄ ^d*Enki DUMU.A.NI BA.NI.IB.GE₄.GE₄* (AMT 99, 2 iii 11 + 1, 4:12) . . . NÍG.GA.E [ZU.A.MU Û ZA.E. IN.GA.E.ZU] GIN.NA DUMU.MU . . . (AMT 30, 1:3 + restoration from Falkenstein, *Haupttypen*, p. 55), “I don’t know what to do about this man; how will he be relieved? Enki answers his son: ‘What [I know you know too]; go, my son, (and do it). . . .’”

2. Its Rite = DÙ.DÙ.BI = *nēpussu*
(also AG.AG.BI)

- a. *tukapparšu* (ŠU.GUR.GUR-*šu* [TDP, p. 70, line 2]/ŠU.ÛR-*šu* [TDP, p. 116, line 6]), “you cleanse him ritually,” a procedure to be distinguished from *rahāšu*, “to sponge off (with a lotion),” and *mesû*, “to wash,” which are also within the competence of the *asû*. The *takpirtu* requires a special cleansing agent of clay or dough that absorbs the evil or disease and that subsequently is disposed of by magical treatment: . . . *šipta annīta ina takpirti pēmi tamannu līša šuātum ina hurri ša ereb šamši tašakkan* . . . *pēmšu ina gizillī tuḫāb* . . . (CT XXIII, Pl. 1, lines 9–10), “. . . you recite this incantation while cleansing his ‘lap’; then you place this dough in a hole on the west side . . . (close it with mud and chaff, and seal it up (= *tabarram*) with
- stones); with (the smoke of) a torch you exorcise his lap”
- b. Figurine = *šalmu* (= NU)
- . . . *ḫidi palgi teleqqi ina mē palgi tabal-lal zumur marši tukappar šalma teppuš ina naglabi šumēlišu šalam mimma lemni tarakkas* . . . (BAM, No. 147 obv. 25–27, parallel No. 148 obv. 26–27), “You take clay from a ditch, mix it with ditch water, cleanse the body of the sick-man, make a figurine (from the used clay) and tie the figurine of anything evil to his left thigh.”
 - . . . *šalmīšu šunullu* . . . (TDP, p. 176, line 3), “. . . figurines of him are laid down (on a bed).”
 - . . . *šalmīšu ša iškuri* . . . (STT, No. 89:101), “. . . figurines of him of wax.”
 - . . . *šalam (ALAM) mimma lemnu* (AMT 101, 2 iv 7), “figurine of anything evil” (cf. 1).
 - DÙ.DÙ.BI *šalam pūḫi amēli* (AMT 94, 1:2), “Ritual: substitute figurine of a man.”
 - . . . *šalam mīti* . . . (AMT 97, 1:16), “. . . figurine of a dead man.”
 - . . . *š. amēlu* . . . *kala širīšu ūtabbatu u ana sinništi alākam la ile>e* . . . *šalam kaššāpi u kaššāpti teppuš* . . . (BAM, No. 140 obv. 7–10), “If a man: . . . all his flesh deteriorates and he cannot go to a woman . . . you make figurines of a male and a female witch”
- c. Amulets = *mēli* (= *me-UGU*) (see Reiner in *AJO XIX* [1959–1960] 150)
- . . . 3 *mēli ša mišitti* (BAM, No. 135:10), “. . . 3 amulets against stroke”; . . . (various drugs) . . . *naphar 18 mēli* . . . ŠU. NAM.ERÍM¹ (BAM, No. 315 i 27), “. . . a total of 18 amulets against ‘hand of-the-oath’”; . . . 14 *mēli niširti* UM.ME.A . . . (*ibid.* col. iii 17) (see n. 9 above), “. . . 14 amulets, secret of the masters”
 - š. antašubbū ana qāt eḫimmi itūr* . . . (5 drugs) *mašak unīqi la peṭiti tašakkak ina kišādīšu tašakkanma iballuṭ* (TDP, p. 192, lines 40–42), “If epilepsy turns into hand of-ghost . . . you string (5 drugs) on a strip of skin of a virgin kid, place it around his neck, and he will get well.”
 - DÙ.DÙ.BI *nabāsa šipāti pešēti šer²ān šabīti ašla zikara ištēniš taṭammi 7 u 7 kišrī*

takaššar (list of 9) *šammī annūti ēma takaššaru ina šipāti sāmāti talammi šipta 7-šu tamannu šupuḫra talappat ina pūtišu tarakkas . . . iballuṭ* (*AMT* 103 ii 14), “Ritual: You spin together scarlet wool, white wool, the sinew of a gazelle, and male rush (into a cord) and knot it with 7 and 7 knots; wherever you knot it, you wrap these (9) drugs in red wool, recite the incantations 7 times and smear cedar resin (on the cord); then you tie (the wrapped charms) around his forehead (with the cord) . . . he will live.”

4. AG.AG.BI (var. DÛ.DÛ.BI) *itiq ḫurāpi u ḫurāpti ina šer’an šabīti taṭammi* (12 specified) *abnī tašakkak kurkanām ina šipāti sāmāti 7 lappī talappap ina giššīšu tarakkas-ma išallim* (*BAM*, No. 124 iv 29, parallel No. 128 iv 26), “Ritual: You spin (a cord) from a wad of wool of a male and female lamb with the sinew of a gazelle; you string (12 specified) stones on it; you wrap . . . the herb in 7 bundles with red wool, tie it to his hips, and he will heal.”

That these amulets with or without additional remedies are curative and not merely preventive is suggested by the prognoses: “he will get well,” “he will heal.”

d. Magic circle = *zisurrû* (= ZÌ.SUR.RA), censer = *niknakku*, and other devices

1. š. *amēlu šēpīšu marišma . . . ana šēpīšu bulluṭi* DUG.A.GÛB.BA *taḫabbu ina kakkabi tušbāt ana libbi* (4 drugs and 4 liquids) *tanaddīma zisurrâ teššer ina šerim ina pani* ^d*šamši šēpīšu tumašša* *ma iballuṭ* (*BAM*, No. 152 iv 1, parallel *AMT* 69, 2:1), “If a man: he is sick with respect to his feet . . . to cure his feet: you draw water into a holy vessel, set it under the stars for the night, throw drugs into it, then draw a magic circle around it; in the morning in direction of the sun anoint his feet (with the mixture), and he will get well.”

2. . . . (3 drugs) [. . . *ina niknak*] *ki tanaddi šēpīšu tuqattar u šipta kīam tamannu* ÉN.E. NU.RU EN.KI.TA ḪE.EN.DA.AN.BÛR.RI EN.AN. TA ḪE.EN.AN.DA.AN.BÛR.RI . . . (*BAM*, No. 152 iv 10, parallel *AMT* 70, 5 ii 8), “. . . throw 3 drugs into a censer, fumigate his feet, and recite the incantation as follows: Incantation: ‘Let him be released below, let him be released above’”

3. š. *amēlu umma* [ukâl] . . . *aban anzahḫi kabūt alpi ina damī šahī taballal sippi bābi talappat . . . šutukka tanaddi urigallu tu[zaq-qap] šubāta sāma ina bābi tatarraš damī šurāri itti* [. . .] *mē SAḪAR(!).URUDU.ŠEN taballal inīšu teqqi panīšu pēnta* (= Ú.BIL.LÁ) *tapaššaš . . . sūta* (= GIŠ.BÁN) *diqmēna tumalli ina rēš eršīšu tašakkan ereššu zisurrâ qēm šegūši talammi . . . šipta* ÉN.UDUG.ḪUL. A.MEŠ *tamannu . . .* (*BAM*, No. 150:1), “If a man keeps on having fever (lit. ‘holds heat’) . . . you mix frit and bull’s dung in the blood of a pig and smear it on the threshold of the gate; you erect a tent, . . . set up an emblem and stretch red cloth across the gate; you mix lizard’s blood with [. . .] water and dust from a copper kettle and daub his eyes; you rub his face with ashes, . . . fill a vessel of six quarts with glowing embers, place it at the head of his bed, encircle his bed with a magic circle of bitter flour . . . and recite the incantation ‘evil spirits.’”

4. . . . *mē ellūtim tasallah maḫar šamši niknak burāši tašakkan šikara reštâ tanaqqi . . .* (*CT* XXIII, Pl. 19, line 11), “. . . you sprinkle pure water in direction of the sun, set up a censer filled with juniper resin, make a libation of fresh beer”

3. The Text = KA.INIM.MA (see n. 17)

- a. KA.INIM.MA SA.GAL.LA.KAM (*CT* XXIII, Pl. 1, line 8, and *passim*), “Text (of what is said): It is (a counter-measure) for enlarged veins.”
b. KA.INIM.MA SAG.KI.DIB.BA (*AMT* 103 ii 14, and *passim*), “Text against sudden severe headache (lit. ‘seized head’).”

asūtu

1'. Incantations

- a'. ÉN A.ZU.KALAM.MA ^dNIN.Ì.SI.IN.NA.KE₄ AMA. ARḪUŠ.KALAM.MA.ME.EN AGRIG.ARALI . . . *agē namrīrrī ša* ^d*Anu* ^d*Enlil* u ^d*Ea* *iškunūši* (*CT* XXIII, Pl. 2, line 15, parallels *BAM*, Nos. 124 iii 60 and 127:1), “Incantation: I am physician of the whole land, Lady of Isin, mother who gave birth to the whole land, stewardess of the underworld . . . (dressed with) a shining crown, which Anu, Enlil, and Ea placed on her. . . .”

- b'. . . . ^d*Gula nādinat balāti amēlūti ina bīt*

^dAsalluḫi ubil eṭlu ^dMa[rduk] rēmēnū ippalissuma igsamma(!) ibluṭ eṭlu šumma šāru ina šuburri lūši šumma gišātu ina napšāti lišēši tē šipti KA.INIM.MA kīs libbi tamannu (Küchler, *Beitr.* Pl. 2, line 25), “. . . Gula, giver of life to mankind, took the man to the house of Asalluḫi; Ma[rduk], the merciful, cast his glance upon him; the young man belched and got well. If there is still wind in the rectum, may it go out; if there are still belches (caught) in his throat, may he expel them. (Recite) the formula of the incantation: ‘Text (for relief) from binding (discomfort) of the belly.’”

c'. TU₆.DUG₄.GA (= tudukkū) ^dGu[la] . . . ^dEN.KI.KE₄ [. . .] KA.INIM.MA [. . .] Uḫ.GIM GU.DU.NI.TA ḫÉ.E[M.TA.È] (Küchler, *Beitr.* Pl. 16, line 37), “Incantation of Gula: [. . .] EN.KI (subject: does something). Let [. . .] like spittle come out from his buttocks.”

d'. ÉN enzu arqat aruq [. . .] ina ēki arqi šammī arqūti i[kkal . . .] ÉN ul iáttun šipat ^dEa [. . .] (*ibid.* line 48), “Incantation: The she-goat is yellowish, yellow is [. . .], she eats yellowish plants on the yellowish bank of the dike. . . . This incantation is not mine; it is an incantation of Ea. . . .”

c', d', and three more incantations, all fragmentary, are summed up in line 59 as [5 KA.]INIM.MA ZÉ.A.KAM, “5 texts against bile.” A prescription, not introduced by AG.AG.BI or DÙ.DÙ.BI, precedes this subscript in lines 57 ff.: the patient drinks a solution of salt, while the *asū* recites one of the *šiptus* alluded to in line 39: LAG.MUN.ŠU.Ù.[ME.TI . . .], “you take a lump of salt [. . .].”

e'. ÉN šārummī . . . atta šāru ša birīt zē u šināti attā tuššāmma itti ilī aḫḫīka nadiat kussēka AG.AG.BI lišān kalbi tubbal tasāk ina šamni tanaddi šipta tamannu tapaššassūma inaeš (Küchler, *Beitr.* Pl. 4, line 63), “Incantation: Wind, they say . . . you, wind, who lie between feces and urine, (when) you do come out with the gods your brothers, will your throne be founded Rite: You dry and mash the plant dog's-tongue, toss it into oil, recite the incantation, massage him with it, and he will recover.”

f'. ÉN . . . liddi ^dGula tē balāṭi enqūti šimdēti liqerribu atti taškuni balāṭ bulṭi TU₆.EN.É.NU.RU.[KA.INIM.MA] š. amēlu ināšu damī malā

AG.AG.BI (3 drugs) ištēniš tasāk ina šizib enzi tarbak ināšu tašammid (AMT 9, 1:25), “Incantation: May Gula lay down the charm of life, may the sages apply the bandages! It is you, (Gula,) who brought about the recovery of health (cf. Landsberger in *JNES* XVII [1958] 57). Text: If a man: his eyes are blood-shot (lit. ‘filled with blood’). Rite: You dry and mash together (3 specified) drugs, stew them in goat's milk, and bandage his eyes (with the preparation).”

The first four incantations (a'–d') have in common two noteworthy features.

(1) The dependence of Gula on the magical powers of other gods: In a' “her shining crown” was presented by the supreme triad Anu, Enlil, Ea. In b', although Gula is intermediary for the suffering man, the potency of the cure flashes from the eye of Marduk. In c', unhappily, what Enki does is broken, but since he is the grammatical subject of the sentence, we assume that it is his act that produces the effective healing. The disclaimer *šiptu ul iáttun šipat Ea* is found in d' and in a' (*BAM* parallels); a' adds Asalluḫi. Certainly, Gula's prowess in magic is subsidiary to her skill with drugs.

(2) No appropriate medium is presented through which the *bēl šipti*, the god who “owns” the magic inherent in the words, can release his powers: no specified rite (DÙ.DÙ.BI) accompanies these incantations, through which the god can act if he is so disposed; no objects are prepared in which to invest his effective power. Although incantations e' and f' are followed by the designation AG.AG.BI, even casual comparison with the trappings of the ritual of *āšipūtu* reveals their earthy simplicity. To the basic techniques of the *asū* (see III C 3') the *šiptu* of Gula offers only supportive or reinforcing strength; for example, DÙ.DÙ.BI *ina muḫḫi allāni napšalti mašqūti* DÚR.GIG *tamannu ÉN uršu ša ina šuburri annanni [. . .] ina qībit ^dGula bēlet balāṭi [. . .]* (*BAM*, No. 105:7), “Rite: Over suppository, lotion, and potion for rectal disorders you recite the incantation: Dirt that [. . .] in so-and-so's rectum, by order of Gula, possessor of life [. . .].” Since these therapeutic devices function successfully innumerable times in *asātu* without benefit of *šiptu*, we must assume that the incantation is dispensable.

2'. Preparation of Drugs

The basic healing-prescription of the *asū* is the *bultu*: TA GIŠ ZU *ša bultī ša É.ME.ME*¹⁸ (= *Gula*) *šatir* . . . (Coloph. *BAM*, No. 131 rev. 10, parallel No. 200:44), "Written from a tablet of healing-prescriptions from the Temple of *Gula*." *bultu latku*, "proved/tested ('tried and true') prescription" (*BAM*, No. 159 iv 7), . . . *bultu latku ša šu*² UM.ME.A (*BAM*, No. 303:24), "proved prescription of the hands of the master" (see n. 9). The *bultu* was prepared from a number of drugs into a variety of compounds, which were used in multiple ways. A rare synonym is *tūbtu*: *naphar 15 šammī tūbtu* . . . (*AMT* 98, 2:11), "total of 15 plants for alleviating . . ."; cf. *šammī annitum tūbtu* (= DŪG.GA) *ša muruš* [. . .] (*BAM*, No. 40:6), "these plants alleviate the disease [. . .]."

a'. Prior to cooking (references not cited for terms *passim*): *šammī annūti* (often written ŠEŠ) *tasāk / tapâš / tetên / taḥaššal tanappi* (= SIM), "(a number of drugs) you pound (in a mortar)/mash/grind/chop fine/sift," . . . *tubbal/tupašša* (*BAM*, No. 159 ii 4), ". . . you dry or bleach them," . . . *ina . . . tabalal/tamaḥḥaḥ ištēniš/aḥennâ*, ". . . (with liquid or fat) you mix them together or separately."

b'. Cooking: *ina diqmēni turrar* . . . , "you toast them over glowing embers . . ."; *ina tinūri tessekkir* . . . *tušellâ* . . . , "you enclose them in an oven or covered pot . . . then lift them out . . ."; *ina tamgussi tarabbak* (var. *tarbak*) . . . , "you stew them in a copper pot . . ." The result of this process . . . *kīma rabiki* (*BAM*, No. 124 i 27) with the variant . . . *kīma TU₇*. (= KAM)ZÌ.DA (*AMT* 73, 1:30 + 18, 5 obv. 4) suggests a smooth gruel or mush, particularly since this cooking in liquid is usually followed by *tašahḥal* = strain. . . . *tušabšal* (= ŠĒG.GÁ/ŠĒG-šal), ". . . you boil"; . . . *tubaḥḥar*, ". . . you steam" (*lū baḥir* = even though steaming; *baḥrūssu* = in its steaming state); . . . *ina diqmēni tukabbab* (*BAM*, No. 166:13), ". . . you roast them over glowing embers."

¹⁸ Other temples of *Gula*: É.Ú.NAM.TILLA, "House of the Plant of Life"; É.SA.BAD, "House of the Opening of the Vein," alluding to the surgical part of *asūtu*; artificial explanation: *bīt pētāt uzni* (KAV, p. 42, obv. 12), "House of (the Lady) who opens the ear."

c'. Cooling: *tukašša*, "you cool them"; . . . *ina kakkabi tušbât*, ". . . you set it out all night under the stars"; *ana panī kakkab enzi, ana panī* ^d*Gula*¹⁹ (var. *tarbaš* ^d*Gula*) *tušbât* (*BAM*, No. 50:37, parallel *AMT* 41, 1 lv 38).

3'. Techniques for Use of *bultu*
(*passim* in *asūtu*)

a'. Bandages: *ina maški/šubāti teterrī* (= SUR/TE), "you press the *bultu* on a strip of skin or cloth"; *tašammissu/tašanammissu*, "you bandage him/bandage him repeatedly"; . . . *pan murši tašammīdma* UD.3.KÁM *la tapattar* (*AMT* 15, 3:20), ". . . you bandage the surface of the lesion and do not remove it for 3 days"; . . . 30 *šammī našmadāti ša DŪR.GIG* (*BAM*, No. 159 iii 53), ". . . 30 drugs to be used in bandages for rectal disorders"; . . . *šindu ša A.ZU* (CT XVIII, Pl. 18, line 9), ". . . the bandage of the physician"; . . . LAL-di (= *našmadi*) *ša kalīti LAL-di ša pūti LAL-di ša šuprī* (Köcher, *Pflanzenkunde*, No. 36 vi 24–26), ". . . bandage for the kidney, bandage for the forehead, bandage for the nails"; . . . *ana našmad dikši* (*BAM*, No. 3 iv 35), ". . . for a bandage for piercing pain" (prescription follows). (See IV B 3 e: *ina panī šindi* as the characteristic practice of the *asū* in contrast to *ina panī šipti* of the *āšipu*.)

b'. Massage: *ina šamni tapaššassu/taptanaššassu/ippaššaš*, "(with drugs) in oil you rub (or massage) him once/repeatedly/he (the patient) rubs (himself)"; . . . *naphar 11 šammī napšalti* AN.TA.ŠUB.BA (*BAM*, No. 184 i 2), ". . . total of 11 drugs, an ointment for (curing) epilepsy"; . . . *napašalāte* (Köcher, *Pflanzenkunde*, No. 36 vi 18), "ointments."

c'. Lavage: *inīšu ina uḫūli qarnānīti temessi* (CT XXIII, Pl. 26, line 6), "you wash his eyes with horned alkali plant"; . . . *naphar 11 šammī marḥaš ḥimīṭ šēti* (plus 8 other diseases) *kal murši* . . . (*BAM*, No. 189 i 4), ". . . total of 11 drugs for lotion for sunstroke . . . and all diseases . . ."; . . . *ina mē šunī irtanaḥḥaš* (Köchler, *Beitr.* Pl. 9, line 60), ". . . he sponges repeatedly with the sap of

¹⁹ "MULUZA (= *kakkab enzi*) . . . = die Göttin *Gula*" (Weidner, "Sterne am Nordhimmel," *RLA* II 406). The *asū* seems to show a preference for goats, goatskins, goat's milk (see III C 1' d', f' above; IV A below); we find no mention of *kalab Gula*, "the dog of *Gula*," her traditional animal.

- the chaste tree"; . . . RA^{MEŠ}-su . . . RA-šu annū šu² A.ZU (see IV B 3 c), ". . . you sponge him repeatedly . . . this lotion (is the work) of the hands of the asû"; marḥašī (Köcher, *Pflanzenkunde*, No. 36 vi 20), "lotions."
- d'. Salve: *tēqit īnī ša Hammurabi latku* (BAM, No. 159 iv 22), "salve for eyes from Hammurabi, proved"; . . . *īnīšu teteneqqi* (Küchler, *Beitr.* Pl. 19, line 15), ". . . you daub his eyes repeatedly."
- e'. Potions: . . . *mašqāti annāti niširti šarrūti* (BAM, No. 50:22; see our n. 9), ". . . (the prescription) for these potions is the secret of the king" (see n. 9); . . . *mašqūt 13 šammī nišik šēri išatti* (BAM, No. 176:15), ". . . he drinks a potion of 13 drugs against snake-bite"; . . . *7 šammī mašqūt DÜR.GIG ina karāni išatti* (BAM, No. 164 rev. 25), ". . . he drinks a potion of 7 drugs in wine for rectal disorders" . . . (specified drugs are mashed together) *ina šikari reštī balu patān tašaq-qīšu* (Küchler, *Beitr.* Pl. 1, line 32), ". . . on an empty stomach (lit. 'without breakfast') you give him (the drugs) in fresh beer to drink"; *mašqāte* (Köcher, *Pflanzenkunde*, No. 36 vi 18), "potions."
- f'. Pills: *lipā zer irri ina qēmi qalī taballal 14 kupatinnī* (var. adds *dišpa tasallah*) *ullat* (Küchler, *Beitr.* Pl. 6, line 22, var. BAM, No. 52 rev. 65), "Mix tallow and seeds of colocynth with the flour of roasted unripe grain, (roll the mixture) into 14 pills (var. adds 'sprinkle them with honey'); he swallows them."
- g'. Suppositories: . . . *ubāna teppuš ina šuburri-šu tašakkan* (AMT 53, 1 iii 5), ". . . you make a finger(-shaped) suppository and place it in his rectum"; . . . *15 šammī . . . allāna teppuš ḥimēta tasallah ana šuburrišu tašakkan šāru eslu ušša . . . bulṭu latku* (BAM, No. 152 iii 4, parallel No. 95 i 2), ". . . you make an acorn(-shaped) suppository of 15 drugs, sprinkle ghee over it, place it in his rectum; the flatulent wind will come out: a proved healing-prescription"; NAGAR-nu^{MEŠ} (= *allānī*), "suppositories."
- h'. Tampons: . . . *7 šammī lappi talappap ana libbi uznīšu tašakkan lappi latku* (BAM, No. 3 iv 21), ". . . you roll 7 drugs into tampons, place them in the middle of his ears: proved tampons"; . . . *kirbān tābti ina itqi talammī ana libbi uznīšu tašakkan* (BAM, No. 3 iv 13), ". . . you wrap a chunk of salt in a tuft of wool and place it in his ears."
- i'. Enemata: . . . *riqqī kalīšunu ina karāni šaḥti tulabbak tušabšal tašahḥal . . . dišpa šamna halša ana libbi tanaddi taḥiṭtaššūma iballuṭ* (CT XXIII, Pl. 46, col. iv 7), ". . . these aromatic plants, all of them, you moisten in drawn wine, you boil and strain them . . . pour honey and pressed oil into them, give him an enema (with the preparation) and he will get well"; . . . (a preparation of drugs) *ana šuburrišu tašappak* (BAM, No. 49:20) and parallel . . . *ina libbi taḥtanassu* (Küchler, *Beitr.* Pl. 13, line 50), ". . . you pour it into his rectum (var. 'you give him repeated high (lit. "into the belly") enemas")."
- 4'. Techniques without *bulṭu*
- a'. . . *ina kappi iššuri tušaprāšūma iballuṭ* (Küchler, *Beitr.* Pl. 8, line 35), ". . . with the feather of a bird you cause him to vomit and he gets well."
- b'. . . *ina diqmēni tuqattaršu* (AMT 98, 1:5), (drugs are mixed together and are thrown) ". . . on glowing embers and you fumigate him"; KU.GI^{MEŠ} (= *qutāri*) (Köcher, *Pflanzenkunde*, No. 36 vi 16), "drugs for smoke therapy."

Whereas both *āšīpu* and *asû* use smoke, the *asû* throws the drugs directly into the embers; he never uses the ritual objects of the *āšīpu*, such as *gizillū*, "torch," or *niknakku*, "censer" (see III C 2 a and d).

IV. INTERACTION: THE SO-CALLED "MIXED" TEXTS

The dichotomy that we established in order to make a clear and distinct separation between *āšīpūtu* and *asūtu* holds for many texts; for others, however, in which the two streams con-

verge, it proves to be an oversimplification. We must consider now, very briefly, how—not when, since for our present purposes we are ignoring historical factors—such confluence may

have taken place, and under what special conditions *āšīpu* and *asū* co-operate in order to effect a cure.

A. REINFORCEMENT OF *asūtu* BY *āšīpūtu*

Comparison of two texts, A (Küchler, *Beitr.* Pl. 13, lines 48–50) and B (*BAM*, No. 49:9–20, parallel No. 51:2–8), yields evidence of the intrusion into text B of simple elements of *āšīpūtu*. The texts are parallel except for a few added symptoms in B, irrelevant here, and minor variations, for example A 48: . . . *šāru ina šuburrišu issanaḥḥur*, “. . . a wind moves around and around in his rectum”; B 12: . . . *ina libbišu*, “. . . in his belly.” B 13 adds the diagnosis, entirely lacking in A: *amēlu šū DINGIR.ŠU.NAM.ERÍM* (text not in order: expected *ŠU.DINGIR.NAM.ERÍM*) *DIB-su*, “this man: the hand of-the-god of-the-power-of-an-oath (corrected) seized him.” The ingredients and preparation of the prescription are virtually the same in A and B: *ina mūši ina pan kakkab enzi tušbāt* (A 17, parallel B 49), “you set it out all night facing the star of the goat” (cf. III C 2' c' and n. 19). Text B continues with instructions, omitted from A: *zīsurrā talammī niknak burāši tašappak šum ḡGula u DINGIR.MAḤ tazakkar*, “you draw a magic circle around it, pour juniper (resin) into a censer, and invoke the names of Gula and the Great Goddess.” The texts continue as parallels. The intrusive elements are not fortuitous; in our language, the diagnosis of “hand of a god” (see Corollary B 1 on p. 302), the magic circle and the censer (cf. III C 2 d), the invocation of the names of gods—Gula is expected for *asūtu*, but we cannot account for *DINGIR MAḤ*—form a pattern of reinforcing healing-techniques taken over by the *asū* from *āšīpūtu* and performed by him in addition to his standard therapeutic practice.

B. CO-OPERATION

The inference that under special circumstances *āšīpu* and *asū* work together is drawn from texts that report unsuccessful therapy by the *āšīpu* (see B 1 below) or by both *āšīpu* and *asū* (see B 3 below); in the rare instances of admitted failure by the *asū* (see B 2 below) and in the numerous instances of implied failure throughout the medical texts—such as Tablet I of *š. NA UGU-šū NE ukal* (*CT* XXIII, Pl. 23,

lines 1 ff., plus *AMT* 6, 3:1 ff.), “if a man: the top-of-his-head keeps on being hot,” in which a set of symptoms, presented only once, is followed by a long series of alternative remedies—the physician continues to compound prescriptions typical of *asūtu*, without resorting to co-operative effort.

1. Failure of Treatment by *āšīpu*

a. *š. amēlu nakkapta* (var. *-šū*) *išbassuma ištu šīt šamši adi ereb šamši ikkalšu* (var. adds *lā ippaššar*) *ŠU.GIDIM.MA* (var. ends) *āšīpu kī ša idū liteppuš lipī* [half a line missing] *tapaššas-su ū DIL.BAD tubbal GAZ SIM ina mē kasī tarbak* [half a line missing] *tašammissu* (*CT* XXIII, Pl. 44 a 8; var. *TDP*, p. 34, line 13), “If a man: his upper face-and-head seizes him, so that from sun-up to sun-down it hurts him (var. adds ‘he will not be released’): hand of-a-ghost (var. ends); let the *āšīpu* keep on doing what he knows (how to do); (then) you (the *asū*) rub him with tallow [. . .] dry a drug, crush and sift it, stew it in mustard water, [. . .] bandage him.”

The third-person reference to the *āšīpu* and the pair of spelled-out congruent verbs *i-du-u*, *li-te-ep-pu-uš*, contrast with the second-person verb *tar-bak* of *asūtu*; the procedures that form the context around *tarbak* are standard for the *asū*. We assume that the *NU.BŪR* (= *lā ippaššar*) of the contracted variant refers to the unsuccessful treatment by the *āšīpu*.

b. [*š.*] *šīpir ŠU.GIDIM.MA lazzi* (= *ZAL.ZAL.*) *ša āšīpu nasāḥšu la ile'ū ana nasāḥīšu* (8 drugs) *ištēnis taballal . . .* (*BAM*, No. 9 rev. 55, parallel *AMT* 99, 3 rev. 55), “[If] the work of the hand of-a-ghost is (so) tormenting that the *āšīpu* is not able to eradicate it, in order to eradicate it you (the *asū*) mix together 8 drugs . . .” (continues with typical *asūtu*).

c. *š. amēlu ŠU.GIDIM.MA išbassuma āšīpu nasāḥšu la ile'i* (11 drugs) *ina šupuhri ina KUŠ.DŪ. DŪ.BI ina kišādīšu GAR-an* (*AMT* 95, 2:8), “If a man: the hand of-a-ghost has seized him, and the *āšīpu* is not able to eradicate it, you/he place/s (11 drugs) with cedar oil, in a leather . . . around his (the patient's) neck.”

In case b the procedural catchwords of *asûtu* are consistent with the expected function of the *asû*. Case c presents difficulties: by our criteria the making of amulets and placing them on the sick-man is the business of the *āšipu*; if he does so here, then what does the *asû* do? We suppose that he was called in since we are told that the *āšipu* is unable to eradicate the affliction. Does the *asû* act only as pharmacist who supplies and prepares the ingredients for the therapeutic charms in this instance?

2. Failure of Treatment by *asû*

- a. . . . *ina šu* ¹⁶A.ZU *itâr* . . . (*AMT* 2, 7:4), “. . . despite the hands of the *asû*, (the unidentified disease) returns. . . .” The text though fragmentary indicates that another *bultu* is in the making.
- b. . . . *ina šu* ¹⁶A.ZU *lā ipaṭṭar ittanâršu* . . . (*BAM*, No. 22 obv. 12), “. . . (the disease), despite the physician’s hands, does not leave; it returns to him (the patient) over and over again. . . .” The *asû* prepares another salve and daubs it on.

3. Failure of Treatment by

Both *āšipu* and *asû*

We find the most direct evidence for co-operative interaction between *āšipu* and *asû* in the few texts that record an initial failure by both to achieve successful results.

- a. [] NA ŠU.GIDIM.MA *išbassuma lū ina dū-ti asûti lū ina dū-[ti āšipūti] iltazazma* (wrong: var. [il]-ta-zi-iz-ma) *lā ipaṭṭar ana [ti]-šū* . . . (*BAM*, No. 221, col. ii 8; parallels *AMT* 81, 7:11, and 97, 6:1), “[If] a man: the hand of-a-ghost has seized him and despite either the application of the craft-of-the-*asû* or the application of the craft-of-the-*āšipu* recurrently torments him and does not leave (him alone), in order to cure him” Text continues with prescription, which *lū ina kaš* [. . .] *lū ina geštīn išattīma* [. . .], “he drinks in beer or wine”
- b. [. . .] *išbassuma lū ina nēpilti [asûti] [lū] ina nēpilti āšipūti iltazazma lā ipaṭṭar ana ti-šū* . . . (*BAM*, No. 225 rev. 3), translation as in a; the drugs are different; *ina dūr-šū dūb-ak-ma ina[eš]*, “pour it into his rectum and he will recover.”

- c. (Long list of leaves, a few aromatics, and spices) . . . 46 *marḥaš arāte* (= PA^{ME5}) *ša ḥimīṭ šēti šibiṭ šāri šimmati remūti* ŠU.GIDIM.MA ŠU.NAM.ERIM.MA ŠU.NAM.LÚ.U_x.LU *u kal murši ša ina dū-ti asûti u maš.maš-ū-ti iltazazma* NU.DU₈-ir (expected: *iltazazuma* and NU.DU₈-ru) *ina mē nāri* (list of 8 liquids) *tušabšal zumur marši ḥimēla tapaššaš* [i] *asi ana qaqqadišu tanaddi 7 ūme šēra u šimētan tartanaḥḥas-sūma išallim* RA-šu (= *marḥašu*) *annū šu*².A.ZU (= *qāt asû*) (*BAM*, No. 228 obv. 14, parallel No. 229 obv. 10), “. . . 46 kinds of leaves (for a) lotion against sunstroke, wind-blown-scourge, paralysis, numbness, hand of-a-ghost, hand of-the-power-of-an-oath, hand of-mankind, and all diseases that despite the application of-the-craft-of-the-*asû* and of-the-craft-of-the-*āšipu* recurrently torment him and are not removed; you boil (the 46 drugs) in river water (. . .); you massage the body of the sick-man with ghee, pour myrtle oil on his neck, and for 7 days, morning and evening, you repeatedly sponge him (with the lotion); he will heal. This lotion (is the work) of the hands of the physician.”
- d. When emended according to the preceding texts, the following passage becomes intelligible except for the symptoms, which deal with witchcraft: ‘*a*¹-na LÚ.NIGIN UŠ₁₁.ZU ŠAB SU-šū-ma *ina dū-[ti asûti] u maš.maš-ti zal.zal(!)-ma* (text: DŪ.DŪ) NU.DU₈ (a list of commonplace drugs follows) . . . 7 ū^{BI}-šēš GAZ SIM *lū ina* [. . .] *lū ina karāni* NU *patān* NAG-ma ‘TI’ (*BAM*, No. 190 rev. 34), “. . . despite the application (as above) . . . these 7 drugs you crush and sift; he drinks them on an empty stomach in [. . .] or in wine and ‘gets well’.”
- e. *šum-ma* (var. DIŠ)²⁰ SAG.KI.DIB.BA ŠU.GIDIM.MA (var. omits ŠU.GIDIM.MA) *ina zumur amēli iltazazma lā ipaṭṭar ina panī šindi u šipti lā iparras kurkâ bu²ura taṭabbaḥ damīšu ur²ussu mušērittašu lipāšu u qilpašu ša pisurrišu teleqqi ina diqmēni turrar ana libbi šupuḥri ta/iballalma* ÉN ŠU.SI.ḤUL.GÁL NAM.LÚ.U_x.LU.KE₄ 3-šu *ta/imannu qaqqassu kišāssu qātīšu u mimma mala ilputūšu* TAG^{ME5}-ma *ināḥ* SAG.KI.

²⁰ These variants indicate that in the medical texts DIŠ was pronounced *šumma*.

DIB.BA *ipattar innassah* (*AMT* 102, 1:1, parallel *BAM*, No. 9 rev. 42), “If SAG.KI.DIB.BA or hand-of-a-ghost keeps tormenting the body of a man and does not leave and does not stop (even when treated) by bandage and incantation, then you slaughter a wild goose, take its blood, its windpipe, its esophagus, its fat, and the skin of its . . . ; you roast them over embers; you/he mix/es them with cedar resin, and you (the *asû*)/he (the *āšīpu*) recite/s the incantation . . . 3 times; you/he keep/s on smearing his head, his neck, his hands, and whatever else aches him (with the mixture); he will get relief: (the disease) will leave, it will be eradicated.”

The subject of the second-person verbs who slaughters the goose and roasts its parts, we assume, is the *asû*; in our view, the *āšīpu*, and he alone, is empowered to recite the classical incantation; however, in the absence of conclusive evidence, we allow for the possibility in our translation of the physician’s doing so. It is not clear who does the mixing: the entailing *-ma* that connects the verb “to mix”—a process of *asûtu* (cf. III C 2’ a’)—with the *šiptu* is troublesome since its function is to link the preceding and succeeding clauses. The *-šu* suffix to *ilputu*, “aches,” suggests a subjective symptom; the patient probably rubs himself since there is no accusative suffix to the verb (see III C 1 c).

We infer from passages a–d that when both *āšīpu* and *asû* fail to effect a cure, the *asû* usually continues with the treatment since the final successful therapy is typically that of *asûtu* (cf. III C 3’ c’, e’, i’): in passages a and d, the patient drinks a potion; in b, he is given an enema; in c, he is sponged with a lotion; in e, exceptionally, the *āšīpu* recites what we suppose is a second *šiptu*, since the first failed to work.

4. Co-operation without Reported Failure

- a. š. *amēlu pīšu ka[bis]su ana imitti kuppulma dabāba lā ile-i* [. . .] *ana dabābtašu turri* UD.6. KĀM *āšīpūssu iteneppuš ina* UD.7. KĀM [. . .] (long list of drugs) *išteniš tasāk* [. . .] *panīšu u pīšu taššanammidma* [. . .] KĀM *āšīpūssu iteneppušma* TI (*AMT* 24, 1:3, parallel *BAM*, No. 174 obv. 3), “If a man: his mouth feels heavy and is twisted to the right, so that he cannot speak [. . .] to bring back his speech: for 6 days (the *āšīpu*) performs for him the magical act of healing; on the seventh day [. . .] you mash together (long list of drugs) [. . .] you repeatedly bandage his face and mouth; then for [. . .] days (the *āšīpu*) again and again performs the magical act of healing, and he gets well.”

In the subsequent passage, dealing with the twisting of the mouth to the left, the *āšīpu* is not mentioned; we assume it is the *asû* who compounds a mixture, spreads it on goatskin, and as in the case above repeatedly bandages the face and mouth of the patient.

V. PRACTICE

Although in our introduction we restricted our field of inquiry to the medical texts as such, disavowing interest in applied therapy, we now extend our boundaries to include a brief and somewhat impressionistic view of the practice of healing and prophylaxis as revealed by a few selected letters from the Kassite and Late Assyrian periods.²¹

A. LETTERS OF THE KASSITE PERIOD

In several letters (*BE* XVII, Nos. 31, 32, 33, 47; *PBS* I 2, No. 71) Mukallim, overseer of a

²¹ Discussion of an Akkadian letter from Boghazköy and of several from Mari requesting the services of an *asû* must await a more extensive account of medical practice.

school for the princes and princesses (*na²rī, na²rāti*) of court personnel, apparently somewhere on the outskirts of Nippur, reports to Enlil-kidinni, governor of Nippur, on the therapy and progress of eight youngsters who are afflicted with severe abscesses (*išātātu*) accompanied by fever and upper respiratory distress. In one letter he states: . . . [X]-*muballit* (the *asû*, we assume) *mašqīta inaddin* (*BE* XVII, No. 31 rev. 22), “. . . [X]-*muballit* is giving (the patient) potions . . .” From a letter by [X]-*muballit* we learn the following: . . . *ša irassu maršatu našmatta ētesihma ušammadūšuma u mašqīta ša embūb* [*hašē iš*]tanatti u šanū ša irassu *ī*[*tenekki-kūma* . . .] *šumma amēlu kīma ekkētu* [half a line]

*našmattāšu kī ēsiḫu šammi ašī batiq u bēli īde kī ištēn šammu ibbataqūma lā išallimu ḥazanna kī ērišūma ana LÚ.NU.GIŠ.ŠAR^{MEŠ} kī ištapparu [. . .] mārat Muštāli ša iganniḫūma [. . .] mašqāti [. . .] kī aštaqqūši suālam ittadā u [. . .] inanna kīs libbi irtana[šši] mašqit kīs libbi kī aš[taqqūši] ištanatti šammī šarmadi [. . .] u karāni šaḫti batiq bēli lišebilam luštaqqīma ana ŠU.NAM.ERĪM.MA lā itārši mārat šarri ša ummu iššanabatūši inanna ina našmatti u mašqiti ittuḫ aššum šammī ša ana beliḫa aqbū bēli lā imašši (a long list of drugs follows) . . . (PBS I 2, No. 72:6–30), “Concerning the one whose chest is sick, I supplied the bandages that they applied and the potion for tracheitis that he keeps on drinking. Concerning the second patient who [keeps on scratching] his chest, [. . . I acted in accordance with the text]: ‘If a man has symptoms as though he has scabies’” (We assume that this memorandum refers to a prescription from a medical text; if so, this is the only specific citation of a text relating it to direct application that we have found. Compare a similar though not identical passage: š. . . . *kal zumuršu kīma kalmatu ībaššū inammuš . . .* [TDP, p. 192, line 3], “If . . . his whole body crawls as though he has lice”) “A plant (unidentified) is lacking for the bandage I supplied, and my lord knows that if even one drug is lacking, (the prescription) will not heal; it was (through) the local mayor that I made the request to the gardeners that they send (the plants). The daughter of Muštālu, who has had fits of gagging (despite) the potions I have given her to drink, has developed a severe cough [. . .] and now she has repeated attacks of binding pains in her belly; she keeps on drinking the potion for binding pains that I gave her to drink; but the (unidentified) plant [. . .] and drawn wine were lacking; my lord will have (the drugs) sent to me so that I may give them to her to drink, in order to prevent her condition from turning into the hand of-the-power-of-a-curse. The princess who suffered from repeated attacks of fever has found relief by means of bandages and potions. Concerning the drugs that I have asked for from my lord, he will not forget them (list of drugs)”*

Selections from other letters yield the following information: . . . *Qaqqadanītum šērša ikkalši Huzalum . . . utamarši tēm muršiša kī išālūši*

rikša kī ēsiḫu urakkasūši . . . (BE XVII, No. 22:5), “. . . Huzalum examined Qaqqadanītum, who has a backache; after he asked her about her symptoms (lit. ‘report of her sickness’), I provided the bindings and they now keep her bound (lit. ‘bind her’); . . . ša mārat Aḫūni šanū (*išātātu*) ina irtiša zūta ittaddā . . . (PBS I 2, No. 71:21), “. . . about the daughter of Aḫunu: two abscesses on her chest are secreting (lit. ‘pouring out sweat’) . . .”; *mārat Muštāli ina šimēti ummu iššabassīma ina nāmari . . . ummašu mithar šēpīša kašā . . .* (PBS I 2, No. 32:7), “The daughter of Muštālu has repeated attacks of fever (lit. ‘fever repeatedly seizes her’) in the evenings; in the mornings her fever is normal (lit. ‘even’); her feet are always cold”

Besides the *šumma amēlu* clause mentioned above that makes sense only as a quotation from a medical handbook, we recognize in these letters symptoms, drugs, and healing techniques familiar to us from *asūtu*. In none of these communications is there evidence that *āšipūtu* was ever applied therapeutically. The abscesses that plague the children are not known to us from any of the medical literature; *bubuṭu*, a frequent affliction, is the closest symptomatic analogue to *išātātu* described in the texts. The notion of one syndrome’s “turning into” another is common to both *āšipūtu* and *asūtu*: the exact A’s becoming B that [X]-muballiṭ fears occurs *passim* in Küchler, *Beitr.*: š. *amēlu suālam mariš ana kīs libbi itūr . . .* (Pl. 1, line 1), “if a man suffers from severe coughing and it turns into binding pains . . .”; also elsewhere in *asūtu*: *šumma ŠU.GIDIM.MA ana antašubbī itūršu . . .* (TDP, p. 192, lines 37 ff.), “if a man suffers from the hand of-a-ghost and then it turns into epileptic fits” Whereas in the medical texts proper, prophylaxis is exclusively in the hands of the *āšipu* (cf. III A 2 b), [X]-muballiṭ asks for drugs to be compounded into a potion in the tradition of *asūtu* to prevent one condition from turning into another (*ana ŠU.NAM.ERĪM.MA lā itārši*).

B. LETTERS OF THE LATE ASSYRIAN PERIOD

The greeting formulas indicate that two separate sets of gods were invoked: the *āšipu* called on the traditional gods of the empire, Nabû and Marduk, whereas the *asû* called on his professional gods, so to speak, Ninurta and Gula.

1. Letters from Urad-Nanâ, Chief Physician
(*rab asî*), to Asarhaddon
- a. . . . *kā'amānu šarri bēli iqabbija mā atā šikin muršija anniu la tamar bultēšu la teppaš ina panīti ina pan šarri aqtibi sakkikēšu* (see n. 11) *la ušahkime . . . marḥušu annūtu šarra lipušu issurri hunṭu annū TA pan šarri bēlija ippaṭtar marḥušu šū ša šamnī 2-šu 3-šu ana šarri bēlija ētapaš . . . kīma šilbāni ina pan šarri ušerrabūni kī ša mala 2-šu ēpušūni pariktu lipriku . . . issurri zūt šarri ikarrara . . . ina luppi mēlišunu ana šarri bēlija ussebi-la šarru ina kišādīšu likrur napšaltu [issi]niš ussebi-la ūmu ša edannišu šarru lippīšiš . . .* (*ABL*, No. 391:7 ff.), “. . . the king always speaks to me thus: ‘Why don’t you look into the nature of this disease? Why don’t you prepare its healing-prescriptions?’ Formerly, in the presence of the king I admitted I did not recognize these symptoms Let them make this lotion for the king; certainly this fever will be removed from the king. This lotion of oils I have prepared for the king, my lord, 2 or 3 times (before this) When they bring the bandages to the king as they have done already twice before, let them put the bandages on crosswise; certainly the king will sweat. In a wrapping there are amulets, (which) I have sent to the king; may the king hang them around his neck. I have sent the ointment along; may the king rub himself (with it) on the day of his crisis”
- b. (Treatment for excessive nosebleed) . . . [*ina pī na]ḥīri [lipp]i zēr martakal [lišš]i [. . . šipta ina] muḥḥi imanniu [. . . ana na]ḥīri išakkunu [ina p]ūt maltiri [ša] ušebilanni ēpušu . . .* (*ABL*, No. 111 rev. 5), “. . . let him hold a tampon of the seeds of . . . at the base (lit. ‘mouth’) of the nostril . . . they will (then) recite an incantation [. . .], and will put it into the nostril; [according] to the text that I sent, they should act” In response to being told that the treatment was not successful, Urad-Nanâ writes back: . . . *lippī annāte ina lā mudānūte inaššiu ina muḥḥi naḥnaḥēte ša appi ummudu naḥnaḥūtu uda²upu TA panī damē uššūni pī naḥīri liškunu šāru ikkassir damē ikkalliu . . .* (*ABL*, No. 108 rev. 7), “. . . in their ignorance they held these tampons too far up (so that) they leaned against
- the top of the cartilage and pressed against it; this is the reason the blood kept on flowing. Let them place them at the base of the nostril; then, the breathing will be interrupted and the blood will be stopped”
- c. . . . *ina muḥḥi bulṭi ša šinnī ša šarri išpuranni rēšu anašši ma²adu . . .* (*ABL*, No. 109 rev. 1), “. . . I have taken great pains with regard to the healing-preparation for teeth”; . . . *ina muḥḥi bulṭi ša uznē ša ašbutu gabbu šakin . . .* (*ABL*, No. 465:9), “. . . with regard to the healing-preparation for ears that I undertook (to make), all is ready”
- d. . . . *šammī ša ana šarri ušēbilanni ana šinīšu šunu . . . ana aḥiṣ lā muštu . . . uqur adanniš issurri šarru bēli iqabbi mā ana mēni danqu ana uš_x.BŪR.[RU].DA danqu ana sinništī ša [. . .] danqu mušāllima[nu] issiniš ussebi[lā] . . .* (*ABL*, No. 1370 rev. 10), “. . . the drugs that I have sent to the king are for two purposes; they are different from each other . . . and they are of utmost value; certainly the king will ask: ‘For what are they good?’ They are good for dispelling witchcraft and for a woman who [. . .]. Along with them I have sent you a prophylactic drug”
2. Letters from Marduk-šākin-šumi, *āšīpu*
- a. . . . *ina muḥḥi karāri ša šillibāni ša šarru bēli iqbāni mā šariḥ adanniš lū šariḥ aninnūma bāsi mīni nippaš lā šūt šurḥi mā zūtu ina libbi likrura kušumma atā išbassu . . . šū ilāni ēpušu . . .* (*ABL*, No. 19:5), “. . . concerning the matter of wrapping him up (lit. ‘putting on of bandages’) that the king, my lord, spoke about as follows: ‘He is burning with high fever,’ we, what else can we do? There is nothing else (to be done); as to the high fever, we say, may he sweat it out; (he needs the wrappings), why should he catch a chill now (lit. ‘a chill catch him’)? . . . (Let us not discuss it); the gods will do it (i.e., cure him)”
- b. . . . *ina muḥḥi nēpeše ša ÉN.ḤUL.GÁL.ḤÉ.ME. EN ša šarru bēli išpuranni ana alū limnū u AN.TA.ŠUB.BA nasāḥi . . .* (*ABL*, No. 24:7 ff.), “. . . concerning the rite of the incantation: ‘May it be the evil demon’ that the king, my lord, wrote to me about: it is for eradicating evil demons and epilepsy”

The letter continues with detailed description of the rite: . . . *ḫulā pir-i balti ina šibšeti ša bābi e-ila āšipu ṣubata sāma illabbiš* (*ibid.* lines 12–14) . . . [. . .] *āšipu šanū nīknakka gizillā idātuššunu TA erši ša marše usalbā ÉN.ḪUL.DÚB.È.BA.RA adi bābe imannu bābu ūtamma adi innassahūni šiaru nubattu ippaš . . .* (*ibid.* rev. 5–12), “. . . the *āšipu* hangs a shrew and the sprouts of a thornbush plant on the arch of the gate; he dresses himself in red garments . . . [. . .] the assistant (lit. ‘second in rank’) *āšipu* encircles the bed of the sick-man in sequence with censer and torch; he recites the incantation ‘Be gone, evil!’ until he reaches the gate; (then) he conjures the gate. He does this morning and evening until (evil or disease) is eradicated . . .”

- c. . . . *nēpeše* [. . .] *ša ḫuntī ša* [. . .] *nippaš* ^d*Bēl Nabū qāssunu ša balāti ina [muḫḫi] šarri beliḫa ummu[du]* . . . (*ABL*, No. 664 rev. 2), “. . . we have performed the rite [. . .] against the fever of [. . .] Marduk and Nabū will lay their hands of life on the king, my lord, . . .”

3. Letter from an Unknown *āšipu* (name broken)

- a. . . . *nēpeše ša šarri [belā] išpuranniāši* [. . .] *šiptu mutānu* . . . [. . .] *ina araḫ kistīmi nītapaš muruṣ di-ru ana bīt amēli lā teḫē UŠ. BÚR. RU. DA* ^{MS} *ma-udūtu nītapaš . . . šalam mutu šalam pūḫi ša ṫīdi šalam pūḫi amēli ša palgi . . . 7 laḫan karāni 7 laḫan šikari . . . nītapaš . . .* (*ABL*, No. 977:10), “. . . in November–December we performed the rite that the king, my lord, wrote to us about [. . .] against plague and pestilence; we performed counter-spells many times to prevent (unidentified disease) from approaching the house of any man; . . . we have made the figurine of a dead man, of a substitute of clay, of a substitute man of (fine) clay from the ditches . . . (we have set-up) 7 vessels of wine, 7 vessels of beer . . .”

4. Letters Referring to Healers

- a. Babylonian: The governor of Uruk writes . . . *BA-šā (= Igišā) asū ša šarru beliḫa ana bulḫiḫa išpura ubtalliḫanni* . . . (*ABL*, No.

274:6), “. . . Igišā, the physician whom the king, my lord, sent to cure me, has made me get well . . .”

- b. Assyrian: (name broken) . . . *ištēn āšipu ištēn asū ina paḫiḫa lipqidma* [. . . *aḫā*] *miš dulli[šunu] lipušu* . . . (*ABL*, No. 1133 rev. 11), “. . . let him appoint one magical-expert and one physician, and let them together perform their treatment in my behalf . . .”
- c. From Šamaš-mītu-uballit: . . . *SAL BA. Ū-gamelat marṣat adanniš lā kusāpi takkal umā šarru bēli ṫēmi liškun asū ištēn lillika lemurši* . . . (*ABL*, No. 341:9), “. . . the girl, *BA. Ū-gamelat*, is extremely ill; she doesn’t eat a morsel of bread. Let the king, my lord, give the following order: ‘Let a physician come to examine her . . .’”

To use our language, Urad-Nanā has taken over the protective amulet and the incantation from the *āšipu*, not as substitutes for traditional medical treatment, such as the use of drugs, ointments, lotions, bandages, tampons, but as therapeutic reinforcement of the standard procedures of the *asū* (cf. IV). The observation that profuse sweating will lower fever is basic to *asūtu*; however, the notion of the day of crisis (V B 1 a) is an incursion from *āšipūtu*.

Whether the *āšipu* functions as healer (in the strict sense) or only as the agent for prophylaxis remains ambiguous. In the first letter cited from Marduk-šākin-šumi (V B 2 a) he admits he is unable to effect a cure, commends the patient to the gods, and proceeds to discuss non-medical matters; however, in the second letter (V B 2 b) his recommended treatment for the effects of evil spirits and epilepsy is to be continued until the condition is eradicated. In the third letter (V B 2 c) he performs a rite against fever but also hopes for the help of the gods. The unknown *āšipu* (V B 3 a) performs a routine seasonal rite against general pestilence and by prophylactic spells prevents a dread disease from “approaching” anyone. The request for “one *asū* and one *āšipu*” to work together suggests that the notion of co-operative therapy (see V B 4 b) by physician and magical-expert seemed possible—to at least one patient!

However unclear his therapeutic functions

are, the *āšipu*'s methods are purely and rigidly those of classical *āšipūtu*; we find no hint of the reciprocal influence of *asūtu* in his procedures. His dependence on the old Sumerian incanta-

tions and rites suggests his basic conservatism, at least in the area of warding off disease and possibly even in the curing of afflictions brought on by "supernatural" causes.

VI. CONCLUSION

Perhaps it is the nature of primitive inquiry to be at once too general and too specific, to raise more doubts than are resolved, to ask more questions than can be answered: such at least is our consolation.

A striking pair of images has pursued us from the beginning: The voice of the *āšipu* made concrete in the mythological dialogue as to treatment between Ea and Asalluḫi; the approach of the *āšipu* to the sick-man, and the power of his presence. He derives his authority from the gods and speaks their words in their name. True, on occasion he performs a cleansing ritual and may anoint the patient, but essentially it is his manipulation of the environment outside of the

patient—the incantation, the figurines, the amulets, the magic circles, the paced ritual—that brings about effective cure. He is the man of tradition, the man of rote and of learning, the contemplative man of the word at home in a wide world.

In contrast, the hands of the *asū*: they pluck, assort, and dry the plants, measure and mix and painstakingly prepare the drugs; they wash and rub and bind the sick-man's body; they give the enema and hold the potion for him to drink, and only rarely are not brought forth to heal: the human counterpart, as it were, of the soft hands of Gula bringing in the healing bandages.

URRURU, “(AM FEUER) DÖRREN”

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In *BAM*¹ II, p. XV, hatte ich darauf hingewiesen, dass es noch nicht gelungen ist, die Richtigkeit der seit Jahren üblichen Lesung *tušahḫar*^{ar} für die Zeichengruppe *TUR-ár* zu beweisen. Denn bisher liegt keine einzige syllabische Schreibung des Zeitwortes vor, das doch verhältnismässig oft sowohl in diagnostisch-therapeutischen Texten als auch in Ritualanweisungen vorkommt. Zum andern ergibt *ṣuḫḫuru*, “klein machen,” “zerkleinern,”² an vielen Textstellen nur dann einen annehmbaren Sinn, wenn man unterstellt, dass das “Zerkleinern” (von officinellen Pflanzen etc.) auch in der Weise erfolgt, dass man das Gut einem Trocknungsprozess³ unterwirft, der zur Schrumpfung und damit zum Kleinerwerden führt. Diese reichlich gezwungene Interpretation brachte mich, nachdem ich die Duplikatstelle einer therapeutischen Verordnung⁴ aufgefunden hatte, die *ta-qal-lu*, “du röstest,” an Stelle von **TUR-ár*⁵ bucht, zu der Auffassung, dass die Gruppe *TUR-ár* nicht als Wortzeichen plus phonetisches Komplement zu lesen ist, sondern dass hier eine verkürzte syllabische Schreibweise von *turrar* (D Stamm von *erēru*) vorliegt. Bestärkt wurde ich hierin durch den Vergleich von a) *AMT* 85,1 v 17 mit b) *KUB* XXXVII, No. 55 iv 25, das einen nahezu identischen Kontext bietet; es heisst da:

¹ *Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen* (Berlin, 1963—).

² R. C. Thompson übersetzt *passim* “thou shalt reduce,” R. Labat “tu feras reduire.”

³ J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *Iraq* XIX 48, zu Zeile 18, schlägt als zusätzliche Wortbedeutung “trocknen” vor. Vom Sachlichen her ist seine Auffassung der a. a. O. behandelten Textstelle ND 4368 iv 17 ff. nicht recht begründet; denn die genannten Drogen werden pulverisiert in Lederbeuteln um den Hals getragen.

⁴ *AMT* 47,1 (K.2433 + 3989 + 7818 + 8172 + 14216 + 14772 = 4. Tf. DIŠ NA ina lā simānišu) iv 4’.

⁵ *BAM* II, No. 159 i 23.

a) . . . **TUR-ár ta-sàk ina mē(A) kīma(GIN₂)* [

b) . . . *tu-ur-ra-ar t[a]-sà-a-ak ina me-e ki-ma ú-ḫu-li*
[*t[a]-ra-am-ma-ak-šu*

Bestätigt wird meine Lesung indirekt auch dadurch, dass die im Zusammenhang mit *urruru* oder *erru* genannten Drogen mit denen übereinstimmen, die bei *tur-ár* stehen. Im Folgenden stelle ich jeweils die Belege untereinander, die das Verbum in syllabischer und in verkürzt syllabischer (stenographischer) Schreibung bieten:

1. HS 1883⁶ Vs. 3 GIŠ].*er-ì-ni tu-ra-ar-ma*
K.6624 +⁷ iii 22’ ŠIM.MĪN.DU GIŠ.ERIN *tur-ár*
2. HS 1883 Rs. 9,10 *qu-le-ep-ti* [] *tu-ra-ar-ma*
AMT 32,2 ii 60’ BAR GIŠ.NU.ÚR.MA *tur-ár*
AMT 81,5 Vs. 10 BAR EŠTUB⁸ ina IZI *tur-ár*
K.2566 +⁸ i 4 *qí-il-pa šá pi-sur-ri-šu ina IZI*
tur-ár
3. *BAM* I, No. 1 ii 55 Ú.GAZI.SAR *ur-rù-rù*⁹
K.2574 +¹⁰ ii 7 GAZI.SAR *tur-ár*
4. *AMT* 16,1¹¹ i 2 ina ŠIM.suādi(MĪN.DU) *er-ri*
AMT 4,1:4’ ina ŠIM].*su-a-di tur-ár*

Über die Bedeutung von *erēru* (*irur*, *irurur*) gehen die Meinungen stark auseinander. Delitzsch, *HWB*, p. 138a, übersetzt (vorwiegend aus etymologischen Gründen) das Verb mit “brennen,” “versengt werden,” “vertrocknen,” während Th. Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* II 78, n. 1, “verfaulen” vorschlägt, eine Wortbedeutung, die *CAD* IV 280a übernommen hat. Neuerdings (1962) kehrt W. von Soden, *AHw.* p. 238b, beinahe zur alten Übersetzung zurück und vermerkt—allerdings mit Fragezei-

⁶ HS 1883 wird mit freundlicher Zustimmung von W. von Soden in *BAM* IV publiziert.

⁷ *AMT* 3,5 + usf. Der Text behandelt diverse Hautkrankheiten.

⁸ 3. Tf. DIŠ NA UGU-šu KÚM ú-kal.

⁹ Das Duplikat *STT* I, No. 92 iii 11’, bietet Ú.GAZI.SAR *ur-ru-ru*.

¹⁰ 2. Tf. DIŠ NA UGU-šu KÚM ú-kal.

¹¹ 2. Tf. DIŠ NA IGI¹¹-šu GIG.

chen—für den G Stamm die Bedeutung “dürren” und “dörren” für den D Stamm des Zeitwortes.

Die zahlreichen neuhinzugekommenen Belege bestätigen, dass “dörren” für *urruru* im *AHw.* korrekt ist; sie ermöglichen zudem noch eine gewisse Differenzierung der Wortbedeutung des D Stammes von *erēru*. Wie nämlich ein Teil der Stellen zeigt (vgl. u. a. *AMT* 81,5 Vs. 10; *AMT* 94,2 iii 22'; K.6224 + iv 3; *BAM* III, No. 251: 3), erfolgt das Dörren (von Pflanzen, Tierkörperteilen, etc.) am Feuer, bzw. durch Erhitzen (*ina išāti*). Der technische Vorgang ist daher von *abālu* (UD.A), “in der Sonne,” bzw. “an der Luft trocknen,” völlig verschieden und er unterscheidet sich auch vom Rösten (*galū*), das bei starkem Feuer vor sich geht. Instruktiv sind in diesem Zusammenhang die Stellen *AMT* 5,1:2' und 18', denn hier stehen die beiden in der Medikamentenbereitung üblichen Vorgänge in der erwarteten Reihenfolge nebeneinander: (Drogen, bzw. Tierkörperteile) *ištēniš* (DIŠ-niš) *tubbāl* (UD.A) *tur-ār tasāk* (SUD) . . . , “trocknest du gemeinsam, dörst sie (am Feuer), zerreibst sie”

“Mürbe oder morsch machen” ist sicher die treffendste Bezeichnung derjenigen Tätigkeit, die man sich unter dem Dörren von Tierhäuten oder Fellen (vgl. *BAM* II, No. 159 i 23; K.6224 + iv 3), Knochen (vgl. K.2574 + [2. Tf. UGU] iii 6; *BAM* II, No. 152 i 6'), Hörnern (vgl. *AMT* 4,6:8'; *BAM* III, No. 237 i 38), Zähnen (vgl. *AMT* 24,3:1'), Haaren und Borsten (vgl. *AMT* 19,2 + ii 11'; *BAM* II, No. 152 i 8'; K.2424 + iii' 5), Mineralien (vgl. *AMT* 15,6 [2. Tf. IGI] i 12'; *BAM* III, No. 240:30'; K.2426 iv 14), und ähnlichen Stoffen vorstellen kann.

Darüber hinaus bezeichnet *urruru* noch das Entziehen von Wasser oder Feuchtigkeit aus liquiden oder festen Stoffen, das durch Erhitzen erfolgt. Im ersten Falle würde ich “eindicken” übersetzen (vgl. *AMT* 19,2 + ii 7', wo vom Dattelsaft [A ZU.LUM.MA] die Rede ist), im zweiten würde ich eine Übersetzung wie “Feuchtigkeit entziehen” vorschlagen. Vgl. hierzu z. B. *AMT* 7,4 i 20; K.2573 + (1. Tf. IGI) i 22 (Mehl).

Gleichfalls von *erēru* abzuleiten sind sicher auch die Stativformen des D Stammes, die *AHw.* p. 65b sub *arāru* II und zwar unter D 2

verzeichnet sind. “Wenn das (Leber)Joch ausgedörnt ist” (*ur-ru-ur*) gibt einen einleuchtenden Sinn; ebenso verständlich ist es, wenn es heisst: “Wenn die Galle ausgedörnt ist” (*ur-ru-rat*). Ein weiterer hierhergehöriger Beleg ist der Tafel VAT 13141¹² zu entnehmen, wo in Zeile 9 *šumma ku-uk-ku-ud-ru ur-ru-ur* zu lesen ist.

Weniger zahlreich sind die Belege zum G Stamm *erēru*, “ausdorren,” “völlig vertrocknen.” Hierher gehört m. E. doch *ACh*, Sin No. 3:127, *ina GÁXŠE.ME* (nach B. Landsberger, briefl. Mitt. vielleicht *našpaku* zu lesen) *še'u ir-ru-ur*, “in den Speichern trocknet die Gerste völlig aus”¹³ (so, dass die Körner knochenhart und daher ungeniessbar werden). Das *CT* XVIII, Pl. 34 i 5, stehende . . .] MIN (= *e-re-rū*) *a-ka-li* [nach *CAD* = Antagal III 249] bezieht sich auf scharfgebackenes, knuspriges Brot; vgl. hierzu j. ar. *ḥarārā*, “ein Gebäck.”

Möglicherweise gehören noch einige Belege hierher, die—wie *AHw.* p. 65b zeigt—W. von Soden zu *arāru*, “zittern,” gestellt hat. Es ist auf Grund des vorliegenden Textmaterials wirklich kaum möglich, die Verben *arāru* (*irruur*), “zittern,” *erēru* (*irruur*), “ausdorren,” und *ḥarāru* (*i(h)arrur*)¹⁴ sicher gegeneinander abzugrenzen.¹⁵ Vielleicht aber sollte man alle Formen, die *h* und *ʾ* enthalten, von *arāru*, “zittern,” trennen, das doch wohl, wie die Nebenform *tarāru* zeigt, als *wrr* anzusetzen ist. Damit würden zunächst einmal die *AHw.* p. 65b unter *arāru* II G 1 genannten Stellen, die sich auf kranke Körperteile beziehen, wie z. B. Labat, *TDP* I 84, Z. 29, DIŠ GÚ.MUR (*urʾud*)-*su i-ḥar-ru-ur*, Labat, *TDP* I 128, Z. 21, DIŠ *ir-ru-šú i-ḥar-ru-ru*, *AMT* 21,2:6, DIŠ NA . . . *ir-ru-šu ia-ru-ru*, und *AMT* 43,5:8 (= *AMT* 7,7:12' = *AMT* 65,1 Vs. 13), *ir-ru-šu i-ār-ru-ur*,¹⁶ ausscheiden. Ob man aber an diesen Stellen statt “zittern” “ausdorren” übersetzen

¹² Unveröffentlichter Omentext aus kassitischer Zeit; Fundort Babylon.

¹³ Gegen *AHw.* p. 65b sub *arāru* II G 2 b, “aufbrennen,” und *CAD* IV 280a, “verfaulen.” Beachte indes *še'u i-šá-ru-ur* (Delitzsch, *HWB*, p. 597b und öfter).

¹⁴ Vgl. *CAD* 92a, *ḥarāru* D.; *ḥarāru* II ist demgegenüber *AHw.* p. 65b in *arāru* II aufgegangen.

¹⁵ Vgl. *AHw.* p. 66a.

¹⁶ Weitere Belege sind K.9216 ii 41; *BAM* I, No. 106:1; *BAM* I, No. 152:101; *BAM* II, No. 159 v 48; und *STT* I, No. 97 iii 23.

soll, oder ob man mit *CAD VI 92a*, sub *ḥarāru D c*, "rumoren," "rasseln," sagen soll, vermag ich nicht zu entscheiden. Medizinisch ist das Auftreten von Geräuschen in den Eingeweiden nichts ungewöhnliches, ohne jedoch typisch für eine ungünstige Prognose¹⁷ zu sein, während Ausdörren den Vorgang der Exsikkose bezeichnet, die im Gefolge schwerer Darmerkrankungen durchaus zu einer ungünstigen Prognose führen kann.

Das Adjectiv *erru* heisst, wie Bauer, *Das In-*

¹⁷ S. hierzu *PBS II 2*, No. 104:5: "Wenn die Eingeweide *i-ḥa-ar-ru-ru* wird er sterben."

schriftenwerk Assurbanipals II 77 d, Z. 8, lehrt, "gedörret" (vom Malz) oder, nach B. Meissner, *BAW II 85*, Z. 14, und B. Landsberger, *MSL VI 57*, Z. 80, "morsch" (von Holz, das durch Erhitzen mürbe, jedoch nicht verkohlt ist).

Schliesslich möchte ich *arurtu*, das *AHw.* p. 72b zu *arāru II* gestellt wird, wieder von *erēru* herleiten.¹⁸ Die Übersetzung "Dürre" oder "Trockenzeit" passt meines Erachtens an allen Stellen, wenn man Dürre gleich Hungerzeit setzt.

¹⁸ Vgl. Delitzsch, *HWB*, p. 138, und s. O. R. Gurney, *AnSt V* 102, Z. 94.

APIŠALŪ

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In almost every society there are some diseases or birth defects which are associated, for one reason or another, with a foreign people or region and are consequently popularly designated by a gentilic. The association of a specific disease or birth defect with a particular people can arise in any of a number of ways. In the case of the English "Mongolian" (a form of congenital idiocy), the gentilic was attached because of the similarity of certain physiognomic features of the victim to normal physiognomic features of the Mongoloid race. Slanting eyes, a broad short skull, and broad hands with short fingers gave rise to the appellation "Mongol."

Another use of the gentilic in English is "Siamese twins" (conjoined twins). In this case the gentilic results from the widespread publicity given a pair of twins from Siam who lived in the last century. The two men, Chang and Eng (1814-74), were joined by a tubular band at the waists.

A gentilic is occasionally used to designate a disease or birth defect that is thought to be unique to or particularly prevalent in a geographical area or that is thought to have originated in a particular area or that was first discovered in a particular area. English gentilics of this sort are "German measles" (rubella), "Oriental sore" ("Baghdad boil," "Delhi boil," "Aleppo boil," and "Lahore sore"), "Australian X disease" (a type of encephalitis), and "Asian flu."

Knowing this modern use of gentilics, we are not surprised that the ancient Assyrians also used the gentilic in this manner. In two texts from the Aššurbanipal library there are mentions of the gentilic of the town Apišal in this context. The first mention comes from the omen series *šumma izbu* and refers to a congenital deformity: *šumma sinništu a-pi-ša-la-a ūlid*, "if a woman gives birth to an Apišalean."¹ The second reference comes from a list of diseases: *šumma amēlu a-pi-ša-la-a mariš*, "if a man is sick with Apišalean disease."²

¹ Leichty, *Teratological Omens in Ancient Mesopotamia* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1960) Tablet I 30.

From these two references we can see that Apišalū was thought of as a disease and that it inflicted certain distinctive physiognomic characteristics on its victims. It is these characteristics which distinguish the newborn child in the omen reference. The only clues as to the exact nature of *apišalū* come from the contexts, which are unfortunately vague. In the omen reference *apišalū* is in context with various miscarriages of ill-defined fetuses.³ In the medical reference *apišalū* is preceded by diseases of the teeth.⁴ The list of the diseases following *apišalū* is broken on the tablet. Thus we cannot hazard an identification of the *apišalū* disease.

We are also unable to ascertain the reason for associating this disease with the town of Apišal. The town has never been definitely located⁵ and is rarely mentioned outside the historical omens of Narām-Sin.⁶ It is possible that the citizens of Apišal differed physically from the Assyrians, but it seems much more likely that the *apišalū* disease was so named for some other reason.

To the best of our knowledge, this is the only use of a gentilic in Akkadian to describe a disease, but it is not unlikely that others exist. In any case, this particular gentilic must be added to our lexicons.

² *AMT* 78, 6:5.

³ Our reference is preceded by two omens concerned with membrane: *šumma sinništu i-pi ūlid*, "if a woman gives birth to membrane" (Leichty, *op. cit.* Tablet I 28) and *šumma sinništu i-pi ša uzū.ūš dir ūlid*, "if a woman gives birth to membrane which is filled with clotted blood" (*ibid.* line 29). The term *uzū.ūš* is not attested in lexical texts, and the reading and translation are both tentative. The reference to *apišalū* is followed by *šumma sinništu uzū.nu ūlid*, "if a woman gives birth to . . ." The meaning of *uzū.nu*, to be read *libištu*, pl. *libšātu*, is uncertain. For the possible meaning "scrotum" see the discussion by Landsberger in *MSL* I 146 f.

⁴ The entry preceding *apišalū* is *šumma amēlu zū ē mariš*, "if a man is afflicted with *zū ē* disease" (*AMT* 78, 6:4). The verb *ašū* is ambiguous and could refer to either the cutting of a tooth or the falling-out of a tooth.

⁵ See discussion by Gelb in *AJSL* LV (1938) 70-72.

⁶ The historical omens, including those mentioning Apišal, have been collected by J. Nougayrol in *École pratique des hautes études, section des sciences religieuses, Annuaire*, 1944-1945, pp. 5-41, and by A. Goetze in *JCS* I (1947) 253-66.

EINE LISTE VON AMULETTSTEINEN IM MUSEUM ZU ISTANBUL

KADRIYE YALVAÇ

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Während meiner Arbeit in der Tontafelsammlung des Istanbuler Museums fand ich mit Hilfe der dort vorhandenen Aufzeichnungen unter den Assurtafeln ein ergänzendes Duplikat zu dem Text *KAR*, Nr. 213.¹ Ausserdem lassen sich zwei Paralleltexthe des British Museum zur Textherstellung heranziehen.²

Benutzte Texte:

Aus Assur:

- (a) *KAR*, Nr. 213 (VAT 8260); vierkolumnig.
 (b) Istanbul A(ssur) 231, bisher unveröffentlicht (Kopie hier S. 334–35); zwei Kolumnen erhalten.

Aus Ninive:

- (a) K.6282 + K.9556 + K.11269 + 81-4-9,232, unveröffentlicht; zwei Kolumnen.
 (b) K.2409, unveröffentlicht; vier Kolumnen, davon zwei unleserlich.

Diese Texte verzeichnen magische Eigenschaften verschiedener Steine und können somit als Amulettlisten bezeichnet werden. Das Wort *abnu* (NA₄), "Stein," nimmt einen breiten Raum ein. Gemeint sind Steine und Mineralien, von denen viele auch als *materia medica* Verwendung finden. Die Steine sind nicht nach ihrem materiellen Wert, sondern nach ihren magischen Eigenschaften angeordnet. Das Element NA₄, gleichgiltig ob Determinativ oder mitzulesen, wird oft kürzehalber ausgelassen.³

Die Aufzählung der Mineralien ist in *DUR* (= *turru*), "Band," genannte Gruppen geteilt. Der folgenden Übersicht legen wir *KAR*, Nr.

¹ Es ist mir ein Bedürfnis, auch an dieser Stelle den Herren Professor B. Landsberger und Professor F. R. Kraus für die mir gewährte Hilfe meinen herzlichsten Dank auszusprechen.

² Herrn Professor C. J. Gadd bin ich für seine Hilfe bei der Beschaffung von Photographien zu Dank verpflichtet.

³ So sind z. B. in dem Istanbuler Text, Kol. iii 39–41, von vierzehn Steinen nur drei mit dem Determinativ versehen.

213, als den vollständigsten und längsten Text zugrunde; parallele Stellen aus den anderen Exemplaren verzeichnen wir daneben.

KAR, Nr. 213, Kol. i

1–3	A 231 ii 10–13
4–5	A 231 ii 14–17
6–7	A 231 ii 18–20
8–9	—
10–12	A 231 ii 37–38
13	Summe: 2. <i>turru</i>
14–17	A 231 ii 26–30
18–19	A 231 i 22–24; K.6282 ii 1–2; K.2409 ii 4–6
20–23	—
24–25	A 231 ii 7–9; K.6282 i 22–24
26	Summe: 3. <i>turru</i>
27–29	—
30	A 231 ii 3–5 (in <i>KAR</i> , Nr. 213, zwei Zeilen weggebrochen)

KAR, Nr. 213, Kol. ii

Anfang: [4. <i>turru</i>]	
x-1	?
2–3	K.6282 i 25–28; K.2409 ii 2–3
4	A 231 ii 21–22
5	Summe: 5. <i>turru</i>
6–8	—
9–10	—
11–14	—
15–16	—
17	Summe: 6. <i>turru</i>
18–19	—
20–22	—
23–24	—
25	A 231 ii 46 f.
26–27	—
28–29	—

KAR, Nr. 213, Kol. iii

1	Summe: 7. <i>turru</i>
2–3	—
4–5	—

6-7	—
8-9	—
10-11	—
12	Summe: 8. <i>turru</i>
13-19	—
20-21	—
22-23	—
24	Summe: 9. <i>turru</i>
25-30	abgebrochen, darin 10. und 11. <i>turru</i>
KAR, Nr. 213, Kol. iv	
1-3	—
4	Summe: 12. <i>turru</i>
5-8	A 231 ii 39-42; K.2409 ii 17-23; K.6282 ii 8-14
9-11	A 231 i 25-28
12	—
13-14	A 231 ii 43-45
15-18	A 231 i 29-33; K.6282 ii 28-33
19-20	K.6282 ii 22-23
21	Summe: 13. <i>turru</i>
22-23	K.6282 ii 25-26
24	—
26-27	K.6282 ii 15-20; K.2409 iii 3-7
28-29	—
30-31	—
33	Summe: 14. <i>turru</i> (Rest abgebrochen)

KAR, Nr. 213, stimmt mit den zwei Ninive-Texten in Form und Anordnung überein, während der Istanbuler Text in Einzelheiten abweicht. Dieser ist nicht durch Trennstriche in viele kleine Paragraphen (*qātu*) geteilt und zeigt auch eine abweichende Reihenfolge.

In KAR, Nr. 213, enthalten die kurzen Paragraphen von je 3-4 Zeilen jeweils eine Anzahl Steinnamen. Meist 4-5 Paragraphen bilden eine Gruppe, für die die Texte die Bezeichnung *turru* verwenden. Am Ende jedes *turru* wird die Summe der darin genannten Steine und die Nummer des *turru* angegeben.

Der Inhalt des Textes lässt sich folgendermassen klassifizieren: die Steine dienen (a) der Versöhnung der Götter, (b) der Beseitigung von Übeln wie Unreinheit, Krankheit oder Unglück, (c) der Erlangung wünschenswerter Güter oder Vorteile. Unter den Göttern, die versöhnt werden sollen (*sullumu*) nennt KAR, Nr. 213, in Z.

3, 5, 7, Anu, Enlil und Ea in der allgemein üblichen Rangfolge. Aber in der darauf folgenden Reihe—Adad, Gula, Šamaš, Ištar—scheint Sin vergessen zu sein.

Das Schema, Aufzählung der Steine (selten andere magische Mittel wie ein Spinnwirtel aus Zürgelholz gegen Schwindelanfälle; KAR, Nr. 213 ii 42), Summierung, magischer Zweck wird in zwei Abschnitten unseres Textes, ii 37-42 (zu Beginn des 6. *turru*) durchbrochen. Wir verweisen auf unsere Übersetzung dieser beiden aus dem Rahmen fallenden Abschnitte.

Anstelle einer durchgehenden Übersetzung bieten wir das Schema (Gerippe) der hier in Umschrift und Kopie veröffentlichten Tafel und ein alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Amulettsteine. Grund für diese Beschränkung ist der Umstand, dass der grössere Teil der Steine noch nicht bestimmt ist und dass eine systematische Untersuchung, die die ausgegrabenen Schmuck- und Siegelsteine in Betracht zieht und die inneren Hilfsmittel (Serie *abnu šikinšu* und *u₄ m e l a m - b i n i r - g á l*) auswertet, noch nicht unternommen wurde. Aber selbst wenn diese Hilfsmittel voll angewandt wären, ist der Bestimmung der Arten eine Grenze gesetzt, zumal die moderne mineralogische Terminologie mit der alten markttechnischen oft in Widerstreit steht. Immerhin ist durch CAD, wovon jetzt die Bände A (erste Hälfte), D, E, G, H, I/J, S, Z vorliegen, ein gewisser Fortschritt erzielt worden über Thompson, DAC (1936). W. von Soden, Or. XXVIII (1959) 30: "Trotzdem [= trotz aller Vorbehalte], habe ich dort, wo besser fundierte Deutungen nicht zu Gebote standen, auch Thompson's Deutungen [in AHw.] aufgenommen, allerdings oft nur in Klammern, um sie damit als unsicher zu kennzeichnen." Um diesen Tatbestand durch ein Beispiel zu illustrieren: einer der häufigsten Schmucksteine, *hulālu*, wovon es viele Unterarten gibt, bleibt in CAD (VI 226 f.) undefiniert, während AHw. S. 353 das absurde "Bleiweiss" (in Klammern) anführt. Die Zusammenstellung von Boson, RLA II 266-72, "Edelsteine," vor Thompsons DAC geschrieben, ist von geringerem Werte.

SCHEMA DES TEXTES⁴Erstes *turru*

- i 1–3 (a) [8 NA₄.MEŠ] *šibit Šamaš pašāri*,
 “um den Zugriff des Sonnengottes (durch ihn herbeigeführte Krankheit) unwirksam zu machen,”⁵
- 4–7 (b) [8 NA₄.MEŠ] *šibit Ištar pašāri*
 (ergänzt nach K.6282 i 4–7),
- 8–11 (c) [10 NA₄.MEŠ] *h̄ip libbi*, “gegen Verstörtheit,”
- 12–17 (d) [20 NA₄.MEŠ] *ŠU.DU₈.A.KAM*, “für die Beschwörung ‘lose (= Geister-) hand.’”

Ein Beispiel dieses Zaubers (*KAR*, Nr. 238 Rs. 8 ff.) ist in *MAOG* V 3, S. 24, übersetzt; er dient dazu, auf magische Weise (ohne Spuren) “Schlösser zu öffnen, Siegel zu brechen.” Erklärt als *pašāru ša qāti* (*BRM* IV, No. 20:56; vgl. Ungnad, *Afo* XIV 262) vgl. *ritta paširta* (*KAR*, Nr. 238 Rs. 16). Die Summierungen Z. 3, 11, 17 sind approximativ, lassen geringe Erhöhung bzw. Verminderung zu.

Zweites *turru*

- 19–21 (a) [7 NA₄.MEŠ] *sullum ilišu u ištarišu*,
 “um seinen Gott und seine Göttin zu versöhnen,”
- 22–24 (b) [6 NA₄.MEŠ] *ilu kamlu itti amēli sullumi*, “um einen zürnenden Gott mit dem Menschen zu versöhnen,”
- 25–28 (c) 9 NA₄.MEŠ *manzaztu ēkalli*, “für die Palastbeamten” (d.h. um sie günstig zu stimmen),
- 29–33 (d) [9 NA₄.]MEŠ *išdihi tuḫdi u mešrē šurši*, “um Gewinn, Überfluss und Reichtum herbeizuführen.”

⁴ Dort, wo die hier wiedergegebenen Wörter und Wendungen schon in eines der beiden neuen Wörterbücher aufgenommen und dort ohne weiteres auffindbar sind, verzichten wir darauf, sie zu zitieren.

⁵ Die Stellensammlungen *CAD* XVI 6 (*šabātu* 1 a), 164 (*šibtu* c 2) und 157a (“use of *šibittu* in lieu of *šibtu*”) weisen die Verbindung mit *pašāru* nicht auf. Dass *šibittu* als Lesung des Logogramms *DIB* mit *šibtu* gleichberechtigt oder sogar vorzuziehen ist, zeigt der Duplikattext K.6282 Kol. i passim: *DIB-tim* “*Sin* etc. *KAR*, Nr. 26 Rs. 7, ist zu lesen: *ana* ‘*ši-ib-ta*’-*ti ilī kalāma pašāri*.

Drittes *turru*⁶

- 35 f. (a) [2 NA₄.MEŠ] *šibit Šin pašāri*
- 37 f. (b) [3 NA₄.MEŠ] *šibit Šamas pašāri*
 (Kürzere Fassung von Abschnitt a des ersten *turru*)
- 39 f. (c) [2 NA₄.MEŠ *šibit*] *Adad pašāri*
 (d und e weggebrochen)
- ii 1 f. (f) 8 NA₄.MEŠ *sullumi Ištar u Gula*
- 3–5 (g) 5 NA₄.MEŠ *lumun ūmi arḫi u šatti*,
 “gegen das Unheil eines schlechten Tages, Monats oder Jahres.”

Viertes *turru*

- 7–9 (a) 7 NA₄.MEŠ *ila ana amēli rēma raši*,
 “um zu bewirken, dass der Gott mit dem Menschen Mitleid habe,”
- 11–13 (b) 7 NA₄.MEŠ *sullumi Anu*
- 14–17 (c) 8 NA₄.MEŠ *sullumi Enlil*
- 18–20 (d) 7 NA₄.MEŠ *sullumi Ea*
- 21–22 (e) 3 NA₄.MEŠ *itti limutti*, “gegen ein böses Omen.”

Fünftes *turru*

- 24 f. (a) 8 NA₄.MEŠ *šibit ilī kalāma pašāri*,
 “um den Zugriff aller Götter unwirksam zu machen,”
- 26–30 (b) 14 NA₄.MEŠ *šumma amēlu ilšu u ištarišu ittišu zenū*, “für den Fall, dass sein Gott und seine Göttin mit dem Menschen schmollen,”
- 31–35 (c) 13 NA₄.MEŠ *šumma amēlu ilšu u ištarišu ittišu kamlu*, “für den Fall, dass sein Gott und seine Göttin dem Menschen zürnen.”

Sechstes *turru*

- 37 f. (a) Wir geben diese Zeilen, die, wie schon oben bemerkt, aus dem Rahmen fallen, wörtlich wieder, wobei wir uns des Duplikates *KAR*, Nr. 213 i 10–12, bedienen: (abna) *kalab napišti hurāši*
^{NA₄}*pappardillu hurāšu*
^{NA₄}*sahhū hurāšu*

⁶ Abschnitte a und b ergänzt nach K.6282 und *AMT* 1,7: 8–10.

4 *jà-aš-pu-u ištēn ina libbišunu
šikin asqari*

7 NA₄.MEŠ *sullumi Gula Šamaš u
Ištar,*

“ein Amulett in Hundeform, am
Kehlkopf zu tragen, aus Gold,
ein *pappardillu* (= weissgefleck-
ter) Stein in Goldfassung, ein
sahhû in Goldfassung, 4 Jaspis-
perlen, davon eine in der Form
einer Mondsichel; in Summa 7
Amulette zur Versöhnung von
Gula, Šamaš und Ištar.”

39–42 (b) Duplikatstellen:

KAR, Nr. 213 iv 8: 14 <NA₄.MEŠ>
gú (= *kišādu*) ^mNa-<ra>-am-
^dSin

K.6282 ii 14: 14 NA₄.MEŠ GÚ (kein
Determinativ) AM (= *Rīm*)-
^dSin

K.2409: nur DINGIR erhalten
Unser Text: 14 NA₄.MEŠ GÚ ^mNa-
mad-^d[Sin], verderbt für Narām-
Sin. Obgleich keines der drei Du-
plikate einen unverderbten Text
bietet, ist der Schluss erlaubt,
dass es sich um eine Tradition
über die Steine des Halsbandes
zweier prominenter Könige han-
delt.

43–45 (c) Ergänzung nach KAR, Nr. 213 iv
13 f.:

8 NA₄.MEŠ *hi-du-ti te-lil tak-ni-i,*
“der Freude und des Fest-
jubels.”

46 f. (d) Ergänzung nach KAR, Nr. 213 ii
25:

3 NA₄.MEŠ *né-me-di ha-a-a-ti,*
“gegen schwer lastende Ohn-
macht.”

TEXT A231

Kol. i

1. [x x x x x x NA₄] *aš-pu-u*
 2. [x x x x x x NA₄].KUR-*nu* DIB NA₄.ZÚ.SIG₇
 3. [8 NA₄.MEŠ DIB ^d]Šamaš BÚR
 4. [x x x x x N]A₄.EN.GI.ŠA₆
 5. [NA₄.IGI.KU₆ N]A₄.ŠIM.BI.ZI.DA
 6. [NA₄ *lu-lu-da-ni-tu*] NA₄.KUR-*nu* DIB NA₄.ZÚ.
SIG₇
 7. [9 NA₄.MEŠ DI]B ^dIštar BÚR
 8. [x x] NA₄ *su-u* NA₄.KUR-*nu*
 9. [x x] NA₄.GUG.GAZI.SAR
 10. [x x] NA₄.GIŠ.NU.GAL NA₄.KUR-*nu* DIB NA₄.
AN.BAR
 11. [9 N]A₄.MEŠ GAZ ŠÀ-*bi*
 12. [x x] NA₄.ZA.GÌN NA₄.BABBAR.DIL NA₄.ZÚ.SIG₇
 13. [x x] NA₄ *me-ku* NA₄ *ár-zal-lum* NA₄.^dLAMA
 14. [x x N]A₄ *aba-aš-mu* NA₄.IGI.ZAG.GÁ NA₄.
ŠIM.BI.ZI.DA
 15. [x x N]A₄.DÚR.MI.NA NA₄.DÚR.MI.NA.BÁN.DA
 16. [x x N]A₄ *aš-pu-u* NA₄.MUŠ.GÍR NA₄.DU₈.ŠI.A
 17. [20 N]A₄.MEŠ ŠU.DU₈.A.KÁM
 18. [*naphar* 4]6 NA₄.MEŠ 1-*en* DUR
-
19. [NA₄ *aš-pu-u* NA₄.ZA.GÌN NA₄.ŠUBA
 20. [NA₄.BAB]BAR.DIL NA₄.MUŠ.GÍR NA₄.GUG NA₄.
AŠ.GÌ.GÌ
 21. [7 N]A₄.MEŠ DI DINGIR-šú *u* ^d*ištar-šú*
 22. [NA₄] *aba-aš-mu* NA₄ *aš-pu-u* NA₄.ZA.GÌN
 23. [NA₄.ŠU]BA NA₄ *ka-pa-ša* NA₄.PA

24. [6 NA₄].MEŠ DINGIR *kam-lu itti LÚ SILIM-me*
25. [DAG]-GAZ DU₈.ŠI.A NA₄.MUŠ.GÍR
26. [NA₄.BABBAR.DIL N]A₄.GUG NA₄.GUG.ZÚ
27. [NA₄.AMAŠ].MÚ.A NA₄ *aš-pu-u* NA₄.AŠ.GÌ.GÌ
28. [NA₄ *m*]ar-*hal-lum* 9 NA₄.MEŠ *man-za-az-tu*
É.GAL
29. [NA₄] ^l*a-maš*-*ma-a* NA₄ *hi-lib* NA₄.GUG.GAZI.
SAR
30. [NA₄].ŠUBA.Á.ZI.DA NA₄.MIN(= ŠUBA).Á.KAB.
BU
31. [NA₄] *as-ḥur* NA₄.GUG.ME.LUḤ.ḤA
32. [NA₄ *ḥu-luḥ*]-*ḥa* NA₄.ŠIM.BI.ZI.DA
33. [9 NA₄.MEŠ *i*]š-*di-ḥi tuḥ-di u* Á TUG.TUG-*i*
34. [*naphar* 24 NA₄].MEŠ 2-*ú* DUR

-
35. [NA₄ *aš-pu-u*] NA₄.ZÚ.MI
 36. [x x 2 NA₄.MEŠ] DIB ^dSin BÚR
 37. [NA₄.KÙ.BAL x NA₄].KUR-*nu* DIB
 38. [x x 3 NA₄.MEŠ] DIB ^dŠamaš BÚR
 39. [x x x x] NA₄.[SI]KIL
 40. [3 NA₄.MEŠ DIB ^d]Adad [BÚ]R
 41. [x x x x] Spuren
- Lücke von etwa 10 Zeilen

Kol. ii

1. NA₄.^dLAMA NA₄ *pa-ru-tu* NA₄ *kur-šá-a-nu*
2. 8 NA₄.MEŠ SILIM ^dIštar *u* ^dME.ME
3. NA₄ *a-maš-pa-a* NA₄ *sah-ḥu-u* NA₄.UR
4. NA₄.^dLAMA NA₄.KUR-*nu* DIB

5. 5 NA₄.MEŠ ḤUL UD-me ITU u MU.AN.NA
 6. *naphar* 30 NA₄.MEŠ 3-šú DUR
-
7. NA₄.KÙ.BA[BBAR] NA₄.DÚR.MI.NA NA₄.AN.ZAḤ
 8. NA₄.KUR-n[u DIB] NA₄ aš-pu-u NA₄.ZALAG NA₄ saḥ-ḥu-u
 9. 7 NA₄.M[EŠ] DINGIR ana LÚ ARḤUŠ TUG-i
 10. NA₄.ŠIM.[BI.Z]I.DA NA₄.ZÚ.MI
 11. NA₄.NÍR P[A.M]UŠEN NA₄.SAG.KAL.GÙN.A
 12. NA₄.IGI.KU₆ NA₄ úg-gùn-nu-u NA₄.KUR.RA
 13. 7 NA₄.MEŠ SILIM ^dA-nu
 14. NA₄.GUG NA₄.ZA.GÌN NA₄.ZALAG NA₄.AN.BAR
 15. NA₄ aš-pu-u NA₄.BABBAR.DIL NA₄.MUŠ.GÍR
 16. NA₄ mu-ša NA₄.KUR-nu DIB
 17. 8 NA₄.MEŠ SILIM ^dEnlil
 18. NA₄.NÍG.MÌN NA₄-ni-bu NA₄.ŠUBA.SIG₇
 19. NA₄.KUR-nu DIB NA₄.ZALAG NA₄.AN.BAR NA₄.GUG
 20. 7 NA₄.MEŠ SILIM ^dĒ-a
 21. NA₄.ZA.GÌN NA₄ aba-aš-mu NA₄.ZÚ.LUM
 22. 3 NA₄.MEŠ IZKIM.ḤUL
 23. *naphar* 33 NA₄.MEŠ 4-u DUR
-
24. NA₄ saḥ-ḥu-u IGI.ZAG.GÁ ZÚ.BABBAR ZÚ.MI
 ZÚ.SIG₇ mar-ḥal-[lum]
 25. NA₄.ŠE.TIR 8 NA₄.MEŠ DIB AN.MEŠ DÙ.A.BI
 BÚR
 26. NA₄.GUG NA₄.ZA.GÌN NÍR MUŠ.GÌR BABBAR.DIL
 BABBAR.DIL.[DIL]
 27. NA₄.KÙ.GI.ḤUŠ.A KÙ.GI.SIG₇ ḥi-lib ŠUBA.
 SÍ[G₇]
28. NA₄.KUR-nu DIB NA₄ ḥal-tu NA₄ mu-š[a]
 29. NA₄.^dLAMA NA₄ saḥ-ḥu-u
 30. 14 NA₄.MEŠ šumma (= DIŠ) NA DINGIR-šú u
^dištar-šú KI-šú zi-nu-[u]
 31. NA₄ X NA₄ ḥi-lib NA₄.GUG.GAZI.SAR
 32. NA₄.GIŠ.NU.GAL NA₄.BABBAR.DIL NA₄.PA
 33. NA₄ gi-rim-ḥi-lib NA₄-ni-bu NA₄.KÙ.BABBAR
 NA₄.KÙ.GI
 34. NA₄.AD.BAR NA₄ 'x y'
 35. 13 [NA₄.ME]š šumma (= DIŠ) NA DINGIR-šú u
^dištar-šú KI-šú kam-lu
 36. *naphar* 35 NA₄.MEŠ 5-šú DUR
-
37. NA₄.UR.GI₇.ZI.GUŠKIN NA₄.BABBAR.DIL KÙ.GI
 NA₄ saḥ-ḥu-u-KÙ.GI
 38. 4 NA₄ aš-pu-u 1-en ina libbi-šú-⟨nu⟩ NÍG UD.
 SAR (= šikin asqari) 7 DIB (Fehler für DI)
^dME.ME ^dUT[U ^dIštar]
 39. NA₄.ZA.GÌN BABBAR(!).DIL ZÚ.SIG₇ me-ku-u
 GUG-mar-⟨ḥa⟩-ši ^d[LAMA]
 40. NA₄ aba-aš-mu IGI.ZAG.GÁ DÚR.MI.NA MIN
 (= DÚR.MI.NA).BAN.DA aš-pu-u
 41. NA₄.ŠIM.BI.ZI.DA MUŠ.GÌR DU₈.[ŠI.A]
 42. 14 NA₄.MEŠ GÚ ^mNa-mad-^d[Sin]
 43. [NA₄.MUŠ.GÍR] 'NA'₄.GUG NA₄ ḥi-lib
 44. [NA₄ úg-gùn-nu-u] NA₄.SIKIL NA₄ šib-tú
 45. [NA₄.DUR.KIB] 8 NA₄.MEŠ ḥi-du-te te-lil tak-
 ni-i
 46. [NA₄ su-u NA₄].NÍG.MÌN NA₄.GUG.GAZI.SAR
 47. [3 NA₄.MEŠ né]-me-di ḥa-a-a-te
 48. [32 NA₄.MEŠ] 6-šú DUR

A231

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SCHLÜSSEL FÜR LOGOGRAMME UND REBUS-SCHREIBUNGEN

- NA₄.AD.BAR (*adbaru*) ii 34
 NA₄.AMAS.MÚ.A (*amašpú*, var. *abašmú*) i 22, 27, 29; ii 3, 21, 40
 NA₄.AN.BAR (*parzillu*) i 10; ii 14, 19
 NA₄.AN.ZAḪ (*anzahḫu*) ii 7
 NA₄.AŠ.GÌ.GÌ (*ašḫikú*) i 20, 27, 35
 NA₄ *aš-pu-u* (*jašpú*, cf. NA₄.ŠUBA) i 1, 16, 19, 22, 27; ii 8, 15, 38, 40
 NA₄.BABBAR.DIL (*pappardillu*) i 12, 20, 26; ii 15, 26, 32, 37
 NA₄.BABBAR.DIL.DIL (*pappardildillu*) ii 26
 DAG.GAZ (*takkassu*) i 25
 NA₄.DUR.ŠI.A (*dušú*) i 16, 25; ii 41
 NA₄.DUR.KIB (reading unknown) ii 45
 NA₄.DÚR.MI.NA (*turminú*) i 15; ii 7, 40
 NA₄.DÚR.MI.NA.BÀN.DA (*turminabandú*) i 15; ii 40
 NA₄.EN.GI.ŠA₆ (*engišú*) i 4
 NA₄.GI.RIM.*hi-lib* (*girimḫilibú*) ii 33
 NA₄.GIŠ.NU.GAL (*gišnugallu*) i 10; ii 32
 NA₄.GUG (*šāmtu*) i 20, 26; ii 14, 19, 26, 43
 NA₄.GUG.ZÚ (*šāmtu šurrānītu*) i 26
 NA₄.GUG.GAZI.SAR (*šāmti kasí*) i 9, 29; ii 31, 46
 NA₄.GUG.ME.LUḪ.ḪA (*šāmtu meluḫḫītu*) i 31
 NA₄.ḪU.LUḪ.ḪA (*ḫuluḫḫū*) i 32
 NA₄.IGI.KU₆ (*in nūni*) i 5; ii 12
 NA₄.IGI.ZAG.GÁ (*egizaggá*) i 14; ii 24, 40
 NA₄.KÙ.BABBAR (*kaspu*) ii 7, 33
 NA₄.KÙ.BAL(-e) (**kubalá*) i 37
 NA₄.KÙ.GI (*ḫurāšu*) ii 33, 37
 NA₄.KÙ.GI.ḪUŠ.A (*ḫ. ḫuššú*) ii 27
 NA₄.KÙ.GI.SIG₇ (*ḫ. arqu*) ii 27
 NA₄.KUR-*nu* (*šadānu*) i 8
 NA₄.KUR-*nu* DIB (*šadānu šabtu*) i 2, 6, 10, 37; ii 4, 8, 16, 19, 28
 NA₄.KUR.RA (*aban šadī*) ii 12
 NA₄.^dLAMA (*aban Lamassi*) i 13; ii 1, 4, 29, 39
 NA₄.MUS.GÍR (*mušgarru*) i 16, 20, 25; ii 15, 26, 41, 43
 NA₄.NÍG.MÌN (reading unknown) ii 18, 46
 NA₄.NÍR (*ḫulālu*) ii 26
 NA₄.NÍR.PA.MUŠEN (*ḫ. ša kappi iššuri*) ii 11
 NA₄.PA (*ia₄-artu*) i 23; ii 32
 NA₄.SAG.KAL (reading unknown)
 NA₄.SAG.KAL.GÜN.A (*barmu*) ii 11
 NA₄.SIKIL (*arzallu*) i 39; ii 44
 NA₄.ŠE.TIR (*pindú*) ii 25
 NA₄.ŠIM.BI.ZI.DA (*šimbizidú*) i 5, 14, 32; ii 10, 41
 NA₄.ŠUBA (*jašpú*) i 19, 23
 NA₄.ŠUBA.Á.KAB.BU (*ḫ. šumelá*) i 30
 NA₄.ŠUBA.Á.ZI.DA (*ḫ. imnú*) i 30
 NA₄.ŠUBA.SIG₇ (*ḫ. arqu*) ii 18, 27
 NA₄.UR (*aban bāšti*) ii 3
 NA₄.ZA.GÌN (*uqnú*) i 12, 19, 22; ii 21, 26, 39
 NA₄.ZALAG (*ittamír*) ii 8, 14, 19
 NA₄.ZÚ (*šurru*)
 NA₄.ZÚ.BABBAR (*ḫ. pešú*) ii 24
 NA₄.ZÚ.MI (*ḫ. šalmu*) i 35; ii 10, 24
 NA₄.ZÚ.SIG₇ (*ḫ. arqu*) i 2, 6, 12; ii 24, 39
 NA₄.ZÚ.LUM (*abam suluppi*) ii 21

LISTE DER ERWÄHNTEN MINERALIEN

- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>anzahḫu</i> , Fritte | <i>pappardillu</i> , weiss gesprenkelt |
| <i>dušú</i> , ein brauner Stein | <i>pappardildillu</i> , stark weiss gesprenkelt |
| <i>gišnugallu</i> , Alabaster | <i>parātu</i> , Marmor |
| <i>ḫulālu</i> , Chalzedon | <i>parzillu</i> , Eisen |
| <i>ḫuluḫḫū</i> , Glasfluss | <i>šāmtu</i> , Karneol; <i>kasí</i> , senffarben; <i>šurrānītu</i> , glasartig |
| <i>ḫurāšu</i> , Gold; <i>arqu</i> , gelb; <i>huššú</i> , rot | <i>šurru</i> , Obsidian |
| <i>ia₄artu</i> , Muschel (= <i>a₄ia₄artu</i>) | <i>šadānu</i> , Hämatit; <i>šabtu</i> , matt |
| <i>jašpú</i> , Jaspis | ŠIM.BI.ZI.DA, Antimon |
| <i>in nūni</i> (IGI.KU ₆), Fischauge | <i>takkassu</i> , Monolith |
| <i>kaspu</i> , Silber | <i>turminú</i> , <i>turminabandú</i> , Breccia |

PROBLEMATICAL BATTLES IN MESOPOTAMIAN HISTORY¹

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In the long history of Assyro-Babylonian relations hostility was the rule rather than the exception. Out of this hostility battles between the two nations frequently erupted. A great deal has yet to be learned about relations between Assyria and Babylonia since sources are sparse. However, there are some historical documents. One period for which a significant amount of source material is available is that of the latter part of the Neo-Assyrian Empire (744–612 B.C.). The main historical sources are royal inscriptions, letters, chronicles, and business documents. A few decades ago the site of ancient Mari was discovered, and the large number of letters uncovered there revealed the details of Assyro-Babylonian relations during a brief period at the beginning of the second millennium. But for the remainder of the second millennium and the beginning of the first millennium there is very little information. These are the "Dark Ages" of Mesopotamian history. Future discoveries will certainly shed light upon some of these periods of history. In the meantime the Mesopotamian historian must continue to examine what documents are available and reconstruct the events as best he can. New insights are still possible from study of this material.

The present article is concerned with information contained in Babylonian and Assyrian documents about certain battles in which these two countries were protagonists. Babylonian and Assyrian sources often differ as to the victor in a particular battle, but it is sometimes possible by

careful examination of the evidence to decide who really was victorious. Of the four battles to be discussed, two occurred during the Dark Ages while two occurred during the latter part of the Neo-Assyrian period.

The two battles of the Dark Ages are both described in the Synchronistic History, an Assyrian document which describes Assyro-Babylonian relations from the fifteenth to the eighth century B.C.² The first battle to be discussed was fought at Sugaga³ by the Babylonian king Kurigalzu the younger and the Assyrian king Enlil-nārāri or Adad-nārāri I.⁴ According to the Synchronistic History,⁵ Enlil-nārāri and Kurigalzu fought at Sugaga and Enlil-nārāri won. The two rivals then divided the territory between Šasili of Subartu (Assyria) and Karduniaš.

The same battle is described in Chronicle P, a Babylonian document which describes events during the Kassite period (latter half of the second millennium B.C.).⁶ A long account of the

² *CT* XXXIV, Pls. 38–43. A new edition of this text is to be included in the author's corpus of chronicles. In this article the text is quoted according to the new edition.

³ On the location of Sugaga see n. 17a. In the Synchronistic History this place name is written ^u*Su-ga-gi*, and in Chronicle P it is written ^u*Su-ga-ga*. The choice of the orthography Sugaga rather than Sugagi is arbitrary. In an Old Babylonian itinerary it is written *Su-qá-qū-ú* (see Hallo in *JCS* XVIII 59, line 14). But it cannot be read with *q* in the Synchronistic History nor in Chronicle P. The Synchronistic History regularly uses *GA = ga* (i 11', 15', 27', iii 18, 24) and *GI = gi* (ii 6', iv 20). Similarly, Chronicle P uses *GA = ga* (i 10, 13, iii 18), *GI = gi* (i 12, ii 2), *GU = gu* (ii 9, iii 2). If the authors of these texts had wished to read the place name with *q* they would have used different signs. The Synchronistic History regularly uses *QA = qa* (ii 35', iii 15, iv 2), *QU = qu* (iv 20), and *QI = qi* (i 29', ii 3', 24') or *KI = qt* (ii 2*). Similarly, Chronicle P uses *QA = qa* (ii 13, iv 20), *QU = qu* (ii 6), and *KI = qt* (i 8).

⁴ For the reading *nārāri* rather than *nērāri* in these two names see Weidner in *IAK*, p. 56, n. 2. For a discussion of the root see W. von Soden in *Or.* n.s. XX 258 f. and to his examples add those in *ARMT* XV 230 f.

⁵ Col. i 18'–23'.

⁶ *JRAS*, 1894, pp. 807–33. A new edition of this text will be included in the author's corpus of chronicles. In this article the text is quoted according to that edition.

¹ The abbreviations are those used by the *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* with the following additions:

EAK Riecke Borger, *Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften*, 1. Teil (Leiden, 1961)
IAK Erich Ebeling, Bruno Meissner, Ernst F. Weidner, *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige* (Leipzig, 1926)
Oppenheim Studies *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim* (Chicago, 1964)

reign of Kurigalzu comes to an end with these three lines:

[He (Kurigalzu) *went*] to conquer Adad-nārāri, king of Assyria, [. . . and brought about his defeat] at Sugaga which (is) on the Tigris [. . .]. He slaughtered his soldiers (and) [captured] his officers.⁷

It is obvious that this is the same battle as that already discussed in the Synchronistic History since in both texts the battle field is at Sugaga. There are, however, two major discrepancies between the Assyrian and Babylonian versions. One discrepancy concerns the name of the Assyrian king, the other concerns the victor.

The Assyrian version says the battle was between the Babylonian king Kurigalzu and the Assyrian king Enlil-nārāri. The Babylonian version agrees that the Babylonian king was Kurigalzu but says the Assyrian king was Adad-nārāri (I), second in line after Enlil-nārāri. To decide which Assyrian king was actually involved, one should ideally have accounts of this battle over and above the versions of these two chronicles. But such sources are lacking, and therefore one must attempt to resolve the problem on the basis of internal evidence.⁸ In this

⁷ Col. iii 20–22: *a-na muḫḫi* ^{md} *Adad-nārāri šār* ^{kur} *Aš-šur* ^{ki} *ana kašādu* ^{du} [*il-lik* . . .] *ina* ^{uru} *Su-ga-ga šá elī idī-diq-lat* [*dabā-šú iš-kun(?)* . . .] *šābē* ^{meš} *šú i-duk* ^{1a} *rabūti* ^{meš} *šú ina qātē* [*šú iš-bat*].

⁸ It is possible, chronologically, that both Enlil-nārāri and Adad-nārāri I were contemporaries of Kurigalzu. Kurigalzu ruled for twenty-five years (Jaritz in *MIO* VI 201), which means that his reign could have covered the last few years of Enlil-nārāri, the twelve years of Arik-dēn-ili, and the first few years of Adad-nārāri I. There is evidence that Kurigalzu was on the throne at the time of Enlil-nārāri (fragment of an Assyrian chronicle, *Afo* XX 115 f.). There is also evidence that Kurigalzu's successor, Nazimuruttaš, was on the throne at the time of Adad-nārāri I (Epic of Adad-nārāri I, new fragment published by Weidner in *Afo* XX 113–15). But the latter evidence does not exclude the possibility that Kurigalzu was reigning for the first few years after Adad-nārāri I ascended the throne in Assyria. Another piece of "evidence" must be discussed in this respect. In Adad-nārāri I's inscriptions both he and his ancestor Enlil-nārāri are said to have defeated a Kassite army (*IAK*, p. 56, No. 1:3, and p. 62, lines 25 f.). There is no reason to doubt these claims, but even if they are true, it is possible that during each of their reigns there was more than one battle with the Kassites and that the Kassites could have conceivably won at least one such battle (a fact which would be silently passed over in the Assyrian inscriptions).

Besides the texts for Adad-nārāri I given in *IAK*, pp. XXII–XXXII and 56–110, and in *EAK*, pp. 32–48, there is a large inscription with duplicates published in *Afo* V 89–100 and XIX 104, to which is to be joined the unpublished frag-

ment 79-7-8, 167 (Reiner in *BiOr* XIX 158, n. 1). Further, there is the Epic of Adad-nārāri I, four pieces of which are so far known: VAT 10084 is published by Ebeling (*KAR*, No. 260) and also by Schroeder (*KAH* II, No. 143); Rm. 293, a duplicate, is published in *Afo* XVII 369; two other duplicates, VAT 9820 and 10889, are partially published and commented upon by Weidner in *Afo* XX 113–15; for comment see *IAK*, p. 57, n. 7, and *Afo* VII 281. There is also a harem law published by Weidner in *Afo* XVII 272. Text No. 2 of *IAK*, pp. 46–49, may belong to either Enlil-nārāri or Adad-nārāri I, depending on who was responsible for Kurigalzu's defeat at Sugaga.

^m ^{si} *Tukul-ti-apil-é*-*KUR* for Tukulti-apil-ešarra

^{md} *Marduk-šá-pi-ik-zēri*-*KUR* for Marduk-šāpik-zēri⁹

He has also probably erred with the name Nabû-šuma-iškun (for Nabû-šuma-ukîn),¹⁰ and the confusion arising from the passage on Aššur-uballit I's reign probably stems from a mistake in names on the part of the Synchronistic History.¹¹ On the other hand there is no evidence of confusion of names in Chronicle P.¹² One may tentatively conclude therefore that the version of Chronicle P is correct and that the battle at Sugaga was fought between the Babylonian Kurigalzu and the Assyrian Adad-nārāri I.

To the sources for Enlil-nārāri given in *RLA* II 393 f. add the harem law published by Weidner in *Afo* XVII 270 f. The inscriptions of the two Kurigalzu's (at least two Kassite kings bore the name Kurigalzu, one the son of Kadašman-Ḫarbe and the other the son of Burnaburiaš; see Jaritz in *MIO* VI 231–36 and 242–47 for sources for these kings) are of no help in solving the problem under discussion.

⁹ Tukulti-apil-ešarra is mistakenly written ^m ^{si} *Tukul-ti-apil-é*-*KUR* in col. ii 14'. Marduk-šāpik-zēri is mistakenly written ^{md} *Marduk-šá-pi-ik-zēri*-*KUR* in col. ii 26'. Thanks to Poebel's researches (*A. Poebel, The Second Dynasty of Isin According to a New King-List Tablet* [Chicago, 1955] pp. 16–21) it is now known that there was no such king as Marduk-šāpik-zēr-māti and that the Synchronistic History has made a mistake here.

¹⁰ Col. iii 9. As Weidner pointed out in *MVAG* XX 4, p. 94, Nabû-šuma-iškun must be the same person as the Nabû-šuma-ukîn mentioned in the Eclectic Chronicle (King, *Chron.* II 153, rev. 2 f.) and in the king list *KAV*, No. 182 iii 10. Since the Synchronistic History bungles names elsewhere, it is probably wrong here also and the name of the king is no doubt Nabû-šuma-ukîn.

¹¹ Col. i 8'–17'.

¹² There are some errors in Chronicle P, but none of them involves names.

The second discrepancy between these two accounts concerns the victor. Chronicle P appears (the passage is partially restored) to ascribe the victory to Babylonia whereas the Synchronistic History ascribes it to Assyria. Of the two sources, Chronicle P is by far the more reliable because of its impartiality. The author of Chronicle P would have admitted a Babylonian defeat at Sugaga if this had been the case, for this document mentions four other Babylonian setbacks.¹³ On the other hand the author of the Synchronistic History was notoriously guilty of selecting his facts in order to shed a favourable light on the Assyrians. While the document is replete with examples of Babylonian humiliations at the hands of the Assyrians, no Assyrian disgrace is ever mentioned. In this respect there are some major omissions.¹⁴ It is not impossible that the author of the Synchronistic History actually altered the facts to put Assyria in a more favourable light.

There is other evidence which contradicts the Assyrian claim to victory. The territorial division between Assyria and Babylonia mentioned in the Synchronistic History indicates that Assyria has lost ground. During the reign of Aššur-uballiṣ I, the predecessor of Enlil-nārāri and Adad-nārāri I, Babylonia had been under Assyrian control.¹⁵ Now one finds that in Enlil-nārāri's reign (or, more probably, Adad-nārāri I's reign) Assyria has lost not only Babylonia but also a large region north of it, from Šasili on the Lower Zab¹⁶ to the Diyala River.¹⁷ The scene of the battle, Sugaga (probably to be located west of the Tigris, a little north of the confluence of the Lower Zab), was in fact not too far from the new boundary and deep in Assyrian territory

¹³ Cols. i 9–14 and iv 1–8, 14–16, 17–22.

¹⁴ An obvious omission is the lack of any reference to the treaty between Šamši-Adad V and Marduk-zākir-šumi in which Marduk-zākir-šumi, the Babylonian king, was definitely the more powerful participant. Another Assyrian disgrace which is omitted is the defeat of Assyria by Marduk-nādin-aḥḥē. A detailed discussion of these omissions will be included in the present author's edition of the text.

¹⁵ Synchronistic History i 8'–17' and Chronicle P i 5–14.

¹⁶ On the location of Šasili, which is also written Šašillani, see Goetze in *JCS* IV 95 f. and Finkelstein in *JCS* IX 5.

¹⁷ Karduniaš, not the Diyala River, is actually stated by the chronicle. Note that the division concerns only the region east of the Tigris, not the region between the two rivers.

(ca. 25–30 km. south of Aššur).^{17a} This evidence suggests that Assyria lost the battle of Sugaga.

Thus the sparse evidence for the battle of Sugaga indicates that the two protagonists were Kurigalzu of Babylonia and Adad-nārāri I of Assyria and that Kurigalzu was the victor. These conclusions are based on the fact that, of the two documents which describe the event, Chronicle P (partially restored) is more reliable than the Synchronistic History on the location of the battle field and on the territorial agreement concluded at the end of the battle.¹⁸

The next battle to be considered was between the Babylonian king Nabû-šuma-ukīn I (899–887 B.C.) and the Assyrian Adad-nērāri II (911–891 B.C.). An account is found in the Synchronistic History.¹⁹ The text is badly broken, and therefore it is unknown where the battle took place. According to the Synchronistic History Adad-nērāri II defeated Nabû-šuma-ukīn I²⁰ and carried off a good deal of Babylonian booty to Assyria. The two rulers made a peace treaty which was sealed by each marrying one of the other's daughters. Then a description is given of the boundary line drawn between Babylonia and Assyria:

They established a boundary from Til-Bit-Bāri, which is upstream from Za[ban], to Til-ša-Batani and <Til>-ša-Šabdari.²¹

^{17a} *Su-qá-qū-ú* occurs in an Old Babylonian itinerary as the last stop before Aššur (Hallo in *JCS* XVIII 59, line 14). Thus it is roughly 25–30 km. south of Aššur. Cf. *ibid.* p. 70.

¹⁸ A. Ungnad (*Subartu* [Berlin/Leipzig, 1936] p. 52) and I. J. Gelb (*Hurrians and Subarians* [Chicago, 1944] pp. 44 f.) have claimed that the battle of Sugaga is referred to in a *kudurru* from the time of Kaštiliaš which tells of an earlier event in the time of Kurigalzu, the son of Burnaburiaš. The passage (*MDP* II 93, col. i 4 f.) reads: *i-na ši-il-[ti] ša Su-bar-[ti]*, "in the battle against Assyria." What reason is there to identify this battle with the battle of Sugaga? There could have been many battles between Kurigalzu and the Assyrians (cf. those mentioned in Adad-nārāri I's inscriptions referred to above in n. 8), and this vague phrase could refer to any of them. Cf. H. Lewy in *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* XIII 270 and n. 1.

¹⁹ Col. iii 10–21.

²⁰ The Synchronistic History actually calls him Nabû-šuma-iškun (see n. 10).

²¹ *iš-tu¹ uruTil-Bit-Ba-ri ša el-la-an uruZa-[ban] a-di Til-ša-^mBa-ta-a-ni u <Til>-šá-uruŠab-da-ni ku-dúr ú-ki[n-nu]*. The designation of this border reappears in Aššur-nāšir-apli II's inscriptions in almost the same form: *adi uruTil-Ba-a-ri ša el-la-an^{kur}Za-ban issu uruTil-šá-ab-ta-a-ni u uruTil-šá-Ša-ab-da-a-ni*

Brinkman has pointed out²² that this territorial division indicates a loss for Assyria rather than a gain. The new boundary line was in the vicinity of Zaban,²³ which means that Arrapha and Lubdu were now in Babylonian territory. Earlier, in Adad-nērāri II's reign, Arrapha and Lubdu had been in Assyrian territory.²⁴ Assyria has lost some territory, which certainly indicates it lost the battle.²⁵ Thus, despite the claim of the Synchronistic History, it appears that in the battle between Adad-nērāri II and Nabû-šuma-ukin I Babylonia was the victor.

The remaining two battles to be discussed both occurred during the latter part of the Neo-Assyrian period. The first is the battle of Dēr, which took place in 720 B.C.²⁶ There are three sources for this event: the Babylonian Chronicle,²⁷ the inscriptions of the Assyrian king Sargon II (721–705 B.C.),²⁸ and the inscriptions of the Babylonian king Marduk-apla-iddina II (721–710 B.C.).²⁹ There is quite a discrepancy in their statements. The Babylonian Chronicle, a Babylonian document which describes events

during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., states that the Elamites inflicted a major defeat on the Assyrians. The Babylonians set out to help the Elamites but did not reach the battle field in time.³⁰ Sargon, on the other hand, says that he defeated the Elamites at Dēr.³¹ The Babylonian king, Marduk-apla-iddina II, claims that he defeated Subartu (i.e., Assyria) and prevented the Assyrians from making further encroachments upon his territory.³² There were therefore three protagonists involved in the battle of Dēr and three claimants to victory. A major piece of information apart from these three sources is that Marduk-apla-iddina ruled in Babylonia for many years after this battle. This is known not only from the chronicles and chronological lists³³ but also from documents dated in his reign.³⁴ Since this is the only battle known to have taken place between Babylonia and Assyria at this time one would conclude from the result that the Assyrians lost.³⁵ This conclusion is borne out by a study of the internal evidence.

The most unreliable of the three sources is Sargon's claim, for even if he had been defeated at Dēr he (like any other Assyrian king) would not have admitted it. But one need not speculate on the reliability of Sargon's statement. In at least three places in his own inscriptions he implicitly admits defeat at Dēr. These three passages are found in the description of his battle

(AKA, p. 217, line 10; also AKA, p. 344, line 130, and p. 383, lines 123 f. with minor variants). Notice the forms Til-Bit-Bāri and Til-Bāri, which certainly refer to the same place. A place name Bāra is also attested, but it is unlikely that it is the same as Til-Bāri since both names occur in Aššur-nāšir-apli II's Annals. Speiser (*AASOR* VIII 19, n. 36) has also been hesitant to identify Til-Bāri with Bāra. Cf. Ebeling in *RLA* I 399a. Til-Bāri has been identified with Bargird (a little south of the Lower Zab) by Speiser (*AASOR* VIII 19, n. 36). For Zab(b)an see n. 23 below. šd-^{uru}Šab-da-ni is obviously a mistake for ^{uru}Til-šā-^mŠab-da-ni. Both this place and Til-šā-Batāni are presumably somewhere near the Lower Zab (close to the Tigris?).

²² John A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1962) pp. 218 f.

²³ Zab(b)an is on the Lower Zab. See Streck, *Asb.* p. LXXXVIII, and Goetze in *JNES* XII 123.

²⁴ *KAH* II, No. 84:29.

²⁵ It is possible, however, that in the meantime Assyria had lost even more territory (a fact which the author of the Synchronistic History would find easy to ignore) and was now regaining some of it.

²⁶ For the date see Tadmor in *JCS* XII 25 f., 38, and 94.

²⁷ *CT* XXXIV, Pls. 43–50. An edition of this text will be included in the author's corpus of chronicles. In this paper the text is quoted according to that edition.

²⁸ The inscriptions of Sargon II are too numerous to be listed here.

²⁹ See now Brinkman in *Oppenheim Studies*, pp. 6–53.

³⁰ Col. i 33–37.

³¹ The pertinent passage is badly broken in the Annals (*Lie, Sar.* p. 6, line 20; cf. Tadmor in *JCS* XII 25b and n. 31) but is preserved in the Aššur Charter (Winckler, *Sammlung* II, No. 1:17), the Display Inscription (Winckler, *Sar.* p. 100, line 23), the Display Inscription of Room XIV (*ibid.* p. 80, line 7), the Cyprus Stele (*ibid.* p. 176, lines 27 f.), the Khorsabad Cylinder Inscription (Lyon, *Sar.* p. 3, line 17), a bull inscription (*ibid.* p. 13, lines 12 f.), and the stone slabs from Nimrud (Winckler, *Sar.* p. 168, line 7).

³² *Iraq* XV 123, lines 16–18; cf. W. von Soden's note to line 18 in *Or.* n.s. XXVI 136.

³³ The Babylonian Chronicle (i 43–44) speaks of his tenth year. Babylonian King List A iv 10 and the Ptolemaic Canon assign to him a reign of twelve years.

³⁴ See the list compiled by Brinkman (*Oppenheim Studies*, pp. 41–43).

³⁵ It should be noted that the Assyrians held Dēr both before and after the battle. But their defeat at the hands of the Elamites outside the city walls stopped any further advance on their part. See Brinkman in *Oppenheim Studies*, p. 13, n. 42.

with Marduk-apla-iddina in his twelfth regnal year. The longest version, that of the Annals, reads:

On my twelfth *palû* Marduk-apla-iddina, son of Iakin, king of Chaldaea, whose abode was in the swamp of the Eastern Sea, depending (lit. "depended") on the Persian Gulf and (its) great tide for security, violated the vows, the oaths of the great gods, and withheld his tribute. Humbanigaš, the Elamite, turned to (his) aid. He (Marduk-apla-iddina) caused all of the Suteans, desert people, to rebel against me and prepared for battle. He came down to the land of Sumer and Akkad and ruled for twelve years against the will of the gods of Babylon, Enlil's city.³⁶

The text goes on to describe the defeat of Marduk-apla-iddina. The other two versions are approximately the same.³⁷ It is obvious from two points in this passage that the event being described is the battle of Dēr in 720 B.C., not the defeat of Marduk-apla-iddina in 710 B.C. The first point is the mention of Humbanigaš, who played a leading role in the battle of Dēr in 720 B.C. but could not have been present at the later battle in 710 B.C. since he died in 717 B.C. and was succeeded by Ištar-ḥundu (Sutruk-Naḥ-hunte II).³⁸ The other point is that the statement that Marduk-apla-iddina ruled for twelve years follows the mention of the battle. This implies that as a result of the battle (note the failure to mention that battle had been joined and the result of the conflict) he was able to rule Sumer and Akkad for twelve years.³⁹ This could only be the battle of 720.

Having shown that this passage can only refer to the battle of Dēr in 720 B.C., one must seek to explain why it should come under a descrip-

³⁶ Lie, *Sar.* pp. 40–42, lines 262–68 = Winckler, *Sar.* p. 2, No. 30: *i-na XII palû-i[a]*^m *Marduk* (AMAR.UTU)-*apla*(A)-*iddina*-(SUM)^{na} *mār* ^m*Ia-ki-ni šār* ^{kur}*Kal-di ša i-na sa-pan tam-tim ši-īl* ^d*Šamši*^{si} *šit-ku-nu da-ād-me-šu eli* ^{id}*Mar-ra-ti* *ù gu-pu-uš e-de-e it-la-kil-ma a-de-e ma-mit ilāni*^{meš} *rabūti*^{meš} *e-bu-uk-ma ik-la-a ta-mar-tuš* ^m*Hu-um-ba-ni-ga-áš* ^{la}*Elamtu*^{k1-ú a-na re-šu-ti is-ḥur-ma gi-mir ^{lú}*Su-te-e šābē*^{me} *šēri it-ti-ia ú-šam-kir-ma ik-šu-ra ta-ḥa-zu ú-ri-dam-ma a-na er-še-et* ^{kur}*Šumeri* *ù Ak-ka-de-e XII šanāti*^{meš} *ki-i la lib-bi ilāni*^{meš} *Bābili* (KÁ.DINGIR.RA)^{k1} *āl* ^d*En-lil-lá i-pil* *ù iš-pur.*}

³⁷ Winckler, *Sar.* p. 120, lines 121–24 (Display Inscription) and *Iraq* XVI 185, lines 14–21 (Nimrud Prisms).

³⁸ Babylonian Chronicle i 38–40.

³⁹ The Assyrian Annals are a bit inaccurate here. The twelve years cover the full extent of Marduk-apla-iddina's reign, 721–710 B.C. He had already been on the throne for a full regnal year when the battle of 720 took place. Thus, after the battle of 720 he strictly ruled for only eleven more years.

tion of the events of the year 710 B.C. in the Annals. (There is no such problem with the occurrence of the passage in the Display Inscription and the Nimrud Prisms since the campaigns are not arranged chronologically in these documents.) There seems to be no satisfactory explanation. It is hardly plausible that the scribes who composed the Annals used inscriptions which summarized the campaigns according to geographical region as source material and thus got the two campaigns confused. There is no other evidence of such confusion in the Annals. One might regard the passage as a review of the events of the previous battle of 720 intended as an introduction to the description of the battle of 710, but in this case one would expect some kind of introduction such as: "On my twelfth *palû* as on my first *palû* when. . ."⁴⁰

In contrast to Sargon's inscriptions the account in the Babylonian Chronicle is much more reliable. This is evident when one considers that this chronicle mentions not only Assyrian or Elamite defeats but also Babylonian ones. Indeed, in a later passage⁴¹ the defeat of Marduk-apla-iddina by Sargon II in 710 B.C. is narrated, and further defeats of Babylonia at the hands of Assyria are also to be found in the chronicle.⁴² Thus there is no reason to suspect that the author of the Babylonian Chronicle has abused the facts in order to put Babylonia in a more favourable light. There is even less reason to suspect that he has altered facts in order to put the Elamites in a favourable light.

Turning now to the third source for this battle, Marduk-apla-iddina's claim to victory over the Assyrians, one cannot help being suspicious of the statement in the same way that one is suspicious of Sargon's claim to victory. True, Babylonian kings are not notorious for making false claims, as the Assyrian kings are, but when faced with two different Babylonian versions of the same event, one naturally lends more credence to that version which does not claim as much for the Babylonians, in this case the ver-

⁴⁰ Cf. the Walters Art Gallery Sennacherib Inscription (*AfO* XX 83–96), in which the sixth and seventh campaigns are described after the narration of the eighth campaign has begun.

⁴¹ Col. ii 1–5.

⁴² Cols. i 3–5 and 19–23, ii 26–31, ii 46–iii 6, iii 22–24.

sion of the Babylonian Chronicle. Note too that in claiming victory over the Assyrians for himself, Marduk-apla-iddina had not changed the facts as much as Sargon had (assuming that the Babylonian Chronicle's account is correct) but simply claimed for himself what his Elamite contemporary had actually accomplished before he arrived on the scene. Brinkman⁴³ has suggested, quite plausibly, that Marduk-apla-iddina had in fact paid Elam to attack Assyria. In this sense, then, the Babylonian king was the victor although it was a foreign mercenary army that won the battle for him.

An indirect testimony to Marduk-apla-iddina's absence from the battle of Dēr is lack of mention of any Babylonians at Dēr in Sargon's inscriptions. Sargon says he defeated the Elamites but does not mention the Babylonians. One is to conclude, then, that of the three rival versions of the battle at Dēr in 720, the account found in the Babylonian Chronicle is by far the most reliable while Sargon's account is empty boasting and Marduk-apla-iddina's claim may be true if the king of Elam was in his pay.

The last battle to be discussed is the famous battle of Ḫalulē⁴⁴ (691 B.C.⁴⁵), which was fought between the Assyrians, during the reign of Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.), and an Elamo-Babylonian coalition, during the reigns of Menanu (Ḫuban-immēna, 692–689 B.C.) and Mušēzib-Marduk (692–689 B.C.). The two sources for this battle, the inscriptions of Sennacherib⁴⁶ and the

Babylonian Chronicle,⁴⁷ are radically different. The Babylonian document claims that the Assyrians lost, while Sennacherib says they won. The Babylonian Chronicle states:

In an unknown year (of Mušēzib-Marduk) Menanu mustered the troops of Elam (and) Akkad and did battle against Assyria in Ḫalulē. He effected an Assyrian retreat.⁴⁸

Sennacherib, on the other hand, gives an elaborate description (too long to quote here) of how he defeated the Elamo-Babylonian coalition.

The only evidence for this event over and above the Assyrian inscriptions and the Babylonian Chronicle is the fact that Mušēzib-Marduk remained on the Babylonian throne for two years after the battle. This indicates that Sennacherib did not win any major victory at Ḫalulē as he claimed.⁴⁹ With regard to internal evidence, the principle has been established above that the Babylonian Chronicle is an objective historical document whereas the Assyrian royal inscriptions are quite the opposite. One may therefore regard the assignation of the victory at Ḫalulē to the Elamo-Babylonian coalition by the Babylonian Chronicle as being correct and Sennacherib's elaborate description of the battle as a prodigious falsehood.

In every one of the battles between Assyria and Babylonia or Elam studied in this article Assyria lost but Assyrian sources claim victory. The unreliability of Assyrian documents is not a startling revelation. It has been recognized for over half a century that Assyrian sources are always to be regarded with the greatest skepticism. But the author hopes he has shown that a careful perusal of sources for a particular battle can often lead to definite conclusions as to the victor.

cate, cf. Borger, *Esarh.* § 91); *Afo* XX 88, lines 11–16, and 90–94, lines 46–114.

⁴⁷ Col. iii 16–18.

⁴⁸ MU NU ZU ^mMe-na-nu šāb ^{kur}Elamti(NIM) ^{kur}Akkade^{ki} id-ke-e-ma ina ^{uru}Ḫa-lu-le-e šal-tum ana libbi ^{kur}Aš-šur ipuš (DÜ)uš-ma BALA^{tum} ^{kur}Aš-šur iltakan^{an}. The ideogram BALA, which is probably to be read *nabalkutu*, is a technical term used in chronicles meaning "to retreat" as will be shown in the author's edition of the chronicles.

⁴⁹ Mušēzib-Marduk's first regnal year was 692 B.C., and he ruled until 689 B.C. (The Babylonian Chronicle, Babylonian King List A, and the Ptolemaic Canon all agree that he ruled for four years.) The battle of Ḫalulē took place in 691 B.C.

⁴³ In paper presented at annual meeting of the American Oriental Society, New York, 1964 (*JNES* XXIV (1965) 161–66).

⁴⁴ The city Ḫalulē was situated on the Tigris (*OIP* II 44, line 60) probably in the vicinity of the Diyala. It was actually on the plain outside the city that the battle took place (*ibid.* pp. 88, line 47, and 92, line 13). The place of battle is also mentioned in the Walters Art Gallery Sennacherib Inscription (*Afo* XX 94, line 114) and the Babylonian Chronicle (iii 17). A city Ḫalulē is mentioned in *ABL*, No. 262: 12, but it is hardly the same one since the letter deals with affairs which took place on the edge of the Arabian Desert.

⁴⁵ The date is based on the date of composition of the Taylor Prism (*limu* Bēl-ēmuranni). The other dated documents which contain an account of the battle of Ḫalulē are later: the Walters Art Gallery Sennacherib Inscription (690 B.C.; *limu* Nabû-kittu-ušur) and the Oriental Institute Prism Inscription (689 B.C.; *limu* Gaḫilu). The Babylonian Chronicle includes the account of the battle of Ḫalulē in the reign of Mušēzib-Marduk but says the year is unknown (iii 16).

⁴⁶ *OIP* II, p. 41, line 17, to p. 47, line 35, pp. 82–83, lines 34–43, pp. 88–89, lines 44–55, p. 91, line 31, to p. 92, line 21 (dupli-

A BABYLONIAN POLITICAL PAMPHLET FROM ABOUT 700 B.C.

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One of the most interesting Akkadian literary texts (D.T. 1) is the one known as "Advice to a Prince," "Fürstenspiegel," or "Warnings for the King." It has been published four times in copy¹ and transcribed and translated four times since 1907,² not counting partial translations etc.

In view of the character of its contents, which refer to certain specific events and political actions of the king in technical terminology, it seems possible to date the text with a great deal of precision. It need not be said how important a precise date would be both for the history of Akkadian literature, since most of the texts remain undated, and for the political history of the period in question, especially for the history of political opinion.

Attempts at dating the text have been made by all scholars who have studied it. Langdon's date to the time of Hammurapi is totally unsupported by any evidence and has been rejected by all subsequent students. A late date seems evident. According to Böhl the king to whom the text refers is Mardukapliddinna II (721-710 and 703-702 B.C.), a concept which he has attempted to prove in some detail. In my study I arrived at a similar conclusion: the events referred to in the text occurred during the reigns of Shalmaneser V and Mardukapliddinna II, while the text itself was written during the early years of Sennacherib.³ These conclusions have been rejected by Lambert, who more cautiously suggests "one of the kings of Babylon between 1000 and 700 B.C." Unfortunately, Lambert seems to be acquainted

with my paper only indirectly⁴ and has misunderstood my conclusions.⁵ In fact, although the article in question was published nearly twenty years ago (see n. 2), it seems to be practically unknown to Western scholars.⁶ Thus I thought it worthwhile to reiterate my argumentation, with some additional proof and some corrections. My arguments being of a lexicographical character and the work of checking them having been done in Chicago, where I had the privilege of personal contact with Dr. Benno Landsberger, this new study seemed to me an appropriate tribute to him, the master in all fields of Assyriology and in the field of Akkadian lexicography in particular.

The "Warnings" obviously imitate the style of the classical omen texts (see esp. lines 1-8) and, as has been shown by Böhl,⁷ are based on the well-known omen series *Šumma ālu ina mēlē šakin*, which also contains a number of omina derived from the moral and political behavior of the king and of private persons.⁸ In ancient Near Eastern literature new moral and political ideas are often presented in the guise of traditional literature or ascribed to revered personages of the distant past. Political allusions are more evident in D.T. 1 than in most Akkadian literary

⁴ Through E. Reiner's summary in *RA* XLIV 101, as is evident from the fact that Lambert discusses only those new readings and interpretations suggested by me which are quoted by Reiner, although there are several other instances in which readings proposed by Lambert coincide with those proposed by me.

⁵ Thus Lambert (*BWL*, p. 111) seems to be under the false impression that I consider Sennacherib as the king to which the text refers.

⁶ Unfortunately, I was not then able to read the proofs, and the article appeared with numerous misprints.

⁷ The same conclusion was reached by me in my previous study of this text, although Böhl's work was not then available to me. There are also other conclusions which were reached independently by Böhl and by me.

⁸ Cf. F. R. Kraus, "Ein Sittenkanon in Omenform," *ZA* XLIV 77-113.

¹ IV R (1st ed.) 55; IV R (2nd ed.) 48; *CT* XV, Pl. 50; Lambert, *BWL*, Pls. 31-32.

² S. Langdon in *JAOS* XXVIII 145-54; F. M. Th. Böhl, *MAOG* XI, No. 3; I. M. Diakonoff, *VDI*, 1946, No. 4, pp. 41-53; Lambert, *BWL*, pp. 110-15.

³ Through the courtesy of A. L. Oppenheim and E. Reiner I have also been able to become acquainted with an unpublished study of the text by J. A. Brinkman (1962), who concludes that the date is after 1100 and before 630 B.C. and that the king to whom it refers is possibly Mardukapliddinna II.

compositions, though still clearer allusions to contemporary political events are to be found in Late Assyrian royal psalms and seem to be typical of the literature of the epoch.⁹ Thus the traditional wording can by no means suggest for the "Warnings" a date close to that of the canonical omina. Some of the lexical elements used are obviously late, but they cannot be merely replacements for obsolete words by a late scribe because the terms in question are highly technical and refer chiefly to relevant details of political administration. The significance of the whole text revolves around exactly these terms.

The "Warnings," under the guise of an omen text, comprise a political pamphlet describing the actions of a bad ruler (from the point of view of the privileged citizens of Sippar, Nippur, and Babylon) and their disastrous political effects; these effects, as is usual in ancient Near Eastern literature, are presented as divine punishment.¹⁰ The author names each possible "crime" of a bad ruler specifically and is as spe-

⁹ See e.g. *ST* I, No. 65 (Lambert in *RA* LIII 129-31), a royal psalm in the Late Assyrian dialect, probably spoken by Esarhaddon, line 5: [ina še-]tu-u-ti ša abb^{me}-ja nakrūte^{me} [p^uka]l-da-a ša(?)-ak(?)-nu(?)-ni (reading suggested by E. Reiner), "[through the negligence (of their religious duties) by my forefathers the inimical [Chal]deans are put up (against) me(?)." The penitent says that he has reached his grave ((gaq-q)u-ru), and old age has prematurely confined him to his bed of sickness, so that it is as if he had returned to his childhood. But some of the following lines seem to refer to the political circumstances at the beginning of Esarhaddon's reign—civil war with his brothers, estrangement from city and friends, the sin of his father (i.e., probably the sin of Sennacherib in destroying Babylon?); lines 17-19 read us-sa-ri-ri a-na ^{L6}ar-di ù še-ja a-bi-ja aḫ-ḫu-ra ina zi-ba-ni-ti / ga-ru-u kaššāptu a-la-mu-ra a-[ma-a]q-ḫu-uk ina šē-ri-ia / par-sa-ka ina āli-ja ^{L6}nakrūte^{me}-[ja] bit abi-ja la-mu-ni, "I have been cursed (turning) into a slave, and (still) the (religious) negligence of my father stays in the balance; the foe and the witch I have met, (and) I fall, saying: '(This has come) over me! I am estranged from my own city, (and) my enemies surround my father's house.'" Cf. below: as-s[a-n]a-ḫu-ra um-mu is-sā-aḫ-ra . . . , "I constantly turn (to her, but my) mother turns away. . . ." (I am grateful to Dr. Reiner for important suggestions in connection with the interpretation of this text.) Other royal psalms with political allusions belong to the reign of Aššurbānapi. See *CT* XXXV, Pls. 44-45, referring to the events of 659-655 B.C., lines 12-14: ù ^{L6}ur-arja-a-a ša-da-nu-ti šap-[su(?)]-ti a-na Ummān-man-da ^{L6}nakru ek-šu ù-šad-ba-b[u surrāti(?)] ik-kib-ka rabā ka-a-a-an i-te-né-[ep-pu-šu], "And the Urartians, the un[ruly(?)] mountaineers(?), seduce with [falsehoods(?)] the Ummān-Manda, the stubborn foe, they d[o] constantly (what is a) great abomination unto thee"; see also, for example, Winckler, *AOF* I 492 ff. (for translation see Diakonoff, *VDI*, 1951, No. 3, pp. 242-43).

¹⁰ Cf. such contexts as II Kings 16:1-6.

cific in the mention of the "punishment" for each "crime." It can hardly be doubted that he had definite events in mind.

In order to date this composition, we must (1) date the earliest occurrence of each of the technical terms used in it and (2) determine whether any kings of the period in question had acted as described in the text and had suffered the disasters there mentioned.

Turning to the date of the first occurrence of each of the specific terms and phrases used in the text¹¹ we may note the following:

bīt šibitti, "jail," first occurs in a dated text in the Prunkinschrift of Sargon II (Winckler, *Sar.* I 122, line 135 etc.), referring to the prison where the Babylonians were confined by Mardukapliddinna II; also in a Neo-Babylonian letter (*ABL*, No. 460, rev. 7); also in the late Hymn to Šamaš (Lambert, *BWL*, p. 130, line 74).¹² In Old Babylonian "jail" (for slaves and debtors, not used in criminal cases) is *šibittum*.

bušū makkūru, "(movable) property," as a composite term (note also *bušū makkūr-šu* in our text in spite of Lambert's emendation) was used exclusively in the reign of Sargon II and later except for an Old Babylonian occurrence in an Elamite text (*MDP* XVIII, No. 214). The inscriptions of Esarhaddon, in this as in other cases, retain the older usage. From the early ninth century until immediately before the reign of Sargon the usual phrase was *makkūr-šu bušū-šu* (i.e., both components still separate!); the variant *bušū-šu makkūr-šu* occurs in Middle Babylonian literary texts (e.g. *CT* XIII, Pls. 39-41 iv 24; *KAR*, No. 423 ii 46); *bušū u makkūru* occurs in Craig, *ABRT* I 81-82, line 27 (Kuyunjik!). The inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser I have *bušū-šu namkur-šu*.

dekūt ummān māti, "(general) mobilization of the people of the land," is evidently identical with *dekūt māti*, "general mobilization," occurring in the Annals of Sennacherib (*OIP* II 138, line 42). Old and Middle Babylonian texts have simply *dekūtum*. In texts of the time of Aššurbānapi and Aššureṭelilāni on immunity from taxes and compulsory service, general mobilization is known as *dekūt ekalli* (*ARU*, No. 21: 24) or simply *dekūtu* (*ARU*, Nos. 15:32, 16:32, 20: 55).¹³ Note that in Late Assyrian official language

¹¹ I had originally checked the dates of their first occurrence from my own notes and their non-occurrence in early texts in the files of the late A. P. Riftin; now I have been able to check the occurrences in the *CAD* files.

¹² Post-Kassite according to Lambert, *BWL*, p. 123.

¹³ *ina il-ki ḫup-šik-ki de-ku-tū la ir-ru-du-ū* (var. *de-ku-ut ekalli la ir-red-du-ū*), "for military and (compulsory) working service (to) a state mobilization they will not be driven." All

KUR is equivalent to *ekallu*, for example *nāgir* KUR = *nāgir ekalli*.¹⁴

ilku, "military service," represents a specifically Late Assyrian usage of the term (D'jakonov, *Razvitiže zemel'nych otnošení v Assirii*, pp. 116, 132–33, 137). That *ilku* is here used in this particular sense is clear from its connection with *šisūt nāgiri*. The Old Babylonian "call of the herald" was a procedure of civil law (CH § 16; so also Ebeling, *Neubab. Briefe aus Uruk*, No. 249:22–23), while in Late Assyrian it was "recruiting" (cf. Winckler, *Sammlung II*, No. 1:39 [Sargon II]).

kat/drū, "present," first occurs in historical texts of Sargon II (Winckler, *Sar.* I 156, line 127, and *Annals*, line 312); also used by Esarhaddon (e.g. Borger, *Asarh.* § 11, Fassung c¹, B und G, line 10) and Šamaššumukin (C. F. Lehmann, *Šamaššumukin, König von Babylonien*, Pl. XXXIX, line 26); see also Lambert, *BWL*, p. 218, col. iv 9 (late!) etc.

murnisqi, "steeds," does not occur in historical texts before the time of Sargon II (*TCL III*, line 172) and is rare in religious texts (all late).

šābē šarri, "royal compulsory service" (*ABL*, Nos. 455, rev. 14; 78:25; 94:14; 99, rev. 15; 170, rev. 14; 242:13; 246, rev. 2; 913:5; 1292:5).¹⁵

šibil(ti) šēni should be the reading of *ši-bit-ti* U[DU^{mes}] in spite of the syllabic readings of Old Babylonian *alpum u im-me-rum* (Meek in *AJSL XXXIII* 227, No. 11:7) and Middle Babylonian/Assyrian GUD^{mes} *im-mi-ri* (*KBo I*, No. 12, rev. 4 = *KAR*, No. 19, rev. 14 = Ebeling, *Or.* XXIII 211) because of the later parallelism GUD^{mes} U₈.UDU^{mes} and GUD^{mes} UDU^{mes}, "tax in [cattle, goats, and] sheep"; a well-known Late Assyrian tax (also known from the *kudurru* texts,

subjects of the Assyrian king seem to have been liable to the *ilku* and the *ṭupšikku* unless specifically exempt. It is not likely that *dekūt māti* was just another service on the same level as *ilku* and *ṭupšikku*. *Dekūtu* is here probably not in apposition to *ina ilki ṭupšikki* but an *accusativus loci*. A person could be mobilized (*dekū*) *ina ṭupšikki* as well as *ina ilki*. Cf. *OIP II* 138, line 42: ERĒN^{HI-A} *de-ku-ut māti-šu-nu za-bil ṭup-šik-ki*, "men of the levy of their land subject to the *ṭupšikku*-service"; Borger, *Asarh.* § 11, Ep. 19: *ad-ke-e gi-mir ummāni^{HI-A}-ja u māt Kār^d-Dun-id-āš ṭup-šik-ku (e)-[mi]d*. On the other hand, in Old Babylonian usage *ilku* was a regular service of any kind rewarded by the allotment of crown land to those liable for performing it, while *dekūtum* was a general levy on all able-bodied men for temporary service (cf. e.g. *TCL I*, No. 194:10; *BIN VII*, No. 30:4; Wiseman, *Alalakh*, No. 55:7).

¹⁴ *ADD II* 70–71; E. Klauber, *Assyrisches Beamtentum*, p. 66.

¹⁵ Not "men of the king"; cf. *ABL*, No. 246: *ša il-ka-šu-ni il-ku-šu i-ti-din* ša L^Ušābē^{mes} šarri-šu[-ni] L^Ušābē^{mes} šarri i-ti-din šadū gab-bu a-[na] šarri i-ta-šar, "who (was to give) his *ilku*, has given his *ilku*; who (was to give) his *šābē šarri*, has given his *šābē šarri*—all the mountainous country has been serving the king."

where it is written MĀŠ instead of *ši-bit*); cf. *CAD* under *šibtu* B. The usual verb for collecting this tax is *šabātu*, in the *kudurru* texts as well as in Late Assyrian texts (Unger, *Bel-harran-beli-ussur*, line 22; *ABL*, No. 464, rev. 1; *TCL III*, line 171; see also *ARU*, Nos. 1–30 *passim*).

šatam ekurri, "head of the (city-)temple administration," first occurs in the later *kudurru* texts (*BBst.* Pls. LXVIII–LXIX, col. iva 31; *RA XVI* 125, col. ii 28; *VAS I*, No. 36 ii 18) and was very common in Late Assyrian (Andrae, *Stelenreihen*, p. 52, eponym of year 815) and Neo-Babylonian/Late Babylonian times. (The Old Babylonian *šatammu* was a minor official on the royal estate.) It occurs in combination with *šūt rēši* in a text of Sargon II (Winckler, *Sar.* I 146, line 41).

šisūt nāgiri first occurs in the sense of "recruiting" in a text of Sargon II (Winckler, *Sammlung II*, No. 1:39; cf. Lyon, *Sar.* p. 9, line 56; cf. also Klauber, *Assyrisches Beamtentum*, pp. 64 ff.; D'jakonov, *Razvitiže . . .*, pp. 116, 132–33).

šuba(r)rū, "freedom," is early (Sumerian loanword! Cf. e.g. *ARM VII*, No. 324) but in the first millennium B.C. does not occur as a technical term before the time of Sargon II, in whose texts it is used, as in ours, in the sense of "political freedom of the cities"; used also by Esarhaddon (Borger, *Asarh.* § 11, Ep. 19): *mārē^{mes} Bābīl^{ki} . . . šābē^{mes} ki-din-ni šu-ba-re-e*, "men of privilege (and) freedom," and in the Neo-Babylonian New Year Ritual (*RAcc.* p. 130, line 31). The only other occurrences according to the files consulted by me are in Erra fragment c (*KAR*, Nos. 321 and 168 rev.; cf. Mullo Weir, *Lexicon*).

ṭupšikka zabālu, "to perform the compulsory labor service," first occurs in historical texts in the *Annals* of Sennacherib (*OIP II* 138, line 42); also used in a collection of popular sayings (Lambert, *BWL*, p. 218, col. iv 18). In the historical texts the earlier usage is *kudurra zabālu* or *ṭupšikka našū* (so also under Esarhaddon; see Borger, *Asarh.* § 11, Ep. 19:21). The term *ṭupšikku* is not used in ninth-century Assyrian texts, where instead we meet *allu*, *kudurru*, or both.

ummānu, "vizier," is known in Middle Babylonian and later texts.

It seems quite evident that the technical, that is, political and administrative, terminology of the "Warnings" is not earlier than the reign of Sargon II (722–705 B.C.) in spite of the archaisms. The *terminus ante quem* is fixed by the fact that the most heinous crime which a king could have committed against the three privileged cities of Babylonia, namely the destruction of one of them, is not mentioned, probably because the author could not conceive of it as possible.

Consequently, the text was written before the destruction of Babylon by Sennacherib in 689. Had the author known of this event, he could not have failed to draw a moral from Sennacherib's violent death. The probable date of the text seems now to be narrowed to the period from 722 to 689 B.C. But we can confidently rule out the reign of Sargon II because the latter was a pro-Babylonian king: he brought the Babylonians back to their city from the prison into which they had been thrown by Mardukapliddina II, granted the tribute of a province to Babylonian temples, and restored to the three cities in question the privileges that had been abolished, probably by Shalmaneser V, and not restored by Mardukapliddinna II. He also extended some of the privileges to eight other cities. There would be no point in admonishing Sargon II not to persecute the citizens of Babylon, for, in fact, his actions in favor of the Babylonian temples began even before he was able to enter the city.¹⁶ The king whom the author had in mind must have presented a very real threat to the city privileges. He could be Mardukapliddinna II were it not for the fact that the author, as we shall see below, knew of his defeat in 709.

Thus we come to the inevitable conclusion that the "Warnings" were addressed to Sennacherib in his early years (or possibly to his son Aššurnādinšumi). There were ample reasons for such warnings. Although Sennacherib had actively collaborated with Sargon II,¹⁷ a change of policy seemed imminent. It is well known that Sennacherib hesitated for two years before he decided to claim the Babylonian kingdom by submitting to the ceremony of "taking the hand of Bēl," and his later anti-Babylonian tendency must have been anticipated. The situation did not improve when one Chaldean or Babylonian after another seized the power in Babylon. And when in 694 Sennacherib's eldest son, Aššurnādinšumi, who had been set up as king in Baby-

lon, was taken prisoner by the Elamites, the citizens of Babylon no doubt aiding and abetting them, the Assyrian king was surely past being influenced by admonitions.

We can now turn to the second question: Who was the king whose fate was meant to be a warning to Sennacherib? The task of answering this question is made easier because the text implies that the king in question was not a native of any of the three privileged cities.¹⁸ His capital is distinct from Sippar, Nippur, or Babylon; for the author says it will be destroyed because of the king's crimes against these cities. One of the king's crimes is that he gave the estates of the citizens to foreigners and decided legal cases between the citizens and a foreigner in the latter's favor; this probably shows that the king himself was a foreigner. The author also speaks of the king's men, cattle, etc. as subject to destruction in punishment for his crimes against the privileged cities and thus as distinct from the men and property of these cities.

Of course, any king earlier than Sennacherib who was a foreigner inimical to the interests of the privileged cities, whose capital was not Babylon, and who had met an adverse fate might very well serve as an intimidating example; but it is probable that the author selected a king who was still remembered. We must therefore look to the eighth century for prototypes of the king of our text. We know of three important kings in this period who were inimical to the privileges of Babylon: Tiglath-Pileser III, Shalmaneser V, and Merodach-Baladan (Mardukapliddinna II). Two of them were Assyrians,

¹⁶ *ši-bit* GUD^{meš}-*šu-nu* U₈.UDU^{III}.A-*šu-nu* a-na ^dEN ^dDUMU EN *ú-ki-in šat-ti-šam*, "Their (i.e. belonging to the tribes allied to Mardukapliddinna) 'cattle- and sheep-tax' for Bēl, the Son of Bēl, I fixed (as) yearly (tribute)" (Winckler, *Sar.* I, Annals, lines 260-61). The conquest of Sippar and Babylon is not mentioned until later (*ibid.* lines 299-316).

¹⁷ He was the head of Sargon's intelligence service (*ABL*, Nos. 197, 198, 1079, 1083, etc.).

¹⁸ Lambert (*BWL*, p. 111) argues that the author of the text "writes about the king as though he would be involved in any disaster which might overtake these cities (19-22; 35). Also the writer uses 'foreigner' in a way which suggests that the king was, in contrast, a native (9, 40). Neither a Chaldean nor an Assyrian fits into the background." These arguments are not valid. It is impossible to imagine that the disaster by means of which the king was to be punished for his crimes against the three cities should involve these identical cities—a strange retribution indeed! But that is what Lambert's interpretation would imply. In reality, the place where a criminal sanction was imposed upon the citizens of Sippar, Nippur, and Babylon and where they were imprisoned and which was later to be involved in the disaster was obviously enough the capital of the king as *distinct* from any of these three cities. Line 35 is a conditional clause and not the statement of a punishment. And there is nothing to suggest that the "foreigner" of lines 9 and 40 is anyone but a subject of the *foreign* king in question.

and their capital was Calach; the third was a Chaldean, and his capital was Dūr-Iākīn. But Tiglath-Pileser III may be ruled out because no “divine punishment” could be pointed out as having been meted out to him.

We will now compare the actions and the fate of the unnamed king in the “Warnings” with what we know of Shalmaneser V (S.) and Mardukapliddinna II (M.). The text begins with generalities which are in imitation of the older *omina* (lines 1–8). The king in question did not take heed of the bearers of tradition, the *apkallu* and the *ummānu*, disregarded justice (*dīnu*) and the traditional law or constitution of the land (*dīn māti*), and held a rogue (*ishappu*) in respect.

The punishments for these crimes are (a) *nīšē^{meš}-šu inneššā māt-su in-nam-mi* (line 1), “his people will become mutinous, his land will be laid waste”; (b) *Ē-a . . . šim-ta-šú ú-ša-an-ni-ma a-ḫi-ta immedū^{me}-šú* (UŠ^{me}-šú) (lines 2–3), “Ea . . . will change his fate, and they¹⁹ will impose upon him an adverse one”; (c) *ūmī^{meš}-šu ikarrū^{meš}* (line 4), “his days will be short”; (d) *māt-su ibbalakkat-su* (line 5), “his own country will rise against him”; (e) *tēm māti išanniⁿⁱ* (line 6), “the régime of the land will change.” Cf. the fate of S.: (a, first part, and d) he was slain in 722 B.C. during an uprising of his subjects; (c) he reigned only five years; and (e) his policy was entirely changed by his successor Sargon II, who restored the privileges of the cities. But *šimta-šu ušanni* and *māt-su innammi* do not apply to S. Cf. the fate of M.: (a) his land was devastated by Sargon’s troops in 709 (Winckler, *Sar. I*, Annals, lines 317–69); (b) he lost his royal status (*ibid.*); (e) the conditions in Babylonia changed completely. Punishments (a, first part), (c), and (d) do not apply to M. Thus the general part of the text may refer to both kings.

We turn now to the more detailed accusations.

First accusation: (a) *mār Sippar^{ki} i-da-aš-ma a-ḫa-am i-dīn* (line 9) “(if) he persecuted (convicted improperly) the citizen of Sippar and acquitted a foreigner”; (b) *mārē^{meš} Nippur^{ki} a-na di-nim ub-lu-ni-šum-ma kat/d₅-ra-a ilqē-ma i-da-as-su-nu-ti* (line 11), “(if) the citizens of Nippur they brought to him for judgment, and he took a present but persecuted them (made a

judgment in their disfavor)”; (c) *kasap mārē^{meš} Bābili^{ki} ilqē-ma ana makkūri ú-še-ri-bu di-in Bābilāia^{ki}.meš išmē-ma a-na qa-li tur-ru* (lines 15–16), “(if) he took the money of the citizens of Babylon and (they) put it into (his own) treasury, (if) he heard a lawsuit (involving) the Babylonians, (then,) for turning (it) into an unimportant thing . . .” (cf. the imprisonment of the Babylonians and the granting of their estates to the Chaldeans by M. in Sargon’s Annals, lines 319–20, 360–61 [Winckler, *Sar. I*]).

Punishment: (a) *Šamaš . . . di-na a-ḫa-am ina māti-šú išakkan-ma apkallu* (NUN^{me})²⁰ *u daiiāni^{me} a-na di-nim ul ibaššū^{me}* (ME^{me}) (lines 9–10), “Šamaš (the god of Sippar) . . . will set up a foreign (order of) justice in his own land, and there will be no wise man or judges for judgment”; (b) *En-lil . . . L^unakra a-ḫa-a-am i-da-kaš-šum-ma ummānāti^{GI.A}-šu ú-šam-qá-ti rubū u šu-ut rēši-šu ina sūqi zi-lul-liš iš-ša-nun-du* (lines 12–13), “Ellil (the god of Nippur) . . . will raise against him a foreign enemy and slaughter his army, the prince and the (eunuch-)governors will roam the streets as beggars”; (c) *Marduk . . . a-a-bi-šu eli-šú išakkan-ma bušū makkūr-šu ana L^unakri-šú i-šar-rak* (lines 17–18), “Marduk (the god of Babylon) . . . will set up his foes against him and give his movable property to his enemy.” All this is very well applicable to M. (not to S.), and also the crime is M.’s. Cf. especially the looting of M.’s treasury by Sargon (Winckler, *Sar. I*, Annals, lines 338–39).

Second accusation: *mār Nippur^{ki} URU Sip-par Bābili^{ki} an-na e-me-da a-na bīt ši-bit-ti šu-ru-bu* (lines 19–20), “(if to) impose (the punishment for a supposed) crime upon the citizens of Nippur, Sippar, and Babylon they were put in jail . . .”²¹ Not known of S. As to M., Sargon relates (Winckler, *Sar. I*, Annals, lines 358–60): *URU[Dūr-Ia]-ki-ni [āl dan-nu]-ti-šu ina išāti aq-mu . . . mārē^{meš} Sippar^{ki} Nippur^{ki} Bābili^{ki} Bár-sip^{ki} [ša ina la an-ni-šu-nu] i-na qer-bi-šú ka-mu-ú ši-bit-ta-šú-nu a-pu-ud-du ú-kal-lim-šú-nu-ti nu-ru*, “Dūr-Iākīn, his (M.’s) [stronghold], I burned with fire . . . the citizens of Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, (and) Borsippa, who were

²⁰ Lambert reads NUN^{me} = *rubē*; but a “wise man” more appropriately sits in judgment than “princes” (cf. line 4).

²¹ The translation of the curious (elliptic?) construction with the infinitive is tentative.

¹⁹ Impersonal (here and below).

bound in the midst thereof [without any crime of theirs] and whose imprisonment I abolished, I showed them (day)light.”

Punishment: *a-šar an-nam 'in-né-en'-du ālu ana bēri-šu iššappak^{ak} a-na bīt ši-bit-ti šu-ru-bu ṽnakru aḫū^a irrub^{ab}* (lines 21–22), “where the (punishment for the imaginary) crime was imposed, (that) city will be thrown down to its depth, (and where) they were put in prison, a foreign enemy will enter.” This is exactly the fate of Dūr-Iākīn as depicted by Sargon II (Winckler, *Sar.* I, Annals, lines 358–59): he burned it, tore down its walls, razed their foundations to the ground, and “made it like the tells of the deluge,” liberating the Babylonians from prison.

Third accusation: *Sippar^{ki} Nippur^{ki} Bābil^{ki} mithariš ušatbi^{bi}(!) šābē^{mes} šu-nu-ti ṽp-šik-ka e-me-da-am il-ki ši-si-it ṽna-gi-ri e-li-šú-nu ú-kan-nu* (lines 23–25), “(if) he made all Sippar, Nippur, and Babylon to rise (in order) to force these men to the corvée, (and) they were imposing upon them military service and recruiting.” Sargon II boasts of himself as the *šá-kin šu-ba-re-e Sippar^{ki} Nippur^{ki} Bābil^{ki}*, “the establisher of the freedom of Sippar, Nippur, (and) Babylon” (e.g. Lyon, *Sar.* p. 13, lines 5–6), and says that he “recompensed the wrongs of all the men of privilege” (*ša šābē^{mes} ki-din-ni mal ba-šu-ú ḫi-bil-ta-šu-nu a-rib-ma* (e.g. Annals of room XIV, line 3). The inference is that these privileges had been abolished some time before,²² probably by S., who certainly did abolish the privileges of Aššur. M., just as certainly, did not restore the city privileges in his kingdom.

Punishment: *ṽMarduk . . . māt-su a-na ṽnak-ri-šú ú-saḫ-ḫar-ma ummāniⁿⁱ māti-šu ṽp-šik-ka a-na ṽnakri-šu i-za-bil šābē^{mes} šú-nu-ti ṽA-num ṽEn-lil u ṽÉ-a ilāni rabūti a-ši-bi šamē^o u eršeti i-na pu-uh-ri-šú-nu šu-ba-ra-šú-nu ú-kin-nu* (lines 26–30), “Marduk . . . will turn over his country to his enemy, and the people of his land will perform the corvée for his enemy, (but)

²² Nippur and Babylon had enjoyed at least some privileges as early as the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I, when they had their own military troops (*BBst.* No. VI ii 3), and some privileges of Sippar can be shown to date back to Samsuiluna. But the constitution of these cities as conceived by our text probably represents the first millennium B.C., when the privileged citizens were a growing social group.

these men—Anu, Ellil, and Ea, (and) the great gods dwelling in heaven and earth—in their assembly have established their freedom.” The land of S. (= Assyria) was taken over by his enemy Sargon, and obviously his former subjects performed their corvée for the new king. The land of M. (= Bīt-Iākīn) was conquered by Sargon, and it was probably M.’s former subjects who dug the new canal for Borsippa and Babylon (Winckler, *Sar.* I, Annals, lines 302–3) although not the inhabitants of Bīt-Iākīn proper, who were subjugated later; but there were probably other building enterprises for the latter to take part in, for no doubt they had to perform the usual compulsory services for Sargon wherever they were settled by him.

Fourth accusation: (a) *mār Sippar^{ki} Nippur^{ki} Bābil^{ki} im-ra-šu-nu a-na mur-ni-is-qi šá-ra-ki* (lines 31–32), “for giving the fodder belonging to the citizens of Sippar, Nippur, and Babylon to (his) steeds” (probably referring to the *šibšu*- and *tibnu*-tax); (b) *šābē^{mes} šú-nu-tú i-na de-ku-ti um-man māti a[na(!) šā]bē^{mes} šarri i-de-ku-ú* (line 35), “(if) they were mobilizing these men during the mobilization of the people of the land to the (compulsory service of) *šābē šarri*.” These acts are not known specifically in connection with either S. or M. but were obviously committed by both because of their abolishment of city privileges.

Punishment: (a) *mur-ni-is-qi šu-ut im-ra-šú-nu i-ku-lu a-na ši-mit-ti a-a-bi ir-red-du-ú* (lines 33–34), “the steeds that eat their fodder will be led away to the foe’s harness-team”; (b) *ṽÉr-ra . . . pa-an ummāniⁿⁱ-šú imahḫaš-ma idi [ṽnak]-ri-šú illak^{ak}* (lines 36–37), “Erra . . . will strike the front line of his army and walk at the side of his [ene]my.” These statements are applicable to both S. and M.

Fifth accusation: (a) *ši-in-da-at alpē^{mes}-š[ú-nu] ú-paṭ-tar-ú-ma* (line 38), “(if) they were loosening the harness of th[eir] oxen”; (b) *eqlēti^{mes}-[šú-nu] 'ú¹-šá-an-nu a-na a-ḫe-e(!) i-šar-ra-ku* (lines 39–40), “(if) they were changing (the ownership) of [their] fields and presenting (them) to foreigners”; (c) *ši-bit-ti šē[ni] (UDU^{mes})-šu-nu i-šab-ba-tu* (line 41), “(if) they were collecting the *šibit* (*alpē u*) *šēni*-tax.” Points (a) and (c) are the obvious result of the abolition of city privileges (probably by S.); as to (b), it is well

known that M. gave fields to his followers (cf. Winckler, *Sar.* I, Annals, lines 360–61).

Punishment: (a) . . . ^d*Addu i-ḥar-ru-ub* (line 40), “. . . Addu will devastate”; (b) ^d*Addu . . . nam-maš-še-e šēri-šu ina ḥu-šah-ḥi ú-šam-qat-ma niqē* ^d*Šamaš ú-šá-gar(?)*-šá (lines 42–44), “Addu . . . will strike down his pasturing animals with hunger, (and) the offerings of Šamaš he will mix up(?)” Sargon II relates (if we understand correctly the fragmentary lines 343–46 of his Annals [Winckler, *Sar.* I]) that his troops drove into his camp the stray animals belonging to the inhabitants of Bīt-Iākīn, who had left them without supervision after the defeat.

The concluding accusations refer to the *um-mānu* and the royal eunuch-governors (*šūt rēši manzaz pān šarri*), as well as to any ruler (*rē'u*, a literary non-technical term, certainly not a common shepherd as Lambert seems to think) or head of the temple administration (*šatam ekurri*) who would dare to persecute the citizens, to annul their treaties (*Freibriefe*) that were written down on stela, to send the citizens to a military campaign(?), or to make them perform the corvée for the temples (*tupšikku bitāt ilāni rabūti*, another result of the abolition of city privileges).²³

The punishment is that their place will be devastated, their doings will be carried away by the wind, the king's treaties will be annulled, and a hostile (*ahīta*) order will be set up; the great gods will leave their abodes (cf. the gods of Bīt-Iākīn that were carried away by Sargon II and later returned; Babylonian Chronicle ii 8). All this may well refer to M.'s officials.

It can be seen that most of the “crimes” were

²³ The unwillingness of the citizens to perform the compulsory services for the temples does not imply that there was a conflict between the temple administration and the citizens, for the cities were constituted as autonomous temple states (Jerusalem's constitution under the Achaemenids being copied from them; see I. D. Amusin, *VDI*, 1955, No. 2, p. 35) and the citizens benefited from what was due to the temples (see G. Kh. Sarkisian, *VDI*, 1952, No. 1, pp. 66–83, and 1953, No. 1, pp. 59–73). There was usually no need for the citizens to perform the compulsory services in person because the temples had land with considerable unfree population granted to them (at least in Assyria; see *KAV*, Nos. 39, 94, 116–17; *ARU*, No. 97:8).

taken from the history of M. (with the “punishments” mainly from the 709 campaign of Sargon II) but that the history of S. was also utilized. The author adhered closely to the real events: if the “crime” was taken from the history of M., so also was the “punishment”; a disaster which befell M. was not connected with a “crime” committed by S. It was evidently important to the author that the warnings should be taken not from the events of the reign of M. alone but also from Assyrian history. Thus the warnings not only became more general in character but also left the Assyrian king to whom they were addressed (who was a follower of the political line of Tiglath-Pileser III and Shalmaneser V) no illusions as to the possibility that any special favor of the gods to Assyria might save him from punishment. The admonitions seemed important enough to Aššurbānapi (whose political line until the revolt of Šamašsumukin was closer to that of Sargon II) to be selected by him for his personal reading.²⁴

In spite of the admonitions Babylon was razed to the ground by Sennacherib in 689, but it was restored by Esarhaddon; and the privileged cities retained their special legal status²⁵ until Seleucid times, as has been proved by Sarkisian.

D.T. 1 is a document of great historical value. It reveals the extent of the city privileges in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. and the character of the relations between the royal power and the cities—a relation which later, especially under the Seleucids, was to become the main feature of political life in the Near East.

²⁴ The colophon of D.T. 1 is one of the most circumstantial in the Kuyunjik library; it refers to the “wisdom of Nabū,” which Aššurbānapi personally “wrote down on tablets, epitomized(?), collated, and laid down in his palace as a gift for his own constant reading” (*nē-me-qi* ^d*Nabū ti-kip sa-an-tak-ki ma-la ba-āš-ia, ina tuppāte*²⁵ *āš-ur as-niq ab-re-e-ma a-na ta-mar-ti ši-ta-as-si-ia qé-reb ekalli-ia ú-kin*).

²⁵ Indemnity from royal taxes and services, exemption from royal jurisdiction, self-government of the citizens (as nominal members of the temple personnel) through the means of an assembly and a council of elders presided over by the *šatam ekurri* or, later, by a royal *ἐπιστάτης* selected from among the citizens themselves (see Sarkisian, *op. cit.* and cf. *ABL*, No. 878).

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF NABUNAIID: HISTORICAL ARRANGEMENT

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Seventeen years ago, while discussing the Eski Harran stela, Benno Landsberger inquired into the chronological order of some inscriptions of Nabunaid.¹

In this paper, dedicated to Professor Landsberger on his seventy-fifth birthday, we shall follow his lead and attempt to establish the rela-

tive dates of Nabunaid's main inscriptions, with special emphasis on the Sippar cylinder (Nab. 1).² By no means were the eventful seventeen last years of Babylon one static entity. The attempt to establish a historical development in the inscriptions leads to a more dynamic interpretation of Nabunaid's reforms.

THE DATE OF THE SIPPAR CYLINDER

A well-known passage in the "Dream Text" of the Sippar cylinder (Nab. 1 i 13-35) reads as follows:

During my lawful rule, the Great Lords became reconciled with this town and (its) temple out of love for my kingship; they had mercy (upon the town) and they let me see a dream in the very first year (*rēš šarrūtiya*) of my everlasting rule; Marduk, the Great Lord, and Sin, the luminary of heaven and earth, stood (there) both; Marduk said to me: "Nabonidus, king of Babylon, bring bricks on your own chariot (drawn by your own) horse, (re)build the temple 𐎶.𐎠𐎺.𐎠𐎺 and let Sin, the Great Lord, take up his dwelling there!" I said to the Ellil of the Gods, Marduk: "The *Ummān-manda* (here for the Medes)

are laying siege to the very temple which you have ordered (me) to (re)build and their armed might is very great!" But Marduk said to me: "The *Ummān-manda* of whom you spoke, they, their country and (all) the kings, their allies, shall cease to exist!" (And indeed) when the third year came to pass (*ina šalulti šatti ina kašādi*), he (Marduk) made rise against them Cyrus, king of Anshan, his young servant, and he (Cyrus) scattered the numerous *Ummān-manda* with his small army and captured Astyages, king of the *Ummān-manda* and brought him in fetters into his (Cyrus') land. That was the doing of the Great Lord Marduk, whose command cannot be changed.³

It is then said that Nabonidus reverently obeyed the command of the gods with all speed

¹ "Die Basaltstele Nabonids von Eski-Harran," *Halil Edhem Hâtıra Kitabı* I (Ankara, 1947) 146-49.

² There follows a list of Nabunaid's inscriptions in the order of their publication. The numbering is slightly different from that of G. Goossens in *RA* XLII (1948) 150, n. 1, and that of Hildegard Lewy in *ArOr* XVII 2 (1949) p. 34, n. 32. The bracketed designations "cc," "s," and "t" stand for clay cylinder, stela, and tablet respectively.

Nab. 1-15 *VAB* IV (Leipzig, 1912) 218-97

Nab. 3* A. Schott in *UVB* I 62, No. 30 (= Nab. 3 ii 7-16, iii 10-38) [cc]

Nab. 4* *CT* XXXIV, Pls. 26-37 (BM 104738 [cc]), with duplicate (BM 63713 [t]) on Pls. 23-25; complete text, restored from Nab. 4 (= I R 69), transliterated and translated by S. Langdon in *AJSL* XXXIV (1915) 102-17

Nab. 16 *BSt*. No. XXXVII, pp. 128-29 and Pls. XCIII-XCIV [s]

Nab. 17 P. Dhorme in *RA* XI (1914) 105-17; duplicate in *CT* XXXVI, Pls. 21-23 [cc]

Nab. 18 *YOS* I, No. 45, pp. 66-76 and Pls. 33-35

Nab. 19 *OECT* I 32-37 and Pls. 23-28 [cc]

Nab. 20 S. Smith in *RA* XXII (1925) 57-66 [cc]

Nab. 21 *PBS* XV, No. 80, pp. 46-47 and Pls. 33-34 [cc]

Nab. 22 *UET* I, No. 187 [gate socket]

Nab. 23 A. Leo Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* (Philadelphia, 1956) p. 192 [votive bead; transliteration only]

Nab. 24 C. J. Gadd in *AnSt* VIII (1958) 46-56 and Pls. IV-VIII (= H1 B restoring the broken Eski Harran stela Nab. 9 [= H1 A]) [s]

Nab. 25 *Ibid.* pp. 56-69 and Pls. IX-XVI (= H2 A with duplicate H2 B) [s]

Nab. 26 H. W. F. Saggs in *Sumer* XIII (1957) 190 ff. [cc]

The fragment Sp. II 407 (see J. N. Strassmaier in *Hebraica* IX [1892/93] 4-5), partially transliterated and translated by E. F. Weidner in *JSOR* VI (1922) 117-21, is not a royal inscription and therefore is not included in the list. Meanwhile, two other fragments have been joined to it. The new text will be published by W. G. Lambert in a forthcoming *CT* volume; my preliminary study of it will follow.

³ Translation from Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* (henceforth referred to as *Dreams*) p. 250, No. 12.

and diligence. Without delay he mobilized people throughout his realm "from Gaza (and) the boundary of Egypt, (from) the Upper Sea, beyond the Euphrates, and as far as the Lower Sea" and rebuilt Eḫulḫul (i 38–ii 17). The following sequence of events has been deduced from these lines: (1) In his *rēš-šarrūti*, the accession year, 556/555 B.C., Nabunaid is commanded to rebuild Harran. (2) At the advent of the third year, in 554/553, Cyrus defeats Astyages, king of Media, in whose possession Harran has been for all these years. (3) Immediately upon the fall of Astyages Nabunaid liberates Harran and restores Sin's temple.

Two major difficulties have been observed concerning this sequence: (1) The defeat of Astyages by Cyrus is dated in the Nabunaid Chronicle not to the third but to the sixth year of Nabunaid (550/549).⁴ (2) As can be inferred from certain economic documents, Nabunaid departed to Teima not later than his fifth year.⁵ Consequently, he should have completed the rebuilding of Eḫulḫul sometime during years 1–4 of his reign. But, according to the Chronicle, in the very same years he conducted military expeditions against Que in Asia Minor (year 1), Hamath in Syria (year 2), and Adummu in Arabia (year 3).⁶ The extant portions of the Chronicle do not contain any reference to the restoration and inauguration of Sin's temple.

To solve these contradictions several proposals have been made. As to the first, it has been suggested that the war between Cyrus and Astyages began in Nabunaid's second year⁷ or in his third⁸ and lasted for several years, whereas

⁴ *BHT*, p. 111, col. ii 1–4. The final stages of the Arabian campaign (year 3) as well as the entries for the years 4, 5, and the beginning of 6 are broken off in col. i of the Chronicle. Col. ii starts with the hostilities between Cyrus and Astyages (cf. S. Smith's note *ibid.* p. 119). The next preserved entry is that of year 7, when the king is already in Teima.

⁵ See R. H. Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar* (New Haven, 1929) p. 87, No. 1: tithe to the Shamash temple paid by the crown prince in the 6th month of the 5th year (yet in 1st and in 3rd year the tithe was paid by the king; see e.g. *Nbn.* Nos. 2 and 19); p. 116: messenger and a camel dispatched to Teima in the 11th month of the 5th year.

⁶ *BHT*, pp. 110–11, col. i 1–22. For Adummu = el-Jawf, see W. F. Albright in *JRAS*, 1925, p. 293.

⁷ J. Lewy in *HUCA* XIX 434–35, n. 145.

⁸ S. Smith, *Isaiah, Chapters XL–LV, Literary Criticism and*

the final defeat of the Median king did not occur until Nabunaid's sixth year. Accordingly, it has been assumed that the restoration of Eḫulḫul was a gradual process, starting presumably in Nabunaid's first or second regnal year and being completed in his third (Smith) or fourth (Lewy) year. As to the second contradiction, it has been proposed⁹ that the restoration of Eḫulḫul should be dated after the end of the Syrian campaigns, namely, to Nabunaid's fourth year (König) or to his third to fifth years (Galling). According to Galling, Sin's temple was finished while Nabunaid was at Teima—a year before the defeat of Astyages by Cyrus.

None of the suggestions offered a satisfactory solution of the problems involved,¹⁰ and the matter remained pending.

The argument is based essentially on the two expressions of time in the Sippar cylinder: *ina rēš šarrūtiya* and *ina šalulti šatti ina kašādi*. They are at the core of the chronological issue and need clarification.

The first term to be discussed is *rēš šarrūti*, the "accession year." It has been frequently overlooked that in certain types of documents *rēš šarrūti* (henceforth abbreviated *r.š.*) is employed not chronologically but in a general sense to mean the early years of a king's reign. It is exactly in this sense that *r.š.* appears in some royal Assyrian inscriptions where it replaces another non-chronological expression, *šurru* (or *šurrat*) *šarrūti*, "the beginning of kingship."¹¹ The latter idiom never had any specific chronological or calendaric significance since the years in Assyria were always counted by eponyms. When, for the first time, the term *palû* (= turn of office) for designating a regnal year was introduced in the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I, apparently under Babylonian influence, *ina šurrat šarrūtiya* merged with *ina maḫrî palēya*

History (London, 1944) pp. 34–35 and esp. pp. 128–29, where the previous proposals are criticized.

⁹ F. W. König in *Afo* VII (1931/32) 178 ff.; K. Galling in *ZDPV* LXIX (1953) 48–50.

¹⁰ For a sound survey of these problems see P. Garelli's article on Nabunaid in *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Supplément VI (1960) cols. 269 ff.

¹¹ Cf. Tadmor in *JCS* XII (1958) 27 ff. and now R. Borger, *Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften* (Leiden, 1961) p. 82.

(= in my first *palû*) in an appositional construction. The separation of *šurrat šarrûti* from *palû* 1 came after the ninth year of Shalmaneser III, again possibly under Babylonian impact. By that time *šurrat šarrûti* was taken as an exact equivalent of the typically Babylonian term *rēš šarrûti* (MU SAG NAM.LUGAL.LA) and was subsequently replaced by the latter; it is in the exact chronological sense that *šurrat šarrûti* is used in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II. Yet, it would seem that the term "the beginning of kingship" never lost its literary connotation, so that in the days of Sennacherib, when the royal scribes began to abandon the chronological principle of numbering the campaigns by *palû*, they apparently revived the literary use of *r.š.* (equal to the then obsolete *šurrat šarrûti*).¹² Thereafter, *r.š.* was employed intentionally to denote events that took place during the early years of a king's reign.¹³ This development is especially evident in some inscriptions of Ashurbanipal where the chronological sequence of the campaigns is very loosely indicated. For example the fall of Thebes—which he conquered in his sixth or seventh year—is assigned in Prism F to the *r.š.*¹⁴ For our present purpose, however, the most important example of the vague use of *r.š.* is in the "Harran Tablet";¹⁵ the rebuilding of Sin's temple is there

¹² This suggestion seems to offer a better solution to the problem of the dating of Sennacherib's campaign against Merodach-Baladan in the early inscriptions of Sennacherib. For the previous literature see *JCS* XII 31, n. 84.

¹³ In biblical Hebrew the literal equivalents of *r.š.*, namely *reshit maml'khut*, *reshit mamlekhet*, *reshit mal'khut*, did not denote "accession year" in the narrow sense but rather vaguely connoted, as in Assyria, the early years of a king's reign. This connotation is reflected in Jer. 28:1, where the 4th year of Zedekiah is meant, and in Jer. 49:34, where not his accession year but his first full year (reckoned according to the post-dating system) or, as some think, his second year is implied. Very likely the subscription in Jer. 26:1 has the same non-chronological sense; the trial of the prophet described there could not have taken place in the accession year of Jehojakim. Indeed, when the Judean chronologist of the Babylonian exile wanted to express that exact term, inherent in the Babylonian chronological system, he did not use any of its obvious Hebrew equivalents, such as *reshit mamlekhet* and its synonyms, but employed an entirely different idiom: *sh'nat molkho* (II Kings 25:27; see also Tadmor in *Encyclopaedia Miqrail* IV 267-68).

¹⁴ Cf. J. M. Aynard, *Le prisme du Louvre A.O.* 19.939 (Paris, 1957) p. 30, line 35.

¹⁵ K.228 + K.2675 rev. 37 ff. (= VAB VII 2, pp. 170-74).

dated to the *r.š.* of Ashurbanipal, whose accession took place in 669/668, whereas, evidently, the temple was not rebuilt until after the death of Taharqa (664/663) and the mission of Gyges (all recorded in the "Harran Tablet" prior to mention of the work in Eḫulḫul).

Coming back now to Nab. 1, we submit that it is in the general, non-calendaric sense that *r.š.* was employed there. It is also not impossible that in using the vague term the Babylonian scribes were influenced by its vagueness in such Assyrian inscriptions as the "Harran Tablet" of Ashurbanipal, which apparently served as a prototype for the "Dream Text" of Nab. 1.¹⁶

The second significant term is *ina šalulti šatti ina kašādi*, "on the advent of the third year." It follows from the preceding section that the term *rēš šarrûti* introducing the dream in Nab. 1 could have referred to any one of the early years of Nabunaid. Therefore, if one assumes that Nabunaid actually saw the dream in his third or even his fourth year, *ina šalulti šatti* would correspond to his sixth—the year in which Cyrus defeated Astyages. This hypothesis would retain the exact sense of the term while solving the chronological difficulty.

It seems to us, however, that there is a certain degree of likelihood that *ina šalulti šatti* too might be taken not as an indication of an exact time span but as a literary, non-chronological device. The following considerations might perhaps be presented in support of this hypothesis. (1) The term does not occur in any royal in-

¹⁶ There are close similarities between the "Harran Tablet" (= HT) and the "Dream Text" (Nab. 1 i 1-ii 46): (1) Shalmaneser III is named as the previous builder of Eḫulḫul (HT rev. 38 = Nab. 1 ii 4). (2) Syrian vassals are assembled and ordered to rebuild Harran (HT rev. 47-48 = Nab. 1 i 38-48). (3) Two *lahme*-demons are placed at the entrance of Eḫulḫul (HT rev. 58 = Nab. 1 ii 16). (4) Sin's statue is transferred to Eḫulḫul with all due honors (HT rev. 62 = Nab. 1 ii 18-21). A similar description is to be found in texts related to HT, such as K.2628 rev. 1-2, the account of the restoration of Nusku's temple (Eḫilianna) in Harran and the transfer of his statue to that temple (T. Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* [Leipzig, 1933] p. 43). To these features we should add the evidently Assyrian beginning of Nab. 1: *anāku Nabūnāid* etc. followed by the Assyrian sequence of the king's titles, *šarru rabā*, *šarru dannu*, *šar kiššati*. It seems not impossible, then, that the "Dream Text" was in part modeled on the pattern of some foundation inscription of Ashurbanipal—such as HT—that was discovered by Nabunaid while he was rebuilding Harran.

scription of any Assyrian or Babylonian king. (2) In the Sippar cylinder it is employed in the framework of a prophecy and its fulfillment, which purposely aim to indicate a general, non-exact span of time. (3) This very figure of speech, however, is typical of epic literature, where it comes as a climax in the cycle "first-second-third" (e.g. Gilg. I iii 48, 51),¹⁷ and is amply attested in biblical Hebrew. It has been recently pointed out that this literary device was used to denote an action which lasted for some unspecified period and came to a climactic end;¹⁸ the climax was expressed in the formula "and it came to pass (*wayehi*) on the third day (or month or year),"¹⁹ "three" being sometimes interchanged with "seven."²⁰

In the light of these considerations the phrase "when the third year arrived" in Nab. 1 might simply mean that the cycle was completed, that is, that the Median rule of Harran had come to an end.

At this stage two other texts, which supposedly throw light on the question as to when Eḫulḫul was rebuilt, should be considered.

The first is a well-known stanza in the Verse Account (ii 16–23):²¹

- (16) *ištu nismatsu ikšudu šipri 'surrātu'*
 (17) *ibnū ikkibu šipri la mēsu / šalulti šatti ina 'kašādī'*
 (18) *karāš ipteqid ana rēstū bukuršu*

 (23) *ana Temā qirib Amurrī istakan panīšu*

"After he had attained his desire, a work of falsehood / had created an abomination, a work of unholiness / when the third year was about to begin, he intrusted the camp to his first-born

¹⁷ In the Naram-Sin Epic, lines 84–104 (O. R. Gurney in *AnSt* V [1955] 102–4), the cycle is 1–3 with the climax at the very beginning of the 4th year. The fuller forms are the cycles 1–7 or 1–12 (e.g. Gilg. XI 141–146, Atrahasis D ii 29–49, and Erra I 31–38).

¹⁸ S. E. Loewenstamm in *Tarbiz* XXXI (1961/62) 227–35.

¹⁹ To the examples quoted by Loewenstamm we might add Exod. 19:1 (3rd month), I Kings 22:2, Isa. 16:14 and perhaps even Esther 1:3, Dan. 1:1.

²⁰ Loewenstamm, *op. cit.* p. 235. A complete cycle is 40 days or years. D. N. Freedman points out to me that the Septuagint to Jonah 3:4 has "3 days" instead of the Massoretic 40 days.

²¹ *BHT*, p. 84 and Pls. VI–VII; cf. Landsberger and Bauer in *ZA* XXXVIII (1927) 90–91 and Oppenheim's translation in *ANET*, pp. 312–15.

son . . . he turned toward Teima, amidst the nomads (lit.: Westerners)."²²

The key passage in line 17 has always been taken as firm evidence that Nabunaid departed to Teima two years after Eḫulḫul had been restored. The following schemes were accordingly offered. "K" (König; see n. 9): 552/551 = Nabunaid's fourth year, restoration of Eḫulḫul; 550/549 = sixth year, Nabunaid's departure to Teima.²³ "L" (J. Lewy; see n. 7): 554/553 = Nabunaid's second year, laying of the foundation of Eḫulḫul; 552/551 = fourth year, completion of Eḫulḫul and Nabunaid's departure to Teima.

Scheme "K" cannot be correct. The evidence collected by Dougherty (see n. 5) makes it clear that by the end of his fifth year Nabunaid was in Teima and that Belshazzar was in charge of the administration. Scheme "L" implies that the chronological remark in the Verse Account refers to the *beginning* of the work at Eḫulḫul (in Nabunaid's 2nd year). However, if the "third year" is to be taken literally, lines 16–17 refer to the completion of the temple, described in the preceding stanza (lines 14–15), and not to the inception of the work.²⁴

The difficulty of harmonizing the Verse Account with the rest of the chronological evidence stems mainly (a) from the presumption that the events in the poem are related in chronological order and (b) from too literal rendering of line 17, that is, taking it as an exact time indicator, which is not in accord with the epic style of the poem.

As to a, the preserved portions of the Verse Account make it quite apparent that the poet describes the acts of Nabunaid according to sub-

²² Cf. the gentilic in *šarrāni* KUR Amurrī āšib kuštari in the Cyrus cylinder (line 29); see also Oppenheim in *ANET*, p. 316, n. 6.

²³ Most recently, W. Röllig in *ZA* LVI (1964) 258 suggested an almost identical scheme according to which the departure to Teima is dated to Nabunaid's 6th year (cf. n. 35 below).

²⁴ The proposal of Sidney Smith (*Isaiah, Chapters XL–LV*, p. 131, n. 64) that the phrase in question can be brought within his dating of the rebuilding of Harran by referring it to the preceding acts ("He had built the abomination, the work [that was a] no-sanctuary when the third year was coming in") is not convincing; such a temporal clause could not come at the end of a verse. We follow, then, the view of Landsberger and Bauer (*ZA* XXXVII 91, n. 1) that it refers to the following events in line 17, though it is placed in line 16.

ject rather than in strictly chronological sequence: Nabunaid's wickedness and frenzy ruin the land (i 1-17), his detestable cultic innovations (i 18-ii 17), his wars (ii 18-iii as far as preserved); his arrogance, ignorance, and offenses against Esagila (v 2-28). The individual topics are listed in order of their increasing importance: Nabunaid erects a hideous statue of Sin (i 19-ii 3), plans to build Eḫulḫul (ii 4-9), vows to abolish the *akītu* festival until Eḫulḫul is rebuilt (ii 10-11), builds Eḫulḫul (ii 12-15), etc. It is not known whether Sin's new statue was constructed at the beginning of Nabunaid's reign or on the eve of the inauguration of Eḫulḫul, but there is the evidence of the Babylonian Chronicle that the *akītu* was suspended only while the king resided in Teima.

As to *b*, we would suggest that *šabulti šatti ina 'kašādī'* is the same literary device that is used in the Sippar cylinder, meaning "and it came to pass," that is, one cycle of events has come to an end and a new one is about to begin.

The second text to be considered is a difficult passage in col. x of Nab. 8, which since 1896²⁵ has been taken as evidence that Harran was rebuilt at the beginning of Nabunaid's reign. It reads (lines 12-26) *Ḫarran Eḫulḫul ša innadū 54 šanāti ina šulpūti Ummān-manda uštahribi ešrēti itekpuš itti ilāni adannu salīmu 54 šanāti enumu Sīn iturru ašruššu inanna ana ašruššu itūramma Sīn bēl aḡi iḫsusu šubatsu šīrti* (lines 27-31) *u ilāni mala ittisu ušūma kummišu Mardukma šar ilāni iqtabi paḫāršun*. The correct translation depends upon the meaning of *ana ašruššu itūramma*, usually rendered "Sin has indeed returned to his place" and taken to imply that Eḫulḫul (= "his place") had already been rebuilt when the inscription was composed, that is, not later than Nabunaid's year 2.²⁶ The 54 years are counted from 610, the sixteenth year of Nabopolassar (when Sin "was angry with his

city and his house and went up to heaven"²⁷), to 556, the accession year of Nabunaid.

The special importance attached to the period of 54 years should not be surprising; it represents, as Professor A. Sachs kindly informs me, the complete cycle of the moon (i.e., three 18-year cycles²⁸). Accordingly, "Sin's returning to his place" would mean that the moon cycle was completed. I believe that this coincidence—Nabunaid's coming to the throne exactly 54 years after the destruction of Harran—was interpreted as a most favorable omen, that the moon-god had become reconciled. According to the inscription of Nabunaid's mother, her son's accession to the throne was no more than a sign that "Sin's wrath calmed" (*uggāti libbišu inūḫma*) and that he had become reconciled (*islīmu*) with Harran, "the abode of his heart's delight." It seems, then, that the scribe of Nab. 8 implied more than just an allusion to Sin's celestial configurations. The expression *ana ašruššu tāru* (mainly with *libbu*) in conjunction with divine anger appears frequently in ritual psalms, where it means "to be reconciled with," "to be restored to former position."²⁹ Thus, with the double meanings of the key words—Sin/moon and return/be reconciled with—we might expect a play on words and translate lines 12-26 thus (with thanks to Professor A. L. Oppenheim for critical remarks): "As to Harran and Eḫulḫul, which had been lying in ruin for 54 years as the result of the desecration by *Ummān-manda*, its shrines have been laid to waste. With 'divine grace' (= gods' consent) the appointed time for reconciliation, (that is) 54 years—when the moon returns to its place—has approached. Behold now, Sin the Lord of the Disk indeed became reconciled (= did return to his place [in heaven]) and remembered his noble abode. . . ." The "noble abode" which Sin remembered (and *iḫsus(u)* is not more than the semantically similar biblical Hebrew *wayizkor*) could be either the

²⁵ V. Scheil in *RT XVIII* (1896) 15-29; L. Messerschmidt in *MVAG I* (1896) 1-84.

²⁶ Hildegard Lewy suggested (*ArOr XVII* 2, p. 54) that the celestial phenomena mentioned in the text (vii 1 ff.) took place in the 3rd month of 555/554, Nabunaid's year 1. The last dated event is the New Year of year 2, when prisoners captured in Cilicia (see Albright in *BASOR*, No. 120 [Dec. 1950] p. 23) during year 1 were presented as gifts to the temples of Marduk, Nabū, and Nergal (ix 31-40). Nab. 8 (left unfinished) was composed shortly thereafter.

²⁷ Cf. Gadd in *AnSt VIII* 73.

²⁸ Cf. in general O. Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity* (Copenhagen, 1951) p. 136.

²⁹ See e.g. Mullo Weir, *Lexicon*, p. 362, s.v. *tāru* I 1, and *AHw.* p. 83, s.v. *ašru* A.3b; cf. the semantically similar expressions *שָׁבַרְתָּ* *שָׁבַרְתָּ* in biblical Hebrew and *בָּרַחַרְתָּ* in mishnaic Hebrew.

still ruined Eḫulḫul or Egishnugal, the temple in Babylon, the temporary abode of Sin until his transfer to Harran. (That Sin was residing in Marduk's city is also borne out by lines 27–31, which assert that it was Marduk himself “who ordered to gather all the gods which went out with him [= with Sin] from his shrine [54 years ago].”)

Summarizing our evidence, at this stage, we submit: (1) The key terms in Nab. 1, *rēš šarrūti* and *ina šalulti šatti ina kašādi*, seem to be vague expressions void of exact chronological value. The same is true of *šalulti šatti ina 'kašādi'* in the Verse Account. (2) Nab. 8 cannot be taken as proof that by the time of its composition—Nabunaid's second year (see n. 26)—Harran had already been restored.

A new clue to the main problem, the date of the rebuilding of Eḫulḫul, came to light from Harran itself with the publication in 1958 of Nabunaid's biographical stela H2 A and B (= Nab. 25) by C. J. Gadd.³⁰

The following order of events is offered by H2. (1) Sometime at the beginning of his reign Nabunaid fell out with the inhabitants of Babylon and the other holy cities, priesthood and laity, and departed from Babylon to Teima, in the Arabian desert, where he resided for ten years (i 26, ii 11). (2) After his return to Babylon, that is, in his thirteenth year,³¹ Nabunaid addressed himself to the rebuilding of Harran and the restoration of Eḫulḫul (iii 18–22). (3) Upon completion of the temple, Nabunaid transferred to it the images of Sin and his entourage which until then had resided in Babylon—apparently in Egishnugal, Sin's temple there (iii 22–27).

The main *novum* arising from this order of events is the necessity of dating to the end of Nabunaid's reign (with year 13 as the highest limit) the restoration of Eḫulḫul and the removal to Eḫulḫul of the image of Sin.

As inscriptions commemorating major building events were usually composed shortly after the completion of the actual work, one may well conclude that the H2 stela were erected at the

³⁰ “The Harran inscriptions of Nabonidus,” *AnSt* VIII 35–92.

³¹ Nabunaid's return from Arabia should be dated in the autumn or winter of year 13. The ten years of his stay in Teima were apparently counted from year 4.

earliest toward the close of year 14 (i.e., if the restoration of Eḫulḫul took only a year).

It is fairly certain that the text of the other pair of stela discovered at Harran (H1 A and B)—the inscription of Adad-Gupī, Nabunaid's old mother (see n. 30)—was composed at the same time as H2. In fact, H1 and H2, both made in duplicate and possibly to be set up at the opposite entrances of the temple as part of one building scheme, can hardly be separated. They have similarities in style and identical passages,³² especially in the description of Sin's return to Harran:

ultu pātu Mišir tāmti elīt adi tāmti šaplīti napḫar mātāti umalla qatuššu (H1 i 42 = H2 iii 19), *Eḫulḫul eššiš ipušma ušaklil šipiršu* (H1 ii 16 = H2 iii 21–22), *qāti Šin Ningal Nusku u Sadarnunna ultu Šuanna āl šarrūtišu ištarma ina qirib Harrani ina Eḫulḫul subāt tūb libbišunu ina ḫidātu u rīšātu ušēšib* (H1 ii 17–21 = H2 iii 22–25 except the end: . . . *ina ḫidātu u rīšātu ušērib ušēšib parakku dariātu*).

In a recent study W. L. Moran analyzed acutely the style of the Harran texts, indicating the literary affinity between H2 and the Sippar cylinder as well as a probable dependence on a common *Vorlage*.³³ Further examination of these texts, as well as H1, reveals their apologetic nature. All end with the *mannu atta* formula, customary in a document of the *narû* type, addressed to posterity. In both Nab. 1 and H2 there is a careful explanation as to why Nabunaid did not complete the restoration of Eḫulḫul early in his reign, though he was ordered in a dream to do so. Both give essentially similar answers; forces beyond control—the hostile *Ummān-manda* and the Babylonians—are to be blamed for the delay. Thus Nabunaid is fully exculpated for not fulfilling immediately the order of his chief god.

We arrive finally at the question as to when the Sippar cylinder was composed. This question is inseparable from our main unsolved problem: When was Eḫulḫul rebuilt? In the light of the analysis of the chronological terms in Nab. 1 the only definite evidence that remains is the entry in the Babylonian Chronicle dating the downfall

³² Cf. Gadd in *AnSt* VIII 90–91.

³³ *Or.* n.s. XXVIII (1959) 130 ff.

of Astyages to Nabunaid's sixth year.³⁴ According to the apologetic statement in Nab. 1—and there seems no cogent reason why it should not be accepted—Harran was rebuilt some time after that event. We are thus left with two possibilities. (a) Harran was restored while Nabunaid was in Teima. This could have happened only in his eighth year when the Babylonian Chronicle omits an entry even without a *hepi* formula. During the remaining years Nabunaid stayed in Arabia and would not leave it even for the funeral of his mother. (b) Harran was rebuilt after Nabunaid's return, with the year 13 as *terminus post quem*.³⁵

In favor of *a* one could adduce H1 ii 12–21, which implies that before her death (in Nabunaid's 9th year) Adad-Gupī witnessed the complete restoration of Harran and the return of her gods from Babylon (Shuanna) to Eḫulḫul.³⁶

³⁴ W. Röllig (*ZA* LVI 257–58) correctly observes that the statements of Nab. 1 and the Chronicle are incompatible: "Eine der beiden Angaben muss falsch sein"; but he concludes that the Chronicler made a mistake: "Der Chronist dürfte bei der Abfassung seiner synchronistischen Geschichte die Ereignisse vom 6. Regierungsjahre des Kyros (Eroberung Mediens) versehentlich in die Rubrik vom 6. Jahre Nabonids eingetragen haben, obgleich sie in die Rubrik des 3. Jahres gehört hätten." This conclusion is hardly acceptable. The Chronicle is in fact a synchronistic history only in the sense that it occasionally mentions events outside Babylonia, but such events are never arranged in parallel *Rubriken*; the dating is in terms of the regnal years of a Babylonian king. It is very questionable whether at any time the compilers of the Babylonian Chronicle possessed any source other than Babylonian (or, before 625, Assyrian) documents. In our case the Chronicle evidently follows a Babylonian, not a Persian, original. (It still has to be proved that there ever existed an official Akkadian "Cyrus Chronicle.")

³⁵ Röllig (*op. cit.*) quotes Smith (*BHT*, p. 102) in support of his view that the 10-year sojourn in Teima ended in Nabunaid's 16th year. This is, however, somewhat misleading. Smith was very careful not to give exact dates. He writes (*BHT*, pp. 102 f.): "If this statement (i.e., of Xenophon) is to be relied upon, Cyrus conducted a campaign in Arabia about 540–39, the object of which was to drive Nabonidus from Tema' and deprive Babylonia of the last vestige of its empire in the west. It would seem probable then that Nabonidus' return to Babylon is to be dated about the same time." And, indeed, in his table on p. 109, "Return of Nabonidus to Babylon" and "Cyrus gains ascendancy in Arabia" are dated not to 540/539 but to the years 545–539 (to be corrected to 546–539).

³⁶ Actually the passage *amāt Sin šar ilāni iqḫā attā'idma āmur anāku* in H1 B ii 11–12 means not necessarily "the command of Sin, King of the Gods, which he spoke to me I honored and I myself saw it fulfilled," but rather "I honored attentively," with *attā'idma āmur* taken as a hendiadys. Furthermore, *ašrāti ilātišu rabīti ašte'u*, referring to Sin's sacred sites (i 33–

Still, should one accept at its face value an apologetic declaration of piety on an apocryphal stela as against the king's own statement on a twin monument? Moreover, possibility *a* involves a number of other difficulties. (1) Nab. 3, dedicated to the rebuilding of the ziggurat of the temple of Shamash in Larsa and composed in Nabunaid's tenth year, contains no hint of the restoration of Eḫulḫul nor of Sin's supremacy. Marduk, not Sin, is constantly referred to there as "the Great Lord," "the Lord of Gods"; Sin is mentioned only once, in the introduction (see table on p. 359). (2) Had this major undertaking been conducted while Belshazzar was the acting regent he would undoubtedly be somehow mentioned in connection with it. Yet, none of the three documents that refer to the completion of Eḫulḫul mention Belshazzar's name even in the concluding section, where Sin's mercy upon Nabunaid and his descendants is invoked. An active part by Belshazzar in the rebuilding of Harran would not have escaped the sarcasm of the poet of the Verse Account nor of the officials responsible for the Cyrus cylinder. Nabunaid alone is blamed for constructing "abomination, work of unholiness," and for blasphemy and sacrilege. (3) As Gadd correctly pointed out, Sin and his entourage could hardly have returned to Harran at the time "when the king was still refusing to enter Babylon, where the gods of Harran were in temporary residence (in Shuanna)."³⁷

Possibility *b*, then, seems the more likely solution, especially since it rests on the explicit statement of Nabunaid's own stela. It is rather unlikely that an inscription intended for display would offer deliberately a late date for the restoration of the very temple in which it was set up. There are parallels for the editorial practice of antedating later events to the *rēš šarrūti* of a king, but I know of no parallel for the opposite. When faced with the dilemma as to whether the chronological sequence in the Sippar cylinder or

34), does not have to mean that Adad-Gupī actually visited the temples (as taken in *Or.* n.s. XXVIII 136). *Ašru DN ašte'ma*, common in Nabunaid's inscriptions, is actually "I sought/inquired for an oracle (from DN's temple) . . ." and is comparable to the semantic range of Hebrew דָּרַשׁ. A clear case is Nabunaid's inquiry for an oracle from the temples of Shamash, Adad, and Nergal (Nab. 3 ii 41) during his sojourn in Arabia.

³⁷ *AnSt* VIII 75, n. 1.

that of the Harran stelae is to be trusted I do not hesitate to prefer the latter. This view is indeed in conflict with the view that the scribe of H2 sacrificed history for form, thus creating an impression "that Eḫulḫul was not rebuilt until after Nabonidus' thirteenth year."³⁸ On the basis of the evidence presented here, the complete restoration of Eḫulḫul could hardly have occurred before Nabunaid's return from Teima, as stated in his Harran stelae. There seems to be no sufficient reason to doubt that this statement should be considered as expressing reality.

It follows, then, that H2 and the Sippar cylinder in its numerous duplicates were composed at about the same time—about Nabunaid's fourteenth year. I would agree with Moran that both

texts, as well as H1, might ultimately, though not necessarily directly, depend on a common *Vorlage*. But that *Vorlage* must have been composed not earlier than the year 13. At present it is idle to speculate about the reasons it gave for the long delay in the rebuilding of Sin's temple, whether its scribes employed the technique used in Nab. 1 of intentionally obscuring the chronological order of events by using vague terms of time—without indicating the day or the month—and thereby giving an impression of proximity for things actually distant in time, or whether they justified the delay by the arguments employed in Nab. 1 or in H2. These issues will not become clear until additional material, like the Harran stelae, is unearthed.

THE ORDER OF NABUNAID'S INSCRIPTIONS

Having considered the date of the Sippar cylinder, we propose now to classify chronologically Nabunaid's other major inscriptions. In doing so we shall pay special attention to the changes in the frequency and intensity of Sin's epithets in the royal inscriptions in contrast to the changes in the titles of Marduk; these changes are bound to mirror any notable variation in the religious policy of the king and in the degree of his devotion to Sin. By no means can they be viewed as arbitrary or unauthorized scribal whims.

Obviously in the attempt to propose a chronological arrangement of Nabunaid's inscriptions we should also take literary criteria into account. However, this task would involve a detailed study of the style, vocabulary, and scribal peculiarities of Nabunaid's inscriptions as compared with those in the inscriptions of his predecessors and would take us far afield from the main points of our inquiry.

The following classification of the inscriptions is suggested: (A) those written before Nabunaid's departure for Teima (years 1–4) and during his stay there (years 4–13) and (B) those written after his return (years 13–17).

Group A.—To avoid an argument which might appear to be moving in a circle, we shall start with documents that give some internal indication as to their date.

³⁸ Moran in *Or.* n.s. XXVIII 135.

Nab. 8, basalt stela from Babylon dedicated probably to Marduk, to be set up in Esagila. To judge by its contents, this remarkable apology was composed during the very first years of Nabunaid.³⁹

Nab. 18, cylinder reporting the appointment of EN.NÍG.AL.DI.^dNANNA⁴⁰ as the high priestess (*entu*) of the moon-god in Ur. Hildegard Lewy has identified the eclipse of the moon on Elul 13 mentioned in this text as that of Sept. 26, 554 B.C., Nabunaid's year 2.⁴¹ Most likely the text was written during that year.

Nab. 3, cylinder dedicated to Shamash, describing the rebuilding of Ebabbar and its ziggurat in Larsa in the tenth year of Nabunaid (i 54). As at that time the king was still in Teima, we may well assume that his son Belshazzar was ultimately responsible for the composition of this text.

Finally, to group A are assigned all the texts dedicated to Shamash that describe the rebuilding of Ebabbar in Sippar: Nab. 2, Nab. 6, Nab. 19. These must have been written some years before the shorter version of the same rebuilding became incorporated in Nab. 4*. The latter, a composite text, was edited (see pp. 361 f.) after

³⁹ See n. 26. On the literary characteristics of this stela and its purpose see Hildegard Lewy in *ArOr* XVII 2, p. 70, and Oppenheim, *Dreams*, pp. 209 ff.

⁴⁰ See Landsberger in *OLZ* XXXIV (1931) 129.

⁴¹ *ArOr* XVII 2, p. 50, n. 105.

the year 13, but its original four components were evidently written before that time; indeed, one of them, Nab. 4*b (= Nab. 3) is dated in the year 10. It seems quite likely, then, that the other three components, especially Nab. 4*a, the short version of the restoration of Ebabbar in Sippar, were originally written at about the same time, possibly not later than Nabunaid's tenth year.⁴²

Nab. 7, cylinder describing the making of a new crown (*agû*) for the statue of Shamash and a special stand for the crown (*zarinnu*⁴³), is closely related to the other texts about Ebabbar and could not have been composed long after the rest of the Shamash texts.⁴⁴

In the following table the titles of Sin in the documents of group A are juxtaposed with those of Marduk.

Nab. 18 is the only text listed in the table in which Sin is given exalted epithets, which are to be expected, however, since the text is dedicated to Sin. Yet, even here, Sin is not called "King of the Gods" as in the Harran stelae. It appears that at this time that title was reserved solely for Marduk.⁴⁵ And, indeed, when the consecration of Nabunaid's own daughter is briefly described in a document (Nab. 17) dedicated to another deity (see below), Marduk is "the supreme leader of the gods, lord of totality" (i 1), "king of heaven and earth" (ii 35), while Sin is mentioned only in connection with the story of the *ēntu* and the building of the *giparu* for her in Ur; his title is "Great Lord" (ii 8), the normal appellative of the chief gods in the religious literature.⁴⁶

There is almost no internal evidence for the dating of the remaining minor inscriptions of

Text	Sin	Marduk
Nab. 8 (to Marduk?)	<i>bēl agî</i> (x 25)	Persistently exalted, carrying the highest appellative: <i>šar ilāni</i> (ix 5) Not mentioned
Nab. 18 (to Sin)	<i>bēl agî nāš šaddu ana dadmi</i> (i 6) <i>bēlu šurbû, abu bāniya</i> (i 22) <i>bēlu ellu bēl agî nūr tenešēti</i> (i 37) <i>ilu šurbû ša qibitsu kīnat</i> (i 36)	<i>šar šamê u eršitim</i> (ii 59)
Nab. 19 (to Shamash)	The king prays to Enlil, Sin, and Marduk (ii 23)	<i>ilu šaqû bēl bēlē</i> (ii 33)
Nab. 2 (to Shamash)	Mentioned between Marduk and Shamash in list of gods in the introductory hymn	<i>Ellil ilāni, bēl bēlē</i> (ii 50–51)
Nab. 6 (to Shamash)	Not mentioned	<i>bēlu rabû</i> , who has granted the king domination of his land (i 17); <i>bēliya</i> (ii 8)
Nab. 7 (to Shamash)	Not mentioned	<i>bēl ilāni</i> (i 13) <i>bēlu rabû</i> (ii 10) <i>ašārid ilāni</i> (ii 35) <i>bēlu šurbû</i> (ii 48)
Nab. 3 (to Shamash)	Mentioned once with his consort Ningal as the gods who crowned the king (<i>i-pi[!]-ir-ra-šu[!]-uš-šu</i> with CAD III 198 and collation) with an eternal crown (i 23)	

⁴² Especially significant is the epilogue of Nab. 2 (ii 27–33) and Nab. 6 (ii 49–52). At the end of the routine prayer to Shamash, an unexpected postscript was added: "At the beginning of the year, at the festival of the *akītu*, let me be regular (in) going (*lu sadrāk tallaktu* [var. *tallakti*]) with offerings before Marduk, and Sarpanitu, Nabû, and Nergal and all the gods who reside around (= inside?) the *akītu* temple of the exalted King of the Gods, the Lord of the Lords" (read according to W. G. Lambert's collation *ašib si[!]-hīr-tū akīti* for *ma-hīr-tū akīt* of CAD I [1964] 269a; cf. the variant in Nab. 6 ii 50: *ilāni sihīrti bīl akīt* [quoted in CAD I 271b]). This passage, unattested as yet in any other prayer of a Babylonian king, shows Nabunaid's special concern about the regular observance of the New Year ceremonies in Babylon. Was it because of his old age that the king was worried? Or was it because the *akītu* ceremonies were omitted when he left for Arabia? In this case the prayer would imply that at the time of its writing the New

Year ceremonies had been interrupted, and Nab. 2 and Nab. 6 would then be dated to the years of the stay at Teima, when "the king did not come in Nisan to Babylon . . . Bel did not go out (in procession); the *akītu*-festival was omitted" (BHT, p. 112, col. ii 10–11).

⁴³ See now CAD XXI (1961) 68.

⁴⁴ An interesting feature of this document, written in archaic script, is the inclusion of an actual report of extispicy (ii 10–32) as in Nab. 8. Marduk (not Shamash!) and Adad are asked to grant the permission to restore the *zarinnu* of Shamash.

⁴⁵ This is in full accord with Landsberger's observation in *Halil Edhem Hâtira Kıtabi* I 147 that at the beginning of Nabunaid's reign—in Nab. 8 x 30—Marduk is still "Lord of the Gods"; Röllig's criticism in ZA LVI 255 is unjustified.

⁴⁶ See in general K. Tallquist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta* (StOr VII [1938]) p. 52.

Nabunaid in which Marduk, not Sin, bears the exalted epithets. In Nab. 21, a cylinder describing the fortification of Babylon, Marduk is *apkal ilāni* (i 2) and *Ellil ilāni* (ii 7), while Sin is not mentioned. In Nab. 20, a cylinder from Babylon (Merkes), dedicated to Ishtar of Agade, Marduk is *šar ilāni* (ii 24) and Sin is not mentioned. In Nab. 26, a cylinder from Tell Lahm, dedicated to Ningal, Marduk (*igigal ilāni*) heads the list of gods and is followed by Nabû and Nergal; Sin and Ningal, who "crowned the king with eternal crown," come in the fourth place (i 21–23). Nab. 17 (see above), a cylinder dedicated to the god of Marada, enumerates the major building activities of Nabunaid but does not include those that took place in Larsa, during Nabunaid's tenth year.

To judge only by the omission of Sin's titles in these texts, it would seem that they were written prior to year 13, antedating the revolutionary changes recognizable after Nabunaid's return from Teima. Still, the possibility that some of them might have been composed after his return cannot be excluded.

Group B.—Foremost in this group are the stelae from Harran (Nab. 24 and 25) composed in honor of Sin, most likely in Harran itself. A completely different series of epithets is introduced on these monuments. Sin is now "King of the Gods" (H1 i 7), "King of the Gods of heaven and earth" (i 33), "Lord of the Gods and Goddesses, dwellers of heaven" (H2 i 5), "supreme leader of the gods, King of Kings, Lord of Lords (LUGAL.LUGAL.LUGAL EN.EN.EN), upon whose command they (= the gods) do not go back, whose word is not issued twice, with whose divine awe-inspiring radiance heaven and earth are filled" (ii 20–24).

As suggested above (p. 358), the Sippar cylinder was edited at about the same time. It is, in fact, a composite text consisting of three inscriptions copied and revised, with a new epilogue (iii 43–50). Nab. 1*a*, the newly composed "Dream Text" (i 1–ii 46), giving the account of the complete restoration of Eḫulḫul, corresponds to and duplicates in parts H2 and H1.⁴⁷ Nab. 1*b* (ii 47–iii 21) records the restoration of Ebabbar in Sippar. It goes back to the earlier part of

Nabunaid's reign, when the other texts commemorating the same event (Nab. 19, Nab. 2, Nab. 6) were composed. Like Nab. 19,⁴⁸ Nab. 1*b* refers to the 45 years which elapsed between the restoration by Nebuchadnezzar and that by Nabunaid. Nab. 1*c* (iii 22–50) records the restoration of Eulmash, the temple of Ishtar-Anunit in Sippar, and seemingly is contemporary with Nab. 1*b*. Comparing Nab. 1*b* with the earlier Ebabbar texts (Nab. 19, Nab. 2, Nab. 6), we note that the main changes are structural; the usual introductory hymn is omitted and the account is condensed. Only two modifications were made in the divine titles, with Shamash's relation to Sin now stressed: "Shamash, Great Lord of heaven and earth, offspring of Sin and Ningal . . ." (iii 11–12 and 42). The role of Sin and Ningal as the creators of all the great gods—not only of the two astral deities Shamash and Ishtar—is stressed in the prayer of Nab. 1*a* (ii 31, 33).⁴⁹

However, neither the re-edited Nab. 1*b* and 1*c* nor the new prayer (iii 43 ff.) carry the epithet employed in Nab. 1*a*: "King of the Gods, dwellers of heaven and earth" (ii 30–31). As to this, two observations should be made: (1) Though it would be expected in the introduction of the "Dream Text" or in the account of the restoration of Eḫulḫul, the lofty title of Sin is confined to the hymnic prayer concluding Nab. 1*a* (ii 26–43). (2) It is Marduk, "Ellil of the Gods" (i 18), "Great Lord" (i 34), who orders

⁴⁷ Nab. 1*a* i 39–46 = H2 iii 18–21; Nab. 1*a* ii 8–9 = H2 iii 21–22 (= H1 ii 15–17); Nab. 1*a* ii 18–21 = H2 iii 22–25 (= H2 ii 17–21); Nab. 1*a* ii 22–23 = H2 iii 26–28.

⁴⁸ Drs. O. R. Gurney and P. Hulin were very kind to collate the damaged figure in col. i 50. After cleaning, it proved to be 45 MU.AN.NA.MEŠ (no KÁM), as guessed correctly by Langdon in *OECT* I 33.

⁴⁹ The title "Sin the Lord of the Disk . . . father of the Great Gods" occurs on a broken Middle Babylonian *kudurru* from Ur: *UET* I, No. 165 ii 23–24 (cf. also *MDP* II 113, line 6). We cannot, however, discuss here the origin and the antiquity of these and similar titles of Sin, especially those indicating his role as the creator of gods and men. That issue, as well as the relation of Sin's titles to the standard epithets of the major gods, current in the hymnic literature, deserves a detailed treatment. For some of Sin's epithets see presently A. Sjöberg, *Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen in der sumerischen Überlieferung I* (Stockholm, 1960) 91, 135, and esp. 166–79 (the šu-il-lá prayer IV R [2nd ed.] 9).

Nabunaid to restore Sin's temple. This mildness of tenor throughout Nab. 1, when compared to Sin's exalted epithets in the Harran stela, might perhaps not be surprising if, as seems probable, Nab. 1 was primarily intended for the sacred cities Babylon and Sippar.

Another document should in all probability be assigned to group *B*: Nab. 16, a broken stela, intentionally effaced in parts, identified by Landsberger.⁵⁰ The figure of the king and the divine symbols here are almost identical with those on H2 from Harran. The few remaining lines speak of a miraculous delivery, apparently from drought, when "Sin, King of Gods," ordered Adad and Ea to send rain.⁵¹

Finally, two major inscriptions, Nab. 5 and Nab. 4*, belong in our opinion to group *B*.

Nab. 5, from Ur, was dedicated to Sin on the rebuilding of the ziggurat of Egishnugal. Nab. 4* is a composite text consisting of four separate accounts copied successively from originals in Sippar, Larsa, and Agade and thoroughly revised: *a* and *b* record the rebuilding of the temples of Shamash in Sippar and Larsa, while *c* and *d* record the rebuilding of the temples of Ishtar-Anunit in Agade and Sippar-Anunit.

The similarity between Nab. 5 and Nab. 4* is evidenced by the following features that are not attested elsewhere in the inscriptions of Nabunaid: (1) the unprecedented references to Esagila and Ezida as the abodes of Sin's great divinity (Nab. 5 ii 10; Nab. 4* ii 24–25, ii 19–20, iii 16–17, iii 71–72); (2) the prayer that these temples (Nab. 4* adds Egishnugal, Ebabbar, Eanna, and Eulmash) should inspire the people with awe (*puluhtu*) for Sin; (3) the identically worded prayer for the well-being of Nabunaid and Belshazzar his heir (Nab. 5 ii 22–29; Nab. 4* i 31–35, ii 23–26, iii 20–24, iii 76–77).

These stylistic affinities suggest that Nab. 5 and Nab. 4* were not only contemporaneous but might have stemmed from the same circle of scribes.⁵² It is in these two texts that the highest

appellatives of Sin are found. Sin is constantly referred to as "King of the Gods, Lord of the Gods and Goddesses, dwellers of heaven and earth" (Nab. 4* i 28, i 38, iii 78) and as "the Lord of the Gods of heaven and earth, God of the Gods (DINGIR.MEŠ⁵³ *ša* DINGIR MEŠ) that dwell in the broad heaven" (Nab. 5 ii 3–5). In view of these exalted titles it stands to reason that both texts were composed after Nabunaid's thirteenth year. The rebuilding of the ziggurat in Ur described in Nab. 5 was, then, roughly contemporary with the restoration of Harran.

At this point we should briefly consider the purpose of Nab. 4*. Each part (*a–d*) of the composite text bears the subscription "that which was inscribed on the stela from Sippar (or Larsa or Agade or Sippar-Anunit)." As stated in the epilogue (iii 79–81), the inscriptions were intended to be read (*ana šēmē*) by "people in the future," that is, to be publicly exhibited. The complete account of the restoration of the shrines of Shamash and Ishtar—called "the achievement (*epištu*) of Sin"—is said to have been inscribed upon stelae of polished stone (*asuminēti ša galala*⁵⁴). It is not unlikely that these are the stelae referred to in a royal letter (YOS III, No. 4): "King's ordinance to Kurbanu-Marduk: . . . deposit in the temple in an appropriate place those stelae of polished stone (*asuminēti šina ša galala*) which I sent to you!" Kurbanu-Marduk, the son of Zeriya, served as the chief administrator (*šatammu*) of Eanna in Uruk from Nabunaid's year 13 until the end of his sixteenth or the beginning of his seventeenth⁵⁵ year, that is, during the years when

XXXIV, Pl. 26, line 31) parallel to *iḫ-tu-ḫi-ma* and *im-šu-ḫi-ma* (H2 i 17, 19; see Moran in *Or.* n.s. XXVIII 138) and especially the "colophon" of Nab. 4* (see Röllig in *ZA* LV 234, n. 32) *epištu Šin bēl ilāni u ištar* as compared to *ipišti Šin rabīti ša ilāni u ištar mamman lā idūšu* in the prologue of H2. The conjecture that the same group of scribes was responsible for the composition of all these texts is therefore not unreasonable.

⁵³ For this Neo-Babylonian spelling see *CAD* VII 91a (cf. the similar $\text{𐎶𐎵𐎶} \text{ 𐎶𐎵}$ in Dan. 2:47).

⁵⁴ Cf. *CAD* V 11; *AHw.* p. 77.

⁵⁵ See M. San Nicolò, *Beiträge zur einer Prosopographie neubabylonischer Beamten der Zivil- und Tempelverwaltung* ("Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften," *Philos.-hist. Abt., Jahrgang* 1941, II 2) p. 16.

⁵⁰ *Halil Edhem Hâtıra Kitabı* I 148. See *ZA* LVI 248 for new transliteration and translation by Röllig.

⁵¹ Cf. the description of the miraculous rain in H2 i 36 ff. and see now Röllig in *ZA* LVI 247.

⁵² There are some affinities between Nab. 4* and the Harran stela: the unusual spelling *id-ku-ḫi-ma* (Nab. 4* i 3 [*CT*

Nabunaid was occupied in establishing Sin's supremacy on other monuments intended for display. It was then that certain inscriptions, composed earlier in Nabunaid's reign, were re-edited to suit the new supremacy of Sin; Nab. 4*

Nab. 3

- a Ebabbar was covered with piles of sand (i 34–39).
- b Nebuchadnezzar restored Ebabbar and discovered the foundation inscription of Burnaburiash (i 40–49).
- c In his 10th year Nabunaid is commanded by Shamash to rebuild Ebabbar and its ziggurat (i 54–ii 9).
- d By the command of Marduk strong winds cleared up the sand, revealing the foundation platform and the inscription of Hammurabi (ii 10–26).
- e Nabunaid addresses himself to Marduk in a prayer and inquires from the temples of Shamash, Adad, and Nergal whether he should carry out the rebuilding (ii 34–47).
- f With the favorable oracles of Marduk, Shamash, and Adad, Nabunaid assembles workmen (“people of Shamash and Marduk”) to do the *corvée* work (ii 48–55).
- g The temple, the ziggurat (Eduranna), and a shrine adjoining it are rebuilt (ii 7–iii 19).
- h Prayer to Shamash (iii 32–46), Aya (ii 47–50), and Bunene (ii 51–54) for the well-being of the king.

A further difference between these two documents is the inclusion of Belshazzar alongside his father in Nab. 4*b (as well as in all other components of Nab. 4*) as compared to his absence from Nab. 3, though it was composed during his regency. On the other hand, it is significant that the scribe left unchanged the original date of the rebuilding: “and now in the tenth year of my reign . . .” (Nab. 4* i 60). The impression thus created is that even before the return from Teima and the restoration of Eḫulḫul, both Nabunaid and Belshazzar were Sin's ardent zealots and acted only upon his orders.

In the present paper we cannot undertake a more detailed examination of this intricate process of the rewriting of history. Yet, the re-

is the extreme example of this editorial activity. Unlike the components of Nab. 1, those of Nab 4* underwent a thorough redaction. A good example is Nab. 4*b as compared to Nab. 3, both recording the rebuilding of Ebabbar in Larsa.

Nab. 4*b

- k The same; the sand came because of Sin's anger with Larsa and her temple (i 37–41); then n.
- l Nebuchadnezzar restored the temple (only after n) (i 51–55); then m.
- m In the 10th year of Nabunaid's rule, “which Sin and Shamash love” (i 61), Shamash orders Nabunaid to restore Ebabbar (i 58–64); then o.
- n In the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, by the command of Sin, strong winds cleared up the sand (i 42–47); then l.
- o The command of Shamash comes to Nabunaid in a dream; his people see repeatedly the same(?) dream (i 63).⁵⁶
- p Following the dream Nabunaid assembles workmen; in the course of work the inscription of Hammurabi is discovered (i 66–ii 5).
- q The temple (including the ziggurat) is rebuilt (ii 7–10).
- r Prayer to Shamash that he may tell daily before Sin (= “his father”) the good deeds of Nabunaid to all the temples (= “the abodes of Sin's and Shamash's divinity”) (ii 15–22).

peated references of Belshazzar, taken in conjunction with the far-reaching editorial alterations, may perhaps indicate a twofold purpose of this unusual document: the retroactive glorification of Sin and the rehabilitation of Belshazzar before the god of his father.

From the inscriptions as they are classified in this paper there emerges throughout the reign of Nabunaid an ascending development in Sin's titulary, which reflects, as we would suggest, the intensity of Nabunaid's cultic innovations cul-

⁵⁶ See Oppenheim, *Dreams*, p. 209. The short inscription (Nab. 23) on a chalcedony bead, originally from a votive dagger to Sin, might be dated to the same period; Sin's title there is “The King of the Gods.”

minating toward the end of his reign.⁵⁷ Though Nabunaid's devotion to Sin even in the early part of his reign need not be doubted and is evidenced in his action of consecrating his daughter as Sin's *ēntu* in Ur, still no outstanding preference for the moon-god can be detected in the inscriptions of group *A*, in spite of his and his mother's well-known contacts with Harran and its traditions. It is only after Nabunaid's return from Teima that the tendency to elevate Sin above all other gods is fully manifested—in the inscriptions of group *B*. This tendency and the restoration of Eḫulḫul are the two aspects of Nabunaid's new religious policy—usually designated as “reforms”—that are demonstrated by

⁵⁷ A survey of the main stages of Nabunaid's reforms is to be published elsewhere.

I am greatly indebted to Professor C. J. Gadd and Dr. O. R. Gurney for their stimulating critical remarks.

his inscriptions; other aspects are described scornfully in the hostile and spiteful anti-Nabunaid literature that was composed shortly after his downfall.

We know not the motives behind Nabunaid's departure to Arabia in his fourth year. On the basis of our proposed arrangement of the texts we are inclined to assume that the tendency to aggrandize Sin above all other gods grew and ripened during the period of Nabunaid's residence in Teima, bearing fruit upon his return. The nature of the power that molded his beliefs and actions during the ten years of his stay in the desert still escapes us. Did Nabunaid fall under the spell of the cult of the moon-god, so highly venerated among the early Arab tribes, or were his actions dictated mainly by political, social, and economic factors? This question remains a riddle.

CAMPAIGNS TO THE MEDITERRANEAN BY IAHDUNLIM AND OTHER EARLY MESOPOTAMIAN RULERS

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It was not until the days of the Assyrian Empire that Mesopotamian rulers began to maintain an almost continuous domination over the Levantine coast and to extract great political and economic advantages therefrom. However,

centuries before, the Mediterranean had fired the imagination and challenged the energies of mighty conquerors from the lands of the Twin Rivers who occasionally succeeded in leading their armies to its shores.

SARGON OF AKKAD

The first Mesopotamian king whose expeditions to the Mediterranean are attested in the sources is Sargon the Great (mid-24th cent. B.C.). Like his contemporary Lugalzaggisi, ruler of Uruk, and his grandson Naram-Sin, Sargon boasts that the gods granted him dominion from the "Upper Sea," the Mediterranean, to the "Lower Sea," the Persian Gulf. However, apart from general statements,¹ echoes of Sargon's campaigns to the Mediterranean shores are heard in a number of documents, although these are admittedly later compositions.

First we note the Assyrian geographical treatise *KAV*, No. 92, copied in the late 8th or the 7th century B.C., which describes Sargon's empire.² Despite its obvious apocryphal nature, this text may well reflect earlier traditions and thus have some bearing on Sargon's actual conquests. The concluding passage (lines 41–44) summarizes the kingdom of Akkad's limits of expansion as follows: "Anaku (and) Kaptara,

lands beyond the Upper Sea, Tilmun (and) Magan, lands beyond the Lower Sea—and the lands from Sunrise to Sunset which Sargon, king of the world, captured three times by his might." Not only does it state that Sargon reached the shore of the Mediterranean, it also credits him with the conquest of two lands beyond that coast. Kaptara, mentioned also in texts from Mari and Ugarit, the biblical Caphtor, is evidently the island of Crete;³ Anaku, on the other hand, is not known from any additional source.

The term *A-na-ku^{ki}* admits the interpretation "Tin (Country)" (although the writing of *ku* instead of *ku* for the last syllable is unusual in the Akkadian word for tin) or simply a place well known for its abundant metals and mining generally. It has been suggested that its location was in Greece (Albright) or even as far away as Spain (Forrer's first suggestion), where tin mines are actually to be found. The rich deposits of galena in Anatolia have also been pointed to, and the reference to Anaku as being "beyond the Upper Sea" has been explained by the fact that one route to Anatolia was via the Mediterranean.⁴ Nevertheless, the identification

¹ For this inscription see L. Oppenheim in *ANET*, pp. 267 f. Of course, in the continuation of the same inscription Sargon claims that the god Dagan gave him dominion over the Upper Region: Mari, Iarmuti, and Ibla as far as the Cedar Forest (i.e., the Amanus) and the Silver Mountain (the Taurus). Iarmuti is known from the Amarna texts as a region on the Mediterranean coast, but its appearance here between Mari and Ibla indicates that the reference is to the hinterland of this particular territory. Concerning the documents discussed below see C. J. Gadd, "The Dynasty of Agade and the Gutian invasion," *CAH* I (rev. ed.; 1963) chap. xix, pp. 10 ff.

² See W. F. Albright, "A Babylonian geographical treatise on Sargon of Akkad's empire," *JAOS* XLV (1925) 193–245; most recent treatment, by E. Weidner, "Das Reich Sargons von Akkad," *Afo* XVI (1952) 1–24.

³ Kaptara is mentioned in the Akkadian texts from Ugarit in the spelling *māt Kab/ptu^{(DUGUD)-ri}* (*PRU* III 107, line 10). Professor J. Nougayrol has informed me that the phonetic value *q/kab/ptu* is confirmed by unedited texts from Ugarit. For this name as the designation for a kind of wood see *AHw.* p. 445a. Some do not accept the identification with Crete and suggest locating Kaptara in Cilicia on the Anatolian coast; see especially G. A. Wainwright, "Caphtor-Cappadocia," *VT* VI (1956) 199 ff.; *JEA* XLVII (1961) 77 ff.

⁴ See Gadd, *op. cit.* pp. 15 f.

with Cyprus (Forrer's later suggestion) is preferable, especially since Anaku is mentioned before Kaptara, that is, it seems to have been closer to the Phoenician coast than Crete. In this regard, it is noteworthy that the Cypriote copper mines were exploited as early as the first half of the 3rd millennium. If this identification be correct, there is nothing to prevent our understanding Anaku as a most archaic term for Cyprus in the days of Sargon the Great; the same holds true for Kaptara as a name for Crete.

Furthermore, a connection between Cyprus and the Akkad Dynasty is evidenced by the discovery of Old Akkadian cylinder seals on the island. One of them even bears the name of Bin-kali-sharri, the great-grandson of Sargon.⁵ Though one may interpret this find as evidence for commercial relationships only, we should not eliminate the possibility that Sargon the Great and his successors may have ruled the coasts of the eastern Mediterranean basin, even imposing their authority on Cyprus and perhaps maintaining some kind of relationship with Crete.⁶

In any case, there seems to be no doubt concerning the historicity of the expedition, or rather expeditions, of Sargon to the Syro-Phoenician coast (likewise with regard to his extensive campaign in Asia Minor^{6a}). Excavators have sought to find some evidence for Sargon's domination of the Levant in the archeological finds at Ugarit and Alalakh.⁷ Support for his expedition

⁵ W. H. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (1910) Nos. 136b, 181, 183 (pp. 69 f. and 344 ff.). No. 183 (with the king's name read by Ward as Bingani-Šarali) was, however, not found in an excavation but was acquired by purchase in Cyprus; see G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (1940) pp. 27 f., n. 3.

⁶ Of course, objects from the Old Akkadian period have not been discovered in Crete as they have in Cyprus. The oldest cylinder seal from Crete, found at Platanos, is typical of the Old Babylonian period. For the problem of its date see B. Landsberger in *JCS* VIII (1954) 117 ff., where, according to his "high chronology," he dates it to the 19th century B.C. Also from the Old Babylonian period is a votive stele of King Naram-Sin of Eshnunna found on the island of Cythera, between Crete and the Peloponnesus; see Weidner in *JHS* LIX (1939) 137 f.

^{6a} For the authenticity of his Asia Minor campaign, note the allusion to Sargon's crossing of the Mala River (i.e., the Euphrates), toward Hatti, in the bilingual annals of the Hittite king Hattushili I; see now H. G. Güterbock in *JCS* XVIII (1964) 1-6.

⁷ Concerning Alalakh see L. Woolley, *A Forgotten Kingdom* (1953) pp. 58 f. In the excavator's opinion, the destruction of

to the coast and contact with the Mediterranean is found in two additional sources, namely the chronicle and the omens of Sargon, whose texts show general correspondence with only a few deviations.

We present here the text of the chronicle (lines 4-6) with the addition in brackets of textual variants according to the omens (lines 24-26):⁸ "He crossed the Sea of the East [West] and in the 11th [3rd] year his hand conquered the Land of the West to its full extent; he made its mouth to be one (i.e., he made it obedient to him); he erected his stelae in the West; their booty he brought over . . ." The crucial word in this passage is not sufficiently clear in the chronicle nor in the more complete, and perhaps preferable, text of the omens.⁹ In any case, the general meaning is evident: Sargon transported the booty of the conquered population across the Mediterranean, apparently along the coast—whether the text actually mentions "boats" or refers simply to "the Land of the Great Sea" as maintained by King. If we consider these two divergent texts as more than simple variations of one tradition, then they are witnesses concerning two separate expeditions to the Mediterranean carried out by Sargon, the first in his 3rd and the second in his 11th year. Actually, a second campaign to the West (Amurru) is con-

level XII should be assigned to the conquest by Sargon and the palace of level XI to his governor or vassal king who ruled there. Concerning the finds at Ugarit see now the note by C. Schaeffer in *AfO* XX (1963) 212, where he concludes that the town served as a harbor for the kings of the Akkad Dynasty for their sea expeditions across the Mediterranean.

⁸ L. W. King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings* (1907) II 4, 31-32. These texts are preserved in copies of the late Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods.

⁹ The text of the omens is *ina māti* A.AB.BA *ušēbira*. We may deem the translation by King, "their booty in the Country of the Sea he brought over," as still satisfactory despite the fact that *ma-ti* is most archaic as a *status constr.* form. This reference does not concern the Persian Gulf (as King apparently assumed) but refers to the Mediterranean, whose designation in various Amarna passages, and especially now in the foundation inscription of Iakhdunlim (see below), is the Sumerian A.AB.BA in its Akkadian forms; for citations see *AHw.* s.v. *a(j)jabba*. Gadd, *op. cit.* p. 11, n. 1, rejects the interpretation given above and requires here a word meaning "ship"; Oppenheim in *ANET*, p. 266, translates the text of the chronicle (*ina amāti*) in a similar manner: "He ferried over on rafts"; cf. *AHw.* s.v. *amu(m)* and Landsberger's remarks in *ZA* XLIII (1936) 277, n. 1.

firmed by one of the omens.¹⁰ Therefore, the question arises as to whether the information about a triple conquest by Sargon in the Mediterranean region that appears in the "geographical treatise" should not be considered an ancient and reliable tradition.

The chronicle and the omens do not elaborate on the regions or peoples that were conquered;

instead they use the general expression "Land of the Sunset," that is, the West Land.¹¹ Nevertheless, one cannot deduce from this use of a general instead of a specific geographical term that Sargon did not actually reach the seacoast nor impose his authority on its inhabitants (see pp. 369 f. for the comparable problem concerning Iahdunlim's inscription).

IAHDUNLIM, KING OF MARI

In contrast to Sargon the Great, concerning whose conquests in the Mediterranean region we are dependent mainly upon late and indirect sources, the first direct testimonies concerning campaigns to the Mediterranean appear in the inscriptions of two West Semitic rulers from the Old Babylonian period (late 19th cent. B.C. according to the high chronology, middle of 18th cent. B.C. according to the low chronology). The earlier of these, and also the more elaborate account, is contained in the foundation inscription of Iahdunlim discovered at the Shamash temple in Mari.¹² Iahdunlim praises Shamash his god and then presents a description of his own deeds on an extraordinarily refined historiographical level. He boasts of his campaign to the Mediterranean as the crowning achievement of his career; the uniqueness of his accomplishment reverberates through his words:

From days of old when the god built Mari no king residing in Mari had reached the sea. To the Cedar and Boxwood Mountain, the great mountains, they had not reached; they had not cut their trees. (But) Iahdunlim, the son of Iaggidlim, the mighty king, a wild ox among kings, marched to the shore of the sea in irresistible strength. To the "Great Sea" (*A-a-ab-ba*) he offered a multitude of royal sacrifices, and his army washed in the waters of the "Great Sea." To the Cedar and Boxwood Mountain, the

great mountains, he penetrated, and boxwood (*taskarinnum*), cedar (*erenum*), cypress (or juniper? [*šurmēnum*]), and *elammakum* trees, these trees he cut down. He stripped (the forest) bare,¹³ established his name, and made known his might. He subjugated that land on the shore of the "Great Sea." He made it obedient to his command; he caused it to follow him. He imposed a permanent tax upon them that they should bring their taxes to him regularly (i 34-iii 2).

With pathos and fervor the king describes his encounter with the Mediterranean, the offering of sacrifices to its divinity, and the washing carried out by his troops, doubtless for ritual cleansing. Centuries later Ashurnasirpal II and his son Shalmaneser III described in a similar manner how, upon reaching the Mediterranean shore, they cleansed their weapons in its waters and offered sacrifices to the gods.¹⁴ In all these cases the purificatory washing is combined with the sacrificial act, but the Iahdunlim inscription specifies the washing of the troops rather than weapons. The use of a double terminology in Iahdunlim's text to designate the Mediterranean Sea is most illuminating. On the one hand, the regular Akkadian word *tāmtum* is used in the secular sense. On the other hand, the term *A-a-ab-bu* (var. *A-ia-bu*), the Akkadian form of the Sumerian A.AB.BA, serves to emphasize the divine nature of the Mediterranean.

In our document, special emphasis is put upon the choice woods in the Mediterranean region, which had been highly prized by the rulers of both Mesopotamia and Egypt from remotest antiquity. The four kinds of trees listed here are mentioned together only in this source, but each one of them is typical of either the Amanus range in northern Syria or the Lebanon in

¹⁰ J. Nougayrol in *École pratique des hautes études, Section des sciences religieuses, Annuaire 1944-1945*, p. 20, No. 75.

¹¹ For the Akkadian term *māt erēb šamši* cf. *CAD* IV 258 f. The idiom "Land of the Sunset," like that in Akkadian, is found in the Karatepe inscription (i 18), *ṛṣt ʿzt bmb ʾ šmš*, and also in the Bible, *arāṣ m'ḥō haššamēš* (Zech. 8:7); cf. also "the way of the Sunset" (Deut. 11:30) and "the Great Sea of the Sunset" (Josh. 1:4, 23:4). This latter geographical term is especially noteworthy since it also parallels the Akkadian usage "the Great Sea" for the Mediterranean (see p. 371 below).

¹² G. Dossin, "L'inscription de fondation de Iahdun-Lim, roi de Mari," *Syria* XXXII (1955) 1 ff.

¹³ See n. 22 below.

¹⁴ See Oppenheim in *ANET*, pp. 276 ff.

southern Syria as proved by other sources. The two main types in our inscription even lend their names to the mountain range itself, namely “the Mountain of Cedar and Boxwood.”¹⁵ While the Amanus, the Lebanon, and Mount Hermon or Sirion (the Anti-Lebanon) are frequently referred to as the “Cedar Mountain,”¹⁶ the first is called specifically the “Boxwood Mountain” in the Annals of Tiglathpileser III (line 127). Possibly, therefore, the Amanus range may have been intended in Iahdunlim’s inscription.

Although there is no express association of boxwood with Lebanon in the sources, the other three trees are attested for this region. Thus it is noteworthy that they can be associated with the three kinds of timber ascribed to Mount Lebanon in the Bible. According to I Kings 5:22–24 Hiram furnished Solomon with ^ʿ*rāzīm*, “cedars,” and *bʿrōšīm* (usually translated “cypresses” but actually juniper) for constructing the temple, while the parallel passage in II Chron. 2:7 adds ^ʿ*algummīm*, standing for ^ʿ*almuggīm* (I Kings 10:11–12), corresponding to Akkadian *elammaku(m)*. As this tree and the cedar appear together in Iahdunlim’s inscription as well, there is no reason to reject the version of II Chron. as unreliable. This double testimony to the existence of *almog* wood in the mountains of Syria rules out its definition as sandalwood, which is not found in that region but is an import from India.¹⁷

The third of the biblical trees, the *bʿrōš*, is

¹⁵ For the reading *taskarinnu*, Aramaic ^ʿ*eškarʿa*, “boxwood,” see Landsberger in *WO* I (1947–1952) 368 ff. In addition to quotations from the Annals of Tiglathpileser III and the inscription of Gudea, who also brought this wood apparently from the Amanus, mentioned by Landsberger, we may also note that Ashurnasirpal II (Annals iii 88) and Esarhaddon (Cylinder B ii 76) include boxwood among the booty which they brought from the Phoenician coast.

¹⁶ *CAD* IV, s.v. *erēnu* A; in the Baal Epic from Ugarit (Tablet II vi 18 ff.) it is recorded that trees from Lebanon and cedars from Sirion were used for the construction of Baal’s mansion.

¹⁷ Cf. the most up-to-date Akkadian dictionaries which, however, do not specify the type of wood represented by this Akkadian term: *CAD* IV and *AHW*, s.v. *elammaku*. (R. C. Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Botany* [1949] p. 300, still took it as sandalwood.) In Ugaritic alphabetical texts we also find *almg*. For further references see A. Salonen, *Die Möbel des alten Mesopotamien* (1963) pp. 215 f. I Kings 10:11–12, according to which *almog* wood was imported from Ophir, remains problematic.

akin to the *šurmēnum* tree of the Iahdunlim inscription, which corresponds to the *šurbīnā*, *šurbānā*, tree known from Aramaic sources.¹⁸ Thus the Aramaic Targum of Song of Sol. 1:17 and 3:15 refers to one of the trees of Lebanon by the name *šurbīnā*, and the Peshitta specifically translates the *bʿrōš* in I Kings 5:22 by *šarvainā*. Furthermore, the list of mountains in the lexical text *ḪAR-ra = ḫubullu* (Tab. XXII 6’–7’) contains the significant entries *ḪUR La-ab-nanu = MIN šur-[me-ni]*, that is, Mount Lebanon—the “*šurmēnu* Mountain”—immediately after *ḪUR Si-ra-a* (var. *Si-ra-a-ra*) = *MIN [MIN (= erinni)]*, that is, Sirion (Anti-Lebanon)—the “Cedar Mountain.” Identical equations appear also in the so-called *Lipšur* Litanies (Type I 1, lines 8–9).¹⁹

The existence of cedar and *šurmēnu* trees on Mount Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon is also attested in the inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal.²⁰ In addition, the first of these kings states in his Annals (iii 89) that while in the Amanus Mountain he cut down cedar, *šurmēnu*, and *burāšu* trees among others. The Prophet Isaiah also testifies to the contiguity of the cedar and the *bʿrōš* on Mount Lebanon: “The junipers (*bʿrōšīm*) rejoice at you, the cedars of Lebanon: ‘Since you were laid low, no hewer comes up against us’” (Isa. 14:8); “I have gone up the heights of the mountains, to the far recesses of Lebanon; I felled its polished cedars, its choicest junipers” (Isa. 37:24; II Kings 19:23). These passages, the first of which concerns King Sargon II while the other is placed in the mouth of Sennacherib, again emphasize the Assyrian kings’ strong desire for the choice woods of Lebanon. Both the *bʿrōš* and the *šurmēnu* (*šurbīnā*) are usually identified with the *Cupressus*. However, this tree was rare in the Lebanon and not extant in the Anti-Lebanon. Therefore, it would seem that these

¹⁸ Cf. H. Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter* (1914) p. 53; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden* III (1924) pp. 28 f.

¹⁹ See E. Reiner, “*Lipšur* Litanies,” *JNES* XV (1956) 132–33 and (from ms. of Landsberger) p. 146.

²⁰ See D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* I (1926) par. 538 and II (1927) pars. 697, 914, 979, who translates *šurmēnu* as cypress. The Mari documents too indicate that *šurmēnu* wood was brought from central Syria, viz. the vicinity of Qatna (*ARM* I, No. 7:4–5).

two types, especially the *b*ōš*, belong to the *Juniperus* family, which thrived beside the cedar on the mountains of Lebanon, Hermon, and Amanus.²¹

Iahdunlim's action after cutting down the trees is not at all clear. One must assume that it is connected with what follows in the text concerning the memorializing of his campaign to the Mediterranean.²² Iahdunlim does not explain exactly how he perpetuated the memory of his heroic achievements, but records about the campaigns of Sargon, Shamshi-Adad I, and the other kings who reached the Mediterranean region strongly suggest a victory monument at some prominent point in the "Great Mountains." However, we cannot determine whether he left his inscription on a statue or in a bas-relief on some mountain cliff (cf. the expedition of Shamshi-Adad; pp. 370–72).

Although there are many references to memorial stelae set up in connection with campaigns to the Mediterranean and the conquest of the adjacent mountains, it is interesting from a typological standpoint to compare Iahdun-

lim's inscription with the account of the campaign of Ashurnasirpal II, as given in his Annals, and the new throne-base inscription of Shalmaneser III from Nimrud. Only in them are the combined feat of cutting down forests and the memorialization of the king's prowess explicitly described. Ashurnasirpal recounts how he conquered Mount Lebanon and then descended to the Mediterranean shore, cleansed his weapons in its waters, and offered sacrifices to the gods as noted above. After describing the tribute which he received from the Phoenician seaports he goes on to relate how he went up to the Amanus mountains, cut down various types of trees, and set up a stele there in praise of his mighty deeds (Annals iii 89). Likewise, Shalmaneser III went "to the sea of the Land of Amurru," purified his weapons, set up his stele, and, after receiving tribute from the kings of the seacoast, he goes on to say: "I went up to Mount Amanus; I cut logs of cedar and juniper (*burāšu*); I set up on Mount Amanus a stele of myself as king."²³

At the conclusion of the description of his campaign Iahdunlim emphasizes the fact that he imposed his dominion over the coastal region and compelled its residents to render him a permanent tribute. It is most surprising—Iahdunlim's inscription being so much more detailed than the references to Sargon's campaigns—that he did not consider it worthwhile to mention expressly the name of the conquered land. For this reason the historicity of the campaign might be challenged, especially since other supporting evidence from the Mari documents concerning such a campaign by Iahdunlim is absent, even from the date formulas pertaining to his reign.²⁴

However, these arguments do not carry sufficient weight to discredit the specific testimony of the foundation inscription. On the contrary, the erudition displayed concerning the nature of the Syrian forests strongly supports the authenticity of the inscription. Of course, Iahdunlim could have acquired this knowledge by virtue of the special relations between the Mari Dynasty and the Land of Iamhad in northern Syria and

²¹ Löw, *op. cit.* pp. 15 and 33 ff., had already discussed the identification of *b*ōš* with *Juniperus*; cf. also Köhler-Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti*, s.v. *b*ōš*. M. Zohary, the noted botanist, defined it more exactly as *Juniperus excelsa* (*Encyclopaedia Biblica* [Hebrew] II, s.v. *b*ōš*). Finally, Landsberger has suggested that its Akkadian counterpart *burāšu* is actually *Juniperus* (cf. *AHW*, p. 139). *CAD* III 190a identifies it as *Juniperus oxycedrus*. Because of the facts presented herein, one may ask whether we should not also consider the *šurmēnu/šurbīnā* as a type of juniper rather than *Cupressus* as generally accepted. This possibility is also suggested alongside the usual identification by Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwb.* (2nd ed.; 1922) s.v. *šurbīnā*, and Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* (2nd ed.; 1928) p. 807, s.v. *šarvainā* (*Juniperus oxycedrus*). The question remains as to what Akkadian term represented the *Cupressus*.

²² The phrase *hamūšam ihmuš* (ii 19) is translated by Dossin "il fit un grand carnage" and similarly by W. von Soden in *AHW*, p. 315 (taking the unusual form *hamūšam* as a Canaanite inf. abs.) "er plünderte gründlich." However, this interpretation is forced and corresponds at best to the significance of the verb *hamāšu* in the D and Š stems. The regular meaning for the G stem is "to remove by force," "to strip" (*CAD* VI 60). For this reason, and also because of the context, the suggestion of Dr. P. Artzi, with whom I had the occasion to discuss this inscription, is preferable. He sees here a reference to clearing the area of trees in order to erect a victory stele that could be seen from afar. Perhaps the smoothing of the rock preparatory to engraving an inscription is meant?

For the Canaanite shift *ā > ō* in *hamūšam* (< *hamāšam*) see now S. Moscati (ed.), *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* (1964) p. 48.

²³ See P. Hulin, "The inscriptions on the carved throne-base of Shalmaneser III," *Iraq* XXV (1963) 51–52, lines 18–22.

²⁴ Cf. the list of Iahdunlim's year formulas in Dossin, *Studia Mariana* (1950) p. 52.

its rulers.²⁵ Besides the likelihood that the two royal houses were related by blood ties, the kings of Mari probably owned certain properties in the vicinity of Aleppo; it is even possible that the Mari Dynasty actually originated in northern Syria.²⁶ But in addition to the detailed information concerning the trees, Iahdunlim's inscription includes other authentic elements which recur in the accounts of campaigns to the Mediterranean by later kings—the offering of sacrifices accompanied by a cleansing ceremony in the waters of the sea and the recording of the king's valor. It would be difficult, therefore, to assume that details of this kind are just figments of the imagination, while plagiarism is unthinkable, at least as far as our present information goes, since there is no other document of the same or even similar contents that could have served as an archetype for the king's scribes.

Furthermore, the continuation of the foundation inscription which speaks of an organized uprising by three chieftains in the vicinity of the Euphrates' western branch "in the same year" as Iahdunlim's Mediterranean expedition (iii 3 ff.) fits in well with the circumstances resulting

from a military campaign in remote regions. The rebellious allies doubtless took advantage of the opportune moment caused by the absence of the king's army in order to throw off his yoke; they probably received their punishment when the army of Iahdunlim returned to Mari. It is also instructive to note that the only two letters preserved in the Mari archives from the reign of Iahdunlim give evidence of his political influence and suzerainty over a western area adjacent to Carchemish and Iamhad (*ARM I*, Nos. 1-2). Finally, according to one of his date formulas (Dossin, *Studia Mariana*, p. 52, No. 4) he defeated the important city of Emar on the great bend of the Euphrates, lying on the main road from Mari to the Levantine coast.^{26a}

For all of the reasons listed above it seems most probable, in our opinion, that Iahdunlim really did carry out an extensive military campaign in the Mediterranean coastlands but that this expedition must be viewed as an ephemeral episode which did not lead to a permanent subjugation of the coastal region but, rather, opened up the coast for economic activity (cf. n. 43).

SHAMSHI-ADAD I, KING OF ASSYRIA

Only a few years after the expedition of Iahdunlim, perhaps even under the influence of that campaign, Shamshi-Adad I, who became ruler of Assyria, followed in the footsteps of the king of Mari. This expedition took place, without doubt, only after he had conquered the kingdom of Mari and the districts under its dominion

in the middle Euphrates region.²⁷ Unlike the relatively detailed account of Iahdunlim's inscription, notable for its excellent historiographical presentation, the reference to Shamshi-Adad's expedition is confined to an extremely brief notice appended to a building inscription concerning his temple for Enlil in Ashur.²⁸ After Shamshi-Adad recounts that he had received a tribute in his capital from the land of Tukrish and the king of the "Upper Country,"²⁹ he

²⁵ Concerning these relationships see Dossin, "Le royaume d'Alep au XVIIIe siècle d'après les 'Archives de Mari,'" *Académie royale de Belgique, Bulletins de la Classe des lettres* . . . XXXVIII (1952) 229 ff.; Dossin in *Orientalia N.S.* XXII (1953) 108; S. Smith, "Yarim-Lim of Yamhad," *RSO* XXXII (1957) 155 ff.

²⁶ Cf. my discussion in "History and prophetic vision in a Mari letter," *Eretz-Israel V* (1958) 67 ff. (Hebrew; English summary on pp. 86*-87*), based on the analysis of a letter dealing with a prophecy, published by Dossin in *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy Presented to Theodore H. Robinson* (1950) pp. 103 ff., and *JAOS* LXXXII (1962) 149. The prominence of the theophoric name-element *-lim* in the royal names of the dynasties of both Mari and Aleppo (including Yarimlim of Alalakh, a scion of the House of Aleppo) is noteworthy in this context.

^{26a} The location of Emar has recently been discussed by W. W. Hallo in *JCS* XVIII (1964) 81 ff. and A. Goetze *ibid.* pp. 114 ff.

²⁷ Concerning Shamshi-Adad see now J. R. Kupper, "Northern Mesopotamia and Syria," *CAH II* (rev. ed.; 1963) chap. i, pp. 3 ff. Apparently Shamshi-Adad had a hand in the rebellion that took place in the court at Mari to which King Iahdunlim fell victim (Landsberger in *JCS* VIII 35, n. 28).

²⁸ Cf. Ebeling, Meissner, Weidner, *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige* (1926) pp. 24-25. For the inscription see R. Borger, *Einleitung in die assyr. Königsinschriften I* (1961) 14 f.

²⁹ One of the rulers in the "Upper Country" who was doubtless among those who presented the tribute was Abi-Samar, who, as a vassal of Iahdunlim, requested protection from him against the intrigues and aggressions of Shamshi-Adad (*ARM I*, No. 1). When the kingdom of Mari was conquered, the lands dependent upon it also passed under the domination of the king of Assyria.

states: "Thus I placed my great name and my (victory) stele in the Land of Lebanon (*ma-a-at La-ab-a-an^{ki}*) on the shore of the Great Sea" (rev. iv 12-18).

In contrast to the campaigns of Sargon and Iahdunlim, an explicit name is given here for the land to which the king had marched and erected his stele. Although the spelling of this name is somewhat unusual, one can hardly doubt that the land of the Lebanon in the coastal region is intended. If so, then this is the most ancient historical reference to Lebanon; it is more or less contemporary to the mention of Mount Lebanon and Sirion in literary texts which were either written or whose composition originated in the Old Babylonian period.³⁰ This time the Mediterranean is referred to specifically as "the Great Sea" (*tâmtum rabîtum*), a term widely used in later Assyrian inscriptions. This term also appears frequently in the Bible, nearly always in precise geographical context (e.g. Num. 34:6-7, Josh. 1:4, Ezek. 47:15) and especially in an illuminating parallel to our inscription (Josh. 9:1): "All along the coast of the Great Sea toward Lebanon" (cf. n. 11 above). The Canaanite-Hebrew expression is even borrowed in Late Egyptian; thus in the story of Wenamon the Mediterranean is called "The Great Sea of the Land of Kharu (Canaan)" (*p³ym 3 n h3rw*; i 8, 49).

From the formulation of the text it cannot be discerned whether Shamshi-Adad erected a statue or executed a rock inscription, nor wheth-

³⁰ Concerning the Old Babylonian fragment of the Gilgamesh Epic see p. 373 below. The *gar-ra* = *hubullu* lexical text and the *Lipšur* Litanies mentioned above (p. 368) are preserved in late copies only, but it is quite likely that they originated in the Old Babylonian period (see Reiner in *JNES* XV 131). Likewise, the Lebanon is mentioned—again in the shortened form as in the inscription of Shamshi-Adad—in an Assyrian "Dream-Book" that goes back to Old Babylonian forerunners; see Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* (1956) p. 312 (*Sm* 29 + 79-7-8, 94): *La-ba-an^{ki}*. Oppenheim prefers to locate the place in Babylonia (see p. 268, n. 36), but we have already pointed out that its identification with the Lebanon is surely more appropriate (*JBL* LXXXIX [1960] 16, n. 19). This identification is also strengthened by the geographical term which follows the reference to the Lebanon in the "Dream-Book" and which is glossed *Ū-pi-e^{ki}*. This is not the town of Opis in Mesopotamia but rather the land of Apim-Upe—the Damascus region—which appears in the correspondence of both Mari and Amarna (cf. Albricht in *BASOR* No. 83 [1941] p. 30).

er it was located near the coast or on some dominant point in the Lebanon range. The information available to us about later expeditions to the Lebanon region indicates that all of these possibilities must be considered. The remains of reliefs and inscriptions by several rulers of the Neo-Assyrian period have been discovered near the coast at the mouth of Nahr el-Kelb south of Byblos.³¹ The inscriptions and reliefs of Nebuchadnezzar II are carved not only at this place but also at Wadi Brissa, which descends along the northeastern slopes of the Lebanon range toward the Beqa.³² Shalmaneser III, who delighted in setting up victory stelae, tells us himself how he placed his stele both on the seacoast (Kurkh Monolith ii 18; Balawat Gates inscription ii 5; throne-base inscription, line 19; cf. n. 23 above) and on Mount Lebanon. Of this last fact we were not apprised until a new recension of Shalmaneser's Annals was discovered.

We present here the pertinent portion of this new text, which contains additional illuminating details about Shalmaneser's campaign of his 18th year (841 B.C.).³³ After describing the king's siege of Damascus and his march southward to the mountains of Hauran (Jebel el-Druze), it says: "I went to the mountain of Ba'li-ra'si (*kur Ba-a²-li-ra-a²-si*) which is a promontory on the sea(shore and) over against the land of Tyre. I set up there a stele of myself as king. I received the tribute of Ba'li-ma-AN-zēr, the Tyrian,³⁴ (and) of Jehu the son of Omri. Upon

³¹ Cf. F. H. Weissbach, *Die Denkmäler und Inschriften an der Mündung des Nahr el-Kelb* (1922). As is well known, a stele of Sargon II was even found as far away as Cyprus, and in the summer of 1963 the excavations at Ashdod yielded three small fragments belonging to another of his stelae.

³² H. Pognon, *Les inscriptions babyloniennes du Wadi Brissa* (1887); S. Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften* (1912) pp. 33 ff., 151 ff. One of the reliefs shows the king in the act of cutting down a cedar.

³³ The inscription was published by F. Safar, "A further text of Shalmaneser III from Assur," *Sumer* VII (1951) 3 ff., concerning which cf. E. Michel in *WO* II (1954-1959) 38-39. For a shorter version of this campaign see Michel in *WO* I 266-67 and Oppenheim in *ANET*, p. 280. The word *šalmu* used in the inscriptions under discussion and in other pertinent documents can mean either a statue or a relief with an accompanying inscription carved in the rock (cf. *CAD* XVI, s.v. *šalmu*).

³⁴ Concerning the name of the king of Tyre, mentioned only here in the Assyrian documents, and the problem in Tyrian chronology raised by it see J. Liver, "The chronology of Tyre

my return I ascended Mount Lebanon. I set up a stele of myself as king beside the stele of Tiglathpileser, the great king, my predecessor" (iv 7-15).

This reference is unique with regard to the stelae set up in Mount Lebanon, not only by Shalmaneser but by Tiglathpileser—certainly Tiglathpileser I—as well. Though the latter king relates that he went up to Mount Lebanon for obtaining cedar logs to build the temples of Anu and Adad, he makes no reference to the erection of a stele.³⁵ However, the testimony of Shalmaneser certainly appears to be trustworthy, inasmuch as it is to be expected that those kings who successfully reached the heights of Lebanon in person should have sought to commemorate the event.³⁶ The inscription of Shalmaneser also furnishes an instructive detail concerning an additional stele erected by him on Mount Ba^{li}-ra^{si}, to which he had gone before returning homeward via the Lebanon range. It has been proposed to equate Ba^{li}-ra^{si} with the ridge near the mouth of Nahr el-Kelb where some have sought to identify the image of Shalmaneser III among the reliefs carved there. However, the identification with Mount Carmel, already sug-

gested on the basis of the shorter version of this campaign,³⁷ seems preferable and even gains some support from the new inscription, which expressly states that the mountain was over against both the sea and the territory of Tyre.

The designation Ba^{li}-ra^{si} for Carmel was especially suitable in the days of Shalmaneser III, when the mountain had become prominent as a center for the Baal cult during the reign of Ahab and Jezebel as reflected in the Elijah narratives. Parallel nomenclature is found in the names Ba^{al} Lebanon, Ba^{al} Hammon (Mount Amanus), and especially Mount Ba^{al} Hermon (Judg. 3:3; I Chron. 5:23), which again testify to Baal worship on mountain tops. It is most likely that Shalmaneser set up his stelae next to the sanctuaries on Mounts Carmel and Lebanon. An alternative location for Ba^{li}-ra^{si}, also suitable from the geographical point of view, would be Ras el-Naqqurah, a promontory at the modern border between the State of Israel and Lebanon. If so, we must surmise that the territory of Tyre stretched only to this point and not as far as the Carmel Range as some scholars have proposed.

THE GILGAMESH EXPEDITION

In order to complete the picture concerning campaigns to the mountains in the western coastlands by rulers of the Old Babylonian peri-

od, it is instructive to note the tradition reflected in the Gilgamesh Epic, which is most interesting from typological and geographical standpoints.

at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.," *IEJ* III (1953) 113-20; Albright, "A new Assyro-Tyrian synchronism and the chronology of Tyre," *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* XIII (1953) 1 ff. The shorter version of this text (see n. 33 above) mentions Sidon in addition to Tyre but does not refer to the names of their rulers. Perhaps the omission of Sidon in the new inscription is a further indication for the assumption that at that time the king of Tyre held some sort of hegemony over the neighboring city; see e.g. W. von Landau, *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde des Orients* I (1893) 17 ff.

³⁵ See Weidner, "Die Feldzüge und Bauten Tiglathpilesers I," *Afo* XVIII (1958) 342 ff., Text I, lines 16 ff., and Text II, lines 24 ff. In the text of Tiglathpileser restored by Weidner there is an additional occurrence of Mount Lebanon—in the context of battles with the Arameans—which is not found in parallel versions published to date (Text I, lines 31 ff.): "From the foot of the Lebanon mountains, from the town Tadmor of the country Amurru, Anat of the country Suhi, as far as the town Rapiqu of the country Karduniash I defeated them." The words *ištu šēp šadē Labnani* are restored according to a single copy (designated "a" by Weidner; see photograph on his p.

345; copy "g" broken off at this place; cf. Winckler, *AOF* III 247). This is the earliest passage which associates Aramean tribes with Mount Lebanon, about three generations earlier than the biblical references to them in that region (in the period of Saul and David).

³⁶ Another case where Shalmaneser III placed his statue next to that of a former ruler, namely the remote Anatolian king Anum-hirbi, was on Mount Atalur in northern Syria (see K. Balkan, *Letter of King Anum-hirbi of Mama to King Warshama of Kanish* (1957) pp. 34 ff.; also Michel in *WO* II 412 f.). Whereas there he found an inscription of some 1,000 years earlier, in the case of Tiglathpileser "only" some 250 years elapsed.

³⁷ Cf. A. T. Olmstead in *JAOS* XLI (1921) 372; R. Dussaud in *Syria* XXIX (1952) 384 f.; A. Malam, "The Wars of Israel and Assyria," in *The Military History of the Land of Israel in Biblical Times*, ed. J. Liver (Hebrew; 1964) p. 259, n. 32. On Carmel as a cult center see O. Eissfeldt, *Der Gott Karmel* (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst, "Sitzungsberichte," Jahrg. 1953, No. 1 [1954]). On the Baal cult at that time see also B. Mazar, Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, *Proceedings* I 7 (1964) pp. 19 ff.

As is well known, the hero of this epic accompanied by his mighty comrade Enkidu went on an adventurous expedition to the fabulous and far-off Cedar Mountain. The heroic pair succeeded in penetrating to the depths of the cedar forest, where they cut down the sacred cedar guarded by the giant Huwawa. After they had slain that ogre, Gilgamesh set out to chop down the trees of the forest.³⁸ An illuminating parallel to the commemoration by Shamshi-Adad and especially Iahdunlim of their deeds in the cedar mountains is found in the recurrent phrase of Gilgamesh: "My hand I will poise and will fell the cedars, a name that endures I will make for me!"³⁹

However, the main point of interest is contained in a recently published Old Babylonian fragment of the Gilgamesh Epic, which gives the first hint concerning the geographical location of the cedar forest.⁴⁰ After the ogre was felled it is stated there that Sirion⁴¹ and Lebanon trembled and that afterward the mountains became calm (rev. 13-15). In the continuation of this text a broken line preserves the words "the bank of the Euphrates." It seems evident, therefore, that according to the Old Babylonian recension of this epic the two heroes went forth from Uruk to the cedar forests in the Lebanon region.

An opinion has recently been expressed that

³⁸ See the Gilgamesh Epic, Tablets III-V (E. A. Speiser in *ANET*, pp. 79-83). The distinction between the sacred cedar and the other trees of the forest which Gilgamesh succeeded in chopping down only after slaying the ogre is contained in a single tablet from the Old Babylonian period, for which see n. 40 below.

³⁹ See e.g. R. C. Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (1930) pp. 27 f., Tab. III v 6-7: *qāti luškunma luksusu ʾerēni šuma ša dārū anāku luštaknam*.

⁴⁰ T. Bauer, "Ein viertes altbabylonisches Fragment des Gilgameš-Epos," *JNES* XVI (1957) 254-62.

⁴¹ The reading is *Sa-ri-a*. For other spellings of this name see p. 368 above. At about the same period the name of this mountain is mentioned in the Egyptian Execration Texts, E 30:Š3 *ynw* (cf. B. Maisler [Mazar] in *Eretz-Israel* III [1954] 25). Sirion and Lebanon are mentioned together in the Ugaritic texts (see n. 16 above) as well as in the Bible in a Psalm (Ps. 29:6) which shows evidence of strong Canaanite influence; cf. H. L. Ginsberg, *The Ugaritic Texts* (Hebrew; 1936) p. 130. Cf. also the listing of various names for the Anti-Lebanon in Deut. 3:9.

the Sumerian prototype of the epic concerning the expedition by Gilgamesh and Enkidu against Huwawa, known as "Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living," was inspired by the extensive campaigns of Sargon the Great in the West.⁴² Even if this hypothesis is acceptable for the Sumerian prototype there is nothing in the traditions concerning Sargon's campaigns that could have served as the source of the specific reference to the Lebanon region in the Old Babylonian recension of the epic. Therefore, it is our opinion that this portion of the Gilgamesh Epic was formulated primarily under the stimulus of the deep penetrations into the westland by rulers of the Old Babylonian period, expeditions which doubtless were a source of inspiration for poets and narrators.⁴³

⁴² See L. Matouš in *Gilgameš et sa légende*, ed. P. Garelli (1960) p. 92, and now also V. K. Afanasjeva in *VDI LXXXVII* 1 (1964) pp. 84 ff. (Russian). See also Matouš in *BiOr* XXI (1964) 5 f., who notes the various views which hold that this epic echoes the campaigns of the Ur III kings.

⁴³ In addition to the military expeditions in the west discussed here, the Mari documents reflect strong political and economic contacts with districts adjacent to the Lebanon. Concerning the relationships of Mari, and even Babylon, with Hazor, south of the Lebanon, see Malamet in *JBL* LXXXIX (1960) 12 ff. For a new reference to a person from Hazor (*Ḫa-šú-ra-yu**) in Mari see *ARM* XII, No. 747:3. For connections with Byblos, on the Phoenician coast, see Dossin in *Syria* XX (1939) 111. The local rulers of this city in the 18th century B.C. are most recently discussed by Albright in *BASOR* No. 176 (1964) pp. 38 ff.

The international situation was favorable for westward expansion by the Old Babylonian rulers of Assyria and Mari, for Egypt, then in a period of decline (at the end of the 12th and during the 13th dynasty), retained a lesser hold or even lost control over the above-mentioned districts. It would seem that at an earlier period (ca. 2000 B.C.) the Ur III kings enjoyed some authority in Byblos, traditionally within the Egyptian sphere of influence (see E. Sollberger, "Byblos sous les rois d'Ur," *AfO* XIX [1959-1960] 120 ff.; Albright in *BASOR* No. 163 [1961] p. 45). This hypothesis can be supported by archaeological evidence from the site that points to considerable Ur III influence. For various objects from the *depôts d'offrandes* see M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos II, Texte II* (1958) 948 ff.; for a cuneiform tablet see *ibid.* p. 657, No. 14023, and for an inscribed cylinder seal belonging to a merchant see Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos I, Texte* (1939) p. 313, No. 4183 (with comments on the inscription by Albright). The apparent result from the situation described herein may explain why Sinuhe took refuge in Byblos on his way east as he was fleeing from Egypt upon the death of Pharaoh Amenemhet I (ca. 1960 B.C.) sometime before the kings of the 12th dynasty regained control of the city.

THE TOPOLOGICAL FACTOR IN THE *HAPIRU* PROBLEM

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We shall be concerned here with the effect of the physical environment on the history of a given area. The term "ecology," used in botany, zoölogy, biology, sociology, and economics, is too general; instead, the term "topology" will be used. Topology, viewed here as a subdivision of ecology, denotes the relation between the physical environment and history in all its aspects, that is, not only the economic factor but also the events of history, the military factor, and the social factor.¹

In 1930 the *hapiru* problem had been under discussion for over half a century when Landsberger suggested a new solution. Up till then most writers had viewed the *hapiru* as a Bedouin people. Landsberger proposed that they were not a people but a class of the population, the class of the destitute and the uprooted, the criminal and the fugitive, people who had severed all connections with their families and usually also with their country of origin.² This solution failed to command sufficient agreement to bring the discussion to an end; two books and over twenty articles dealing with the problem have appeared since 1930. Even the meeting of Assyriologists which debated the problem in 1953 brought no agreement; the discussion has continued as lively as before.³ The implication is, therefore, either

¹ Definitions of "topology" are "the comparatively new study of topology, the science by which, from the consideration of geographical facts about a locality, one can draw deductions as to its history (1905)" in *Oxford Universal English Dictionary* (1937) p. 2213b; "the history of a region as indicated by its topography" in *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (1961) p. 2411b. Note that the term is also used in mathematics, though of course with an entirely different meaning.

² Landsberger in *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* I (1930) 321-34, esp. p. 323.

³ For the bibliography of the *hapiru* problem see J. Bottéro, *Le problème des habiru* (Paris, 1954) pp. v-xxviii; M. Greenberg, *The Hab/piru* (New Haven, 1955) pp. xi-xiii; J.-R. Kupper in *RA* LV (1961) 197, n. 2; J. C. L. Gibson in *JNES* XX (1961) 234, n. 64. Add H. W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* ("Ägyptolo-

gische Abhandlungen" V [Wiesbaden, 1962]) pp. 526-31. Texts will be quoted according to their numbers in Bottéro, *op. cit.* (= Bot.).

that Landsberger's solution is wrong in spite of the number of scholars who have rallied to it⁴ or that it is right but that an important factor has been overlooked. The latter is the conclusion we shall reach here.

When the long discussion of the problem is re-examined for possible deficiencies two rather conspicuous omissions are found. First, the topological factor has been completely overlooked. Second, the discussion has concentrated on only one aspect of the problem. We have two kinds of *hapiru*: the dependent *hapiru*, who were soldiers or servants, and the *hapiru* bands. Attention has centered almost exclusively on the dependent *hapiru*, while the *hapiru* bands have seldom merited more than a few words of comment. Consequently, if it is possible to advance the matter a step farther on the evidence at present available, the probability is high that any useful amplification will concern the bearing which the topological factor has on the problem of the *hapiru* bands.

The tendency of late has been either to explain these bands as bands of homeless mercenaries⁵ or to view them as evidence that the *hapiru* were after all a people, not a class of the population. This theory, virtually defunct since Landsberger's article of 1930, was revived several years ago independently by Kline,⁶ Schmökel,⁷ and

⁴ So for instance Alt, Dhorme, Noth, Speiser, and others; see Bottéro's discussion in the bibliography cited above in n.3.

⁵ So W. von Soden in *Propyläen Weltgeschichte* II (1962) 48. The *hapiru* mercenaries are presumably viewed as a kind of foreign legion, since the definition in *AHw.* p. 322a is "foreigners viewed as a class."

⁶ Meredith G. Kline in *Westminster Theological Journal* XIX (1956) 1-24 and 170-84, XX (1957) 46-70.

⁷ H. Schmökel, *Geschichte des alten Vorderasiens* (Leiden, 1957) pp. 232-34. Jirku has consistently maintained that the *hapiru* were a people; see most recently *JKF* II (1952) 213 ff.

Pohl.⁸ Two points which deserve careful attention were raised.

Schmökel observes that the *ḥapiru* lived in areas which were known as "*ḥapiru* territories," and he maintains that they must have been a people because they had territories of their own. As presented by Schmökel the case for these *ḥapiru* territories rests on a single datum from Ugarit. We shall see that there is more to be said for the existence of such territories, particularly when the topological factor is taken into consideration, but that this by no means requires the conclusion that the *ḥapiru* were a people.

Although Kline's arguments against Landsberger's solution are not convincing,⁹ she draws attention to a significant factor, namely the very striking contrast in the picture which the texts yield of the *ḥapiru*.¹⁰ On the one hand they serve primarily as soldiers and constitute therefore an element that upholds law and order.¹¹ On the other hand they represent a dangerous and disruptive element, the *ḥapiru* bands. There can be

little doubt that this polarity in the role of the *ḥapiru* is the most significant factor in the whole problem. It can be explained in three ways. The *ḥapiru* could be a people. The *ḥapiru* bands could be marauding bands of mercenaries. And, third, these bands could consist of an uprooted and fugitive element in territories which lay outside the effective control of the established states.

In the present writer's opinion the evidence is so strongly in favor of Landsberger's basic solution that any attempt to revert to the theory that the *ḥapiru* were a people can be safely discounted. If this conclusion is accepted, the answer lies between one of the other two explanations. One of these implies the existence of scattered areas of rough terrain which lay outside the effective control of the adjacent states, and this means that we have to reckon with the bearing on the *ḥapiru* problem of a new factor, topology.

THE WOODLANDS OF SYRIA AND PALESTINE

Hill country covered with forest or high scrub would have been particularly difficult to control effectively with the military equipment available in antiquity. Two other factors could compound that difficulty. One is tectonic deformation in the geological structure of the area involved, resulting in cliffs or more commonly steep ravines. The other is the presence of roving nomadic tribes. We shall concentrate here on the first of these factors, the most important of the three.

The period we are concerned with is the second millennium B.C. The area involved is a

⁸ A. Pohl in *WZKM* LIV (1957) 157-60.

⁹ Particularly the necessity to postulate "an ethnic wave that dashed across the Fertile Crescent before even the earliest extant mention of the *ḥa-bi-ru* in Babylonia" (see *Westminster Theological Journal* XIX 175).

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 17 f.

¹¹ In time of peace the chief role of the regular forces was of course to maintain internal order, with duties akin to those of a police force. This essentially is the paramilitary role of the *ḥapiru* in Nuzi, i.e., policemen and palace guards, in the view of Elena Cassin (*Journal asiatique* CCXLVI [1958] 230 f.). Cassin is very probably right, though more evidence is needed. For the presence of *ḥapiru* officers, in this case *emantuḥlu*, "decurions," is not sufficient to prove that a military force is involved.

strictly limited one in which West Semitic dialects were predominant. It stretches from the Habur River along the foothills of the Amanus Mountains to the mouth of the Orontes and thence west of the Rift depression to the northern fringe of the Negeb in southern Palestine. The *ḥapiru* bands are not as yet attested outside this area and this period. And, since the term *ḥapiru* comes from West Semitic, the inquiry can properly be confined to these limits in time and space.

In late prehistoric times a great forest covered most of the Mediterranean countries, with one large gap between the Negeb and Tunisia. A good deal of this forest was still present in the second millennium B.C. Its dominant characteristic was a very dense undergrowth, known by the Italian term *macchia* or its French equivalent *maquis*, with English publications showing a preference for the latter term. Apart from the area of the Upper Habur we shall be concerned exclusively with the forests in the coastal range of Syria and Palestine.¹² In Palestine it is prob-

¹² There exists no comprehensive study of the subject, covering the situation in both the present and the past, with full account taken of the widely scattered references to forest in

able that by the second millennium B.C. serious inroads had been made into the stands of coniferous timber. But removal of the timber would not normally have led to erosion. The immediate outcome would have been simply an exuberant flourishing of the undergrowth of a number of trees which initially have the form of shrubs, particularly the evergreen kermes oak. Even today more maquis forest has survived than is generally realized. In the following excerpt from a recent work by one of the foremost authorities on the subject, Professor M. Zohary, of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, reference is to the type of maquis in which the dominant trees are the evergreen oak and the terebinth.

The evergreen oak forest and maquis . . . is the most typical and common forest and maquis formation . . . of the Mediterranean part of Palestine (and also of Syria, Lebanon, Turkey, and the Balkans). . . . In view of the ceaseless deforestation through hundreds and thousands of years it is astonishing to encounter today large expanses of dense and well preserved maquis. This is no doubt due to the ability

the historical sources over the past 4,000 years. For a general description of the woodland in southwestern Asia see G. Giordano in S. Haden-Guest, J. K. Wright, and E. M. Teclaff (editors), *A World Geography of Forest Resources* (New York, 1956) pp. 333-41, and H. F. Mooney *ibid.* pp. 421-40.

With regard to the present situation in Syria and Palestine (i.e., the states of Syria, Lebanon, Israel, and Transjordan), for a brief introduction to the subject see Rolley in *Unasylva* II (1948) 77-78; anonymous, *Unasylva* VI (1952) 106, 113-19; P. Birot and J. Dresch, *La Méditerranée et le Moyen-Orient* II (Paris, 1956) 292-94; H. Luke and E. Keith-Roach, *The Handbook of Palestine and Transjordan* (London, 1934) pp. 286-93. See also the geographical handbooks of the British Naval Intelligence Division: *A Handbook of Syria* (including Palestine) (I.D.1215; undated but probably 1920) *passim* (see Index, p. 685); *Palestine* (1943) pp. 72-74, 426-30; *Syria* (1943, reprinted with corrections in 1944) pp. 90-98, 273-75; these handbooks will be referred to hereafter as *Handbook* 1920, *Handbook* 1943, and *Handbook* 1944 respectively.

For a detailed discussion of the present situation in Palestine see M. Zohary, *Plant Life of Palestine* (New York, 1962) esp. pp. 67-103, 112-14, 208-12. For Transjordan see H. Bardtke in *ZDPV* LXXII (1956) 109-22. For Syria see P. Mouterde, *La végétation arborescente des pays du Levant* (Beyrouth, 1947). Much valuable information will also be found in A. Eig, *On the Vegetation of Palestine* (Jerusalem, 1927) pp. 29 ff. (The two latter are not available to the present writer.) See also Eig, *Beihefte zum botanischen Centralblatt* LI 2 (1933) pp. 225-72, and E. de Vaumas, *Le Liban* (Paris, 1954) I 258-68.

For brief comments on the maquis and its role in Mediterranean geography see O. J. R. Howarth, *The Mediterranean* (Oxford, 1924) pp. 36 ff., and D. S. Walker, *The Mediterranean Lands* (London and New York, 1960) pp. 41 ff. For more de-

of its trees and shrubs to withstand human interference by being able to regenerate from underground stems. The average height of this maquis does not exceed 4 m., but its coverage sometimes reaches 100 per cent and penetration into it may become impossible. . . . This type of maquis is common throughout the western mountain belt from the foot of the Lebanon to the Judaeen Mountains in the south. . . . Large areas of former maquis have been devastated severely and turned into dwarf scrub.¹³

By the second millennium B.C. the forest in most of the hill country of Syria and Palestine, except at higher altitudes,¹⁴ would have had the aspect of bush forest and park land rather than dense stands of timber. But the bush would have been interspersed with stands of timber, coniferous trees in the more inaccessible areas, elsewhere predominantly mature oak and terebinth. The forest itself would have been interlaced with grazing land¹⁵ and in the more favorable locations arable land as well; in turn the more extensive grazing areas would have had trees scattered across them, either singly or in groves and thickets of bush. Thus it is best to avoid the term "forest"; the term "woodland" is more appropriate, or "maquis forest."

tailed discussions see Zohary, *op. cit.*, and R. Gradmann, *Die Steppen des Morgenlandes* (Stuttgart, 1934) pp. 39-49. For the botanical ecology of the garigue and the maquis see E. Warming and P. Graebner, *Lehrbuch der ökologischen Pflanzengeographie* (Berlin, 1933) pp. 972-85.

For the situation in Syria before the First World War see Hans Fischer in *ZDPV* XLII (1919) 55-64. For brief discussions of the historical sources see for Palestine G. H. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina* I (Gütersloh, 1928) 73-89, and for Syria E. Honigmann in *Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* XXV (1926) 1-7 and 2. Reihe, VIII (1932) 1559-60, and Vaumas, *op. cit.* I 268-85. For the Egyptian sources see Helck, *op. cit.* pp. 28-31, 329, 334 f., 353 f., 395-99.

A detailed discussion of all reference to forest in the cuneiform sources is badly needed. Since the present writer hopes to deal with this material elsewhere, the cuneiform sources will not be discussed here.

¹³ Zohary, *op. cit.* pp. 97 f. On the extent of the original maquis in Palestine see Eig, *Beihefte zum botanischen Centralblatt* LI 2, pp. 225 f.

¹⁴ The cedar which once dominated the higher altitudes is now rare south of the Amanus. But at higher altitudes in the Lebanon there are still some fairly extensive stands of the juniper tree (*Juniperus excelsa*); see aerial photograph in *Unasylva* II 80.

¹⁵ Mixed grazing land and woodland of this sort is still to be found in the Akkar region of the Lebanon; see V. Cuinet, *Syrie, Liban et Palestine* (Paris, 1896) p. 144, and for photograph of that area see *Unasylva* II 78.

In the primitive economy of the hill country in Syria and Palestine these woodlands constituted an economic source quite apart from timber and fuel. With the maquis forest holding off erosion, grazing would have been excellent. The maquis itself possessed an abundance of flowering shrubs. Honey therefore would have been in good supply, and it is becoming increasingly clear that honey was valuable produce in the second millennium B.C.¹⁶ Hence to describe the hill country as a "land of milk and honey" would not have been an exaggeration. Moreover, carpentry and tanning thrived on the produce of the woodland until recent times. It also provided fruit and edible pods to supplement a meager diet. Thus the woodland areas were economically viable, an important factor to bear in mind when we consider the historical aspects of the problem.

We shall be closely concerned with the process of erosion, in which the normal sequence is from timber to maquis to garigue to batha. The garigue is low and thinly spread shrub, usually the remnant of destroyed and eroded maquis. A very rough distinction between maquis and garigue is that the latter does not exceed a man's height and is usually lower, owing to the disappearance of the larger trees and shrubs characteristic of the maquis forest. The final stage, batha, is reached when even the shrubs of the garigue are absent or rare.

This process of erosion is the chief basis for the conclusion that in the second millennium B.C. there was very much more woodland in the hill country of Syria and Palestine than there was even a hundred years ago, not to speak of the situation today. For, once the hillside has become eroded, the maquis forest will not normally regenerate unless the area is allowed to remain free of human interference for a considerable period of time. The chief dangers to the woodlands are tillage and overgrazing. And, though til-

¹⁶ In two unpublished Old Babylonian letters at the Oriental Institute (A7538 and A7539) a purchase of honey for 1 mina of silver is discussed. This was a considerable sum of money in the Old Babylonian period, enough to buy a sizeable farm. Another Old Babylonian text (*TCL X*, No. 72; see *CAD III* 161a) quotes a price for honey which makes 2 quarts roughly the equivalent of a common laborer's monthly pay; and the same and similar prices are quoted in texts from the Old Akkadian period.

lage would have ceased at times during the intervening millenniums, it is not possible to postulate a depopulation so drastic that even grazing would have been discontinued for a prolonged period. Hence if forest is attested at any time after the second millennium B.C., it will usually be safe to infer that forest was also present during the second millennium. But this conclusion is valid only for the over-all picture. Where a specific area is concerned in which woodland is attested at a later date, or even in remnant form today, a number of factors may complicate the issue. Thus in valleys and plains, or even on hillsides with a gentle gradient, abandoned farm land can be repossessed by the forest. And the same thing can happen on steeper slopes which have been strongly terraced.¹⁷

A third danger to the woodlands is the demand for fuel, but the very importance of this factor has until recent times tended to prevent wholesale destruction. The practice has been to coppice the trees, that is, to cut off some of the branches for fuel rather than to cut down the tree itself. It is only in the last hundred years or so that the rising population of the cities, and with it the ever increasing demands of the charcoal industry, has led to a really destructive exploitation of the maquis throughout the hill country.¹⁸ In many areas in which until recent times the maquis was much in evidence, though in a partly eroded condition, it has now disappeared or is approaching extinction.

Since we are concerned with the more rugged terrain that is difficult to keep under effective control, we can leave out of consideration such woodland as there may have been in the plains and low hills and concentrate on the hill country proper. The two chief factors to be reckoned with are, first, the nature of the rock and, second, the density and distribution of the population in the second millennium B.C.

In the woodlands of Syria and Palestine the rock beneath the topsoil was in the main of two

¹⁷ On the slowness with which forest regenerates see Zohary, *op. cit.* pp. 75 f. For an example of forest in the arid zone beginning to repossess abandoned farm land see H. Louis, *Das natürliche Pflanzenkleid Anatoliens* (Stuttgart, 1939) pp. 90 f.

¹⁸ Zohary, *op. cit.* pp. 209 f. For exploitation of the bush forest for fuel in modern times, in southern Anatolia, see Louis, *op. cit.* p. 93. See also Eig, *Beihefte zum botanischen Centralblatt LI 2*, p. 242, as well as nn. 33 and 40 below.

kinds, hard limestone and soft porous limestone. The first is called the "terra rossa series," the second the "redzina series."¹⁹ Redzina can be fairly easily cleared for cultivation, and once the forest is gone the danger of erosion is acute. But the maquis forest grew chiefly on terra rossa. Here the roots grow into crevices in the hard rock, and a number of the trees and shrubs in the maquis possess an astonishing capacity to regenerate from roots. Consequently this maquis has proved difficult to eradicate even with Iron Age implements.²⁰ With the much more expensive and less efficient implements of the Bronze Age, a serious onslaught on the maquis in terra rossa territory can normally be assumed only where the population in the second millennium B.C. was dense.

Archeological exploration of the hill country has barely begun and, except for some surface exploration, has been largely confined to Palestine. In Palestine at any rate the indications are that many of the sites in the hill country were not yet occupied in the Bronze Age or, if occupied, the settlements were small by comparison with those in the plain and the valley. By and large the impression is that, with the exception of a few areas, the increase in the population of the hill country came after it was occupied by the Israelite tribes.²¹

The attempt to reconstruct the picture as it was in the second millennium B.C. starts, therefore, with the situation as it is today and involves three factors: the process of erosion, archeological exploration, and reference to forest in the historical sources. The first step should be to get an idea of the situation around the middle of the past century, for both timber and maquis have been drastically reduced during the past hundred years. In this initial step the difficulty is that reports concerning the state of the forest

are concerned mainly with timber and only incidentally with the maquis. Thus, if the maquis did not contain timber worth mentioning, there is likely to be no reference to it.

In Palestine, for instance, few travelers bother to mention the maquis. But the British survey of Palestine in the second half of the past century shows a very different picture, for the terms "underwood," "brushwood," and "scrub" occur repeatedly in the reports and on the maps. Eig's work half a century later confirmed that in the British survey reports reference is often to the remnants of destroyed woodland.²² Destruction of the maquis has continued, owing chiefly to the demand for charcoal, whereas most of the remaining timber was cut by the Turks during the First World War.

A similar fate befell the woodlands of Syria and the Lebanon. Musil lists a total of eleven areas which had been logged out by 1917,²³ and it has been estimated that the Lebanon lost about sixty per cent of its remaining timber during the first three years of the First World War.²⁴ The chief need was to keep the Turkish railways going when the country found itself cut off from coal supplies. Logging has continued sporadically. The Jebel Akkar suffered during the Second World War,²⁵ and woodland in the Selemya area of Syria was completely destroyed after independence, before there was time to initiate protective measures.²⁶ The First World War does not mark the first onslaught on the forest in recent history. Between 1833 and 1841 Ibrahim Pasha logged as much of the forest as the troubled condition of the hill country permitted. Indeed, for all the lasting effect the Egyptian occupation had, it can almost be regarded as the last Egyptian raid into the timber country, a remote echo of similar expeditions under the pharaohs.²⁷

²² Eig, *Beihefte zum botanischen Centralblatt* LI 2, p. 244; Zohary, *op. cit.* p. 72.

²³ A. Musil in *Österreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* XLIII (1917) 60 f.

²⁴ P. K. Hitti, *Lebanon in History* (London, 1957) p. 34.

²⁵ *Ibid.*; also Vaumas, *op. cit.* I 294.

²⁶ *Unasylya* VI 118b.

²⁷ N. Bouron, *Les Druzes: Histoire du Liban et de la montagne haouranaise* (Paris, 1930) p. 179. I have not found detailed confirmation of Bouron's report, but memory of Ibrahim's raid on the forests is attested elsewhere; for the Beirut area cf. Hitti, *op. cit.* p. 423.

¹⁹ Zohary, *op. cit.* pp. 10 ff.

²⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 71 and 210.

²¹ Only in the vicinity of Jerusalem, and perhaps Hebron, was there denser settlement in the Late Bronze Age; cf. M. Noth, *The History of Israel* (2nd ed.; London, 1960) pp. 32 f. Except for Kirjath-Jearim the towns would appear to be located outside the woodland. On the importance which a new mortar for cisterns had for the settlement of the hill country by the Israelites see Whyte in Dudley Stamp (ed.), *A History of Land Use in Arid Regions* ("Arid Zone Research" XVII [UNESCO, 1961]) p. 99.

The over-all picture in the coastal range from the Gulf of Issos to the plain of Jezreel shows only one sizeable area almost completely devoid of original woodland, roughly from the latitude of Sidon to the latitude of Byblos. Exclusive of that area and of the maritime plain, a very substantial proportion of the coastal range must have been woodland of one sort or another in the early part of the nineteenth century.²⁸

As to the remoter past, it is not possible to discuss in detail the historical sources. There is some reference to forest in the older texts, more in the sources of the Hellenistic period, the Roman period, and the Middle Ages. Here space permits only a rough picture in broad outline.

The importance of the woodlands in the historical geography of Palestine is only beginning to be realized.²⁹ Here we shall mention only the hill country between Hebron and the plain of Jezreel, where there were two belts of woodland, chiefly maquis forest, and both west of the watershed.³⁰ One lay between Hebron and Shechem, skirting Jerusalem to the south and west; through it the Philistines were pursued after the battle of Michmash,³¹ and memory of it is also preserved in place names.³² The other belt stretched from east to west along the hills bordering the plain of Jezreel to the southwest, from Mt. Carmel to the vicinity of Jenin³³ and

²⁸ For the Lebanon see the map following p. 512 in Cuinet, *op. cit.* This map shows the situation toward the end of the 19th century. In 1915 nearly one-fifth of the mutessarriflik of the Lebanon was still woodland, and this figure excludes the most heavily wooded range, the Jebel Akkar; cf. Fischer in *ZDPV* XLII 55, quoting A. Ruppin, *Syrien als Wirtschaftsgebiet* ("Beihefte zum TROPENPFLANZER" XVI [1916] Nos. 3-5) p. 299. By 1952 the proportion had dropped to 7.1 per cent, including the northern ranges (cf. *Unasylya* VI 106).

²⁹ A. Alt, for instance, notes that the tribal areas of early Israel centered on forest (cf. *Palästina-jahrbuch* XXXV [1939] 29).

³⁰ These two maquis forests will be discussed in greater detail elsewhere.

³¹ I Sam. 14:25 f.

³² E.g. Kirjath Je'arim; Chesalon (Josh. 15:10), "the hill of the forests"; and very probably "the forest of Hareth" (I Sam. 22:5), to be identified with *haras*, over 2 m. east of Qeilah, according to J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* (Leiden, 1959) p. 320, § 700.

³³ On the maquis forest to the south and east of Umm el-Fahm, which in 1872 still sheltered some wolf, leopard, bear, and jackal, see Claude R. Conder in *PEF*, 1873, p. 11, and Tyrwhitt Drake *ibid.* pp. 28 ff. On the name Umm el-Fahm and its relation to the charcoal industry see Zohary, *op. cit.* p. 210.

thence to the northeast, to Mt. Gilboa, Mt. Moreh, and the hills overlooking Bethshan.³⁴ It is the eastern part of this woodland which is referred to in the Book of Joshua when the Manassites are told to get themselves more land by clearing the forest.³⁵ A distinction must be drawn between Upper and Lower Galilee. The latter appears to have been fairly densely settled in the Late Bronze Age, and much of the woodland attested there in the past century may not have existed in the second millennium B.C. On the other hand, Upper Galilee was almost certainly densely wooded. Considerable woodland survived there until recent times,³⁶ and in the Late Bronze Age it appears to have been sparsely inhabited.

The Lebanon had a seemingly inexhaustible supply of timber, though by Roman times good timber was probably becoming scarce. But the Sidon-Byblos gap in the woodland was still very much smaller in Roman times, as we can see by the distribution of the forest markers that are well represented all through the hill country from Byblos to Beirut.³⁷ Between Beirut and Sidon there may well already have been a gap at that time, caused by the shipbuilding industries in Tyre and Sidon; since the heyday of these cities came in the first millennium B.C., we hardly need reckon with any substantial gap in the second millennium.

Farther north, the Amanus was famous for its forest from earliest antiquity to the Middle Ages.³⁸ Even today extensive woodland reaches almost as far south as the mouth of the Orontes.

Thus the chief uncertainty concerns the hill country between the Orontes and the Nahr el-Kebir, the latter being taken as the northern border of the Lebanon. The high plateau of the Jebel Kosseir is now almost quite bare, and it is

³⁴ For remains of forest in these hills see Alt in *Palästina-jahrbuch* XXVII (1931) 28.

³⁵ Josh. 17:15-18.

³⁶ Even today fairly extensive remnants of maquis forest are to be found in Upper Galilee; see e.g. Zohary, *op. cit.* p. 98, Fig. 21.

³⁷ For Hadrian's forest markers see Vaumas, *op. cit.* I 282 ff.; for a map of their location see Honigmann, *op. cit.* XXV 6.

³⁸ The southern Amanus, between Alexandrette and the Orontes, was still heavily wooded in the Middle Ages; see William of Tyre as quoted in F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* (Paris, 1933) p. 336, n. 4.

impossible to say what the situation was in the second millennium B.C. But most of the remaining hill country in this area still has appreciable remnants of woodland. Mt. Casius has some timber and was heavily wooded in Roman times.³⁹ There are still stands of timber in the Bassit region south of Mt. Casius, and remnants of woodland are scattered all through the Jebel Ansarieh.⁴⁰ The Jebel Ansarieh was logged in the past century for commercial export of timber to Egypt and has never recovered. But when Maundrell traversed it in A.D. 1697, on his way from Jisr Shoghr to Lataqieh, he found the hill country east of the plateau well wooded and well watered.⁴¹ Remnants of these woods are still marked on the French military maps. On the western slopes, particularly to the south in the Safit region, there was still a fair amount of maquis a few decades ago.

From the Jebel Ansarieh the forest at one time extended across the Orontes into the hill country to the east. Arab geographers describe these ranges as well wooded and well watered,⁴² as for instance the Jebel Lailūn. And, according to the French military maps, remnants of this woodland extended southward into the Jebel Zawiyeh.⁴³

Still farther east, there is woodland in the hill country on both sides of the long, narrow, fertile

³⁹ See Ammanus Marcellinus as quoted in Abel, *op. cit.* p. 337.

⁴⁰ At present some 25,000 hectares of timber remain in the Baer and Bassit regions and 20,000 farther south in the Jebel Ansarieh; see *Unasylva* VI 118. See also A. Kuschke in *ZDPV* LXXIV (1958) 32 f. and Hartmann in *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, 1894, pp. 152, 163, 185. On the woodlands of the Jebel Ansarieh see *Handbook* 1920, pp. 331 and 338, and *Encyclopaedia Britannica* XXI (1963) 715b. Cuinet (*op. cit.* p. 176) comments on the woodland in the Sahiun area of the Jebel Ansarieh and its charcoal industry. For the location of the woodland in the Jebel Ansarieh after the First World War see P. Jacquot, *L'État des Alaouites* (Beyrouth, 1929) map following p. 32; for the dense woodland in the Bassit region see photograph following p. 176.

⁴¹ For the logging of the Jebel Ansarieh see Cuinet, *op. cit.* p. 153. For Maundrell see T. Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine* (London, 1848) p. 387.

⁴² See Honigmann in *Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encyclopädie*, 2. Reihe, VIII 1560.

⁴³ *Cartes des États du Levant sous mandat français 1:500,000* (1930); see also R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Paris, 1927) p. 436, map 10, and *Handbook* 1944, p. 26.

plain of the Upper Habur and the Jagjag, to the north in the Tur 'Abdin,⁴⁴ to the south in the Abd el-Aziz⁴⁵ and the Sinjar.⁴⁶ There were still significant remnants of bush forest in these hills a century ago. In some places this is forest which has repossessed ancient orchards and vineyards. But, if due allowance is made for the relentless attrition of erosion over a period of some 3,000 years, it would seem safe to conclude that both the density and the extent of these woods were greater in the second millennium B.C. than they were a century ago.

By and large this conclusion is valid for the whole of the hill country in Palestine, Syria, and northern Mesopotamia. There are numerous reasons, chief among them the inefficiency of the Bronze Age tools and the fact that the sharp increase in the population of the hill country did not come until the first millennium B.C.

The population dropped again in the sixth

⁴⁴ For occasional comment on the woodland in the Tur 'Abdin see the bibliography by A. Socin in *ZDMG* XXXV (1881) 240-44. See also *ibid.* pp. 244-54 (report on a journey in 1870); E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien* (Leipzig, 1883) pp. 418 f.; C.F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt I* (Berlin, 1910) 368 (report on a journey in 1898); Guyer in *Petermanns Geogr. Mitt.* LXII (1916) 206; Siehe in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen dendrologischen Gesellschaft*, 1911, pp. 299-306, and 1912, pp. 120-23 (not available to the present writer).

⁴⁵ The woodland of the Abd el-Aziz consists of widely spaced terebinth trees; see Oppenheim in *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* XXXVI (1901) 91 f. and an aerial photograph in L. Dilleman, *Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents* (Paris, 1962) Pl. 5 b (following p. 64). See also H. Handel-Mazzetti, *Annalen des K. K. naturhistorischen Hofmuseum* XXVIII (Vienna, 1914) 73-75, with photograph on Pl. 5:1. Bobek suggests that the terebinth of the Abd el-Aziz may be the remnant of an oak and terebinth forest, as is certainly the case in the Sinjar; see Bobek, "Die natürlichen Wälder und Gehölzfluren Irans," *Bonner Geogr. Abhandl.*, 1951, Heft 8, p. 35. Confirmation of uncertain value is the oak reported to Layard by the natives; see A. H. Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh* (London, 1853) p. 312. In the 6th century of our era these woods were still dense enough to provide cover for bands of raiders; see Dilleman, *op. cit.* p. 66.

⁴⁶ For the bush forest in the Sinjar see Forbes in *Journal of the Royal Geographic Society* IX (1839) 416-19 and 422-23; Layard, *op. cit.* pp. 256 and 265. In Layard's time there were still densely wooded areas, some visible at a distance of eight miles. Wild goat (ibex) and wild boar were common. For the rate at which the woods in the Tur 'Abdin and the Sinjar are disappearing see the first of the maps cited in n. 43 above, where woods are no longer marked east and northeast of Midyat nor in the Sinjar. In 1914 Handel-Mazzetti, *op. cit.* p. 98, reported that the only mature oaks he observed in the Sinjar were in a cemetery, while elsewhere there was only bush forest.

century of our era, and it is possible that by that time there was less woodland than there was a century ago.⁴⁷ But the picture Arculf gives of Palestine suggests that more may have survived than one would have thought, even allowing for

the fact that forest would have repossessed areas where erosion had been slight. Thus the Sea of Galilee is surrounded by extensive woods, Mt. Tabor is wooded, and there is even a pine wood between Hebron and Jerusalem.⁴⁸

THE *HAPIRU* TERRITORIES

If the conclusion is accepted that in the hill country of Syria and Palestine there was very much more woodland in the second millennium B.C. than there is today, the further conclusion necessarily follows that in some areas effective control would have scarcely been possible with the military equipment available at that time. As already pointed out, the three relevant factors are bush forest, rugged cliffs and gorges, and the presence of nomadic tribes. Any one of these factors would count, and in some areas more than one would be present.

It is not necessary to assume that most of the hill country was forest, though it is quite possible and perhaps even probable that at that time more was still woodland than not. For our present purpose it is sufficient to assume that a significant proportion was still woodland. As the clearing of the great forest of prehistoric times gradually progressed, the remaining forest would have centered increasingly on the less accessible areas. And owing to the very nature of the Mediterranean forest these areas would have been rendered doubly inaccessible by the presence of forest in them. The dominant factor is the special character of the Mediterranean forest: first, the dense bush; second, the fact that a number of the trees tend to grow fairly short thick trunks with a dense wide crown fairly close to the ground; third, the bush form of some of these trees in the early years of their growth. The last two factors combined to provide considerable cover even when undergrowth is absent.

Primarily because of the way in which it curtails observation, woodland of this sort can constitute a military obstacle of the first order. In some places actual physical penetration is difficult, either where woodland coincides with gorges or where bush is of the very dense maquis

type. But by and large the chief military factor would have been that the woodland provided cover from observation, that it afforded opportunity for ambush and for evasive action when a punitive force was sent in. Warfare in these areas of maquis forest would have been therefore essentially a guerilla operation; indeed, the very word "maquis" has in French the secondary meaning "guerilla force." The hill country has proved difficult to control even in its present eroded state and even with modern equipment. The difficulties experienced by the Turkish, British, and French forces are well known; and in even more eroded hill country in Iraq the Kurds have been successfully resisting a modern army for years. If the hill country of Syria and Palestine is in many areas good guerilla country today, bare and arid as it is, it would clearly have been very much more difficult to control in the second millennium B.C., when modern equipment was absent but the maquis was abundantly present.

It is possible to show that in those general areas where the *hapiru* bands were particularly active there was also considerable woodland in the second millennium B.C. Since we are not making the assumption that most of the hill country was woodland at that time, however plausible such an assumption might be, it is important to establish this point.

The city of Shechem, which fell to the *hapiru*

⁴⁸ See D. Meehan (ed.), *Adamnan's De Locis Sanctis* (Dublin, 1958) pp. 90 (P 269 G), 96 (P 275 G), 82 (P 262 G). Remnants of the oak forest still survived a century ago in the hills to the northeast and southeast of the lake; see G. Schumacher in *ZDPV IX* (1886) map following p. 166. Note also that two centuries earlier Cyril of Alexandria described Mt. Tabor as densely wooded and abounding in game; see Abel, *op. cit.* p. 354. In the 17th century of our era Ammann said it was overgrown with trees on all sides; see Eig, *Beihefte zum botanischen Centralblatt LI 2*, p. 248. Similarly, the road from Hebron to Jerusalem was described by Maundeville in the fourteenth century as "a very fair way, by pleasant plains and woods"; see Wright, *op. cit.* p. 162. Hence there is a certain continuity in these sylvan vignettes of Palestine.

⁴⁷ On the decrease in the population see most recently Butzer in Dudley Stamp (ed.), *A History of Land Use in Arid Regions*, pp. 44 ff.

in the Amarna period, had woodland at no great distance on at least two sides, while on a third side, some twenty miles to the east, lay the forests of Gilead. The situation was similar in the Jerusalem area.⁴⁹ And just to the north of the maquis forest which lay between Shechem and Bethshan *hapiru* bands were raiding half a century later, in the time of Seti I.⁵⁰

The northern Lebanon, the area to the east and northeast of Byblos is rough terrain with deep gorges, in parts very difficult of access; and it is here that the last remnants of a once great forest have survived, particularly in the Jebel Akkar and the Dennieh, north of Ehden. We know little about the situation inside this territory throughout most of antiquity. There is reason to believe it was sparsely inhabited, and this is reflected in the need to recruit a large labor force for logging operations.⁵¹ When, from Roman times on, the situation begins to clear, we find this area a haven for bandits and various ethnic and religious minorities.⁵² Consequently it is not surprising to discover that in the Amarna period the *hapiru* were particularly active in this area⁵³ and that a century earlier it was here that Idrimi of Alalah fled, to spend seven years among the *hapiru*.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ See particularly the correspondence of Abdi-Heba of Jerusalem (Bot. Nos. 142–46) for *hapiru* activity in the Ajalon area (see Bot. No. 140).

⁵⁰ Bot. No. 184. For the location of these *hapiru* bands see Albright in *BASOR* No. 125 (1952) p. 28 and note that they are stated to be operating from hill country, without any specific locality being mentioned as their place of residence.

⁵¹ Thus Solomon is said to have recruited thousands of men for quarrying and logging in the Lebanon (see I Kings 5:27–32); so also Antigonus (see Abel, *op. cit.* pp. 342 f., quoting Diodorus XIX. 68).

⁵² Hitti, *op. cit.* p. 23; Strabo (*Geography* XVI. 2. 18) describes this region as infested with bandits before Roman rule was established. There is not infrequent mention of freebooters and bandits operating in, or on the fringe of, the oak woodland in Syria and Palestine during the last hundred years; so e.g. H. B. Tristram, *The Land of Israel* (London, 1865) pp. 475 ff.; Cuinet, *op. cit.* p. 324; Bornmüller, *Beihefte zum botanischen Centralblatt* XXXI (1914) 179, n. 1.

⁵³ See particularly the correspondence of Rib-Addi of Byblos (Bot. 94–124).

⁵⁴ Bot. No. 37. For location of these *hapiru* see S. Smith, *The Statue of Idrimi* (London, 1949) pp. 72 f. and map following p. 108. As pointed out by S. Smith, the *hapiru* held open country not far from the town of Ammia, probably modern Amiun, located in the foothills, some 10 miles south of Tripoli. This

Farther to the north, on the border between Siyannu and Ugarit, we find a *hapiru* band raiding a century after the Amarna period. There we are in the foothills of the Jebel Ansarieh, which still had substantial woodland a century ago. And we know that the borders of Ugarit ran through territory that was still in part sparsely inhabited.⁵⁵

Alalah was surrounded on all sides by woodland at least part of which lay within the domain of ancient Iamhad. In the Old Babylonian period the *hapiru* bands were sufficiently important in this region for a year to be named after the peace treaty between the *hapiru* and the king of Iamhad, Irkabtum.⁵⁶ Centuries later the *hapiru* were still active enough in this area to figure in an edict by the Hittite king. The object was to stop emigrants and fugitives from Ugarit from seeking refuge with the *hapiru* bands located in border territory between Ugarit and Hatti.⁵⁷

Finally, activity of the *hapiru* bands is men-

region is one of the few areas in the Lebanon where remnants of forest survive not far from the coastal plain; for photographs see *Handbook* 1944, Pl. 57, and Vaumas, *op. cit.* III 34, photographs A and B.

⁵⁵ Bot. No. 162, now *PRU* IV 161 ff. (17.341). Siyannu is very probably modern Siyāno, east of Jebelch, in the foothills of the Ansarieh Mountains; see E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches* (1919) p. 58, and J. Nougayrol, *PRU* IV (1956) 16 f. On the frontiers of Ugarit see *PRU* IV 10 ff., 48 ff., 63 ff. For the approximate location of the border between Ugarit and Alalah see sketch map in Helck, *op. cit.* p. 317. The region through which that border ran, roughly from Bassit to the Jebel Zawiyeh, still has woodland (see nn. 40, 41, and 43 above). Forty years ago it was still rough country, one of the few regions in Syria where wild boar, bear, wolf, and panther were found, and in 1921 there were still Turkish bands in the Jebel Zawiyeh; cf. Jacquot, *op. cit.* pp. 55, 136, and 140 f. The country adjacent to the southern end of the Jebel Ansarieh, now almost completely bare, is depicted in the Egyptian sources in terms reminiscent of the modern picture in the northern Ansarieh. The valley of the Eleutheros had predatory bands of tribesmen, bear, panther, and lion, and the same source (Papyrus Anastasi I) explicitly depicts the Jebel Ansarieh, Egyptian š()-wa, as very inaccessible; see Helck, *op. cit.* p. 329. Thus it is probable that the whole of the Jebel Ansarieh was rough, wooded country in the 2nd millennium B.C.

⁵⁶ Bot. No. 36; a treaty is not specifically mentioned, but whatever the precise nature of the peace agreement was, it must have amounted to a treaty.

⁵⁷ Bot. No. 161, now *PRU* IV 107 f. (17.238). The tendency of fugitives to join the *hapiru* bands is confirmed by Bot. Nos. 18 and 37 (see n. 54 above). Bot. No. 18 (= *ARM* II, No. 131) specifically mentions that large numbers of fugitives were present with this *hapiru* band, itself 2,000 strong.

tioned in the Mari archives. As pointed out by Kupper, this activity centered chiefly on the region of the Upper Habur. This area is bordered by hill country which still had a fair amount of woodland a century ago, woodland which provided cover for bands of raiders in the time of Procopius. Moreover, here we have to reckon with the presence of powerful nomadic tribes. These have always tended to render certain areas of the steppe country difficult to control, thereby attracting unstable elements like the *ḥapiru*.⁵⁸

There would be a weak point in the argument if it could not be shown that the *ḥapiru* bands were active in areas where woodland is attested. On the other hand, undue importance should not be attached to this observation. It loses much significance from the very fact that there was so much more woodland in the days of the *ḥapiru*, quite apart from the lack of formal proof that the *ḥapiru* bands actually operated from the woodland. In fact, the significance of this datum stands in inverse proportion to the amount of woodland one is prepared to concede. Only if the view be taken that woodland was as scarce at that time as it is today would the coincidence of *ḥapiru* and woodland have to be regarded as a factor of outstanding significance.

Although formal proof is lacking of any direct connection between the *ḥapiru* bands and the woodland areas in the vicinity of which they operated, the topological factor does suggest that disruptive elements of this kind would operate from inaccessible areas which were difficult to control. Moreover, there is already some reason for believing that in the second millennium B.C. these areas that were difficult of access may have been designated by a term, or terms, related closely to the term *ḥapiru* itself. And should this be confirmed by future evidence it would of course clinch the issue.

⁵⁸ See n. 46 above. On the location of the *ḥapiru* mentioned in the Mari archives see J.-R. Kupper, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari* (Paris, 1957) p. 253. On *ḥapiru*-like elements in recent times among the semi-nomadic tribes in the steppe country of Palestine and Transjordan, see W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Baltimore, 1946) p. 101: "the flotsam and jetsam of sedentary society, with runaway slaves, bandits, and their descendants. . . ." See also, most recently, D. H. K. Amiran and Y. Ben-Arieh in *IEJ* (1963) XIII 163.

The Hittite edict mentioned above specifies that the *ḥapiru*, to which the emigrants and fugitives from Ugarit so often rallied, were located in *eqel ḥapiri*, "territory of the *ḥapiru*-man."⁵⁹ For obvious reasons this is likely to have been one of the sparsely inhabited areas through which the border of Ugarit ran (see n. 55) or, more precisely, a similar area on the Hittite side of the border.

Again, in the Amarna texts we have the very significant spellings LÚ *ḥa-bi-ri*.KI and LÚ SA.GAZ.KI.⁶⁰ These strongly suggest a nisbe, and spellings from Nuzi and Babylonia point in the same direction. We have the nominative singular *ḥa-bi-ru-ú* attested four times at Nuzi and the spelling *ḥa-bir-a-a* twice from Babylonia proper, all from the Middle Babylonian period.⁶¹ Though elsewhere, particularly in the Mari archives, it is reasonably certain that the last vowel was not long, this need only mean that the term, a loanword, was not always recognized as a nisbe.

⁵⁹ Written A.ŠÁ LÚ.SA.GAZ in Bot. No. 161:7 (see n. 57 above).

⁶⁰ LÚ.MEŠ.SA.GA[Z.K]I in *EA*, No. 215:15 (Bot. No. 135, provenance unknown); LÚ.[s]A.GAZ.KI in *EA*, No. 298:27 (Bot. No. 147, from Gezer); LÚ.MEŠ *ḥa-bi-ri*.KI in *EA*, No. 289:24 (Bot. No. 145, from Jerusalem). Compare spellings such as LÚ.MEŠ *Ḥu-ur-ra-yu*.KI ù *Ši-na-ḥa-yu*.KI (*ARM* II, No. 38: 4 f.), *Ḥu-ur-ra*.KI ù *Ši-[na-a]ḥ*.KI . . . *iš-pu-ru-ma* (*ibid.* line 15), LÚ.MEŠ *Ḥu-ur-ra-yu*.KI ù LÚ.(MEŠ) *Ši-na-aḥ*.KI (*ibid.* No. 33 rev. 6 f.), and probably also of the type *Nu-um-ḥa-a*.KI *Ia-mu-ut-ba-al*.KI (*ibid.* No. 99:7). In the last text the context strongly suggests that reference is to the tribesmen and not to the territories occupied by the tribes. If so, the place names should be read as gentilics; in each case a nisbe is probably intended.

⁶¹ Nuzi: Bot. Nos. 50, 52, 61, 65, and probably once in the genitive (Bot. No. 59). Babylonia proper: Bot. Nos. 165 (plus 165') and 166. Both the fact that in Nos. 61 and 65 reference is to women and the fact that No. 59 renders the genitive suggest that in the examples from Nuzi we may have a semi-logogram. But a logogram of this kind could hardly have arisen unless the last vowel was long when the term originally entered the Nuzi script.

As for the two examples from Babylonia proper, R. Borger (*ZDPV* LXXIV 126) suggests that they are gentilics indicating that the men in question came from the locality *Ḥabir*, in which case they would have nothing to do with the *ḥapiru*. However, the locality in question is extremely obscure, and, in fact, we do not even know whether it still existed in the Middle Babylonian period; it is mentioned once only in the Old Babylonian period. And in these texts the context is such as to render doubtful the hypothesis that the writers would have bothered to specify the origin of the men referred to as *ḥa-bir-a-a* if the locality involved was such an obscure little place as *Ḥabir*.

It is even possible that we have in the nisbe form a clue to the etymology of the term, for we know that in Syria the term *epiru* (or *epīru*), from the root *ʿpr*, had the meaning "territory."⁶² An area of the sort we have been considering here, ill defined with respect to limits and political status, might well have been loosely defined

as "the Territory." The term *ḫapiru* would in that case go back to a nisbe *ʿapirū* (or *ʿapīrū*), "a man from the Territory." More evidence is needed in connection with the whole philological issue, but such evidence as is available does seem to point in the same direction as the topological factor.

THE PROBLEM OF THE *ḪAPIRU* BANDS

Scattered throughout the hill country of Syria and Palestine there were in the second millennium B.C. areas of woodland over which the city-states would have had difficulty in exercising effective control with the military equipment then available (see p. 376). Into these areas fugitives and malcontents would have made their way, primarily the destitute and the uprooted from the city-states of Syria and Palestine but some also from the nomadic tribes and from the great national states farther afield. Deserters from among the *ḫapiru* soldiers would likewise have been present. The real issue is the proportion of the last element. Was it so high that no basic distinction need be drawn between the *ḫapiru* soldiers and the *ḫapiru* bands?

The chief difficulty is that we are never told the origin and composition of the *ḫapiru* bands. Consequently it is not possible to prove either that they were marauding bands of mercenaries or that they were not. The question is one of probability. But there are several considerations which do have a bearing on the issue, and these suggest that a rather clear distinction should be made between the *ḫapiru* bands and the *ḫapiru* soldiers.

(1) We start from Landsberger's definition of the *ḫapiru* as a class of the population, namely the destitute and the uprooted, men who had severed ties with family, clan, and country. Given the existence of areas which lay outside the effective control of the established states, anyone who found himself in the situation corresponding to Landsberger's definition of the *ḫapiru* would have two possible courses of action. He could opt for the relative ease of servitude and become a servant or soldier, or he could choose the harder but independent life with a *ḫapiru* band. It would be unreasonable to

suppose that every man faced with this choice would have chosen servitude. The choice would depend on circumstance and on the character of the individual.

(2) If military units were stationed on the Hittite frontier, one of their chief duties would have been to intercept fugitives from other countries. It therefore does not seem plausible to suppose that these fugitives would nevertheless have been in the habit of rallying to such units to the extent that a royal edict was deemed necessary to put an end to the practice (see n. 57).

(3) If the *ḫapiru* bands were simply marauding bands of mercenaries one would expect to find them active chiefly under weak rulers. But that is true only of the Amarna period. Otherwise the activity of these bands fell within the reigns of kings who ranked among the most powerful of their day: Šamši-Adad I, Zimrilim of Mari, Irkabtum of Iamḫad, Parratarna of Mitanni, Seti I, and Ḫattušiliš III.⁶³

(4) Even where the Amarna period is concerned it is not easy to view these bands as consisting of disaffected mercenaries who had severed ties first with their country of origin and then with the ruler under whom they had subsequently enlisted. The reason is that the *ḫapiru* constituted the core of the nationalistic resistance to Egyptian sovereignty, and it is not easy to credit a movement of that kind to men who would have had no loyalties or local patriotism. Indeed, the role of the *ḫapiru* in the Amarna period is so puzzling, if one views them essentially as mercenaries, that one writer, Jepsen, has felt it necessary to conclude that, although elsewhere the *ḫapiru* constituted a class of the population, in Syria and Palestine they have to

⁶² CAD IV 189.

⁶³ Bot. Nos. 18-22, 25-28, 36, 37, 161, 162, 184.

be viewed as a people.⁶⁴ This conclusion is not very plausible, but it does at least show that it is not easy to view the *ḥapiru* exclusively as mercenaries in the Amarna period.

On the solution suggested here the position in this respect is different. Most of the men who took to the hills and made their way to a *ḥapiru* territory would have been from adjacent city-states. Their attitude toward a foreign invader would not have differed greatly from that of the population in general. Moreover, not a few of these *ḥapiru* might have left the city-state of their origin precisely because of difficulties either with Egyptian officials or troops or with city rulers supported by the Egyptians.⁶⁵

Not one of the four factors considered above is decisive, but their cumulative effect is such as to render very doubtful any proposition that views the *ḥapiru* bands simply as marauding mercenaries. On the other hand, the alternate solution suggested here also has its weak points. These difficulties have already been mentioned, namely the fact that we are never told the composition of a *ḥapiru* band and the fact that little direct evidence is available to link the *ḥapiru* bands and the so-called *ḥapiru* territories.⁶⁶ Thus the strength of the argument is of a rather intangible nature. Given Landsberger's definition of the *ḥapiru* and given the existence of areas of this kind, we find it difficult to imagine that people like the *ḥapiru*, or some at least among them, would not have availed themselves of the opportunity these areas presented.

There is, however, another potential objection which deserves close attention. Amarna letter No. 318 speaks of the elements in the population which constituted a danger to the ruler of a city-state. It enumerates three: the *ḥapiru*, the *ḥabbātu*, "bandits," and the *Sutû*, "nomads."⁶⁷ We can be certain that all three would have often been present in the areas we have called *ḥapiru* territories. And this suggests the possibility of a solution somewhat different from the one put forward here.

⁶⁴ See A. Jepsen in *Afo XV* (1945-51) 55-68.

⁶⁵ Compare Bot. No. 142, where *ḥapiru* and Egyptian officials are sharply contrasted.

⁶⁶ The only data which provide a fairly close link are Bot. Nos. 161 and 184 (see nn. 50 and 57 above).

⁶⁷ Bot. No. 152.

There seems little room for doubt that scattered throughout the hill country of Syria and Palestine there were areas which could not be effectively controlled. Thus, if we grant the existence of such areas and the presence in them of bands, is it not possible that these bands were known not as the *ḥapiru* but as the *ḥabbātu*? This solution has the advantage that it appears to provide the basis for a clear distinction between the *ḥapiru* bands and the *ḥabbātu*. The former would be marauding bands of mercenaries, the latter genuine bandits. This means, however, that all the arguments against equating the *ḥapiru* bands with the *ḥapiru* soldiers also count against this solution. Moreover, the very neatness of the philological distinction which it offers is actually fatal to it. For the *ḥabbātu* bands also would consist of the destitute and the uprooted and would therefore stem from a class of the population called the *ḥapiru*, the class from which the *ḥapiru* soldiers were recruited. Consequently clear and consistent distinction between the *ḥapiru* bands and the *ḥabbātu* bands is hardly to be expected.

What one would expect, given the situation we have here, is a rather loose terminology. Most of the *ḥapiru* bands would have led a life which did not differ greatly from the life of the semi-nomadic tribes, only occasionally indulging in the time-honored practice of raiding; genuine banditry is not as yet attested.⁶⁸ In this connection the factor to bear in mind is the economic one, namely the fact that the *ḥapiru* territories were economically viable (see p. 378). The *ḥabbātu*, on the other hand, would have relied to a much greater extent on banditry and raiding as a means of existence. But the distinction between the two was probably never very sharp. The more adventurous among the *ḥapiru* would have frequently been called *ḥabbātu*, and the more respectable among the *ḥabbātu* would have been called *ḥapiru*. Indeed, the best indication that the distinction between them was often vague is the fact that in Akkadian the same logogram, SA.GAZ, serves for both.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Two cases are on the borderline between raiding and genuine banditry: Bot. Nos. 28 and 162.

⁶⁹ It is probable therefore that at one time Sumerian SA.GAZ and Akkadian *ḥabbātu* denoted not only the ordinary bandit but also the Babylonian equivalent of the West Semitic *ḥapiru*.

It will probably be equally difficult to distinguish clearly between the *ḫapiru* bands and the *ḫapiru* soldiers. It can be taken for granted that marauding bands of freebooters did exist and that they would not have been distinguished from the more normal type of *ḫapiru* band. On the other hand, there is some reason to believe that local rulers on occasion enlisted the support of *ḫapiru* bands in their military ventures⁷⁰ or

⁷⁰ Bot. No. 18 (see n. 57 above) and probably also Nos. 20 and 29.

recruited individuals from among the bands.⁷¹ Thus the appearance of *ḫapiru* in a military role should not necessarily be taken to indicate regular *ḫapiru* units such as undoubtedly existed at Alalah and in the Hittite army.

All in all, where these marginal territories are concerned, the right conclusion would seem to be that we should avoid pressing distinctions and definitions too far.

⁷¹ So probably Bot. No. 24.

PĀLIL¹ AND CONGENERS: A SAMPLING OF APOTROPAIC SYMBOLS

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Ancient man shrinks instinctively from the hostile spirits about him and seeks to ward them off. But the means employed for the purpose may differ widely from one society to another. Furthermore, the original apotropaic objective often becomes blurred with the passage of time, so that the figure or symbol involved may acquire a different function. What thus started out as magic ends up at times in an innocent disguise. Nor are the successive stages always easy to retrace.

Akkadian *pālil* is a case in point. This paper proposes to demonstrate that the term in question carried an apotropaic connotation. The argument will have to follow a roundabout course, resorting to circumstantial as well as outside evidence; if it were not so, there would not be any argument. And if I do not hesitate to tackle so hazardous a topic, one that is *sui generis* to a pronounced degree, it is partly because of the type of man in whose honor this inquiry is diffidently presented: a man who has never been attracted by the obvious and who has transformed the term *Eigenbegrifflichkeit* into a virtual article of faith.

I

The form *pālil*, to judge from the uses and lexical equivalents of the term, is an agent noun of a stem *palālum*. Little can be asserted, however, about the meaning of the underlying verb in Akkadian, since instances of possible pertinence are rare. Actually, after some of the cases have been decided in favor of the homographic *balālum*, on account of the context,² we are all but reduced to the lone Old Assyrian *i-pá-li-lu*.³

¹ The term is manifestly a participle and hence calls for the -ā.

² Cf. *JBL* LXXXII (1963) 301 f., n. 3.

³ G. Contenau, *TTC*, No. 4:12 and p. 73; B. Landsberger, *Assyrische Handelskolonien in Kleinasien aus dem dritten Jahrtausend* (1925) p. 11; G. Eisser and J. Lewy, *MVAG* XXXV 3 (1935) p. 165; M. Tsevat in *HUCA* XXIX (1958) 112.

But that particular passage remains ambiguous; it will be discussed below on pages 390 f.

In independent usage, *pālil* appears as a substitute for Ninurta.⁴ In onomastic compounds, however, it may describe various deities.⁵ Its Sumerian counterpart in either instance is *i gi d u*,⁶ which is glossed in turn by Akkadian *ālik mahri/a*,⁷ "one who goes in front." This does not mean, however, that *pālil* is necessarily identical with *a. m.*, as is universally assumed. All that this lexical equation needs to imply is that the function of a *pālil* involved walking or staying in front. But precedence alone could scarcely account for the use of the term in personal names. One would expect a more compelling reason behind such names as Adad-pālil or Ištar-pālil, a reason that might perhaps be self-evident if we could discover the basic meaning of the underlying verb. But since evidence from direct usage is ambiguous or absent, we have to tackle the problem indirectly through the gloss *ālik mahri/a*.

There is one particular use of this phrase that stands out in bold relief. It is specialized yet self-explanatory thanks to the circumstance that the context is known and is underscored besides through repeated reference in more than one version. The phrase is pointedly employed in connection with Enkidu's prospective value to Gilgamesh on the occasion of the expedition

⁴ K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta* (1938) p. 435.

⁵ I. J. Gelb, *MAD* No. 3 (1957) pp. 214 f.; D. O. Edzard in *ZA* LV (1963) 117, n. 10.

⁶ Cf. *AHw*. p. 33. The reading of the second element as *d u* is assured by the glosses *i-[b]i-eš-du* and *i-gi-eš-du* (*MSL* IV 14, line 24).

⁷ *Ibid.* The form *mahra* is adverbial with originally temporal connotation ("at first") and then spatial ("in front").

In an earlier paper on *ṭWTPT* (*JQR* XLVIII [1957] 208-17) I interpreted the occurrences of *ālik mahri/a* in the Gilgamesh Epic (see below for the full context) as apotropaic (pp. 212 f.) but took this to be a paraphrase of *tappū*. In view, however, of the explicit lexical equation of *a. m.* with *pālil*, I now withdraw the other comparison.

against *Ḫuwawa*. In the Old Babylonian version we read (Yale T. 249–50),

- (a) [la t]a-at-kal ^a*Giš a-na e-mu-qt-ka*
[i-na-]ka lu šu-wu-ra-ma ú-šur ra-ma-an-ka
“Trust not, O Gilgamesh, in your own prowess.
Let your eyes be ever so clear: protect your-
self.”

A little farther down we are told (lines 255–56),

- (b) [a-lik] maḥ-ra tap-pa-a ú-ša-lim
[i-n]a-šu šu-wu-ra-m[a . . .]
“He who goes in front saves⁸ his companion.
His eyes shall be ever so clear: [he shall protect
you].

The corresponding passage in the Nineveh version (III 2–5) reads,

- (c) [l]a ta-tak-kil ^a*Gilgameš a-na gi-mir e-mu-q[i-ka]*
[i-na-ka liš-ba-a mi-ḫi-iš-ka tuk-k[i]l
a-lik maḥ-ri tap-pá-a ú-še-ez-z[ib]
šá tū-du i-du-ú i-bir-šú i-šur
“Put not your trust, O Gilgamesh, in the full-
ness of your might.
Let your eyes see their fill: make dependable
your thrust.
He who goes in front safeguards his com-
panion;
He who knows the paths protects his friend.”

Finally, K.8591⁹ adds (line 38),

- (d) [šá maḥ-ra] D^uK^u pa-gar-šú i-šur tap-pa-a li-
šal-lim
“He who goes in front protects himself, shall
safeguard his companion.”

Taken together these passages testify to the following: (1) On a journey (cf. Yale T. 248: *ana ḫarrāni imalliku*) strength is not enough; one needs sharp eyes to protect oneself (a, b, c). (2) An *alik mahri* on such occasions protects not only his companion (b, c) but also himself (d). (3) This statement is presented in the form of a commonly known saying; hence the sameness of the phraseology regardless of the version, coupled with rigid tense forms (note b and cf. d; see also n. 8). In short, these are stereotyped sayings referring to the apparently manifest truth that to go in front means both protection and prevention. This anticipates the semantic

⁸ The use of the preterit for the present, and other syntactic irregularities (cf. passage d below), may be traced to the fixed form of such proverbial sayings.

⁹ R. C. Thompson, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (1930) Pl. XVI.

development of modern English “prevent,” which started out as “precede” and ended up as “forestall.”

It follows that one function of an *a. m.* was apotropaic. It was evidently in this capacity that the phrase was used as the equivalent of *pālil*, since protection is one of the commonest motifs in personal names in general and Akkadian names in particular, as is evident from the numerous onomastic compounds with the synonymous *našārum*.

There would now seem to be a sufficient foundation for considering a tentative etymology of *palālum*. The protection brought about by the pertinent agent noun is achieved, as we have seen, through careful survey of the territory that lies ahead, that is, alertness and circumspection. In a recent study of the stem *pll* in Hebrew¹⁰ I found the underlying meaning to be “assess,” “reckon,” with derivative forms signifying such connotations as “judgment,” “estimate,” “reasoning,” “search,” as well as “to mediate,” “to intervene,” “to intercede.” This is in close harmony with the indicated role of *pālil* and the onomastic requirements of **iplul*.¹¹ Furthermore, we have at last a usable interpretation of the last lines in Contenau, *TTC*, No. 4. The Council of *Burušhaddum*, we are told in that text, has rendered judgment (*dīnam idīnma*) whereby an official party is to set out and take the deposition of a certain *Enum-Aššur*. The text concludes with the statement *ù a-li i-ši-e-ú-ni i-pá-li-lu*. The usual translation is more or less like Eisser-Lewy’s “Auch werden sie, wo (immer) sie (ihn) anschauen werden, die Entscheidung finden,” with a nod to biblical *pll*, which is alleged to mean “to decide,” “to give verdict.”¹² It has been shown, however, that Hebrew *pll* carries no such meaning;¹³ moreover, the delegation could hardly be empowered to render judgment, since that is a function of the Council; besides, the phrase used for such purposes is *dīnam diānum* (line 3). On present evi-

¹⁰ *JBL* LXXXII 301–6.

¹¹ Cf. *MAD* No. 3, p. 96, under *BLL*, with *PLL* given as second choice. But *Iplul-X* can hardly be separated from *X-pālil*, whereas derivation from *balālum*, “to sprinkle,” would not accord readily with personal names.

¹² *MVAG* XXXV 3, p. 165, n. a.

¹³ See *JBL* LXXXII 301–6.

dence, however, as brought out above, the final sentence yields the logical and consistent "wherever they investigate,¹⁴ they shall act with circumspection." Since Ēnum-Aššur is otherwise known as a person of prominence,¹⁵ such caution is not surprising.

II

The Gilgamesh passages discussed above place Enkidu in the routine position of an *ālik-mahri/a*, which is another way of describing a *pālil*. The question now arises how *pālil* was normally conceived or represented: was such a scout or "trouble-shooter," as it were, a human bodyguard, or was this function performed by some symbolic substitute? The consistent emphasis on going in front would tend to rule out the former, since that position could scarcely be maintained on a long journey. We have furthermore an impressive analogue which is bound to tip the scales in favor of a symbolic representative. That analogue is provided by the figure of the *talīm*.

E. Ebeling published years ago a terracotta figurine of a protective spirit which bore on the right arm the inscription *erba rābiš šulme*, "come in, guardian of well-being," whereas the legend on the left arm read *šī rābiš limutti*, "out, spirit of evil."¹⁶ We have, furthermore, a tablet containing instructions for fashioning just such figures and giving the exact text of the inscription on each arm, with the apotropaic variant specified for the left arm precisely as is the case on the terracotta. In addition, the tablet cites the name of the figure in question. This turns out to be *talīm*.¹⁷

The term *talīm* is known independently in the sense of "intimate," "associate," "confidant."¹⁸ A suitable descriptive phrase for such a being would be *ālik idi*, "one who goes alongside"; this might well account for the fact that the inscriptions were placed on the arms (*idu*) of the *talīm* figures. In any case, it is highly significant that

an explicitly apotropaic object bore in this instance a name designating a close associate or friend. The symbol was thus modeled after an important component of society.

The data about *pālil* as so far established or posited match those about the *talīm* figure in several ways. The role of each is apotropaic; both are derived from man's valued associates; and whereas the one bore the epithet *ālik mahri/a*, the other probably included the related description *ālik idi*. Between them they afforded protection at home (*talīm: erba, šī*) and abroad (*pālil: ana harrāni*). The important difference, of course, is that we know what the figurative *talīm* looked like, whereas a corresponding object explicitly designated as *pālil* has yet to be discovered. One may, however, perhaps assume for the time being that just as the *talīm/ālik idi* bore the enabling text on the arms, the parallel figure of the *pālil/ālik mahri/a* would be duly inscribed on the forehead; hence perhaps the repeated emphasis on the eyes (cf. passages a-c above). But more evidence is obviously desirable.

III

In this connection biblical data would appear to furnish some pertinent indications. Four passages in the Pentateuch deal with a pair of symbolic objects which are to serve as reminders of the past and as signs of commitment for the future. This pair consists of "a sign upon the arm" (Exod. 13:9 and 16; Deut. 6:8, 11:18) and "tōtāfōt between the eyes" (*ibid.* except that Exod. 13:9 substitutes *zikkārōn*, "reminder," "symbol"). Although the stated objective is admonitory, the original apotropaic purpose of these objects is still reflected by the current term "phylacteries," which goes back to Matt. 23:5,¹⁹ and more particularly by the independent use of *tōtāfōt* in the sense of "charm," "amulet."²⁰ Incidentally, the plural form of the Hebrew noun is evidently secondary (/ *tōtapt < *taptapt),²¹ to judge from the consonantal orthography; the corresponding phylactery for the arm is designated by the singular tōt, "sign."

¹⁴ Or perhaps "make inquiries"; for the uses of *še'āum* in these documents see *MVAG XXXV* 3, p. 124.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 109 ff.

¹⁶ *Afo V* (1928-29) 218 f.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*; *KAR*, No. 298 obv. 43 f.

¹⁸ P. Koschaker in *ZA XLI* (1933) 68 ff.

¹⁹ For a recent summary see *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* (1962) III 808.

²⁰ Cf. *JQR XLVIII* 209.

²¹ *Ibid.* pp. 210 f.

Since the function of **tōtapt* is independently attested, the derivation of this noun is not of immediate concern.²² What is, however, of interest in the present context is the fact that the Targumic equivalent of *tōtāfōt*, but not of the associated *ṣōt*, is *tʿfillin*, which was later to become the common designation for both phylacteries. Two etymologies of this Aramaic noun are on record. One, a minority opinion, operates with Syriac *tefel*, *teflāiā*, "attachment," "hangings."²³ But no such usage is directly attested in Jewish Aramaic. The other, and by far the more widely accepted of the two, would connect *tʿfillin* with the common term for "prayer."²⁴ Yet "prayer" is by no means the same thing as "prayer object," which is what we would expect here. Moreover, as the correlated *zikkārōn* and *ṣōt* demonstrate, the use of phylacteries in prayer was clearly a later development. Nor can the fact be immaterial that *tʿfillin* is first attested as a translation of *tōtāfōt* alone; the eventual extension to the hand phylactery was apparently a consequence of the mistaken identification of the term with "prayer."

But if *tʿfillin* does not go back to *tʿfillā*, "prayer," and yet must somehow be based on the stem *pll*, what is its semantic background? The answer may be contained in the actual range of *pll* itself. As was indicated above, the established connotations of this stem include "to mediate," "to intervene," "to intercede."²⁵ An abstract formation (whence the plural form) signifying something like "intercession," "intervention," would suit the present needs very well indeed. It was much in the same capacity that Enkidu was likened to an *ālik mahri/a*, the symbol of a scout, pathfinder, or the like—in short, apotropaic insurance against the hazards of a perilous journey. The original purpose of the head phylactery would thus have been of the

²² The etymology which I proposed, with due reservations, *ibid.* pp. 213 ff. becomes still more precarious in view of the statement in n. 7 above.

²³ Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the . . . Talmud . . .* (1903) p. 1687a; cf. C. Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* (1928) p. 830a.

²⁴ This old etymology was approved by even so cautious a lexicographer as G. Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch* (1922) p. 446.

²⁵ Cf. *JBL* LXXXII 301-6.

same order; the stem involved was capable of yielding the required connotation.

We have seen, however, that *ālik mahri/a* was merely a phrase descriptive of *pālil*, which is likewise a derivative of the stem *pll*. Could it thus be that *tʿfillin* is related to *pālil* directly rather than through the joint derivation of both from *pll*? For the present, such an assumption can be neither corroborated nor refuted. When it is borne in mind, however, that *tʿfillin* has its immediate antecedents in Aramaic, which in turn has intimate ties with Mesopotamia, the possibility of a direct link with *pālil* is considerably enhanced.²⁶

IV

In conclusion, it may prove useful to list in brief and schematic review other apotropaic symbols that are cited in the Bible, aligning them, where possible, with clear or likely Mesopotamian analogues. Such comparisons can sometimes be mutually illuminating.

In addition, then, to

- (1) Hebrew *tōtāfōt* / *zikkārōn*, "head phylactery," Aramaic *tʿfillin*: Akkadian *pālil* / *ālik mahri/a*, and
- (2) Hebrew *ṣōt* *ʿal-yad*, "arm phylactery": Akkadian *talīm*, analogous to *ālik idi*, already discussed, we have
- (3) Hebrew *ṣōt*, "mark," used generically (Gen. 4:15) referring to the mark of Cain. Its apotropaic character is expressly indicated by the descriptive clause "lest anyone kill him on sight" (Gen. 4:15). No direct Akkadian counterpart.²⁷

²⁶ In this connection it is interesting to note that the position of the head phylactery is given invariably as "between the eyes," and not simply "on the forehead," as is the case with *šiš* and *tāw* (see below). Elsewhere, however, the same prepositional phrase is applied to the front of the head (Deut. 14:1), as distinct from the forehead. Does this particular usage reflect some special nuance that is not immediately apparent, say, something comparable to the "ever so clear eyes" with *ālik mahri/a*? For the present, such a possibility has to be regarded as remote.

²⁷ In spite of the practically parallel semantic ranges that Hebrew *ṣōt* and Akkadian *ittu* have in common, it must be emphasized that there can be no etymological relationship between the two. As opposed to the underlying **āt* (<**away-at*?) of Hebrew, Akkadian *ittu* would seem to point to **w-d* with suffixed *-t*, which would result in Hebrew *ʿet*.

- (4) Hebrew *m'zūzā*, "doorpost > inscription on one," connected with Nos. 1 and 2 (Deut. 6:9, 11:20). Derived unmistakably from Akkadian *uzuzzum*, "to stand," "to station." Functionally linked in all likelihood to the protective figures placed at entrances, but reduced in course of time to apotropaic, and eventually admonitory, inscriptions on doorposts.
- (5) Hebrew *šīš*, "blossom" in the form of a rosette inscribed with the legend "Holy/devoted to Yahweh" and worn by the priest over the front part of the headdress for propitiatory purposes (cf. Exod. 28:36 ff., 39:30). Used with *nezer*, "blossom," "crown" (Lev. 8:9), or replaced by it (Exod. 29:6; cf. also Ps. 132:18).

While the linguistic counterpart in Akkadian remains to be ascertained there are abundant archeological analogues from Mesopotamia. Most illuminating in this connection are archaic cylinder seals which depict the feeding of the temple herd; though practically identical otherwise, they differ in that the priest uses ears of grain on some specimens but rosettes on others.²⁸ Plants and their symbols represented life and lifegiving properties, but by the same token they also stood for protection against hostile forces.²⁹ In the Bible, this ancient usage, along with many others, is redirected to other channels.

- (6) Hebrew *šīšūt*, "fringe" on hem of garment

²⁸ Cf. e.g. H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (1939) Pl. V d and i; see also B. L. Goff, *Symbols of Prehistoric Mesopotamia* (1963) pp. 62, 85 f.

²⁹ M. Noth, *Exodus* (London, 1962) pp. 184 f.

(Num. 15:38), alternating with *g'dīlīm*, "tassels" (Deut. 22:12). The admonitory purpose is spelled out in Num. 15:39 ("you shall recall Yahweh's commandments"). Term based on *šīš*, apparently because the tufted tassel resembled a blossom.

The Akkadian counterpart is *sissiktum*, "hem of garment," which was impressed on clay documents as an extension of one's personality and thereby signified surrender to punishment in case of non-compliance.³⁰ Compare the use of the fringes of the prayer shawl at the reading of the Torah lesson.³¹ Synonymous with Nuzi *kannu*.³²

- (7) Hebrew *tāw*, last letter of the Hebrew alphabet, which has the form of a cross in the old script; mark drawn on the forehead for protective purposes (Ezek. 9:4).

Corresponds functionally to Akkadian (*iš*)*pallurtum*, "cross," "crossroads," "mark on forehead,"³³ logographically *bar*, which is identical in form with Old Hebrew *tāw*.

³⁰ P. Koschaker in *ASAW*, 1931, pp. 116 f.

³¹ E. A. Speiser in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* CVII (1963) 538.

³² I cannot subscribe to the otherwise tempting suggestion by H. Lewy (*Orientalia* XI [1942] 313, n. 2), seconded by D. J. Wiseman (*JCS* XII [1958] 128), that Nuzi *qannu* (synonym of Akk. *sissiktum*) be equated with *qarnu*, "horn," "corner." For one thing, the pertinent passages from Mari and Alalāḥ use *qarnu* not by itself but only as a construct with *šubātu*. Would *qarnu* alone suffice to designate "hem of garment"? And for another, the occurrences of *kannum* in the "Laws of Eshnunna" (§§ 51 f.)—which establish the initial consonant as *k* (cf. A. Goetze, *AASOR* XXXI [1956] 129)—and the lexical data that point to "twisted cord" (*ibid.*) add up to "fringe," an analogue of "hem" and hence a counterpart of Hebrew *šīšūt*.

³³ Cf. *CAD* VII 253.

STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE SEMITIC LEXICOGRAPHY¹

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This paper contains three studies in comparative Semitic lexicography with special reference to Hebrew in the light of Akkadian and Ugaritic. It should be stressed at the outset that not all of the material here presented is entirely new. However, none of it is to be found in the latest Hebrew lexicons such as the one by L. Koehler. It should further be noted that these studies were not selected at random, but rather the aim was to touch upon areas of lexicography to

which B. Landsberger, the foremost living master of Assyriology, has devoted a lifetime of research and study. While his major contributions are in the area of Sumero-Akkadian lexicography, he has always been keenly aware of and deeply interested in Semitic lexicography in general and Hebrew lexicography in particular. Paraphrasing the Akkadian poet of *Ludlul*, I can only say: *tanādāti bēl nēmeqi šî hidūtū!*

I. Akkadian *zē summāti* = Hebrew *ḥārē yōnām*

Every reader of the Bible is familiar with the description of a great famine in II Kings 6:25: "And there was a great famine in Samaria; and they (the Aramaeans) were besieging it, until an ass's head (Hebrew ראש-חמור) was (sold) for eighty pieces of silver and the fourth part of a qab of doves' dung (Hebrew חרי יונים) for five pieces of silver." While ראש-חמור is also difficult,² the main problem lies in the enigmatic ex-

pression חרי יונים, literally "doves' dung."³ Indeed, this has been a puzzle to ancient and modern scholars alike. It should be evident that this expression, if denoting a foodstuff, cannot be taken literally. It is therefore not surprising that many medieval commentators,⁴ followed by

¹ The abbreviations used in this paper are those of the *Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (CAD)*, with the following additions:

- Anath* U. M. D. Cassuto, *The Goddess Anath* (Jerusalem, 1951)
BJPES *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society* (Jerusalem, 1933—)
CML G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* (Edinburgh, 1956)
ICC "International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments" (New York, 1895—)
Keret H. L. Ginsberg, *The Legend of King Keret (BASOR "Supplementary Studies" Nos. 2-3 [New Haven, 1946])*
Lexicon L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Leiden, 1953)
LH Late Hebrew
SBOT "The Sacred Books of the Old Testament" (Leipzig etc., 1893-1904)
UM C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual* (Roma, 1955)

It should be noted that for Akkadian words which are now to be found in *CAD* (A, I, D, E, G, H, I/J, S, Z) or *AHw.* (A, B, D, E, G, H, I, J, K-*katāmu*) references are generally not given.

² The problem is not solved by the story of Plutarch (*Ar-taxerxes* 24) concerning the soaring price of an ass's head,

quoted by many scholars (e.g. C. F. Burney, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings* [Oxford, 1903] p. 288; J. A. Montgomery, *Kings [ICC, 1951]* p. 384; R. de Vaux, *Livres des Rois* [2nd ed.; *La Sainte Bible*, 1958] pp. 153-54, n. d). The difficulty leads to emendations of all kinds. Winckler's emendation of ראש-חמור into חמר חירוש, "a homer of new wine" (*OLZ* IV [1901] 194 = *Kritische Schriften* II [Berlin, 1902] 35) is no improvement of the Massoretic text. Equally unconvincing is Cheyne's emendation חמר עדשים, "a homer of lentils" (*The Expositor* X [London, 1899] 33; *idem, Isaiah [SBOT, 1899]* p. 197). These and other emendations have rightly been rejected (e.g. B. Stade, *Kings [SBOT, 1904]* pp. 208 f.). It is important to note that ראש-חמור was read by all the versions.

³ The *Kt.* has חריייתים; *Qr.* דבייתים. While the etymology of the *Qr.* is problematic, it is no doubt a correction (תקון טופרים) to guard against obscenity (see List 2 in R. Gordis, *The Biblical Text in the Making* [Philadelphia, 1937] p. 86). The division of the *Kt.* חריייתים into two words, חרי יתים (< חראי יתים; cf. II Kings 18:27 against Isa. 36:12), "doves' dung," cannot be doubted. There is no basis for Geiger's assumption (*Urschrift* [Breslau, 1857] p. 409; cf. Winckler, *Kritische Schriften* II 35) that we have here one word, חריין ("Peilon-Form"), meaning "human dung," nor for Gordis' statement (*op. cit.* p. 167, n. 3) that "Geiger's suggestion . . . has much to recommend it." There is in reality nothing to recommend it, for the reading חרי יתים is fully vouched for by all the versions (Sept., Targum, Syriac) as well as by all the medieval commentaries and lexicons.

⁴ It may be of some interest to render into English Qimḥi's statement: "And they used to kindle fire with doves' dung be-

some modern scholars,⁵ assume that some kind of fuel or salt is meant. The majority of modern biblical scholars, on the other hand, rightly assume that the name of an edible plant must be hidden in חרי יונים. Some look for such a plant in the Arabic *ḥurʿu al-ḥamām*,⁶ literally “dove’s dung,” while others emend the Massoretic text in one way or another.⁷ However, neither *ḥurʿu al-ḥamām*, the identification of which is disputed,⁸ nor Löw’s celebrated emendation חרצונים (from Syriac *ḥarṣānā* = star of Bethlehem = *Orinthogalum umbellatum* L.)⁹ seems plausible, since such plants are either unknown in Palestine or not edible, and none of them is sufficiently popular to drive home the idea of the severity

cause they had no firewood, since they could not get out from the city and gather firewood in the forest because of the siege”; cf. the similar statement of Ibn Janāḥ, *Kitāb al-uṣūl* (ed. Neubauer [Oxford, 1875]) p. 149 = *Sepher Haschoraschim* (ed. Bacher [Berlin, 1896]) p. 103: “I assume [that they used it (doves’ dung) to kindle fire because of lack of firewood due to the siege.”

⁵ G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina* VI (1939) 96; for dung as fuel in general see *ibid.* IV (1935) 18 ff.; H. Gressmann, *Die älteste Geschichtsschreibung und Prophetie Israels* (“Die Schriften des Alten Testaments” II 1 [2nd ed.; Göttingen, 1921]) p. 302; cf. most recently John Gray, *I & II Kings* (Philadelphia, 1963) p. 471.

⁶ The attempt to connect biblical חרי יונים with some Arabic plants or foodstuffs seems to go back to the 17th-century scholar S. Bochart (*Hierozoicon* II [3rd ed.; 1692] 38 ff.), followed by M. Poole (*Synopsis* I [1684] 624 ff.). These early attempts, which can hardly be considered convincing, are followed by some modern scholars without any critical examination of the problem (e.g. Montgomery, *Kings*, p. 385; Gray, *I & II Kings*, pp. 471, 467, n. c).

⁷ Neither Winckler’s fanciful emendation of חרי יונים to חרי on the basis of Gen. 40:16 (*OLZ* IV 194 = *Kritische Schriften* II 35; cf. A. Šanda, *Die Bücher der Könige* II [Münster, 1912] 54) nor Klostermann’s reading חרצונים (*Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige* [Nördlingen, 1887] pp. 410 f.; cf. H. Graetz, *Emendationes* III [Breslau, 1894] 35) need to be discussed here. These emendations have rightly been rejected by Stade (*Kings*, p. 209). The most widely known emendation, prior to that in Löw’s *Flora*, is Cheyne’s reading חרובים for חרי יונים (*The Expositor* X 33; *idem*, *Isaiah*, p. 197). While his wild emendations in our verse and elsewhere have been rejected by biblical scholars (Stade, *loc. cit.*; cf. *ZAW* XX [1900] 207), his reading חרובים, at least in our verse, did find some followers (cf. most recently Gray, *I & II Kings*, pp. 467, 471). Indeed, it cannot be denied that Cheyne is close to the truth when he finds the carob in our verse. However, his emendation as such is unnecessary, as will be shown presently.

⁸ Cf. most recently R. de Vaux, *Livres des Rois* (2nd ed.) pp. 153 f., n. d.

⁹ I. Löw, *Flora* I 2 (1928) pp. 601 f. and II (1924) 188; cf. already *idem* in *ZS* I (1922) 121 f.

of the famine and the gravity of the inflation. Nevertheless, Löw’s emendation is adopted by Koehler.¹⁰

An Assyriological contribution to our problem by the late Campbell Thompson has been completely overlooked in biblical lexicography. It is to his merit that he recognized that the solution is to be found in the plant GIŠ.Ú.GÍR = *ḥarūbu*, which he incorrectly identified as the genuine carob (*Ceratonia siliqua* L.).¹¹ In his *Dictionary of Assyrian Botany* he devotes only one sentence to our problem, but this statement serves as a point of departure for the following remarks.¹² Indeed, cuneiform sources not only indicate that “doves’ dung” is a popular name of a well-known plant but also enable us to identify such a plant with absolute certainty. In the lexical text *Uruanna*, composed during the Kassite period and devoted to plants and drugs, a full section of Tablet I¹³ is devoted to the *ašāgu-ḥarūbu* plant. Line 189 of that section reads NUMUN.GIŠ.Ú.GÍR = ŠÈ.TU.MUŠEN. [MEŠ].¹⁴ When we render the logogram in the right column into Akkadian, we obtain *zē summāti*, “doves’ dung.” The rendering of the logogram in the left column must be *zēr ašāgi*, “the seed of the (false) carob” = *ḥarūbu*.¹⁵ While the logogram GIŠ.Ú.GÍR stands for both the *eddetu* and the *ašāgu* shrubs,¹⁶ there

¹⁰ *Lexicon*, pp. 329a and 336b; cf. R. de Vaux, *Livres des Rois* (2nd ed.) p. 154.

¹¹ Thompson, *DAB*, p. 186; cf. already *idem* in *Iraq* V (1938) 24 f.

¹² It is worth noting, however, that his important statement is not without some confusion. In Thompson’s posthumously published book (*DAB*, p. 186, n. 1) the reader is referred, for no apparent reason, to Löw (*Flora* I 601) with the following statement: “This explanation [that Heb. חרי יונים = the carob] in *FJ*. [= Löw, *Flora*] is in accord with the Assyrian evidence, and is much the most satisfactory of such as have been put forward.” Löw, however, is not only completely unaware of “the Assyrian evidence” but emphatically advocates emending the “impossible” חרי יונים into חרצונים.

¹³ *Uruanna* I 171–89 (from *CT* XIV, Pl. 21, cols. vi and v 11–29).

¹⁴ The restoration at the end of the line is certain; cf. e.g. Küchler, *Beitr.* Pl. 12, col. iv 19: ŠÈ.TU.MUŠEN.MEŠ; *AMT* 79,1: 7; and many others.

¹⁵ *Uruanna* I 186: ú šá-mi GIŠ.Ú.GÍR = ú ḥa-ru-bu.

¹⁶ *Hh* III 432: GIŠ.Ú.GÍR = *ed-de-tu*; *ibid.* line 439: GIŠ.Ú.GÍR = *a-ša-gu* (Landsberger, *MSL* V 130 f.); *Diri* II 250: aṭ-ṭu GIŠ.Ú.GÍR = *ed-de-tú*; *ibid.* line 251: ki-ši GIŠ.Ú.GÍR = *a-ša-gu*; *ibid.* line 252: ḥa-ru-ub GIŠ.DAG.KISIM₆ × Ú.GÍR = *ḥa-ru-bu* (Landsberger in *Afo* XII [1937–39] 139, n. 26).

is no doubt that the latter is intended here. This assumption is based on the following considerations. (1) *Uruanna* I 183 ff. all deal with the *ašāgu-ḥarūbu*, while the *eddetu* is treated in a different tablet.¹⁷ (2) GIŠ.Ú.GÍR in medical texts represents a masculine noun and must therefore be read *ašāgu*, not *eddetu*, which is a feminine noun.¹⁸ (3) *Uruanna* I 188 mentions Ú.A.KAL GIŠ.Ú.GÍR = Akkadian *ḥīl ḥarūbi*, “sap of the (false) carob,”¹⁹ while the *eddetu* is not among the sap-producing plants.²⁰ In short, our cuneiform text clearly reveals that *zēr ašāgi*, “the seed of the (false) carob,” was also known under the popular name *zē summāti*, “doves’ dung.” When we render this popular name into biblical Hebrew, we obtain חרי יונים or צואת יונים.²¹ Landsberger has shown not only that GIŠ.Ú.GÍR = *ašāgu* denotes the false carob (*Prosopis stephaniana*) and not the genuine one, which is unknown in Mesopotamia,²² but also that GIŠ.Ú.GÍR = *eddetu* is to be identified as the boxthorn (*Lycium barbarum*).²³ That the *ašāgu* is the (false) carob is clear not only from the fact that it produces the pods known as *ḥarūbu*²⁴ but also from etymolo-

¹⁷ *Uruanna* II 306–20 (= Köcher, *Pflanzenkunde*, Pl. 11, col. ii 40–54).

¹⁸ It must be admitted that many passages are ambiguous, but note the following, where only *ašāgu* (masc.) is the correct reading: *AMT* 88,2:8: GIŠ.Ú.GÍR (= *ašāgu*) *ša ina tarammī ašū*, “the (false) carob which grows in a barn”; *AMT* 99,3 rev. 15: GIŠ.Ú.GÍR (= *ašāgu*) *ša ina muḥḥi kimaḥḥi ašū*, “the (false) carob which grows on the top of a grave”; *KAR*, No. 196, p. 77, lines 31 f.: Ú.GÍR (= *ašāgu*) *ša eli pitiḫti ašū*, “the (false) carob which grows on an orchard wall.”

¹⁹ *CAD* VI 188 f.; *AHW*, pp. 345 f. For A.KAL = *ḥīlu* cf. e.g. *Diri* III 133: A.KAL = *ḥi-i-lu*; *Hh* III 107: GIŠ.ŠIM.A.KAL.ḪAL = *ḥi-il ba-lu-ḫu* (Landsberger, *MSL* V 101); and others.

²⁰ For a list of sap-producing plants, the *eddetu* excluded, see Thompson, *DAB*, p. 338; *CAD* VI 189a.

²¹ חרי יונים is of course in no way different from צואת יונים since the two are synonymous (contrast Gordis, *The Biblical Text in the Making*, p. 167, n. 4). Note the *Kt.* חריהם/חריהם and the *Qr.* צואתם in II Kings 18:27 and Isa. 36:12, on the one hand, and the *Kt.* מרריות and the *Qr.* מרריות in II Kings 10:27, on the other. The interdialectal distribution of “excrement,” “dung” is as follows. Akk.: *zū* (= etymologically Heb. *ṣēṣā* and *ṣōṣā*); Ugaritic: *zu* (uncertain); Hebrew: צואה/צואה; Aramaic-Syriac: חריא/מסכתא; Arabic: *ḥur*/(*raḡḡ*).

²² *AfO* XII 139 f., n. 26; *MSL* II 118 (modified).

²³ *AfO* XII 139 f., n. 26; cf. *CAD* IV 23.

²⁴ Note particularly *CT* XLI, Pl. 22, line 17: *šumma GIŠ.Ú.GÍR (= ašāgu) ḥarūba eli minātīšu išši*, “if the *ašāgu*-bush produced carobs in extraordinary numbers” (*CAD* VI 120b; *AHW*, p. 329a).

gy. Thus it seems quite obvious that both Arabic *šauk* (pl. *ʿašwāk*) and *ḥarrūb/ḥarnūb*²⁵ are etymologically related to Akkadian *ašāgu* and *ḥarūbu* respectively. It is worth mentioning that in some areas of Iraq the plant itself is still called *šōk* and the fruit is referred to as *ḥarnūb*, while in other areas *ḥarnūb* applies to both.²⁶ When we bear in mind that *ḥarrūbu* is considered a loanword in Arabic,²⁷ this etymological equation gains much in probability.

Whether the biblical חרי יונים = חרי יונים is to be identified as genuine or false carob is not easy to determine since both are indigenous to Palestine. Löw has shown that in LH the pods of the false carob are known as כלסים, clearly to be distinguished from the חרובים denoting the genuine one.²⁸ However, since neither word is attested in the Bible,²⁹ no definite answer is possible. In any case, it is a fact that our biblical text preserves the popular name of the carob and we may safely assume that to the people of Samaria חרי יונים רבע הקב חרי יונים was in no way different from רבע הקב חרובים. Moreover, the low esteem in which the carob was held as a foodstuff in Palestine makes its employment in our biblical text highly appropriate. That the carob was a very cheap commodity and considered to be food for the poor is well known from Akkadian and LH sources. As to Akkadian, I need only mention line 186 of the *Theodicy*, where the sufferer states that *mār kabti u šarī ḥarūbu uk[lassun]*, “As to the noble and the rich (who became poor), (false) carob is their food.”³⁰

LH sources bear abundant witness to the fact that the carob was the food of the very poor,³¹ of animals,³² and even the sole diet of some cele-

²⁵ For Arabic *ḥarrūb* > *ḥarnūb* cf. e.g. Akk. *zurugqu*, “irrigation apparatus” (*CAD* XXI 167b) > Aram. *zarnūqā* (*Jastrow, Dict.* I 414) > Arab. *zurnūq* (Fränkel, *Fremdw.* pp. 134 f.).

²⁶ Guest, *Notes on Plants*, pp. 77 f.

²⁷ Fränkel, *Fremdw.* p. 141; Löw, *Flora* II 394.

²⁸ Löw, *Flora* II 391 f.

²⁹ A possible exception is Isa. 1:20 (see below).

³⁰ Lambert, *BWL*, p. 80; cf. *ACH*, Ishtar No. 28:20: *mātum ḥarūbe ikkal*, “the people will eat carobs” (*CAD* VI 120b; *AHW*, p. 329a).

³¹ See the vast literature cited in Löw, *Flora* II 404 f.

³² Note particularly the saying חריבין מאכל בהמה חן, “carobs are the food of animals,” in Palestinian *Talmud*, *Maasroth* 3:1; cf. *Mishnah Maasroth* 3:4; *Sabbath* 24:2 and Luke 15:16; note

brated sages who shunned the “vanities” of this world.³³ Small wonder, therefore, that once a Jew is reduced to eating carobs, he is, according to the sages, ready to do repentance!³⁴ Moreover, the expression חרובין תאכלו, “you shall eat carobs,” is even employed as a curse.³⁵ This curse is a play of words on the enigmatic expression חרב תאכלו in Isa. 1:20. The latter is a famous *crux interpretum* which has been emended in various ways. One of the emendations suggested is indeed חרובים תאכלו.³⁶ T. K. Cheyne is well known for his wild and extreme emendations, and his reading חרובים, like many other of his emendations, is generally not accepted by biblical scholars.³⁷ However, there is no escape from the conclusion that in the light of our present study his suggestion is most probable. One need not, at the same time, emend the Massoretic חרב into חרובים or consider it an abbreviation for חרובים, as suggested by Cheyne, but simply vocalize *ḥarūb* as a generic (= Akkadian *ḥarūbu* in *Theodicy*, line 186). Isa. 1:19–20 can now safely be rendered: “If you agree and give heed, you will eat the choice produce of the land; but if you refuse and disobey, you will eat carobs (= the opposite of the choice produce of the land; i.e., you will live in misery and poverty).”

II. Canaanite *ḥasilū* = Akkadian *gamrū*

We are all familiar with the phenomenon of Canaanite glosses in the Amarna letters. In such cases the Canaanite scribe employs an Akkadian

It may be noted that חרוב is not a loanword from Akkadian, as suggested by Zimmern,³⁸ but rather a word common to Western Asia as a whole, as argued by Löw.³⁹ While it is true that outside our Isaiah verse the carob is not attested by its proper name in the Hebrew Bible, this is only by chance. That it was known is now evident since it is attested by its popular name “doves’ dung” in II Kings 6:25.

I have nothing positive to suggest as to the origin of the popular name *zē summāti* in Akkadian and its Hebrew counterpart חרי יונים. However, such popular designations are well known and belong to the realm of folklore. What comes to mind is not only the plant known as *zē malāḥi*, “sailor’s dung,”⁴⁰ but also such popular names as *ḥaṭṭi rē-i*, “shepherd’s staff,”⁴¹ and *lišān kalbi*, “dog’s tongue.”⁴² There is also *nēš qaqqari*, “lion of the earth,” which is a popular name of the chameleon, Akkadian *ḥulamēšu*,⁴³ but the latter has nothing to do with the lion, nor does it dwell in the earth. It is tempting to assume, with Oppenheim,⁴⁴ that ראש-חמור in our biblical verse is also a popular name of a plant. This, however, is only speculation since such a plant is at the present unknown.

word which in turn he attempts to translate, accurately or approximately, into his native tongue. To this category belong such well-known

also the proverbial saying concerning the ass (חמור) and the basket of carobs (כפיפה של חרובין) in Palestinian *Talmud*, *Yoma* 8:7.

³³ Of particular interest is the legend about the sage Rabbi Chaninah, who lived on one qab of carobs for a whole week (Bab. *Talmud*, *Berakhoth*, p. 17b); cf. the legend about Rabbi Simon and his son, who lived on carobs for thirteen years while hiding in a cave (*Gen. Rabbah* 79:6).

³⁴ *Lev. Rabbah* 35:6: צריכין ישראל לחרובא עברין חתובא; cf. *Lam. Rabbah*, Introduction 17, where the nations of the world express the hope that they will not have to eat carobs like the Jews.

³⁵ *Lev. Rabbah* 35:6.

³⁶ Cheyne, *The Expositor* X 34; *idem*, *Isaiah*, p. 197.

³⁷ Cf. e.g. *ZAW* XX 207; E. J. Kissane, *The Book of Isaiah* I (Dublin, 1941) 13.

³⁸ *Fremdw.* p. 55.

³⁹ *Flora* II 394. It must be stressed, with Löw, that it is highly improbable that a word primarily denoting the genuine carob would spread all over the Near East from Mesopotamia.

On the other hand, Löw’s derivation of חרוב from חרב, “sword” (because of the swordlike shape of the pod), must be rejected. For *ḥarūbu* is as much a “*Kulturwort*” as חור, חפח, חורר (= Akk. *ḥallūru*), and the like (Löw, *loc. cit.*). Zimmern could, with more justification, include in his *Fremdw.* p. 55, Hebrew נרה, “smallest weight” (Exod. 30:13, Lev. 27:25, Num. 3:47, Ezek. 45:12; Löw, *Flora* II 402 f.) < Akkadian *girū* (Zimmern, *Fremdw.* p. 21; *CAD* V 96 f.; *AHw.* p. 291b, where “< *aram. gērā*” should be corrected to read “> *hebr. gērā*”). The analogy to our “carat,” originally “seed of the carob” (Löw, *loc. cit.*; cf. Landsberger in *ZA* XXXIX [1930] 284, n. 1), is indeed striking.

⁴⁰ *CAD* XXI 151a.

⁴¹ *CAD* VI 156; cf. *JAOS* LXXIX (1959) 169, n. 7.

⁴² Thompson, *DAB*, pp. 23 f., 26; Zimmern, *Fremdw.* p. 57. This plant is frequently attested in medical texts, e.g. Labat, *TDP* I 194, line 44; Küchler, *Beitr.* Pls. 1, line 18, 4, line 64, 7, line 47, 10, line 27, 11, line 63, 13, line 52, and 18, line 23; *AMT* 1,2:10, 7,4:15, 11,2:28, 15,3:13, 19,1:4, 22,2:14, 23,2:9, and many others.

⁴³ *CAD* VI 227 f.; *AHw.* p. 353b.

⁴⁴ *JQR* XXXVII (1946/47) 176.

cases as Akkadian *riqqu* - *ṣurwa* = Hebrew צַר, "balm";⁴⁵ Akkadian *šadû* - *ḥarru* = Hebrew הַר, "mountain";⁴⁶ Akkadian *ašāšu* - *naqšapu* = Hebrew קִצַּף, "to be enraged";⁴⁷ Akkadian *dūru* - *ḥumītu* = Hebrew חֹמָה, חֻמַּת, "wall";⁴⁸ Akkadian *epru* - *aparū/ḥaparū* = Hebrew עָפַר, "dust";⁴⁹ Akkadian *elippu* - *anaya* = Hebrew אַנְיָה, "boat";⁵⁰ Akkadian *ina qātišu* - *badīu* = Ugaritic *bdh*, "in his hand";⁵¹ Akkadian *abullu* - *šahru* = Hebrew שַׁעַר, "gate";⁵² and others.⁵³

Another well-known phenomenon in the Amarna letters is the Canaanite scribe's omission of the Akkadian word altogether and his use of the Canaanite word alone, without even an attempt to give its Akkadian counterpart. To this category belong such familiar cases as *ḥihbê* = Hebrew הִחְבֵּא, "he hid," omitting Akkadian *upazzir*;⁵⁴ *ḥullu* = Hebrew עַל, "yoke," omitting Akkadian *nīru*;⁵⁵ *zuruḥ* = Hebrew זְרוּעַ, "arm," omitting Akkadian *qātu*;⁵⁶ *abād* = Hebrew אָבַד, "to put an end to," omitting Akkadian *ḥulluqu*;⁵⁷ *lizkur* = Hebrew זָכַר, "to remember," omitting Akkadian *liḥsus*.⁵⁸

A similar case, as yet not fully recognized, is

⁴⁵ *EA*, No. 48:8 (*CAD* XVI 261b).

⁴⁶ *EA*, No. 74:20 (*CAD* VI 115a).

⁴⁷ *EA*, No. 82:50 f.; cf. No. 93:4 f. (W. F. Albright and W. L. Moran in *JCS* II [1948] 242, 244, 248; cf. M. Held in *JCS* XV [1961] 23b).

⁴⁸ *EA*, No. 141:44 (*CAD* VI 234b). For חֹמָה cf. Azitawadda i 17 and Prov. 1:21 (Sept.); cf. also Ugaritic *ḥmt* (IK 74-75, 165-67), pl. *ḥmyt* (RS 1929, No. 2:27-28).

⁴⁹ *EA*, Nos. 141:4 and 143:11 (*CAD* VI 84a).

⁵⁰ *EA*, No. 245:28; cf. Ugaritic *anyt* (*UM*, p. 240, No. 174).

⁵¹ *EA*, No. 245:35. For Ugaritic *bdh*, "in his hand," cf. SS 8-9; V AB, A 10-11; ID 217-18. For Phoenician בַּד see J. Friedrich, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik* (Roma, 1951) §§ 63a and 80a.

⁵² *EA*, No. 244:16 (*CAD* I 83a, lexical section).

⁵³ F. M. T. Böhl, *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe* (Leipzig, 1909) pp. 81 ff.

⁵⁴ *EA*, No. 256:7 (Albright in *BASOR* No. 89 [1943] p. 11, n. 19; *CAD* VI 184a).

⁵⁵ *EA*, No. 257:15; cf. No. 296:38: *nīru* = *ḥullu* (*CAD* VI 230a).

⁵⁶ *EA*, Nos. 286:12 and 288:14; cf. Nos. 287:27 and 288:34: *qātu* = *zuruḥ* (*CAD* XXI 167a). Note that *šū* (= *qātu*) is here incorrectly used for *īdu*.

⁵⁷ *EA*, No. 244:42; cf. No. 288:52: *ḥalqat* = *abadat*.

⁵⁸ *EA*, Nos. 147:23 and 289:41; cf. No. 228:18 f.: *liḥšusmi* = *yazkurmi* (*CAD* XXI 22).

to be found in *EA*, No. 263,⁵⁹ where an act of plundering is described in the following words: *laqi gabbu ištu bīti ardika laqi kaspu laqi awēlūtu laqi šēnu* (gloss:) *šūnu*⁶⁰ (gloss:) *ḥa-zi-lu*⁶¹ *ālānu bēliya*, "everything has been taken from your servant's house: the silver has been carried off, the people have been carried off, the sheep and goats have been carried off (and) my lord's cities have been brought to an end." It should be noted at the outset that the rendering of the Canaanite *ḥazilū*, for which the Akkadian is not given, as "brought to an end," "extinguished" is corroborated by the Amarna letters themselves. For our *ḥazilū ālānu bēliya* is in no way different in meaning from such Amarna expressions as *ḥalqat* (gloss:) *abadat gabbi mātāti šarri bēliya*, "all the lands of the king my lord are lost,"⁶² or, perhaps more to the point, from such Amarna expressions as *gamrat māt šarri bēliya*, "the land of the king my lord has been brought to an end,"⁶³ on the one hand, and *gamratme ālu . . . ina mūtān*, "the city has been brought to an end . . . by pestilence,"⁶⁴ on the other. In other words, even the Amarna letters themselves make it clear that Canaanite *ḥsl* is to be equated semantically with Akkadian *gamāru*.⁶⁵

The stem חָסַל is attested only once in the Hebrew Bible. In Deut. 28:38 we read וְזַעַר רַב הוּצִיא הָאֱרֶבֶב, "though you take much seed out to the field, you shall gather in little, for the locust shall consume it."⁶⁶ In biblical lexicography the stem חָסַל is generally equated etymologically with Arabic *lahisa*,⁶⁷ allegedly meaning "eat (locusts plants)."⁶⁸ However, this etymology must be rejected on several counts. First, it cannot be reconciled with the Canaanite *ḥazilū* just quoted. Second,

⁵⁹ *EA*, No. 263:9-13.

⁶⁰ *CAD* XVI 248b.

⁶¹ *CAD* VI 166a.

⁶² *EA*, No. 288:52 f.

⁶³ *EA*, No. 273:11 f.

⁶⁴ *EA*, No. 244:30-32.

⁶⁵ For the range of meanings of the stem *gamāru* see *CAD* V 25 ff. and *Ahw.* pp. 276 ff.

⁶⁶ *The Torah* (Philadelphia, 1962) p. 376.

⁶⁷ Cf. e.g. J. Barth, *Wurzeluntersuchungen zum hebräischen und aramäischen Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1902) p. 22.

⁶⁸ *Lexicon*, p. 319b.

Arabic *lahisa* means “to lick”⁶⁹ (= Hebrew לחך⁷⁰) and is not restricted to the devouring of plants by locusts. As a matter of fact, neither Saadia nor al-Fāṣī, neither of whom is without partiality to the use of Arabic cognates, is aware of Arabic *lahisa* in connection with our biblical verse. Thus, Saadia renders יחסלנו הארבה as יקצמה אלגוראר.⁷¹ While it is almost certain that יקצם, “he shall break,” is a mistake for יקצם,⁷² “he shall crunch,” the fact remains that Saadia ignores *lahisa* as an alleged cognate.⁷³ Similarly, al-Fāṣī interprets our biblical expression by stating יקטעה יפניה וליס לה נטיר, “he (the locust) shall consume it, put an end to it; it (the word יחסלנו) is a *hapax legomenon*.”⁷⁴ Moreover, not only does al-Fāṣī interpret our יחסלנו to mean “to consume,” “to put an end to,” in full agreement with Amarna *hsl*, but he even adds that biblical חסל is to be equated with Aramaic and LH חסל.⁷⁵

Furthermore, Ibn Janāḥ, who appears to have originated the comparison with *lahisa*⁷⁶ and who is quoted by Barth⁷⁷ in support of his argument, does not fail to recognize the possibility of equating biblical חסל with Aramaic חסל.⁷⁸ The latter, it is to be noted, has the same semantic connotation as Akkadian *gamāru* and Ugaritic and Hebrew *kly*. Suffice it to mention the following examples: (1) Aramaic חסיל כספא, “the money is consumed,”⁷⁹ = Akkadian (Amarna) *yānu*

⁶⁹ E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London etc., 1893) pp. 2654 f.

⁷⁰ Note Saadia’s translation of Hebrew לחך in Num. 22:4 and Isa. 49:23 by Arabic לחס (J. Derenbourg, *Version arabe du Pentateuque* ([Paris, 1893] p. 228; *idem*, *Version arabe d’Isaïe* Paris, 1896] p. 76).

⁷¹ Derenbourg, *Version arabe du Pentateuque*, p. 295.

⁷² Note Saadia’s translation of Hebrew חסיל in Isa. 33:4 by Arabic קצام (Derenbourg, *Version arabe d’Isaïe*, p. 49); cf. Ibn Janāḥ, *Kitāb al-uṣūl* (ed. Neubauer) p. 239 (Hebrew חסל = Arabic קצם).

⁷³ Contrast the references quoted in n. 70 above.

⁷⁴ *Kitāb jāmi‘ al-alfāz* (ed. Skoss) I (1936) 568.

⁷⁵ In his words: ופי אלמשה יקולון חסל פרקא פרג אלפרק.

⁷⁶ *Kitāb al-uṣūl*, p. 239 = *Sepher Haschoraschim* (ed. Bacher) p. 163: ורבמא נאנס אללפט אלערבי אעני קולה לחסח אלשי אלחסה ואן כאן מקלובא.

⁷⁷ *Wurzeluntersuchungen . . .*, p. 22.

⁷⁸ In his own words: ורבמא נאנס אללפט אלסריאי פי קולה: חסיל סדר מועד ונירה אי חס.

⁷⁹ *Targum Jerushalmi* II, Gen. 47:15.

kaspu . . . gamir gabbu ina napištīnu, “there is no money left . . . all has been consumed on our sustenance,”⁸⁰ = Hebrew תם הכסף;⁸¹ (2) Aramaic למעבד . . . חסל, “he . . . finished work,”⁸² = Akkadian *ištu šipir nārim . . . tagdamru*, “when you have finished the work of the canal,”⁸³ = Hebrew כלה מלאכה;⁸⁴ (3) Aramaic יחסלונך כגובא, “. . . will consume you like a locust,”⁸⁵ = Akkadian *ākiltum . . . karēka igammar*, “(an invasion of) the ‘devourer’ (= the locust) will consume your stored grain,”⁸⁶ = Hebrew יכלך* כארבה.⁸⁷ Thus, West Semitic חסל, “to be consumed,” “be finished” (intr.), and “to consume,” “put an end to” (trans.), is semantically the same as Akkadian *gamāru* and Ugaritic and Hebrew *kly*. Indeed, יחסלנו הארבה in Deut. 28:38, which is in all probability to be vocalized as a Hiph. or Piel, is correctly rendered by the Targum as יחסלינה גובא. This, however, cannot be rendered “the locust shall lay it bare” as erroneously suggested by Jastrow⁸⁸ but must be translated “the locust shall consume it.”⁸⁹ Thus, Aramaic יחסלינה גובא is in no way different from Akkadian **erbū igammaršu*, Ugaritic **ykylyh irby*, Hebrew יכלנו הארבה*.

The substantive חסיל is attested six times in all in the Hebrew Bible⁹⁰ and must be considered a poetic synonym of ארבה, “locust.” There is thus not the slightest evidence for Koehler’s assumption that חסיל may denote the “cockroach.”⁹¹ The synonymous parallelism of ארבה חסיל in Hebrew and its Ugaritic counterpart *irby-hsn*, “locust-grasshopper,”⁹² makes it clear

⁸⁰ *EA*, No. 107:37–39 (*CAD* V 26 c).

⁸¹ Gen. 47:15.

⁸² Targum II Chron. 4:11 and 7:11.

⁸³ *LIH* No. 4 rev. 6–7 (*CAD* V 28 f).

⁸⁴ Gen. 2:2, Exod. 40:33, I Chron. 28:20, II Chron. 29:34.

⁸⁵ Targum Nah. 3:15.

⁸⁶ *YOS* X, No. 44:57 (*CAD* V 25, 1; *CAD* I 266b).

⁸⁷ *Sepher Haschoraschim* (ed. Bacher) p. 163.

⁸⁸ *Dict.* I 488.

⁸⁹ J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch . . .* (Leipzig, 1868) I 272.

⁹⁰ I Kings 8:37 (= II Chron. 6:28), Isa. 33:4, Joel 1:4 and 2:25, Ps. 78:46.

⁹¹ *Lexicon*, p. 319a.

⁹² IK 103–5 (var. 192–94): *kirby tškn šd km hsn pat mdbr*, “(Keret’s army is) like the locusts that dwell on the steppe, like grasshoppers on the borders of the desert” (*Keret*, p. 16).

that חסיל can under no circumstances be a “noxious insect differing from ארבה” as suggested by Koehler.⁹³ On the contrary, the synonymous parallelism and context of Joel 1:4 and Ps. 78:46 alone suffice to indicate that חסיל is a “noxious insect” in no way differing from ארבה. Koehler himself rightly equates our biblical חסיל with Ugaritic *hsn* but fails to draw the right conclusions from the Ugaritic usage. For it is difficult to see how the Ugaritic simile for an immense army⁹⁴ would use the word “cockroach” instead of “locust” and thus run contrary to such a well-known Hebrew simile as כארבה לרב, “like a multitude of locusts,”⁹⁵ on the one hand, and to the Akkadian *kīma tebūt aribi maḏi ša pan šatti*, “like a spring invasion of a multitude of locusts,”⁹⁶ on the other. Moreover, it is highly improbable, if not absurd, to assume that the pest consuming (אכל) the produce of the soil (יבול) should be the cockroach and not the locust. In short, Hebrew חסיל must belong to the locust family and so be rendered “devourer,” “consumer” and is not to be separated from Akkadian *ākīlu*, *ākiltu*,⁹⁷ Aramaic-Syriac שמוטא,⁹⁸ and Arabic *qarrād*,⁹⁹ all meaning “devourer,” “consumer.” Thus, there is more than just a mere play of words in the LH saying למה נקרא שמו חסיל שהוא חוסל את הכל? “Why is it

(i.e., the locust) called חסיל? Because it consumes everything.”¹⁰⁰

Problematic, however, is the nominal formation of חסיל, for which no clear parallel in Hebrew is attested.¹⁰¹ At the same time, a majority of *qatīl* formations agree with what Landsberger defines in Akkadian as “*Vergegenständlichung des Eigenschaftswortes*”¹⁰² (e.g. *kanīku*, “a sealed document”) or with what W. von Soden terms “*substantivierte Verbaladjektive*”¹⁰³ (e.g. Akk. *pašīšu* = Heb. משיח, “anointed one”). While the category “substantivation” fits almost all examples (with the sole exception of נעים), some are clearly derived from intransitive stems (e.g. חסיר, צעיר). To the latter category may also belong our חסיל, “the destructive one.” Such an explanation seems preferable to the one based on the assumption that חסיל is a *qatīl* formation analogous to קציר, אביב, “seasons of locust invasion,” or even analogous to “the devoured field.” In any case, there is no denying that no clear nominal parallel to חסיל is at hand nor that the formation expected should be *mahsīl* or *mḥassēl*. Nevertheless, these do not seem to be sufficient reasons for separating the name for a pest, which characteristically devours (*hsl*) the produce of a field or granary, from the stem חסל.

III. Akkadian *kaslu* = Ugaritic *ksl* = Hebrew *kesel*

Paraphrasing Daniel we may say of the Hebrew lexicon by Koehler that it has been weighed and found wanting in many respects. One of the reasons for this severe stricture is its amazingly large number of homonyms. Many of these alleged homonyms are the result of false

etymologies and erroneous interpretations. A good case in point is the meaning and usage of Hebrew כסל-כסלה in the light of Akkadian *kaslu*, Ugaritic *ksl*, and other Semitic parallels. In Koehler’s *Lexicon* כסל is divided into כסל I, “loins,” and כסל II, “confidence.”¹⁰⁴ However,

⁹³ *Lexicon*, p. 319a.

⁹⁴ *Keret*, p. 38; Ginsberg in *ANET* (2nd ed.) p. 144, n. 13.

⁹⁵ Judg. 6:5 and 7:12, Jer. 46:23 and 51:27, Nah. 3:16–17.

⁹⁶ *OIP* II 43, line 56 (cf. *ibid.* p. 75, lines 91–94); *TCL* III, line 256: *ummānāt Aššur rapšāte gimir ālānišunu erebiš ušak-tim*, “I had the vast armies of Aššur cover their cities like locusts” (*CAD* IV 257b–258a).

⁹⁷ *CAD* I 266 f.; *AHW*. pp. 28 f.

⁹⁸ Targum I Kings 8:37 (= II Chron. 6:28), Joel 1:4 (Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* II 492b; contrast Jastrow, *Dict.* II 1592b, whose rendering “long stretched” is erroneous).

⁹⁹ Saadia Ps. 78:46 (Galliner, *Saadia Al-fajjūmi’s arabische Psalmenübersetzung und Commentar* [Berlin, 1903] p. XII).

¹⁰⁰ Palestinian *Talmud*, *Taanith* 3:6.

¹⁰¹ The list of *qatīl* formations in H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments* (Halle a.S., 1922) pp. 470 f., furnishes no clear parallel to חסיל; the latter is not even included in the list. This is true also of J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen* (Leipzig, 1891) pp. 136 f. (§ 85f).

¹⁰² *Islamica* II (1926) 364.

¹⁰³ W. von Soden, *GAG* § 55i.

¹⁰⁴ *Lexicon*, p. 447b. It should be noted that in this as in every other detail Koehler repeats the statements of Gesenius¹⁷ almost verbatim. On the other hand, “stupidity” and “confidence” he equates on the basis of “*Frechheit*” and “*Dumm-dreistheit*.” For כסל I, “loins,” he offers a Mandaic etymology in addition to Ugaritic *ksl*, “back?”; he also deviates from Gesenius by eliminating Akkadian *kaslu* altogether (contrast Gesenius¹⁷, p. 356).

neither the meaning “loins” for כסל I nor the separate second listing is tenable. Moreover, even the rendering of כסל in the ancient translations and commentaries seems to be based on an erroneous transmission.¹⁰⁵

Yet it is quite obvious that Hebrew כסל cannot mean “loins.” Suffice it to call attention to the fact that כסל, unlike words for other parts of the body¹⁰⁶ is never used in the dual. This holds true not only of כסלים in Leviticus¹⁰⁷ but also of כסלי in Ps. 38:8. For in the latter verse כסלי is obviously in the plural and means “my sinews.”

Thus, כסלים || כשר is a perfect pair in parallelism, while “loins” can hardly be considered a suitable parallel to כשר. In other words, the sequence כשר / כסלים is in no way different from the sequence כשר / גידים,¹⁰⁸ on the one hand, and from the Akkadian sequence *širū* (= שאר = כשר) || *šir-ānū*,¹⁰⁹ on the other. Moreover, our biblical passage כסלי מלאו נקלה, “my sinews are filled with misery,” can by no means be separated from the following passage in the Gilgāmeš epic: *šir-ānīya niššati umtalli*, “I filled my sinews with misery.”¹¹⁰

The primary meaning of Hebrew כסל is “sinew/tendon,” while in its derived meaning it denotes “(inner) strength,” “confidence.” Such an assumption is fully corroborated by Akkadian and Ugaritic.

There is no need for detailed evidence as to the meaning of Akkadian *matnu*,¹¹¹ *šir-ānu*,¹¹² *gīdu*,¹¹³

¹⁰⁵ This can perhaps best be illustrated by the fact that a commentator of the stature of Ibn-Ezra takes כסלים in Lev. 3:4 to be the same as כסלים in Isa. 13:10. While the Targum renders כסלים in Lev. by גיסים (= sides), it seems to be at a loss in Ps. 38:8, where it renders כסלי by כסלי! Saadia renders כסלים in Lev. by *aḥšā*, but the latter is a general term for “intestines” having to do with neither “loins” nor “tendons.” Ibn Janāh is inclined to believe that כסלים means “loins” but at the same time does not exclude the possible meanings *ḥawāšir*, “flanks,” and *aḥšā*, “intestines” (*Kitāb al-uṣūl* [ed. Neubauer] p. 327 = *Sepher Haschoraschim* [ed. Bacher] p. 226).

¹⁰⁶ Contrast Hebrew חלצים, “loins,” which is always in the dual (Gen. 35:11, I Kings 8:19 = II Chron. 6:9, Isa. 5:27, 11:5, and 32:11, Jer. 30:6, Job 31:20 and 38:3 = 40:7).

¹⁰⁷ Lev. 3:4, 10, and 15, 4:9, 7:4.

¹⁰⁸ Job 10:11.

¹⁰⁹ E.g. *BMS*, No. 1:45 f.; *Šurpu* V/VI 69, 79, 89, 99, 109, 119.

¹¹⁰ Gilg. X v 29.

“sinew, tendon, cord, string of a bow.” On the other hand, Akkadian *kaslu*, with the same meaning, is not widely attested. However, in medical texts, such a meaning for *kaslu* would seem to be called for. The key passage for *kaslu*, “sinew,” is to be found in a medical text in which

¹¹¹ The logogram SA = *šir-ānū* in medical texts and SA = *gīdu* in economic texts; further equivalents of SA are *pitnu*, *riksu*, and *matnu* (*Idu* II 142–46; *MSL* III 142, line 185). While *matnu* is as yet not attested as a part of the body, it is well known denoting a string of a bow: *ibšimma qašta kakkašu uaddi mulmullum uštarkiba ukīnši matnu* (*En. el.* IV 35 f.), “he shaped a bow and assigned it to be his weapon; he made the arrowhead ‘ride,’ allotted its bow string”; *šumma padānu 2-ma elū kīma qašti šaplū kīma matni . . . šumma padānu 2-ma šaplū kīma qašti elū kīma matni* (*CT* XX, Pl. 3, lines 23 f.), “if there are two ‘paths’ (on the liver) so that the upper one is like a bow, the lower one like a bow string; if there are two ‘paths’ so that the lower one is like a bow, the upper one like a bow string”; *qašta ša šillē teppuš šir-ān arrabi matan[ša tašakkan]* (*AMT* 73,2:7), “you make a bow out of a thorn of a date palm; [you put] the tendon of a ‘roof-mouse’ as [its] bow string.” Cf. also *PBS* II 2, Nos. 63:2 and 81:17.

¹¹² The key passage for *šir-ānū*, “tendons,” is to be found in the Anzū epic (*RA* XLVI [1952] 34, lines 25–27; parallel *ibid.* pp. 32–34, lines 11–13, and p. 36, lines 41–43): *qanūmma ša tallika tūr(a) apukka mummu qašti ana qīšātikīma šir-ānū ana šašalli immeri* (for the reading cf. *STT* I, No. 19:64 f.) *kappī ana eššūrī turrā*, “O reed (= arrow) that was shot at me, return to your thicket; return, O shape (= wood) of the bow, to your forests; O tendon, return to the back of the sheep, O feathers to the birds.” This Akkadian text, hitherto overlooked in Ugaritic studies, may shed some light on the description of the composite bow in the Aqhat epic (II D vi 20–23). Thus, Akkadian *qanū api* (line 25) can be equated with Ugaritic *ḡlil qnm*, “reeds from the thicket” (line 23), Akkadian *šir-ānū* (line 27) with Ugaritic *mtm*, “tendons” (line 22); since Ugaritic *gdm* and *qrnt* certainly denote “sinews” and “horns” respectively (lines 21, 22), it follows that the difficult Ugaritic *qbm/qbm b(!)lbnm* (lines 20–21) may be equated with Akkadian *mummu qīšāti* (line 26) and that the former may mean “trees from majestic forests” or the like (contrast *UM*, p. 307, No. 1438). While SA = *šir-ānū* in medical texts and SA = *gīdu* in economic texts (see n. 111 above), one still wavers between the readings *šir-ānū* and *gīdātu* in such passages as *CT* XV, Pl. 35, lines 11–12 (= Lambert, *BWL*, p. 178), where the ox boasts of the usefulness of his “hide” (*mašku*) and his “tendons” (SA.MEŠ). However, the context of the passage and the parallels collected in *CAD* V 67 e, clearly indicate that *gīdātu*, and not *šir-ānū*, is intended (contrast Lambert, *BWL*, p. 178; *CAD* XVI 36 i). While *šir-ānu* means “tendon” in *CH* § 221:3 and elsewhere, it comes to mean “blood vessel” in the diagnostic omnia (here never *gīdu!*), as convincingly demonstrated by Oppenheim (*Or.* NS XXXI [1962] 27 ff.) and by Kinnier Wilson (*Iraq* XXIV [1962] 60 f.). It may be remarked that their conclusions are fully corroborated by the Akkadian loanword *šeryānā* in Syriac (Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*², p. 808) > *širyān* in Arabic (Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, p. 1546; Fränkel, *Fremdw.* pp. 261 f.), both denoting “blood vessel.”

¹¹³ *CAD* V 66 f.; *Ahw.* p. 287b (to W. von Soden’s Hebrew and Syriac cognates add Ugaritic *gdm* and Aramaic 𐤍𐤃).

the *kaslū* (pl.) of a baby "from the neck to the backbone" are *puṭṭurū*, "loosened."¹¹⁴ Thus, *kaslū puṭṭurū* is in no way different from *puṭṭurū rikšūa*, "my sinews are loosened," in *Ludlul* II 104.¹¹⁵

The primary meaning of Hebrew כסל, "sinew/tendon," is clearly indicated by its derived connotation "(inner) strength," "confidence." I need only mention the parallelism כסל || מבטח in Job 8:14 and 31:24.¹¹⁶ Such a connotation is

¹¹⁴ Labat, *TDP* I 222, line 41: *šumma lā-u . . . ultu kišādīšu adi ešenšērišu kaslūšu puṭṭurū imāt*, "if a . . . baby's sinews (extending) from its neck to its backbone are loosened the baby will die" (*CAD* IV 344 a). Outside medical usage *kaslu* is attested in a prescription for making artificial glass (*ZA* XXXVI [1925] 200, lines 33 f.): *ešemta [. . .] ša kaslī immeri taḥāššal*, "you crush the bone [. . .] of a sheep's tendons" (*CAD* IV 342 d; note that this passage is referred to in Gesenius¹⁷, p. 356a, as K.8614). It is difficult to decide whether the anatomical term *kislu* (*kišru*) of the so-called liver omina also belongs here. The *kunuk ešenšēri*, lit. "the seal of the backbone," is connected with two *kislu*'s. *CAD* renders *kunuk ešenšēri* as "vertebra" and seems in turn to have good reason for identifying the two *kislu*'s as the "transverse processes" (*CAD* IV 344 d). Following are the three OB passages related to our problem. It should be noted that they are in reality one and the same passage in different transmissions.

(a) *YOS* X, No. 48:35 f. (dupl. No. 49:7 f.): *šumma kunuk ešemšērim 2 kisli imittim šumēlam ūtiq šumma kunuk ešemšērim 2 kisli šumēlim* (var. -lam) *imittam ūtiq*; (b) *RA* XXXVIII (1941) 85, line 10: *kunuk ešemšērim kislū šina imittum eli šumēlim li[ter]*, "as to the vertebra (connected with) two *kislu*'s, may the right one [exceed] the left one"; (c) *JCS* II (1948) 23, line 28: *kunuk ešemšērim kišrī šina imittum šumēlam ūtiq*, "as to the vertebra (connected with) two *kišru*'s, may the ri[ght one] go beyond the [left one]." Not being an authority in this field, I can only offer the following brief remarks. (1) None of the three passages is syntactically correct, and the translation suggested in *CAD* IV 344 d would call for the following text: *šumma kunuk ešemšērim šina kaslū(šu) ša imittim ša šumēlim ūtiq*. (2) In view of Arabic *matnā al-ḡahr*, "the two portions of flesh and sinew next the back-bone, on each side" (Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, p. 3017), one is inclined to assume that *kislu* denotes the "ligaments attached to the spine" rather than the "transverse processes." (3) The rendering of *kunuk ešenšēri* as "vertebra" (*CAD* IV 344 d; *Ahw.* p. 251b) seems to be correct and is more to the point than Goetze's "pyloris" (*YOS* X 8) or Hussey's "os sacrum" (*JCS* II 23).

¹¹⁵ Lambert, *BWL*, p. 44; cf. the parallels quoted *ibid.* p. 294.

¹¹⁶ Cf. also Ps. 78:7 and Prov. 3:26. In his recent study entitled *Proverbs and Northwest Semitic Philology* (Roma, 1963) p. 10, M. Dahood renders כסל in Prov. 3:26 as follows: "For the Lord will be at your side." This new interpretation is based on Jerome's rendering of כסל as *latere tuo*, on the one hand, and on "the Ugar. balance between *pⁿ* (= Hebr. *regel*) and *ksl* (e.g., nt:III:29-30)," on the other. This interpretation, which must be rejected on several counts, will be discussed in detail elsewhere. Here the following brief

understandable when we bear in mind that both *ksl* and *mtn* are well known for their strength and are therefore used in the making of a bow. It may be recalled that in the Aqhat epic¹¹⁷ *gdm*¹¹⁸ and *mtnm*¹¹⁹ are mentioned among other materials for making a composite bow.¹²⁰ It must be admitted that the word *ksl* is not attested in that description. However, it is clearly mentioned as a part of a bow in the expression *ksl qšt* in the Anath texts.¹²¹ While this passage is not free from difficulties,¹²² it is at least clear

remarks will have to suffice. (1) A majority of ancient versions, lexicons, and commentaries stand out against Jerome's rendering; (2) the statement concerning "homonymous *kesel*" = "flank/confidence" is erroneous since the present study makes it clear that no homonymy of any kind exists here; (3) the statement concerning "the Ugar. balance between *pⁿ* and *ksl*" is likewise erroneous, since a correct division of hemistichs makes it clear that there is neither balance nor parallelism between them; (4) our ירהו ירהו בכסלך is in no way different from ירהו ירהו בעורך* (Exod. 18:4, Deut. 33:26, Ps. 146:5; cf. also Jer. 17:7, Ps. 40:5 and 71:5). Thus, not only is כסל a synonym of עור, but the former also requires the *beth essentiae* in full agreement with the latter.

¹¹⁷ II D vi 20-23. The understanding of this important passage has been advanced especially by W. F. Albright and G. E. Mendenhall in *JNES* I (1942) 227 ff. (cf. Albright in *BASOR* No. 94 [1944] p. 32) and by Y. Sukenik (Yadin) in *BASOR* No. 107 (1947) pp. 11 ff. For some Akkadian parallels cf. n. 112 above.

¹¹⁸ II D vi 21. The text has *gdm brumm*, "sinews of wild oxen"; see Albright and Mendenhall in *JNES* I 228, n. 9, and cf. SA.GUD = Akkadian *gīdī alpī*, "sinews of oxen" (*CAD* V 66).

¹¹⁹ II D vi 22 f. The text has *mtnm b^cqbt tr*, "tendons of the hoofs of a bull." It should be observed that Virolleaud (*Danel* [Paris, 1936] p. 206), followed by Gordon (*UM*, p. 183a), misreads *mtm* for *mtnm*. For the correct reading and interpretation see Albright and Mendenhall in *JNES* I 228, with n. 11, and *CML*, pp. 54 f., and cf. SA.MUD = Akkadian *šir^anī eqbi*, "tendons of the hoof" (*CAD* IV 248b, where the rendering "veins of the heels" is suggested, but W. von Soden's "tendon of the heel" [*Ahw.* p. 231b] seems preferable).

¹²⁰ The other materials are *qbm*/*qbm b(!)lbn* (lines 20 f.), "trees from majestic forests" (Albright and Mendenhall in *JNES* I 228 f.; Albright in *BASOR* No. 94, p. 32, n. 4; and cf. n. 112 above), *qrnt by^lm* (line 22), "horns of mountain goats," and *bglil qnm* (line 23), "reeds from the thicket" (see Sukenik in *BASOR* No. 107, pp. 13 f., and cf. n. 112 above). As can be seen from the Akkadian text quoted in n. 112, *qanū*, "arrow," is not limited to Nuzi Akkadian alone (contrast Sukenik, *loc. cit.*).

¹²¹ V AB, B 15 f. The Ugaritic text reads *mṯm tgrš šbm bksl qšt mdnt*. While no less an authority than H. L. Ginsberg leaves this passage partly untranslated (*ANET* [2nd ed.] p. 136a), it is plausible that we should render: "She (Anath) drives off captors with the staff, with the string of her bow (she drives off) opponents."

¹²² The difficulties may best be illustrated by contrasting

that the warrior-goddess drives away her opponents¹²³ with the staff (*mṭ-m*)¹²⁴ and the string of her bow (*bksl qšth*).¹²⁵ The rendering “string of a bow” is thus fully justified by context and

the translation given in n. 121 with the one put forth by Driver (*CML*, pp. 84–85): “She drove forth the old men tottering, drawing her bow taut(?) by the string.” A detailed examination of this untenable rendering would lead us too far afield. However, since this interpretation is a representative example of present-day Ugaritic studies, the following brief remarks may not be out of place. (1) *šbm* can hardly denote “old men” here, since not old men but rather “warriors,” “soldiers,” and “heroes” are Anath’s opponents in our text. (2) *mṭm*, “tottering,” is likewise impossible, for the stem *mwt* is never attested in Ugaritic and as a parallel to *ksl qšt*, “the string of the bow,” some kind of weapon is called for. (3) *mṭm*, “with staff,” can certainly not be rejected “in view of following bow” (*CML*, p. 85, n. 8) since staffs and yokes are well known as weapons in the Baal epic (*JAOS* LXXIX 170, n. 28). Moreover, *qšw*, “bow,” is attested in conjunction with *ḡkṣ*, “staff,” in Ezek. 39:9. (4) Driver’s interpretation must likewise be rejected on grounds of poetic style and syntax, for it would call for one of the following constructions: (a) *ṭgrš šbm mṭm*, (b) *šbm mṭm ṭgrš!* (5) His interpretation of the second *stichos* fares no better than the first, for he overlooks the strong possibility that we have here another case of synonymous parallelism, i.e., *bksl qšt* || *mṭm* and *mdnt* || *šbm*. (6) The word *mdnt* is problematic, but a derivation from a stem *dnn* = Akkadian *danānu*, which is never employed in connection with the bending of a bow, is at best farfetched. Moreover, according to Driver a D form is expected (*tdnn* = *tadannūnu*), but *mdnt* can scarcely be such a form. (7) His rendering is difficult on grounds of poetic style and syntax, for here again his translation would call for a construction other than *bksl qšth mdnt!*

¹²³ There seems to be no escape from taking *mdnt*, with Cassuto (*Anath*, p. 77), as an abstract noun (cf. e.g. נבורה in Isa. 3:25) denoting “opponents,” “adversaries” || *šbm*, “captors,” in the first *stichos*. One is reminded of such pairs in parallelism as צר / שבי in Ps. 78:61 or שביה/אויב in Deut. 32:42 (cf. also Isa. 14:2 and 61:1). The meaning of *mdnt* (|| *šbm*) must be sought in the same direction. Cassuto (*loc. cit.*) calls attention to Hebrew מריבים “strife,” in Proverbs (6:14 and 19, 10:12, 18:18–19, 19:13, 21:9 [= 25:24], 23:29, 26:21, 27:15). This suggestion gains much in probability when we bear in mind that (*m*)*dnt*, “strife,” seems also to be attested in II AB iii 19 f. The idiom *dbh dnt*, though differently interpreted by most scholars (e.g. *UM*, p. 256, No. 496), cannot be separated from its Hebrew counterpart זבחי־ריב, “banquets of strife,” in Prov. 17:1. Observe that דין is in parallelism with ריב in Prov. 15:18, 17:14, 26:21; cf. Jer. 15:10 and Hab. 1:3.

¹²⁴ For the adverbial *-m* in Ugaritic see A. D. Singer in *BJPES* X (1942/43) 54 ff.; M. Pope in *JCS* V (1951) 123 ff.; cf. *UM*, pp. 84 f.

¹²⁵ Cassuto (*Anath*, p. 64; cf. *UM*, p. 280, No. 948) renders *bksl qšth* “with the back of her bow,” but this is untenable for more than one reason. Ginsberg (*ANET* [2nd ed.] p. 136a) leaves the word *ksl* untranslated, but the meaning “bow string” can no longer be doubted. It should be noted that *ksl*, “bow string,” is in all probability also hidden in II D vi 11 and that in 1945 Ginsberg was already on the right track in the interpretation of our idiom (*BASOR* No. 98, p. 16, n. 25).

parallelism and, perhaps more important here, by the interdialectal distribution: Akkadian *matan qašti*; Hebrew יתר הקשה; Aramaic יתרא דקשתא; Arabic *watar al-qaus*. All of these words denote “tendon,” “cord” and in a derived meaning may come to connote “strength.”

It may be remarked at this point that here belongs also Hebrew חקה in parallelism with כסלה in Job 4:6. This verse, contrary to the accepted translations, can safely be rendered: “Is not your piety your confidence, (is not) your uprightness your strength?”¹²⁶ In other words, חקה is here a synonym of כסלה, and the parallelism חקה || כסלה is in no way different in meaning from מבטח || כסל. One is immediately reminded not only of חקה in the sense of “cord” in Josh. 2:18 and 21 but also of Arabic *qawwiy*, “strong,” alongside *quwwa*, “cord”;¹²⁷ Arabic *matīn*, “firm,” *matāna*, “firmness,” alongside *matn*, “sinew,” “string of a bow”;¹²⁸ Aramaic and LH שריר, “strong,” “firm,”¹²⁹ alongside שריר, “sinew”;¹³⁰ and others.¹³¹

Gordon¹³² renders Ugaritic *ksl* as “back” in all its occurrences. But such a meaning hardly fits any Ugaritic passage, with the sole exception perhaps of II K vi 48–50.¹³³ The substantive *ksl* is attested several times in a stereotyped formula describing fear due to unexpected visitors who

¹²⁶ It should be observed that our chapter is characterized by synonymous parallelism throughout, and that the Septuagint, Syriac, and Saadia clearly read חקוהך חם דרכיך. Many scholars are inclined to reverse the order and read חם דרכיך חקוהך (e.g. B. Duhm, *Hiob* [“Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament,” ed. K. Marti, 1897] p. 25; G. Hölcher, *Das Buch Hiob* [“Handbuch zum Alten Testament,” 1952] p. 18), but such a change is gratuitous (see already K. Budde, *Das Buch Hiob* [2nd ed.; “Handkommentar zum Alten Testament,” ed. W. Nowack, 1913] p. 18).

¹²⁷ Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, p. 2997.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 3017.

¹²⁹ Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* II 520; Jastrow, *Dict.* II 1631.

¹³⁰ Job 40:16; cf. שריריו, “firmness” (Deut. 29:18, Jer. 3:17, 7:24, 9:13, 11:8, 13:10, 16:12, 18:12, and 23:17, Ps. 81:13).

¹³¹ Note the similar case of Hebrew עצמה, עצם, “might” (e.g. Deut. 8:17, Isa. 40:29 || כח), and Ugaritic *ḡm*, “mighty” (e.g. III AB, A 5), alongside Hebrew עצם and Ugaritic *ḡm*, “bone.”

¹³² *UM*, p. 280, No. 948.

¹³³ The text reads *lpnk ṭšlḥm ytm b'd kslk abmnt*, “you feed not the fatherless before you, (nor) the widow behind you.” As noted by Ginsberg (*Keret*, p. 49; *ANET* [2nd ed.] p. 149a, n. 36), “before you/behind your back” is in all probability a *permerismum*.

might bring bad news.¹³⁴ The general tone of this formula has been correctly understood by Casuto,¹³⁵ and his interpretation has been endorsed by Ginsberg.¹³⁶ However, this interpretation cannot be considered final in every detail. Casuto is undoubtedly right in comparing Ugaritic *ksl tibr*¹³⁷ with Hebrew שברון מתנים,¹³⁸ but neither the Ugaritic expression nor its Hebrew counterpart can mean “breaking of the loins.”

As to the Ugaritic expression, it should certainly be rendered “breaking/loosening/tearing of the tendons.” Such a rendering is fully justified by context and parallelism and is likewise corroborated by parallel Akkadian expressions describing the “loosening/tearing” (*patāru/ramû/batāqu*) of “sinews/tendons” (*šir-ānū/riksū/kasū/matnū*).¹³⁹

Hebrew מתנים is difficult, and it is not easy to show how it relates to Akkadian *matnu*, Ugaritic *mtn*, and Arabic *matn*. However, some elucidation of מתנים may be sought in Arabic *matn*. Thus, according to Lane,¹⁴⁰ *matn al-ẓahr* denotes “the erector spinae muscle . . . tied by sinews,” while *matnā al-ẓahr* denotes “the two portions of flesh and sinew next the back-bone, on each side.” One is tempted to assume that some such definition as “bundle of muscles and tendons” could equally well apply to Hebrew מתנים. On the other hand, it is difficult to follow the exact anatomical definitions for הלצים and מתנים as suggested in biblical lexicography.¹⁴¹ Indeed, the

two seem to be synonyms, and in at least one case are even employed in synonymous parallelism (Isa. 11:5).

While Hebrew שברון מתנים is likewise problematic,¹⁴² the rendering “breaking of the loins” must nevertheless be ruled out. This conclusion is based on the following considerations. (1) The synonymous parallel of מתנים in Job 40:16 is clearly שרירים, “sinews.” (2) Akkadian *enēšu/unnušu*, “to become weak/to weaken,” is employed in conjunction with *šir-ānū*, “sinews.”¹⁴³ This can hardly be separated from Ugaritic נס in a similar context,¹⁴⁴ although direct evidence for Hebrew is lacking. (3) Even the parallel idiom in Dan. 5:6 has קטרי חרצה משתרין, “the joints of his ‘loin’ are loosened,” and not חרצה *מתברין, “his loins break.”¹⁴⁵

Thus, מתנים in our idiom should refer to the strong musculature linking the upper part of the body with the lower part and not to “loins” as such.

In any case, the Ugaritic formula *b^cdn ksl tibr* *‘ln pnh td tḡṣ pnt kslh anš dt ḡrh* (V AB, D 30–31 and 31–32) should be rendered: “Behind, (her) tendons do break (i.e., tear), above, her face sweats; loosened are the joints of her sinews, weakened those (i.e., tendons)¹⁴⁶ of her back.”

The meaning of *ksl*, “back,” in II K vi 48–50 must be considered secondary, the development being “sinew” > “sinew of the back” > “back,” fully analogous to Akkadian *šašallu*, “back.”¹⁴⁷

¹³⁴ V AB, D 30–31 and 31–32 = II AB ii 17–18 and 19–20 = ID 94–95 and 95–96 = (abbreviated and simplified form) II K i–ii 54.

¹³⁵ *BJPES* X 52 ff.; *Anath*, p. 82.

¹³⁶ *BASOR* No. 98, p. 15, n. 20; *Keret*, p. 46.

¹³⁷ V AB, D 30 = II AB ii 17–18 = I D 94–95; II K i–ii 54.

¹³⁸ Ezek. 21:11.

¹³⁹ It must be admitted that Akkadian *šebēru* is not attested in connection with “breaking/loosening” of “sinews/tendons.” Note, however, *nakāsu*, “to cut,” in conjunction with *labiānu*, “sinew of the neck” (*CH* § 246, lines 17–18), on the one hand, and *batāqu/buttuqu*, “to cut/to tear,” in conjunction with *šir-ānu*, “sinew,” and *matnū* (pl.), “tendons” (*JRAS*, 1929, p. 7, line 8; Bauer, *Asb.* II 88, line 3), on the other. In such contexts, however, Akkadian usually employs *patāru* and *ramū*: e.g. *puṭṭurū riksūa* (*Ludlul* II 104), “my sinews are loosened”; *kasūšu puṭṭurū* (Labat, *TDP* I 222, line 41), “its (i.e., the baby’s) sinews are loosened”; *mešrētu liptettirā lirmū šir-ānū* (*KAR*, No. 196 ii 53); *riksūšu irmū*, with commentary *riksūšu = šir-ānūšu* (Labat, *TDP* I 124, line 18).

¹⁴⁰ *Arabic-English Lexicon*, p. 3017.

¹⁴¹ Koehler, *Lexicon*, pp. 305b and 583a.

¹⁴² One is tempted to assume that מתנים in Ezek. 21:11 and Job 40:16 is to be vocalized as a plural and equated with Akkadian *matnu* and Ugaritic *mtnm* respectively. However, such an assumption may be gratuitous if Hebrew מתנים primarily denotes the muscles and tendons linking the upper part of the body with the lower, as postulated in this study.

¹⁴³ *CT* XVII, Pl. 10, lines 51 f.: SA.BI BA.AN.ŠUR.ŠUR = *šir-ānīšu ūtenniš*, “he (i.e., the demon) has weakened his sinews” (*CAD* IV 166a, lexical section; *AHW*, p. 218a).

¹⁴⁴ V AB, D 32 = II AB ii 20 = I D 96.

¹⁴⁵ Note Akkadian *kašāru* (= Aramaic קטר), “to tie (the sinews),” as the antonym of *batāqu*, “to tear (the sinews)” (*AHW*, p. 456b, 1c).

¹⁴⁶ Cf. I *AB ii 20: *d-Imk = ‘bd Imk*.

¹⁴⁷ Holma, *Körperteile*, p. 52; Goetze, *YOS* X 9, n. 63. The primary meaning of *šašallu*, “tendon,” “sinew,” is self-evident in such passages as *CH* § 248, lines 32–33 (contrast G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* II [1955] 87); *YOS* III, No. 122:20–23 (*gīdātu u šašallu*, “sinews and tendons”); Ebeling, *Parfümrez.* Pl. 33, line 32 (*gīdu šašallu*); and others (*CAD* V 66 f.). The derived meaning “back” is already attested in the Anzū passage describing the materials for making a bow cited in n. 112 above. In the Amarna letters *šašallu*

The latter is a loanword from Sumerian SA.SAL, "the tender sinew" extending from the neck along the whole back, and it is only in a derived meaning that it comes to denote the back itself. A similar development can be observed in Arabic *matn*, "sinew" > "sinew of the back" > back.¹⁴⁸ The word for back in Ugaritic is neither *ksl* nor *bmt*¹⁴⁹ (see below) but rather *zr*¹⁵⁰ (< **zhr*) = Amarna *zuhru* (*ṣu²ru*),¹⁵¹ Akkadian *šēru*, Arabic *zahr*.

The substantive *bmt* is attested six times in all in Ugaritic,¹⁵² but the meaning "back" hardly fits any of these passages. In the riding formula¹⁵³ the parallel expressions *bmt* ^c*r* and *bmt* *pḥl* cannot mean "the back of the ass" and "the back of the donkey" respectively, as suggested by most scholars,¹⁵⁴ but rather denote the area of the waist and ribs all around the body of the riding beast (= the thorax). Similarly, *bmt* in parallelism with *hbš*, "girdle," denotes the "waist" rather than the "back."¹⁵⁵ In the interesting description of El's mourning over Baal, reference is made to the cutting and gashing of several parts of the body. The parts that are "plowed" (*hrt* || *lt*) are *ap lb* and *bmt*.¹⁵⁶ The lat-

ter is here in synonymous parallelism with *ap lb*, "chest," and denotes not the "back" but rather the "ribs." Such an assumption is fully corroborated by the Akkadian sequence of *rēš libbi* and *šēlu* in the diagnostic texts.¹⁵⁷

Finally, the expression *bmt* [*ars*] certainly denotes "the high places of the earth"¹⁵⁸ and is to be equated with Akkadian *bāmāt šadī*,¹⁵⁹ on the one hand, and with Hebrew *במתי ארץ*,¹⁶⁰ on the other. Thus, Ugaritic *bmt* is quite close in meaning to Akkadian *bāmtu*. The latter, it should be recalled, originally means "sinew of the rib," as is evident from the logogram SA.TI,¹⁶¹ and may come to connote the ribs themselves and the middle part of the body as a whole.¹⁶²

Last but not least, it is quite evident from the Amarna letters that Canaanite *bmt* does not mean "back." Thus, a letter from Akko in Palestine reads *ušheḥḥin ina bantē* (gloss:) *batnūma u šērūma* (gloss:) *zuhrūma*, "I have fallen on my belly and on my back."¹⁶³ Since *bāntu* obviously cannot mean "back" in this context, W. von Soden labels the equation of Canaanite *batnu* with Akkadian *bāntu* as "falsch."¹⁶⁴ Such a statement, however, can hardly be defended.

To summarize: (1) There is but one verbal root *כסל* in Hebrew, and it denotes stupidity, bad habits, lack of manners and education, and the like. Thus, Hebrew *כסל* is in no way different in meaning from Akkadian *saklu*. (2) Hebrew *כסל*, like Akkadian *kaslu* and Ugaritic *ksl*, is a primary noun meaning "sinew/tendon" and cannot be derived from any verb *כסל*. (3) The primary noun *כסל-כסלה*, "sinew," "tendon," comes to denote, in a derived meaning, "inner strength," "confidence."

is a synonym of *šēru*, "back." Observe the formula of prostration in *EA*, Nos. 211:5-6 (sequence: *šašallu-kabattu*) and 215:4-5 (sequence: *kabattu-šašallu*) as against the norm: *šēru-kabattu* (e.g. *EA*, Nos. 314:9-10 and 315:7) and *kabattu-šēru* (e.g. *EA*, Nos. 213:9 and 233:14-15). *Šašallu*, "back," is quite common in physiognomic and medical texts: *Labat*, *TDP* I 20, line 31: *šumma qaqqassu tikkašu u šašallašu ištēniš ikkalūšu*, "if he has pains in his head, his neck, and his back at the same time"; *ibid.* p. 112, line 16', p. 180, line 28, and p. 228, line 100; *AMT* 22,2:3, 40,5:14, 48,4 rev. 5; and others.

¹⁴⁸ Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, p. 3017.

¹⁴⁹ Contrast *UM*, p. 247, No. 332.

¹⁵⁰ For *zr*, "back," "top," cf. V AB, D 31-32 = II AB ii 19-20 = [I D 95-96]; II AB i 34-35; II K iii 12-13. For *lḥr* (as a prep.), "upon" (= Akk. *ina šēr/iššēr*, Aramaic *על נב/נב*, LH *על נב*, Arabic *alā zahri*), cf. III AB, B 23-24, 24-25, 27-28, 29; II AB ii 8-9; II AB vii 4; II AB viii 5-6 = I*AB v 13-14; II D vi 36-37; I K 73, 74-75, 165-67.

¹⁵¹ *CAD* XVI 261b.

¹⁵² II AB iv-v 14-15 = I D 59-60; I*AB vi 20-22 = I AB i 4-5; V AB, B 11-13; II AB vii 34-35.

¹⁵³ M. D. Cassuto in *J. N. Epstein Festschrift (Tarbiz XX [Jerusalem, 1950])* pp. 1 ff.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 2 and 6; *Anath*, p. 29; *CML*, p. 95b.

¹⁵⁵ V AB, B 11-13; contrast *Anath*, p. 64.

¹⁵⁶ I*AB vi 20-22 = I AB i 4-5.

¹⁵⁷ For references see *CAD* XVI 125a, where *rēš libbi* and *šēlu* are rendered as "epigastrium" and "side" respectively.

¹⁵⁸ II AB vii 34-35.

¹⁵⁹ E.g. *AKA*, p. 54, col. iii 53-54: *šalmāt qurādīšunu ina bāmāt šadī ana gurunnāti lu ugerrin*, "the bodies of their warriors I piled up in heaps on the high places of the mountain." For other references see *AHw.* p. 101b.

¹⁶⁰ Deut. 32:13, Isa. 58:14, Amos 4:13, Mic. 1:3.

¹⁶¹ *AHw.* p. 101b: SA.TI.BI = *bāmassu*, lit. "his sinew of the rib" (*CAD* V 67 e).

¹⁶² Cf. *Hh* XV 82 f. UZU.TI.TI = *šēlu*; UZU.TI.TI = *bāntu*.

¹⁶³ *EA*, No. 232:9-11 (*CAD* XVI 261b).

¹⁶⁴ *AHw.* p. 101b.

PARALLELS TO THE AKKADIAN STATIVE IN THE WEST SEMITIC LANGUAGES

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It is usual and, indeed, quite natural to compare the Akkadian stative with the West Semitic perfect since both are conjugated with suffixes in contradistinction to the forms that are conjugated with prefixes and since—especially in Hebrew—perfect forms of verbs of state may coincide with the Akkadian stative even as to the meaning, for example *qātonī*, “I am small” = Akkadian *šeḫrēku*.

The purpose of this paper is, however, to draw attention to some other forms and constructions in the West Semitic languages which cover shades of meaning corresponding to the Akkadian stative but are not expressed by the West Semitic perfect. Such forms are, above all, certain verbal adjectives, commonly called passive participles, the use of which as predicates, especially in Aramaic and Ethiopic, often produces striking parallels to the Akkadian stative.

In Akkadian the commonest forms of adjectives are *paris* and *parus*, the former being the most usual form with which verbal adjectives used as bases of the stative are formed. *Parus* is much less frequent, the rarest form being *paras* (cf. W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*, §§ 55 e–g and 87 l). In the West Semitic languages the forms of adjectives are, on the whole, more variable. *Qatīl*, *qatul*, and *qatal* are reasonably frequent (cf. C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* I, § 116), but alongside them similar forms with a lengthened second vowel, namely *qatīl*, *qatūl*, and *qatāl*, are common (cf. *ibid.* e.g. §§ 131, 138, 141). It is especially to be noted that the normal form of a ver-

bal adjective, commonly called the passive participle, is *qatīl* > *qʿtīl* in Aramaic, *qatūl* > *qātūl* in Hebrew, and *qetūl* in Ethiopic, usually explained as coming from *qutūl* < *qatūl* (cf. *ibid.* § 143). It is still to be mentioned that a form with a geminated middle consonant, *qatṭīl*, tends to replace *qʿtīl* in Aramaic as an adjective but not as a passive participle (cf. *ibid.* § 154). It seems very probable that there was a tendency in West Semitic to replace adjective forms with short vowels by forms having a long vowel in the last syllable (cf. e.g. *ibid.* § 138, where *qatīl* as adjective and participle is described as “eine sehr häufige Dehnstufe zu *qatīl*”). *Parīs* and *parūs* can, however, be found in Akkadian as nominal forms, and the latter is sometimes even used as a passive participle in poetic texts (cf. W. von Soden, *op. cit.* § 55 i 11 III). It may therefore be safer to formulate the comparison by stating that West Semitic *qatīl* and *qatūl* often correspond to Akkadian *parīs* and *parus* without perhaps having always developed out of such forms.

We may now review the uses of such forms in the West Semitic languages as far as they constitute parallels to the Akkadian stative. The use of the latter we presuppose as known (cf. especially M. B. Rowton, “The use of the permanent in classic Babylonian,” *JNES* XXI 233 ff.). I do not wish to enter into the question whether this form ought to be called a “permanent” or a “stative.” In fact, I find such a question futile, because no term can cover or explain the whole range of use of a grammatical form.

ARAMAIC

“QATIL”

This form (Syriac *qʿtel*) is sometimes found as a verbal adjective which in predicative use corresponds to the Akkadian stative: *mānā damkīn*

(*at*)*tōn*, “why sleep ye?” (Luke 22:46); *w-eškāh ennōn kad damkīn*, “and he found them sleeping” (Matt. 26:40); *māran, ēmat ḥʿzaināk dakfen att wʿ-tarsīnāk, au da-šhē att w-ašqīnāk*,

"Lord, when saw we thee hungry and fed thee, or thirsty and gave thee drink?" (Matt. 25:37).

"QATĪL"

This form (Syriac *q^etīl*) is similarly used as a verbal adjective of several intransitive fientic verbs and corresponds in predicative use exactly to the Akkadian stative: *al tarā h^etāhā r^ebī* (Hebr. *rōbēš*), "sin lies in wait at the door" (Gen. 4:7); *w^e-men t^hōmā da-rbīā men taht*, "and from the abyss that lies below" (Deut. 33:13); *w^e-kad s^emīkīn w^e-lā-sīn*, "and when they were reclining (at the table) and eating" (Mark 14:18 and often); *wa-rkībīn (h)wau al t^elātīn cīlīn*, "and they rode on thirty ass colts" (Judg. 10:4); *wa-rkīb c^{al} h^emārā*, "riding on an ass" (Zech. 9:9; cf. Matt. 21:5). The regular passive participle of the verbs *tertia infirmae* is *g^elē*, and a similar form is often found as a verbal adjective of the verb *š^erā*, "to settle," "to dwell": *w^e-hū š^erē (h)wā bēt ballūṭā d^e-Mamrē amōrāyā*, "and he was dwelling in the oak forest of Mamre the Amorite" (Gen. 14:13). It is to be noted, however, that this form was not always used in cases where one might expect it on the analogy of Akkadian; for instance, the corresponding form of the verb *qām*, "to rise," "to stand," does not seem to exist, and the active participle of the verb *īteb*, "to sit," is regularly used in corresponding instances, for example *w^e-Lōṭ yāteb b^e-tarā da-Sdōm*, "and Lot was sitting at the gate of Sodom" (Gen. 19:1), and numerous other passages (e.g. I Kings 22:10, 13:20; Song of Sol. 5:12; I Sam. 4:4; Isa. 9:1).

The parallelism of these constructions with the Akkadian stative becomes even more striking as we find cases corresponding to the Akkadian active stative such as *aḥiz*, *šabit*, "he holds, keeps," and *naši*, "he is carrying." This fact has already been noted, for example, by Th. Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar* (= *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*) § 280, where the following *q^etīl* forms are mentioned as being used in an active sense: *t^ecīn*, "loaded with," "carrying," *h^edīr*, *k^erīk*, "surrounding," *h^ed*, *l^ebīk*, *h^ezīq*, "keeping," "holding," *š^eqīl*, "carrying," *d^ebīr*, "leading," *n^egīd*, "drawing," *g^erīr*, "pressing forth," *c^efīq*, "keeping encompassed," *d^ekīr*, "remembering," *q^enē*, "possessing," *k^enīš mayyā*, "having collected water," "hydropic." Ex-

amples of connected sentences are, among others, the following: *w^e-gabrē d^e-aḥīdīn (h)wau l^e-Yešū*, "the men that held Jesus" (Luke 22:63); *w^e-īdeh h^edā b^e-c^eqbeh d^e-c^esō*, "and his hand took hold on Esau's heel" (Gen. 25:26; also in Targum Onkelos: *w^e-īdēh h^edā b^e-c^eiqbā d^e-c^esāw*); *kulhōn h^edai ḥarbā* "all of them hold swords" (Song of Sol. 3:8), often also *h^ed kul* or *kul h^ed* as a translation of the Greek *παντοκράτωρ* (cf. the dictionaries); *w^e-hā pāga b^ekōn gabrā da-šqīl mānā d^e-mayyā*, "there shall meet you a man bearing a pitcher of water" (Mark 14:13); *w^e-gamlaihōn t^ecīnīn r^eheṭnē w^e-šarwā w^e-betmē*, "with their camels bearing resin, balsam, and pistachio" (Gen. 37:25); *adōmāyē da-krīkīn leh*, "the Edomites which compassed him about" (II Kings 8:21); *ḥailā da-krīk la-qrītā*, "a host which compassed the city" (II Kings 6:15).

Nöldeke explains these cases as follows: "zum Theil rührt dies daher, dass die betreffenden Verba doppelt transitiv sein konnten; zum Theil wirkt die Analogie bedeutungsverwandter Formen." Brockelmann (*op. cit.* Vol. I, § 138 b Anm.) states more precisely: "Wie Nöldeke, Syr. Gr. § 280, mit Recht annimmt, hat sich der aram. Sprachgebrauch teils aus doppelt transitiver Konstruktion wie *t^ecīn* 'belastet mit' teils aus der näheren Beziehung des Neutrums zum Passiv als zum Aktiv (vgl. § 203 a) entwickelt (gegen Barth S. 185 n. 1)." Now it is quite correct that *t^ecīn*, "to carry," originally meant only "to be loaded with" as can be seen from its intransitive perfect form and from the etymological correspondences of the other Semitic languages (*z^en*, Akk. *šēnu*, "to load cargo," etc.). It belongs with verbs like *l^ebeš* (Akk. *labāšu*, "to be clothed with," etc. which are actually intransitive in the ground stem and for which a verbal adjective *q^etīl* is more natural than an active participle. Similarly, the Semites conceive remembering (*d^ekr*) in the first place as a state of mind, not as an action affecting an object, and verbs like "encircle," "encompass," "surround" are conceived of as expressing in the first place the position of the subject. With such verbs the object is more like a secondary element, but it can very easily be appended to them, as it can be appended to verbs of movement to express the goal etc. However, there remains, for ex-

ample, the verb ^ʾḥad (Akk. *ahāzu*), which cannot be separated from transitive verbs proper but still forms an active stative in both Akkadian and Aramaic. With this verb there is no question of any passivity in the meaning; the stative must originally have been used to express the prolonged, motionless way of action.

“QATṬĪL”

Besides being a frequent form for adjectives proper, *qatṭil* also serves as a kind of perfect participle of some verbs of movement or change of state: *nappīq*, “gone out,” *azzil*, “gone,” *abbīd*,

“lost,” *yattīb*, “sitting,” *maʾit/mayyīt*, “dead,” *ʿannīd*, “deceased” (cf. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*, § 118). Sometimes it occurs alongside a *qatīl* or *qatīl* form; cf. *hū dēn Yešūʿ dammīk (h)wā*, “but Jesus had fallen asleep” (Matt. 8:24, probably with this nuance of meaning in contradistinction to *dʿmek*, “was sleeping”; cf. above); *māna (h)y emmāk guryā d-aryā d-baināt aryāwātā rabbīʿā*, “what was thy mother; a young lion that was lying among the lionesses” (Ezek. 19:2; cf. for *rʿbīʿ* above). The vocalizations are according to the Mosul edition.

ETHIOPIC

In Ethiopic only the form *qetūl* interests us in this connection. Like *qʿtīl* in Aramaic, it is the normal “passive participle,” but it occurs just as frequently as a verbal adjective: *melūʿ*, “full,” *fešūh*, “glad,” etc. (cf. A Dillman, *Ethiopic Grammar*, § 108 c). Especially interesting is its use as a “participle” of intransitive fientic verbs such as *nabara*, “to sit,” “to dwell”: . . . *nebūra-ka westa bēteka*, “(find thy glory) by sitting at home” (II Kings 14:10); *wa-reʿya mawāteha bāḥtītō nebūra*, “he beheld the linen clothes laid by themselves” (Luke 24:12); *nebūr gēgāykemū*, “your sin remaineth” (John 9:41); *kōnat nebarta tesammeʿ qāla ʿegzīʿena*, “she was sitting and listening to the speech of our Lord” (cf. Dillman, *Lexicon linguae Aethiopicæ*); *qōma*, “to stand”: *emūntū qewwemān lāʿelēhā*, “they are standing above her” (see Dillman, *Lexicon linguae Aethiopicæ*); *sakaba*, “to lie”: *heḏān sekūb westa gōl*, “a child lying in a manger” (Luke 2:12); *wadaqa*, “to fall,” *mōta*, “to die”: *wa-rakabewō la-ʿegzīʿomū wedūqa westa medr mewweta*, “and they

found their lord fallen down on the earth and dead” (Judg. 3:25); *nōma*, “to sleep,” *naqha*, “to wake”: *ana newwem wa-lebbeya neqeht*, “I sleep but my heart waketh” (Song of Sol. 5:2).

It is, however, important to keep in mind that such forms are rather rare in Ethiopic as predicates and that the normal form used of intransitive fientic verbs is the imperfect in instances where we should expect a stative in Akkadian. Thus we find for example in Gen. 19:1 (quoted above in Syriac): *wa-Lōt-sa hallō yenabber westa anqasa Sedōm*; Judg. 10:4: *wa-yeššēʿanū lāʿela šalāsā wa-keḔētū aʿdūg*; Matt. 26:40: *wa-rakabōmū enza yenawwemū*. Sitting, sleeping, etc. are thus predominantly conceived of as protracted actions, not as states.

For the verb ^ʾḥaza we find the active form *qetūl*: *kwellōmu ʿehūzāna ʿasyaft*, “all of them hold swords” (Song of Sol. 3:8 and elsewhere; cf. Dillman, *Lexicon linguae Aethiopicæ*). No other transitive verbs are known to have this form in an active meaning.

OTHER WEST SEMITIC LANGUAGES

In Hebrew the corresponding uses of the forms *qatīl* and *qatīl* or *qatūl* can be found only as remnants. Thus we find the substantive *šākēn*, “inhabitant,” usually “neighbor,” of *šakan*, “to dwell,” which always has the active participle *šōkēn* as a verbal form. And there are nouns of the form *qatīl* of transitive verbs with active meaning, for example *pāqīd*, “intendant,” and *qāšīr*, “harvester,” but these of course never have objects. The active form ^ʾḥūz, “keeping,” occurs, however, in the original Hebrew in a pas-

sage quoted above in both Syriac and Ethiopic, namely Song of Sol. 3:8: *kullām ʿahūzē hereb*, but this seems to be the only such instance. One could conjecture that the irregular consonantal orthography in Ps. 16:5, *attā twmyk gōrālī*, “thou maintainest my lot” (vocalized *tōmīk* instead of *tōmēk*), might represent an original **tāmīk* later corrected to *tōmēk*, but this remains rather uncertain. Cf. also *zākūr*, “remembering” (Brockelmann, *op. cit.* Vol. I, § 141), and especially *yāšēn*, “sleeping,” *šākēh*, “forgetting.”

In Arabic nothing comparable with these forms and uses can be found except substantives like *ḥasīb*, "counter," or adjectives like *wasīn*, "sleepy," *yaqīz*, "awake," *ḍarūb*, "beating"; but

they no longer constitute such a part of the linguistic system of Arabic that they could be considered parallel to the Akkadian stative.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

How shall we define the forms and usages described above? It seems that these forms and constructions that occur in Aramaic (examples taken mostly from the Syriac Bible, but they seem to be common for Aramaic in general; cf. e.g. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, § 262; G. Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, § 64:4) and to a somewhat lesser degree in Ethiopic, with rather insignificant remnants in Hebrew, correspond to the Akkadian stative in their bases (*qatīl*, *qatul*, and the lengthened equivalents) and meaning. On the other hand, there is no personal declension ("I am lying in wait" would be *rēbīc ʾnā* in Syriac), and the syntax is that of participles. In any case it seems certain that the forms *qatīl*, *qatul*, and the lengthened equivalents originally had a very similar function in the various Semitic languages; that is, the verbal adjective always denoted an unchanging state in contradistinction to forms of the verb that denoted various aspects of change or action. To some degree it can be said that the forms *qatīl* etc. stand in opposition to the participle *qātīl*, although the latter was not originally involved in the aspect or tense system of the conjugated verb as it was later, for example, in Aramaic. It is equally clear that the original opposition was not that of an active participle *qātīl* and a passive *qatīl*, *qātīl*, *qa/utūl*, because even the latter form could sometimes have an active meaning, and that the opposition of passive and active participle was secondary and fully developed only in such later languages as classical Arabic. Nor should we say that the opposition of *qātīl* and *qatīl* etc. was primarily that of a present and a perfect participle, though such a definition fits rather well the Aramaic usage, for example, because even this only constitutes a corollary of the real distinction between a fientic and a stative form.

It is interesting to observe the use of these forms with certain intransitive fientic verbs (to sit down, to lie down, etc.) which can be viewed from various aspects (to sit down or to sit, to lie

down or to be lying, etc.). There are notable differences of usage among the various Semitic languages in this respect. In Akkadian the stative is fairly regularly used for several verbs of this class: *rabiš*, "is lying (of an animal)," *wašīb*, "is sitting," "is dwelling," *rakīb*, "is riding," etc. In Aramaic we find *rēbīc* and *rēkīb*, but sitting is predominantly conceived of as an action and the participle *yāteb* is used instead of the stative, whereas in Ethiopic the same thing can be expressed by the imperfect *yenabber*. The general tendency seems to have been to discard the stative and to view all these and comparable verbs as expressing action. On the whole, the evidence seems to suggest that the stative was a central feature in primitive Semitic; it is prominent in Akkadian but appears in the West Semitic languages rather as a remnant which no longer constitutes an integral part of the verbal system.

One might suggest that the frequency of stative forms in Aramaic was due to Akkadian influence. Such an influence could indeed have favored the preservation of these forms in this language, but in view of the fact that similar phenomena occur in Ethiopic—a language which was pretty far removed from the immediate influence of Akkadian—we can safely conclude that we are dealing with a common Semitic inheritance.

What is the relationship of these statives to the West Semitic perfect that can also to some degree be compared with the Akkadian stative? Were there, originally at least, two ways of forming a stative, either by conjugating the verbal adjective with suffixes or by construing it nominally? If so, these two forms would have coalesced in the well-known Akkadian stative, but in some West Semitic languages, at least, both would have been preserved with the result that only the nominal form would have preserved the stative function and the conjugated form would have developed into the West Semitic perfect with an active sense in transitive verbs. Or was

there only the suffixed stative that in the West Semitic languages was very early drawn into the sphere of the *fiens*, so that the expression of the stative had to be rejuvenated by use of the forms without suffixes instead? I am inclined to favor the second alternative, as indicated in my forthcoming book entitled *Die Vokalisierung des Grundstammes im semitischen Verbum*, where my views on these questions are sketched in the concluding chapter. It now seems to me, however, that even that sketch is to be taken with considerable reserve, because no simple formula is applicable to developments which probably

took place over a large area in several intermingling phases. I am therefore unwilling to draw any definite conclusions on the basis of the parallels cited above, but I hope that they will to some degree contribute to a better understanding of the intricate workings of the Semitic verbal system.

With these lines I wish to send my most respectful congratulations to the Nestor of Assyriologists, whose contribution to the understanding of the Akkadian and Semitic verbal system—among so many other things—is of unique importance.

HEBRÄISCHE ERSATZNAMEN*

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Als Ersatznamen gelten solche Personennamen, in denen in irgend einer Weise die Anschauung lebt, dass der Namensträger ein verstorbene Familienglied neu verkörpert oder dass dieses in jenem wieder erschienen bzw. wieder lebendig geworden sei. Das ist eine unmittelbare und altertümliche, im Sippendenken verwurzelte und die Ganzheit eines Geschlechtes visierende Anschauung, die da ist auch ohne den theoretischen Glauben an Seelenwanderung oder Wiederverkörperung.

Die Bedeutung der EN für die altsemitische Namengebung wurde erst verhältnismässig spät erkannt. Für das Hebräische führte Gray¹ einige zugehörige Namen auf, und Nöldeke² gab in den Aufsätzen "Verwandtschaftsnamen als Personennamen" und "Ersatz als Personennamen" zahlreiche Beispiele aus den verschiedenen semitischen Sprachen. Aber beide Gelehrte verkanteten das Wesen der Sache weithin, obwohl Nöl-

deke doch leicht die Tatsachen seines zweiten Aufsatzes für den ersten hätte auswerten können.³ Noth, *IPN* nennt mitunter zugehörige Namen (S. 144 f., 174 f., 222), doch ist die Zahl der berücksichtigten wesentlich geringer, als es der Sache entspricht. Anders ist das bei Ranke,⁴ der die Bedeutung der EN für die ägyptische Namengebung erkannt und eine Liste treffender Beispiele geboten hat.

Für Landsberger stand das Wesen der EN offenbar schon länger fest; denn er wies mich bereits 1934, als ich mich an die akkadischen PN heranmachte, auf die Gruppe dieser Namen hin, und bei der Ausarbeitung meiner Dissertation begleitete er das Kapitel über die Ersatznamen ganz besonders mit seinem Rat.⁵ Darum freut es mich, ihn jetzt mit einer Studie über die hebräischen EN grüssen zu dürfen, die er als kleines Zeichen steter Dankbarkeit annehmen mag.

I. VORBEMERKUNGEN

a. Bei den akkadischen—wie übrigens auch bei den ägyptischen—Namen ist die Einteilung nach ihrem Sprecher durch die auf den Namens-

träger sich beziehenden Suffixe erleichtert. Im Hebräischen sind solche namentlich in Satzna-

* Im Gebrauch von Abkürzungen folge ich der Liste bei Ludwig Koehler und Walter Baumgartner, *Supplementum ad Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (1958). Dieses Lexicon wird abgekürzt mit "KBL." Ausserdem verwende ich noch die folgenden Abkürzungen:

Aistl.	J. Aistleitner, <i>Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache</i> (1963)
AN	J. J. Stamm, <i>Die akkadische Namengebung</i> (1939)
ARM	<i>Archives royales de Mari</i> (1941—)
ARMT	<i>Archives royales de Mari</i> , transcrits et traduits (1950—)
DJD	P. Benoit, J. T. Milik und R. de Vaux, <i>Discoveries in the Judaean Desert II</i> (1961)
EN	Ersatzname
Gib.	James B. Pritchard, <i>Hebrew Inscriptions and Stamps from Gibeon</i> (1959)
IPN	M. Noth, <i>Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung</i> (1928)
NPS	G. Ryckmans, <i>Les noms propres sud-sémitiques</i> (1934)
PRU III	<i>Le Palais Royal d'Ugarit. III. Textes accadiens et</i>

	<i>hourrites des archives est, ouest et centrales</i> , par Jean Nougayrol (1955)
UM	C. H. Gordon, <i>Ugaritic Manual</i> (1955): I Grammatik, II Texte, III Wörterverzeichnis
Wallis	G. Wallis, <i>Die soziale Situation der Juden in Babylonien zur Achämenidenzeit auf Grund von fünfzig ausgewählten babylonischen Urkunden</i> (Diss. phil. [Berlin, 1953] Masch. Schr.)
Zorell	F. Zorell, <i>Lexicon hebraicum et aramaicum Veteris Testamenti</i> (1956)

¹ G. Buchanan Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names* (1896) S. 82 ff.

² Nöld. *BS*, S. 90 ff.

³ Ähnlich bei Lidzbarski, *Eph.* II 40, und Hans Bauer, *OLZ XXXIII* (1930) 595 f. (in der Besprechung von *IPN*).

⁴ Hermann Ranke, *Grundsätzliches zum Verständnis der ägyptischen Personennamen in Satzform* (SB. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wissensch., Phil.-hist. Kl., 1936/37, 3. Abhandlung [1937]) S. 21 f.

⁵ *AN*. Die EN, S. 278–306.

men selten,⁶ während sie bei den Bezeichnungsnamen etwas häufiger sind.⁷ Trotzdem ist auch für das Hebräische darauf zu achten, wer den Namen spricht. Dafür kommen in erster Linie Vater und Mutter in Frage, und zwar scheint, wie man schon länger beobachtete, in älterer Zeit mehr die Mutter und später—etwa vom 8. Jahrhundert an—mehr der Vater den Namen gegeben zu haben.⁸ Zahlreiche PN sind auch ihrem Träger selber in den Mund gelegt, was sich für Vertrauensnamen wie ^ʿ*aeli*ʿāb, “Mein Gott ist Vater,” und ^ʿ*elijā*(*hu*), “Jahwe ist mein Gott,” am sichersten nahelegt. Bei den Danknamen—die im Akkadischen häufigen Bitten fehlen im Hebräischen wohl ganz⁹—sind diejenigen, die vom Geben, Schaffen oder Ersetzen der Gottheit reden, natürlich von Vater oder Mutter gesprochen; es sind die Typen, die AN, S. 31 und 34, zur Gruppe der A-Namen gestellt sind. Davon wurde dort die B-Gruppe unterschieden mit Namen, deren Inhalt das Erhören, Antworten, Recht Schaffen, Schützen etc. von Seiten der Gottheit ist. Sie sind überwiegend vom Kind selber gesprochen, auf das sich demgemäß die Aussage des Namens bezieht. Das ist im Akkadischen durch das Nebeneinander der Formen: *ili-īšmēanni*, “Mein Gott hat mich erhört,” und *īštar-īšmēšu*, “Ischtar hat ihn erhört” (AN, S. 189), erwiesen. Beim Hebräischen sprechen im allgemeinen die Namenserkklärungen von Gen. 29/30 und im besonderen die des

⁶ Zu nennen wäre das unklare ^ʿ*aelipelēhu* (I Chr. 15:18, 21) und ^ʿ*anāni*, “Er hat mich erhört,” was gegen IPN, S. 184, wohl doch vom Verb ^ʿ*anāh*, “antworten,” abzuleiten ist. Aus den ug. PN ist zu vergleichen *ybnm* und *ybnil* (Aistl. Nr. 1131–33), “Er hat mich/ihn geschaffen”; vgl. den unsicheren aram. PN *bytʿldlny*, “Betel hat mich gerettet (eigentl. ‘herausgezogen’)” (Caquot, *Syria* XXXIX [1962] 246, Anm. 3). Satznamen mit dem Wechsel von subjektiver und objektiver Formulierung sind ^ʿ*mdjhw* (Dir. S. 218) und ^ʿ*mnjh* (AP, S. 304a) neben dem phönik. ^ʿ*tbʿl* = *ittōbaʿal* (Harris, S. 84).

⁷ Vgl. *dāwīd*, “Onkel,” neben *dōdō*, “Sein Onkel” (VT Suppl. VII [1960] 182), und die Beispiele, die ich *Theol. Zeitschr.* XVI (1960) 285 und 293 f. zusammengestellt habe: *šelōmi/šēlōmō/šēlōmām* etc.

⁸ Herner, *BZAW* XLI (1925) 137–41, und Honeyman, *JBL* LXVII (1948) 22, Anm. 37.

⁹ Imperative enthalten nur PN, die Aufforderungen an die Mitmenschen sind (vgl. IPN, S. 32): *Hōdawjā*(*hu*) = *Hōdājā*(*hu*), “Preiset Jahwe,” *reʿūbēn*, “Sehet ein Sohn”; unklar: *deʿwēl* und *šūbāʿēl*. Ugarit. Imperativ-PN mit *il* als Vokativ bei UM I § 8.60.

Namens Ismael: “Denn Jahwe hat deine (Hagar’s) Not erhört” (Gen. 16:11) dafür, die Aussagen nicht auf den Benannten, sondern auf dessen Eltern zu beziehen. Doch ist mit Rücksicht auf das Akkadische und das Ägyptische¹⁰ mit der Möglichkeit zu rechnen, dass die alttestamentlichen, vorwiegend auf die Eltern blickenden Namensdeutungen nicht mehr den ursprünglichen, mehr das Kind selber berücksichtigenden Sinn vieler PN bewahrt haben. Aber auch das Umgekehrte ist möglich, nämlich dass die hebräische, an den Eltern orientierte Deutung der Namen das Ursprüngliche ist, von dem das Akkadische und Ägyptische sich entfernten, indem sie den Inhalt vieler PN—die der sog. B-Gruppe—mit dem Kind verknüpften. Ob das eine oder andere zutrifft, wage ich nicht zu entscheiden, und entsprechend nehme ich davon Abstand zu behaupten, die PN mit dem Inhalt des Erhörens, Antwortens, Recht Schaffens etc. hätten sich im Hebräischen zunächst wie im Akkadischen auf das Kind bezogen. Die Frage soll vielmehr einstweilen offen bleiben, was für die vorliegende Arbeit darum nicht zu sehr ins Gewicht fällt, weil die EN jene für die B-Gruppe der Namen bezeichnenden Inhalte nicht kennen. Als Sprecher erscheinen in ihnen Vater, Mutter und das Kind,¹¹ während die Geschwister nur wenig hervortreten, wie es auch ausserhalb der EN nur eine kleine Zahl von Namen gibt, in denen sie zum Wort kommen; es sind solche mit dem Sinn “Brüderchen,” “Genosse” (IPN, S. 222), aus dem Ugaritischen *ahyn/ihyn* und *ahny/ihny*,¹² “Brüderchen” und “Unser Bruder” (vgl. zu letzterem Aistleitner, *Untersuchungen zur Grammatik des Ugaritischen* [1954] S. 27).

b. Auch wenn, wie im vorliegenden Fall, nur ein Teilgebiet der hebräischen PN untersucht wird, ist es unumgänglich, sich über die richtige Übersetzung des Imperfekts in den Danknamen klar zu werden. Wie bekannt, entschied sich Noth, IPN, für die jussivische Auffassung im

¹⁰ Vgl. dazu meine Darlegungen in *WO* II (1954–59) 111–19, besonders die Beispiele auf S. 116.

¹¹ Im folgenden lasse ich die Frage, ob Vater oder Mutter sprechen, ausser Acht und setze bei einem von einem Elternteil gesprochenen Namen den Vater (V.) ein; davon ist das Kind (K.) als Sprecher unterschieden.

¹² UM III, Nr. 86.

Sinne von Wunsch oder Bitte. Demgegenüber wies Hans Bauer in seiner Besprechung von Noth's Buch¹³ auf Namen wie ^ʾaeljāqīm, ^ʾaeljāšīb, ^ʾjāʿīr und ^ʾjāpīʿ hin, bei denen die Plene-schreibung des "Aorists" gegen die Auffassung als Bitte oder Wunsch spreche.¹⁴ Mit Driver¹⁵ ist weiter zu bedenken, dass die alten Imperfekt-Namen *jaʿaqōb* (Gen. 27:36; Hos. 12:3 f.), *jīšhāq* (Gen. 18:12 f., 21:6a), *jīsrāʿēl* (Hos. 12:4b; Gen. 32:29) und *jīsmāʿēl* (Gen. 16:11) durchwegs vergangenheitlich gedeutet werden. *jōsēp* wird zwar Gen. 30:24 als Wunsch erklärt, doch wird man mit Driver, *loc. cit.* (s. Anm. 15) annehmen dürfen, dass der alte Dankname mit dem Sinn "Er hat hinzugefügt" im Blick auf die Reihe der Jakobssöhne und im besondern auf Benjamin nachträglich als Wunsch aufgefasst wurde.

Die jussivische Deutung des hebräischen Imperfekts wurde für Noth dadurch erleichtert, dass er (*IPN*, S. 26) gleichgebaute akkadische PN wie *iddin-^dšamaš* als Verkürzungen aus dreigliedrigen Typen wie ^dsin-aḥam-idinnam ansah. Das ist aber eine an sich schwierige Annahme, die vollends dadurch widerlegt wird, dass das der normalen akkadischen Syntax widersprechende *iddin-^dšamaš* ein altes gemeinsemitisches Erbe im Akkadischen darstellt.¹⁶ Neben den entsprechenden ostkanaanäischen Namen ist dieser Typus auch durch die zahlreichen ugaritischen Imperfekt-Namen vertreten.¹⁷ Die für die akkadischen und ostkanaanäischen Belege selbstverständliche vergangenheitliche Interpretation ist auch für die ugaritischen gegeben, da sie mit dem Gebrauch des Imperfekts als Erzählungs-

tempus in dieser Sprache übereinstimmt.¹⁸ Hier schliessen sich die hebräischen Imperfekt-Namen ohne weiteres an;¹⁹ denn es ist klar, dass ein hebräisches *jīsmāʿēl* nicht anders übersetzt werden kann wie ein ugaritisches *yšmʿ*, "Er (der Gott) hat erhört."

In den alttestamentlichen Namen hat sich eben, wie sonst nicht selten in der Poesie,²⁰ auch ohne das *Waw consecutivum* die alte vergangenheitliche Bedeutung des Imperfekts—die ererbte *ikšud*-Funktion desselben²¹—erhalten. Das darf darum noch umso eher behauptet werden, weil die entsprechenden PN zum ältesten israelitischen Namensbestand gehören. Nach *IPN*, S. 28, gibt es sie in der Patriarchenzeit,²² zur Zeit des Mose und der Richter²³ und noch zur Zeit des David;²⁴ dann verschwinden sie so gut wie vollständig, um erst vor dem Exil wieder aufzutreten. Weil seit der Königszeit und danach noch die Perfekt-Namen häufig sind,²⁵ könnte man geneigt sein, die späteren Imperfekt-Namen nicht auch vergangenheitlich, sondern eben jussivisch zu verstehen. Das ist aber durch die alten und ganz alten Imperfekt-Namen, deren Sinn durch das Akkadische, Ostkanaanäische und Ugaritische festgelegt ist, ausgeschlossen. In den späten Imperfekt-Namen erneuert sich der alte Typus,²⁶ der allein für die Übersetzung auch der jüngeren Belege massgebend sein kann. Dieser allgemeine Grundsatz lässt immerhin die Möglichkeit offen, dass einzelne und irgendwie besondere Imperfekt-Namen, zu denen *jorobʿām* gehören könnte (vgl. unten II A 2 Anhang), jussivisch zu übersetzen seien, doch finden sich solche gewiss nicht bei den EN.

¹³ *OLZ* XXXIII (1930) 588–96, bes. 592.

¹⁴ In *ZAW* XLVIII (1930) 74 findet Bauer im Namen der Stadt *Jabneʿēl*, den er mit dem PN *jabni-īlu* (*Kn. Am.* 328,4) vergleicht, die älteste Form des Verbuns, bei dem vielleicht auch wie im Akkadischen die altertümliche Perfektbedeutung der Zeitform erhalten sei.

¹⁵ G. R. Driver, *Problems of the Hebrew Verbal System* (1936) S. 143 f.

¹⁶ Vgl. dazu *AN*, S. 107 f., und meine Bemerkungen in *ZDPV* LXV (1942) 223–25.

¹⁷ Vgl. die PN *ybn*, *ybnīl*, *ybnn*, *ygm̄r*, *ydl̄n*, *ydn*, *ynḥm*, *yʿdr*, *yšmʿ*, *ytp̄t*; vgl. auch *UM* I § 8.44.

¹⁸ *UM* I § 9.2.

¹⁹ Belege *IPN*, S. 27 ff.

²⁰ Vgl. G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik* II (1929) § 7h.

²¹ Vgl. G. Beer und R. Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik* II (1955) § 100.

²² *jīšhāq*, *jaʿaqōb*, *jīsrāʿēl*, *jōsēp*, *jeraḥmeʿēl*.

²³ *jepunnaeh*, *jiptāḥ*, *jāʿīr*; aus Num. 26: *jaḥšīʿēl*, *jākīn*, *jāšūb*.

²⁴ *jāʿīr*, *jībḥār*, *jigʿāl*, *jāʿīr*, *jāpīʿ*.

²⁵ *IPN*, S. 20 f.

²⁶ Für Alter und Ursprünglichkeit des Typus "Imperfekttheophores Element" spricht auch, dass PN mit der umgekehrten Folge in den frühesten Epochen überhaupt nicht vorhanden sind, um erst später ein wenig häufiger zu werden (vgl. *IPN*, S. 28).

II. HAUPTTEIL

A. Satznamen

1. Klagen

Hierher gehören die mit der Fragepartikel ʔaj/ē , "wo," gebildeten Namen, die ihre Entsprechung in den *ali*-Namen des Akkadischen haben (AN, S. 284–87). Ostkanaanäische und ugaritische Belege für diese Form hat Albright (JAOS LXXIV [1954] 225 f.) zusammengestellt und mit alttestamentlichen Gegenstücken verglichen. Zu letzteren gehört ʔijjōb , "Wo ist der Vater," dem ein älteres *aj-abu/bi* und *aijab* entspricht,²⁷ dazu ferner *a-ia-ḥu* (D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* [1953] S. 126b), *ayah* (UM III, Nr. 94), "Wo ist der Bruder," und *ʔa-ia-a-ḥa-te/ʔal-a-ḥa-ti* (Wiseman, *op. cit.* S. 126b und 127a), "Wo ist meine Schwester."

Mit Albright sind entsprechend zu deuten: ʔikābōd , "Wo ist die Pracht," ʔīzaēbael , "Wo ist die Hoheit,"²⁸ dann auch ʔēhūd (Ri. 3:15 ff.; I Chr. 7:10) und ʔāeazer (Num. 26:30), "Wo ist die Hilfe," alles Namen der älteren Zeit.

Da die hebräischen PN nur in objektiver Formulierung (ohne Suffix der 1. Pers.) vorliegen, ist der Sprecher nicht sicher zu bestimmen. Vom Akkadischen aus, das hier neben der objektiven auch die subjektive Formulierung ("Wo ist mein Vater?" und "Wo ist mein Bruder?") hat, sind als Sprecher der ersteren Vater oder Mutter anzunehmen. Jedenfalls ist naheliegend, dass der Benannte als Ersatz dessen angesehen wurde, nach dem im Namen gefragt wird.

2. Namen mit einem Verwandtschaftswort als Subjekt, das theophoren oder profanen Sinn haben kann

Noth hat in seinem Aufsatz "Gemeinsemiotische Erscheinungen in der israelitischen Namensgebung" (ZDMG LXXXI [1927] 1–45) und in *IPN* (S. 66 ff.) die mit einem Verwandtschaftswort als Subjekt gebildeten Namen im Hebräi-

²⁷ Zu dem Namen auch Georg Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob* (1963) S. 71 f., der freilich zu Unrecht ʔāb hier theophor deuten möchte; vgl. auch *ḥaja-abum* (ARMT VIII, Nr. 6:3' und 14').

²⁸ *zaēbael* ist dabei nach dem ug. *zbl* (UM III, Nr. 594) verstanden, welches "Fürst," "Fürstenschaft," "Hoheit" bedeutet; zu letzterem vgl. O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel* (BZAW LXXVIII [1959]) S. 57. Die Erklärung von Fohrer, *Elia* (1957) S. 10, Anm. 14, ist nicht haltbar.

schen, Aramäischen, Kanaanäisch-Phönikischen und Südarabischen durchwegs theophor verstehen wollen, und er kam dabei zum Schluss, "dass der Gebrauch von Verwandtschaftswörtern als Gottesbezeichnungen in Personennamen in den religiösen Vorstellungen des Nomadenlebens der alten Semiten wurzelt" (ZDMG LXXXI 45). Auch für das Akkadische glaubte Noth dasselbe annehmen zu dürfen, doch musste er zugeben (*ibid.* S. 41 f.), dass es hier nur einen vergleichsweise kleinen Bestand an Namen mit einem theophoren Verwandtschaftswort gibt. Demgegenüber glaube ich, in AN, S. 53 ff., gezeigt zu haben, dass sie im Akkadischen ganz fehlen, da es sich bei den meisten von ihnen um Ersatznamen handelt, so dass also mit dem Verwandten ein verstorbener und nicht ein zur Göttlichkeit erhobener Mensch gemeint ist. Auch in den wenigen Fällen,²⁹ da an Vergöttlichung gedacht werden könnte, liegt sie wohl doch nicht vor, indem das Wort "Vater" (*abu*) vielmehr den Schutzgott zu bezeichnen scheint (vgl. AN, S. 54).

Da die Hebräer nomadische Traditionen treuer bewahrten als die Babylonier, wird man bei ihnen mit Namen rechnen dürfen, in denen das Verwandtschaftswort theophoren Sinn hat, ohne dass deswegen Ersatznamen ausgeschlossen wären. Welche Deutung—die als theophorer Vertrauensname oder die als EN—im einzelnen Falle die richtige sei, ist nicht immer leicht zu sagen. Um eine Klärung wenigstens anzubahnen, teile ich die zugehörigen mit ʔāb , ʔāḥ und ʔam gebildeten Namen in die folgenden Gruppen ein:

1a. Verbalsatznamen mit Entsprechungen bei den sicher theophoren, d.h. mit *jahwaeh* oder ʔēl gebildeten.

1b. Verbalsatznamen ohne Entsprechungen bei den theophoren.

2a. Nominalsatznamen mit Entsprechungen bei den theophoren.

2b. Nominalsatznamen ohne Entsprechungen bei den theophoren.

3. Namen, deren zweites Element so unklar ist, dass nicht entschieden werden kann, ob ein Verbal- oder Nominalsatz vorliegt.

²⁹ Es sind die Namen *abi-nāšir*, *abi-iddina(m)*, *abi-ēpir*.

Mit ʾāb

1a: ʾabidān/dāniḡjʾēl, dān (= Er hat Recht geschafft); ʾabidāʿ/ʾaeljādāʿ, jedāʿjā(hu), jādāʿ; ʾabjāsāp/ʾaeljāsāp, phönik. bʿljsp (Harris, S. 89); ʾabinādāb/nedabjāh, ndbʿl (Dir. S. 189 und Moscati, S. 64, Nr. 41), “Die Gottheit hat sich freigeigig gezeigt” (IPN, S. 193).

1b: ʾaejbātār, “Der Vater ist reichlich” oder “. . . hat Überfluss gegeben”;³⁰ aus dem Phönikischen gehört ferner hierher ʾbqm (Harris, S. 73), “Der Vater ist (wieder) erstanden,” womit hebr. ʾadōniqām zu vergleichen ist, das zwar theophor sein kann (vgl. unten: II A 3a).

2a: ʾabiʾēl/ʾaeliʾēl, ʾēlijā(hu), jōʾēl; ʾabijā(hu)³¹/ʾelijā(hu); ʾabihū/ʾaelihū; ʾabihajil/jhwjhl (Dir. S. 201, Nr. 42); ʾabitūb³²/tōbijā(hu); ʾabitāl/jhwtl (AP, S. 290a);³³ ʾabimaelaek/ʾaelimaelaek; ʾab(i)nēr/nērijā(hu); ʾabiʿaezaer/ʾaeliʿaezaer; ʾab(i)rām/j(eh)ōrām, ʾšmrm (= ašimrām);³⁴ ʾabišūʿ/ʾaelišūʿ, malkišūʿ, jehōšūʿ.³⁵

2b: ʾabihūd,³⁶ ʾabihajil,³⁷ ʾabinōʿam,³⁸ ʾabišūr,³⁹ ʾab(i)šālōm.⁴⁰

³⁰ Vgl. ostkanaan. jatar-AN, jataratum, jatarum (Bauer, *Ostkan.* S. 31) und Bauer, *Ostkan.* S. 76, wo jtr mit “hervorragend sein” übersetzt wird; in Mari gibt es jatarum und jatar-Salim (ARMT XV 147).

³¹ Zu ʾabijām statt ʾabijāh (I Reg. 14:31, 15:1, 7, 8) vgl. Gordon, *Introduction to Old Testament Times* (1953) S. 182 f., und den ug. PN ymil (UM I § 8.55).

³² Mit LXX = ʾabitōb; vgl. Bauer, ZAW XLVIII (1930) 75.

³³ Zum zweiten Element vgl. IPN, S. 39, Anm. 1, und Albert Vincent, *La religion des judéo-araméens d'Eléphantine* (1937) S. 402 f.

³⁴ AP, S. 278a, und Vincent, *op. cit.* S. 654.

³⁵ Zu šūʿ als Ableitung oder Nebenform zu jāšāʿ, “helfen,” vgl. IPN, S. 154, Anm. 2.

³⁶ I Chr. 8:3, wo wegen Ri. 3:15 vielmehr wegērāʾ ʾabi ʾehūd zu lesen sein wird.

³⁷ Das zweite Element ist unklar (vgl. IPN, S. 39 und 40); zum safait. ʾbhl s. NPS I 217a und Müller, ZAW LXXXV (1963) 306.

³⁸ Wozu es freilich das theophore phönik. nʿmʿl (Harris, S. 124) gibt.

³⁹ Das Wort šur ist häufig in palmyren. PN (s. Caquot, *Syria* XXXIX 242 f.); mit dūru gebildete akkad. PN s. AN, S. 211, und *ibid.* S. 312 den Sklavinnennamen ʿabi-dūri neben ʿbēli-dūri.

⁴⁰ Profan würde der PN bedeuten “Der (mein) Vater ist unverehrt,” eigentl. “Unverehrtheit,” womit aus AN, S. 294 f., zu vergleichen abum-salim, salim-aḡum. Noth, *Alt-Festschrift* (1953) S. 143, weist hin auf die parallelen Mari-Namen a-bu-sa-[līm] (ARM V, Nr. 36:17) und i-la-sa-lim (ARM V, Nr. 66:3). Nach Finet, *L'Accadien des lettres de Mari* (1956) S. 18,

3: ʾabigajil/ʾabigal,⁴¹ ʾabisag,⁴² ʾab(i)šaj,⁴³ ʾbʿšr (AP, S. 273a).⁴⁴

Mit ʾāh⁴⁵

1a: ʾaḡinādāb; ʾaḡisāmāk/semakjāhu, KF smkj (AP, S. 301b); ʾḡmr (Moscati, S. 77)/ʾamarjā(hu), ʾvmr (Moscati, S. 56, Nr. 14).

1b: ʾaḡiqām, ug. aḡqm/iḡqm (UM III, Nr. 86).

2a: ʾaḡitūb, ʾaḡimaelaek, ʾaḡiʿaezaer, ʾaḡirām.⁴⁶

2b: ʾaḡihūd (Num. 34:27),⁴⁷ ʾaḡinōʿam, ʾaḡi-šār (< ʾaḡjāšār), wozu das akkadische išar-aḡi, “Mein Bruder ist recht” (AN, S. 295), zu vergleichen ist.⁴⁸

3: ʾaḡilūd,⁴⁹ ʾaḡiman/mān,⁵⁰ ʾaḡimaʿaš,⁵¹ ʾaḡiraʿ.⁵²

§ 11b, liesse es die Orthographie der Mari-Texte zu, salim dem akkad. šalim, “ist unverehrt,” gleichzusetzen. Aber die PN jatar-salim (ARMT XV 147) und mūt-salim (*ibid.* S. 152) sprechen zusammen mit ila-salim wohl eher dafür, in salim einen Gottesnamen zu finden; so Lewy, *HUCA* XVIII (1944) 438, Anm. 58, Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan* (1957) S. 136, und Vincent, *La religion des judéo-araméens d'Eléphantine*, S. 661.

⁴¹ Dazu Bauer, ZAW XLVIII 75 f.: gajil dialektische Variante zu gāl als Part. zu ḡl; Sinn des Namens: “Der Vater freut sich.”

⁴² Vgl. IPN, S. 234b.

⁴³ Nach Lidzbarski, *Eph.* II 13, verkürzt aus ʾabišālōm; nach Bauer, ZAW XLVIII 77, ein Vollname der Form ʾab + jēš, “Der Vater existiert,” was ein EN sein könnte.

⁴⁴ Noth (IPN, S. 166) findet im zweiten Element das Substantiv ʿošaer, “Reichtum”; Vincent (*op. cit.* S. 395) übersetzt: “Mon père enrichit,” wobei das Qal anstatt des üblichen Hi. stünde, was in PN auch sonst begegnet (s. IPN, S. 36).

⁴⁵ Wo die theophore Parallele schon bei ʾāb genannt war, wird sie nicht wiederholt.

⁴⁶ Vgl. aus Mari aḡ-ra-am (ARM II, Nr. 43:13), phönik. ʾḡrm (Harris, S. 75; H. Donner und W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* II [1964] 3).

⁴⁷ So wohl auch I Chr. 8:7 zu lesen für ʾaḡihūd; anders IPN, S. 192.

⁴⁸ In ʾaḡiḡaḡar ist ʾaḡi Prädikat und ḡaḡar Subjekt, so legt es der ug. PN ilšhr (UM III, Nr. 1817) nahe; vgl. auch Humbert, *Hommage à Wilhelm Vischer* (1960) S. 73 und 75. Ein ähnlicher PN ist ʾaḡitōpael, was ursprünglich ʾaḡibaʿal gewesen sein mag (vgl. Mazar, *VT* XIII [1963] 317, Anm. 1).

⁴⁹ Vgl. IPN, S. 235b.

⁵⁰ Phönik. ʾḡmn (Harris, S. 75), ug. iḡmn (Aistl. Nr. 142), nach IPN, S. 40, hypokorist. Bildung auf an, nach Feiler (ZA XLV [1939] 226 f.) ist man(u) ein theophor. churrit. Element.

⁵¹ Der zweite Bestandteil kann, aber muss nicht ein Verb sein (vgl. IPN, S. 235b).

⁵² Vgl. IPN, S. 236a.

Mit *am*

1a: *ammizābād/zebadjā(hu)*, *aelzābād*; *aminādāb*; *rehabām/rehabjāh* (vgl. dazu unten: Anhang).

1b: *jeqamām*, *jāšobām*, *jitreām* (vgl. dazu unten: II B 3), *jobām* (vgl. dazu unten: Anhang).

2a: *ammīʾēl/aeliām*; *amrām*.

2b: *ammihūd*, *aniām* (I Chr. 7:19), "Ich bin der Onkel."⁵³

Wenn wir nun zur Beurteilung übergehen, so darf vorweg von der Gruppe 1a gelten, dass hier die Wörter *ab*, *āh* und *am* je den vergöttlichten Verwandten meinen, die PN also theophor im Sinne Noth's sind. Dafür sprechen ausser den ein *ʾēl* oder *jahwaeh* enthaltenden Parallelen auch die verbalen Prädikate, die eine Gottheit als Subjekt verlangen. Der im Akkadischen bei den zuvor (Anm. 29) erwähnten PN *abi-nāšir*, *abi-iddina(m)* und *abi-ēpir* mögliche Rückgriff auf den Schutzgott fällt im Hebräischen dahin. Hingegen ist es sicher, dass in Israels geschichtlicher Zeit der Sinn der zugehörigen Namen dadurch verändert wurde, dass man die Vater, Bruder oder Onkel genannte Gottheit mit Jahwe gleichsetzte.

In den Gruppen 1b und 2b werden sich am ehesten EN finden, und als solche lassen sich in der Tat beurteilen: *ʾbqm*, *ʾahiqām*, "Mein Vater/Bruder ist (wieder) erstanden,"⁵⁴ *jāšobām*, "Der Onkel ist zurückgekehrt," und *ʾabihūd*, *ʾahihūd*, *ammihūd*, "Mein Vater/Bruder/Onkel ist Pracht," eine dem durch den Namensträger wieder repräsentierten Verstorbenen geltende Aussage, die der Klage in *ʾēhūd*, "Wo ist die Pracht?" entspricht. Aus dem Akkadischen sind die EN vom Typus *ili-ummati* (AN, S. 299 f.) zu vergleichen, doch fällt auf, dass sie in ihren Prädikaten der bei einem EN vorauszusetzenden Situation genauer entsprechen als die hebräischen Beispiele. Wegen ihrer Ähnlichkeit mit den *hūd*-Namen darf man als EN vielleicht anfügen die alten PN: *ʾabinōam* und *ʾahinōam*, "Mein Vater/Bruder ist Freundschaft." Und wegen des akkadischen *išar-ahi*

⁵³ Es besteht gegen *IPN*, S. 237b (Nr. 192), kein Grund, den Wortlaut des Namens zu ändern; vgl. akkad. *anāku-ilumma* (AN, S. 130).

⁵⁴ Vgl. auch *jeqamām* (unten II 3a).

mag auch das hebräische *ʾahišār* (I Reg. 4:6), "Mein Bruder ist recht," zugehören. Bei *ʾabihajil*, *ʾabišūr* und *ʾab(i)šālōm* muss wohl unentschieden bleiben, ob es sich um EN oder um theophore PN handelt, wozu bei *ʾab(i)šālōm* noch die Möglichkeit kommt, dass sich in *šālōm* der Name einer alten Gottheit verbirgt und *ab(i)* dann Prädikat wäre (vgl. Anm. 40).

Bei der Gruppe 2a könnte man wegen der sicher theophoren Parallelen geneigt sein, nur die Deutung Noth's zuzulassen. Doch ist Vorsicht am Platz, da im Akkadischen dieselben Prädikate sowohl in theophoren PN als auch in (profanen) EN vorkommen, wie aus *AN*, S. 224 und 295, die mit *tāb*, *damiq*, *bani*, *rabi*, *leʾi*, *naʾid* gebildeten Namen zeigen (nur bei EN scheint es zu geben *kēn*, *išar*, *šalim*, *waqar*). Von da aus lassen sich wenigstens *ʾabitūb* und *ʾahitūb* als EN beanspruchen, wofür auch akkad. *abi-tābu* und *abu-tāb* (*AN*, S. 294) spricht. Weil *ʾazriqām*, "Meine Hilfe ist (wieder) erstanden," ein EN sein kann (vgl. unten 3a), ist es verlockend, auch *ʾabiʾaezaer* und *ʾahiʾaezaer* so anzusehen. Erwägen lässt sich das weiter für *ʾab(i)rām*, *ʾahirām* und *ʾamrām*, "Mein Vater/Bruder/Onkel ist erhaben," und wegen des akkad. *abu/ahū-nūri* (*AN*, S. 299) auch für *ʾab(i)nēr*, "Der (mein) Vater ist Licht." Im Unterschied dazu dürften *ʾabiʾēl* (auch *ʾabihū*) und *ʾammīʾēl* theophor sein; denn es geht wohl nicht an, *ʾabiʾēl* gleich aufzufassen wie akkad. *abi-ilum* und *abum-ilum* (*AN*, S. 297), wo *ilum* den verstorbenen Verwandten bezeichnet.

Anhang.—Ganz unsicher in der Deutung sind noch immer die Königsnamen *jobām* und *rehabām*. Beim ersteren mag mit Noth (*IPN*, S. 206 f.) hebr. *jerubbaʿal* und ostkanaan. *jarbi-AN* (Bauer, *Ostkan.* S. 29) verglichen und ein Verb *rbb* oder *rbw* angenommen werden. Der Name könnte dann bedeuten: "Es mehre sich das Volk."⁵⁵ Zu *rehabām* gehört *rehabjāh*, was nach dem verwendeten Verb wiedergegeben werden kann mit "Die Gottheit hat weit gemacht, Raum geschafft, befreit."⁵⁶ Sollte, so lässt sich fragen, in *rehabām* die gleiche Aussage vom vergöttlichten und dann mit Jahwe gleichgesetzten

⁵⁵ Vgl. dazu Albright, *Die Religion Israels im Lichte der archäologischen Ausgrabungen* (1956) S. 128 und 230, Anm. 59.

⁵⁶ So *IPN*, S. 193.

“Onkel” gemacht sein, oder hat es profanen Sinn: “Das Volk ist weit geworden, hat sich weit gemacht?”⁵⁷ Trifft das zweite zu, so stellt sich unwillkürlich die Vermutung ein, *reḥab-ām* sei, wie auch *job-ām*, ein sekundär gebildeter und im Blick auf das Amt seines Trägers gegebener Name. Bei *reḥab-ām* kann man dazu noch erwägen, ob nicht Salomo seinen Sohn im Blick auf seine eigene glückliche Regierung von Anfang an so benannt habe (so Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, S. 60; vgl. auch *IPN*, S. 193, Anm. 4).

3. Danknamen

a. Profane

Inhalt der zugehörigen Namen ist die Rückkehr (*šub*) und das (wieder) Aufstehen (*qūm*) des Verstorbenen. Zum ersteren gibt es im Akkadischen die Parallelen *itūr kēnum/ilum/ašdum* (*AN*, S. 290 f.), zu letzterem fehlen hier dagegen solche. Wenn *qūm* an eher späten Stellen des Alten Testaments⁵⁸ Terminus für die Auferstehung der Toten ist, so ist damit eine überpersönliche und dem Jenseits sich öffnende Hoffnung verbunden, die verschieden ist von dem altertümlichen, den Individuen einer Sippe geltenden Empfinden, das in den Namen lebt. Ihr Sprecher ist V. bzw. K., bei *ʾaḥiqām* ist auch eines der Geschwister möglich.

Die Belege: *jāšob-ām*, “Der Onkel ist wiedergekehrt,”⁵⁹ *jāšūb*, “Er (der Verstorbene) ist wiedergekehrt”;⁶⁰ phönik. *ʾbqm*, ug. *ʾhqm*, *ʾaḥiqām*, “Der Vater/mein Bruder ist (wieder) erstanden,” *ʾazriqām*, “Meine Hilfe ist (wieder) erstanden” (4 Belege aus Chr. und Neh.), *ʾadōniqām*, “Mein Herr ist (wieder) erstanden.” Letzteres ist ein (Geschlechter-)Name aus nachexilischer Zeit (Esr. 2:13 = Neh. 7:18; Esr. 8:13). Es liegt nahe, in ihm *ʾadōni* als Bezeichnung Jahwe’s zu verstehen, auf dessen helfendes Auftreten sich das Verb dann bezöge.⁶¹ Die Deutung

als EN, bei dem *ʾadōni* ehrende Bezeichnung des verstorbenen Grossvaters oder Vaters wäre, scheint weniger wahrscheinlich. Das zwingt aber nicht dazu, *ʾaḥiqām* ebenfalls theophor zu erklären; denn dieser spätvorexilische Name ist durch das ug. *ʾhqm* in seinem Typus als alt erwiesen. Die somit zeitlich weit von einander getrennten PN *ʾaḥiqām* und *ʾadōniqām* müssen nicht über einen Leisten geschlagen werden. Anzureihen ist *jeqam-ām* (I Chr. 23:19, 24:23), wenn es als *jeqom-ām* (LXX zu I Chr. 24:23 *ιουκου*), “Der Onkel ist (wieder) erstanden,” gelesen werden darf (vgl. auch unter b zu *jeqamjāh*).

Zu den profanen EN darf vielleicht noch *ʾab(i)šaj* gezählt werden, wenn die Anm. 43 genannte Erklärung von Hans Bauer zutrifft, so dass zu übersetzen wäre: “Der (mein) Vater existiert (wieder)”; der Name auch in *DJD*, Nr. 22 *passim*.

b. Theophore

a. Entsprechungen zu den profanen Typen von a.—Sprecher wohl V. *ʾaeljāšīb*, “Gott hat (den Verstorbenen) zurückkehren lassen” (Belege aus Chr., Esr., Neh. und *DJD*, Nr. 20:2, 17). Entsprechend lässt sich auch *jšbjh* (*AP*, S. 291b; *BMAP*, Nr. 9:25) verstehen: “Jahwe hat zurückkehren lassen.” Wegen des späten PN *jōšibjāh* (I Chr. 4:35) ist auch diese Lesung möglich und von Kraeling (*BMAP*, Nr. 9:25) bevorzugt. Aber die erstere ist nicht ausgeschlossen, wobei für die defektive Schreibung auf den PN *jdnjh* (*BMAP*, Nr. 9:25; *AP*, S. 289b) verwiesen werden kann, für den die Aussprache *jedinjāh*, “Jahwe hat zum Recht verholfen,” näher liegt als die von Kraeling und Cowley bevorzugte *jedonjāh* nach dem seltenen und unklaren PN *jādōn* (Neh. 3:7).⁶²

Zugehörige KF *jšjb* (= *jāšīb*), “Er (Jahwe) hat zurückkehren lassen” (*AP*, S. 291b, und Ketib I Chr. 7:1, Qerē *jāšūb*).

Mit Vorbehalt lässt sich anfügen: *jaešabʾāb* (I Chr. 24:13 und inschriftlich, s. *ZDMG* LXXXI 17, Anm. 1), wenn man es mit Nöldeke

⁵⁷ Beides erwägt Noth (*IPN*, S. 193 und Anm. 4).

⁵⁸ Jes. 26:14, 19; Ps. 88:11; Hi. 14:12.

⁵⁹ I Chr. 12:7 ist dieser Name einwandfrei überliefert. I Chr. 11:11 wird wegen LXX meist *jšbaʾal* gelesen, wofür auch die Parallelstelle II Sam. 23:8 spricht, die ein *jšbōšael* voraussetzen scheint.

⁶⁰ Num. 26:24 = I Chr. 7:1; Esr. 10:29, der Name auch *AP*, S. 291b, Dir. S. 193, Nr. 34, Wallis, S. 204. Davon ist das alte theophore *jāšūb-AN* (Bauer, *Ostkan.* S. 30 und 80; *PRU* III 262a) und *jāšūb-ʾadad* (*Iraq* VII [1940] 38b) zu trennen.

⁶¹ So *IPN*, S. 176, und Zorell, S. 15b.

⁶² Fragend stellt auch Noth (*IPN*, S. 213) *jšbjh* zu den *šub*-Namen. Seiner Deutung als Wunsch, “Gott möge zurückbringen, nämlich das zerstreute Israel,” bzw. “Gott möge wieder in den früheren Zustand versetzen,” ist die Plene-Schreibung in der KF *jšjb* nicht günstig.

(*BS*, S. 100) als *jāšibʿāb*, “Er (Jahwe) hat den Vater zurückgebracht,” liest. Weil ʿāb so Objekt ist, muss der Name aus einem dreigliedrigen verkürzt sein, was im Hebräischen auffallend ist. Als Gegenstück bietet sich das neubabylonische *ʿanu-aba-utūr*, “Anu hat den Vater zurückgebracht” (*AN*, S. 291), an. Von ihm oder einem ähnlichen Typus müsste dann der hebräische PN entlehnt sein, was einem auch sonst noch festzustellenden Einfluss der babylonischen Namensgebung auf die spätere hebräische entspräche.⁶³ (Für *jaešabʿāb* wird öfter das von LXX^{AL} gebotene *ισβααλ* vorgezogen,⁶⁴ was ich aber mit Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* [1955] S. 160, ablehnen möchte, “da es in der späten Zeit, aus der unser Stück stammt, sicher keine mit *baʿal* zusammengesetzte Eigennamen mehr gab.”)

Zugehörig ist weiter: *ʿaeljāqīm/jehōjāqīm/jōjāqīm*, “Gott/Jahwe hat (wieder) erstehen lassen.” Der älteste Beleg findet sich zur Zeit des Hiskia (II Reg. 18:18, 26, 37 etc.), es folgen der König von Juda (608–598) und zwei nachexilische Träger des Namens (Neh. 12:41, 12:10, 12, 26). Auf die Frage der von Necho veranlassten Umbenennung von *ʿaeljāqīm* in *jehōjāqīm* (II Reg. 23:34) gehe ich nicht ein,⁶⁵ dafür sei ein Hinweis zum familiengeschichtlichen Hintergrund des Namens gegeben. Nach II Reg. 23:36 und 31, 24:17 f. hatte Josia drei Söhne: Eljakim/Jojakim, Joahas/Schallum, Mattanja/Zedekia. Demgegenüber nennt die Liste von I Chr. 3:15 einen Johanan als Erstgeborenen, der sonst nicht mehr erwähnt wird. Das lässt darauf schliessen, dass er früh starb und Eljakim als der ihn ersetzende Nachfolger aufgenommen wurde. Wäre Eljakim der Erstgeborene, liesse sich auch fragen, ob der nach II Reg. 23:36 im Jahre 634 (d.d. 609 + 25) geborene Prinz den Grossvater Amon als Ersatz wieder verkörpern sollte.

⁶³ Vgl. *IPN*, S. 63, und Wallis, S. 26 f.

⁶⁴ So u.a. Zorell, S. 335b. Noth (*IPN*, S. 247b) deutet von seinen Voraussetzungen aus als Wunsch: “Der Vater (im profanen Sinn) möge (am Leben erhalten) bleiben.”

⁶⁵ Dazu Honeyman, *JBL* LXVII 13–25, bes. S. 17, und Malamat, *JNES* XXII (1963) 6 f. Aus Elephantine ist zugehörig *bjʿlqm* = *bēʿēltāqīm*, “(Anat)-Betel hat (wieder) erstehen lassen” (*AP*, Nr. 2:6–10). Möglich auch die Lesung als Qal: “Betel, du mögest aufstehen!” (so O. Eissfeldt, *Kleine Schriften* I [1962] 224; vgl. auch *IPN*, S. 129 mit Anm. 1 und S. 238b).

Bei *jeqamjāh* (I Chr. 2:41, 3:18) liegt es in der Tat nahe, mit Noth (*IPN*, S. 200, Anm. 3) nach der babylonischen Punktation und der Wiedergabe in LXX *jeqīmjāh* zu vokalisieren: “Jahwe hat (wieder) erstehen lassen.”⁶⁶ KF dazu ist *jāqīm* (I Chr. 8:19, 24:12), “Er hat (wieder) erstehen lassen.”

β. *Sonstige Danknamen.*—Hier dürfen die mit *šillēm*, “ersetzen,” gebildeten PN voranstehen, die in den akkad. *rābu*-Namen zahlreiche Parallelen haben (*AN*, S. 287 ff.). Sprecher V. *šaelaemjā(hu)* = *šillēmjā(hu)*, “Jahwe hat ersetzt.” Die Belege sind spätvor- und nachexilisch, auch Lkš (umstrittene Lesung), Elephantine und Siegel. KF *šillēm*, “Er hat ersetzt” (Gen. 46:24; Num. 26:49, auch Elephantine, Siegel und Lkš, Nr. III 20, wenn *šlm* so zu lesen).

Auffallend unter den hebräischen PN ist die partizipiale Bildung *mešaelaemjā(hu)* = *mešallēmjā(hu)*, “Jahwe gibt Ersatz” (I Chr. 26:1, 2, 9, 9:21; = *šaelaemjāhu* I Chr. 26:14).⁶⁷ Sie ist bei den akkadischen PN sehr geläufig und dürfte von dorthier entlehnt sein.⁶⁸ KF mit hypokoristischer Endung ist *mešillēmōt* (zu angebl. *mešillēmūt*, s. *IPN*, S. 250b, und Zorell, S. 483a).

Weniger direkt, aber deutlich genug lebt der Gedanke des Ersatzes in *neḥaemjāh*, “Jahwe hat getröstet,” ein Name, den ausser dem Statthalter noch zwei weitere Persönlichkeiten der nachexilischen Zeit tragen (Esr. 2:2 = Neh. 7:7; Neh. 3:16; auch Dir. S. 190). Den besonderen Sinn dieses Namens hat Noth (*IPN*, S. 175) erkannt, indem er sagt, “die Aussage, dass die Gottheit getröstet hat, kann in einem Danknamen kaum anders verstanden werden, als dass dies durch die Geburt eines neuen Kindes an Stelle eines älteren geschehen ist.” Eine alte Imperfekt-KF zu *neḥaemjāh* ist das ug. *ynḥm*, “Er hat getröstet” (*UM* III, Nr. 1230).

Ähnlich aufzufassen ist wohl *jīššijā(hu)*, “Jahwe hat vergessen gemacht” (Belege aus Chr. und Esr.). Mit Noth (*IPN*, S. 211) nehme ich an, dass hier das Qal anstelle des zu erwartenden Hi. (oder Pi.) steht und der Name mit

⁶⁶ Der Name auch bei Dir. S. 210, Nr. 53, und Moscati, S. 54, Nr. 8.

⁶⁷ Vielleicht auch = *šallūm* (Esr. 2:42 = Neh. 7:45; I Chr. 9:17, 19, 31) und = *mešullām* (Neh. 12:25); vgl. KBL, S. 974b.

⁶⁸ Die anderen Partizip-Namen *IPN*, S. 31.

menaššeah, "Der vergessen Machende," zu verbinden ist. Noth versteht den Namen als Wunsch, was ich nach den Vorbemerkungen (Ib) nicht billigen kann. *jiššijā(hu)* verhält sich zu *menaššeah* wie ug. *ynhm* zu ug. *mnhm* und hebr. *menahhēm*.

γ. *Unsichere Namen*.—Den alten PN *jā'ir* könnte man mit *'wr*^{III} (KBL, S. 690 f.) verbinden und übersetzen: "Er hat erweckt (den Verstorbenen im Namensträger)." Dabei ist zu bedenken, dass das Ni. des Verbs an der Stelle Hi. 14:12 neben *hēqīš* vom Erwachen aus dem Todesschlaf gesagt ist, während es Sach. 4:1 das Wecken vom Schlaf meint. Nun hat aber Rössler, *ZA* LIV (1961) 164 f., für das ug. *gr* (*gāra*) die Bedeutung "schützen" wahrscheinlich gemacht und diese für *'wr* auch im Hebräischen Dtn. 32:11a, Hi. 8:6b und beim PN *jā'ir*, "Er hat geschützt," angenommen. Im Blick auf das Alter des Namens ist die aus dem Ugaritischen gewonnene Bedeutung wohl der zuerst erwohlen vorzuziehen.

Bei *'āsāp*, "Er (Jahwe) hat versammelt," lässt sich fragen, ob es nicht nach den akkadischen mit *paḥāru* und *puḥhuru*, "sammeln," gebildeten Namen (*AN*, S. 287 und 290) verstanden werden dürfe mit dem Sinn: Jahwe hat die durch den Tod eines ihrer Glieder verminderte Familie wieder gesammelt. Noth (*IPN*, S. 181 f.) möchte als Objekt zum Verb das Substantiv *ḥaerpāh*, "Schande," hinzudenken. Der Name enthielte dann den Dank der durch den Namens-träger von der Not der Kinderlosigkeit befreiten Mutter.

B. Bezeichnungsnamen

1. Bezeichnungen zu den Danknamen von II A 3b

šōbāb (II Sam. 5:15; I Chr. 3:5, 14:4, 2:18) und *mešōbāb* (I Chr. 4:34).⁶⁹ Mit Nöldeke (*BS*, S. 100) und KBL (S. 954a) möchte ich in diesen PN den Gedanken der Wiederkehr des Verstorbenen finden, anders als Noth (*IPN*, S. 258a), der das Adjektiv *šōbāb*, "abgefallen," "abtrünnig," heranzieht und den PN als Schimpfnamen deutet. Grammatikalisch ist *mešōbāb* Part. Polal von *šūb* mit dem auch Ez. 38:8 begegnenden

⁶⁹ Gegen *IPN*, S. 250b, besteht kein Anlass, den auch von LXX und Vulgata gebotenen Namen zu beanstanden.

Sinn "zurückgebracht."⁷⁰ In *šōbāb* liegt das gleiche, um das Präformativ verkürzte Partizip vor.⁷¹

Bei *šallūm* (5 vor- und 9 nachexil. Belege) kann man, wie sich mir früher ergab,⁷² schwanken, ob es aktivisch zu verstehen sei als "Ersetzender" oder passivisch als "Der Ersetzte," da die Nominal-Form *qattūl* sowohl aktivische als auch passivische Bedeutung hat.⁷³ Es ist möglich, dass *šallūm* eine KF zu *šaelaemjā(hu)* oder *mešaelaemjā(hu)* ist. So legt es das Akkadische nahe, wo z.B. der PN *'nergal-ušēzib*, "Nergal hat gerettet," verkürzt werden kann zu *šūzubu*, "Der Gerettete" (*AN*, S. 112).

Als selbständiger Name hat sicher *mešullām*, "Der Ersetzte," zu gelten (bei Zorell, S. 482 f., 22 Belege, wovon 21 aus Chr., Esr., Neh. und der 22. aus II Reg. 22:3),⁷⁴ dazu *'mešullaemaet*, "Die Ersetzte" (II Reg. 21:19 und 4–6 Belege in *AP*, S. 298). Eine Abstraktbildung zu den vorstehenden Namen ist vielleicht (vgl. *Theol. Zeitschr.* XVI [1960] 295 f.) *šelōmōh*, wenn es als "Seine (des Verstorbenen) Unversehrtheit" erklärt werden darf.

menahhēm, "Tröster," begegnet im Alten Testament nur als Name des nordisraelitischen Königs, dafür vielfach ausserhalb desselben.⁷⁵ Am frühesten erscheint der PN im ug. und phönik. *mnhm* (*UM* III, Nr. 1230; *PRU* III 251a; Harris, S. 123), dazu *'mnhmt*, "Trösterin" (*AP*, S. 297a).

Bei *nahhūm*, "Tröster" (im *AT* nur Name des Propheten),⁷⁶ ist wie bei *šallūm* denkbar, dass eine KF vorliegt, in diesem Falle zu *neḥaemjāh*, so *IPN*, S. 175, aber ebenso ist *nahhūm* als selbständiger PN möglich. Vermutlich ist er

⁷⁰ Das Pilel *šōbēb* heisst "zurückbringen" (Jes. 49:5; Jer. 50:19; Ez. 39:27).

⁷¹ Belege für das Part. Pual ohne Präformativ bei Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik* (28. Aufl.; 1909) § 52a.

⁷² *Theol. Zeitschr.* XVI 286, der Name auch in *AP*, *BMAP*, *Lkš* und *DJD*.

⁷³ Vgl. Hans Bauer und Pontus Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments* (1922) S. 480 (§ 61, 9).

⁷⁴ Der Name auch *AP*, *BMAP*, *Dir.* und *Moscatti*; auch *Gib.* Nr. 5 und ergänzt Nr. 6.

⁷⁵ *AP*, *BMAP*, *DJD*, *Dir.* S. 123 f., *Moscatti*, S. 55, 72, 74, 82; babylonisch *minahhīm(mu)* s. Wallis, S. 205.

⁷⁶ *Dir.* S. 124 f.; *Moscatti*, S. 77 f. (Nr. 14 und 18); *Gib.* S. 27 (Nr. 2).

auch im phönik. *nḥm* und *nḥmj* (Harris, S. 123) erhalten. Damit lässt sich weiter das hebräische *naḥam* (I Chr. 4:19) vergleichen, was wohl mit "Trost" übersetzt werden kann.⁷⁷ Den gleichen Sinn hat sicher *tanḥūmaet* (II Reg. 25:23; Jer. 40:8) und *tnḥm* (= *tanḥūm*) (*Gib.* S. 28, Nr. 3, S. 29, Nr. 8; Moscati, S. 75, Nr. 7). *tnḥm* ist Singular zu dem pluralischen Appellativum *tanḥūmīm*, "Tröstungen."

Der mit Gen. 41:51, 46:20 etc., Ri. 18:30 schon früh belegte und später (Esr. 10:30, 33; *DJD*, einmal) wieder aufgenommene PN *menaš-šaeh*, "Der vergessen Machende," ist schon von Nöldeke (*BS*, S. 100) und auch von Noth (*IPN*, S. 222) als EN bestimmt worden.

2. Verwandtschaftsnamen

ʿahʿāb, "Vatersbruder" (Name des Königs von Israel und eines Zeitgenossen des Jeremia, Jer. 29:21 f.⁷⁸). Mit Gray⁷⁹ und Nöldeke (*BS*, S. 95) möchte man hier den alten PN *ʿahʿiʿām* (II Sam. 23:33 = I Chr. 11:35) anschliessen in der Lesung *ʿahʿiʿēm*, "Muttersbruder," die dem akkadischen *ahʿi-ummišu* (*AN*, S. 302) und dem syrischen *ʿahūh deʿemmēh* (*BS*, S. 95) entspräche. Eine von K. selber gesprochene Variante zu den sonst neutral formulierten PN stellt vielleicht *ʿahūmaj* (I Chr. 4:2) dar, wenn es mit Nöldeke (*BS*, S. 95) zu *ʿahʿiʿimmi*, "Bruder meiner Mutter," verbessert werden darf. Das ist wahrscheinlicher als die KBL, S. 28a, erwogene Deutung nach dem akkadischen *a-hu-um-ma*, "Ein Bruder ist's" (*AN*, S. 130), was dann kein EN, sondern ein Begrüssungsname wäre.

In anderer Weise begegnet "Onkel" als EN in dem wohl von V. gesprochenen *dōdō*, "Sein Onkel" (Ri. 10:1; II Sam. 23:9 = I Chr. 11:12),⁸⁰ und vielleicht darf *dāwīd* als Nebenform dazu verstanden und als "Onkel" gedeutet wer-

⁷⁷ Dazu mit doppelt hypokorist. Endung *naḥamāni* (Neh. 7:7); dieser PN auch in einer aram. Synagogeninschrift aus Dura (*RB* XLV [1936] 76).

⁷⁸ Jer. 29:21 hat LXX Ἀχιαβ; so auch in Elephantine: *ʿhʿjʿb* (*AP*, S. 274b), der Name auch bei Dir. S. 214.

⁷⁹ *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, S. 83; anders *IPN*, S. 192.

⁸⁰ II Sam. 23:9 Qerē *dōdō*, Ketib *dōdi*, "Mein Onkel," oder *dōdaj*, "Kleiner Onkel"; I Chr. 11:12 LXX^B Δωδαί; die Form *dōdaj* auch I Chr. 27:4.

den.⁸¹ Für *ʿammōn* glaube ich, den Sinn "Kleiner Onkel" wahrscheinlich gemacht zu haben.⁸²

Anders als im Akkadischen (*AN*, S. 302) ist "Grossvater" (*ʿabiʿāb*) unter den hebräischen EN nicht überliefert. *gād* hat diesen Sinn sicher nicht. Es ist, dem akkad. "Freude," "Vergnügen," "Herzensfreude!" (*AN*, S. 248) ähnlich, ein sog. Zärtlichkeitsname mit der Bedeutung "Glück!" Dem entspricht von Jes. 65:11 abgesehen die Namensklärung von Gen. 30:11 und der nabatäische PN *nhštb*, "Gut Glück!"⁸³

"Vater" ist unter den EN vertreten durch das auf einem Siegel aus Kairo (ca. 8. Jahrh.) begegnende *šmʿb* (= *šēmʿāb*), "Name des Vaters," womit das akkad. *šumšunu*, "Ihr (der Verstorbenen) Name" (*AN*, S. 304), zu vergleichen ist. *ʿabi*, "Mein Vater" (II Chr. 2:12), ist dagegen kaum Name oder Bestandteil eines solchen, sondern Titel im Sinne von "Meister," "vertrauter Ratgeber."⁸⁴

Kein EN sondern eher ein Zärtlichkeitsname dürfte *ʿahjān*, "Brüderchen" (I Chr. 7:19), sein als Verkleinerungsform zu *ʿāh*.⁸⁵ Dasselbe meint wohl ug. *ahyn/ihyn* (*UM* III, Nr. 86), während *ahny/ihny* (*UM* III, Nr. 86; Aistl. Nr. 144 und 145) soviel bedeuten dürfte wie "Unser Bruder," genau entsprechend dem akkad. *ahūni* (*AN*, S. 244); vgl. dazu schon oben bei Ia.

3. Namen mit dem Sinn "Rest"

Die zugehörigen Namen sind keine EN. Wie die verwandten akkadischen Belege (*AN*, S. 305) können sie hier genannt werden, weil sie eine Lage voraussetzen, die derjenigen der EN ähnlich ist.

Belege: *jaetaer*, "Rest," was durch Ex. 4:18 (mit der hier vorherrschenden Variante *jitrō*, "Sein Rest") und Ri. 8:20 als alt erwiesen wird.⁸⁶ Für das gewöhnliche *jaetaer* erscheint II Sam. 17:25 die hypokoristische Form *jitrā* und

⁸¹ Vgl. dazu *VT* Suppl. VII 165–83.

⁸² *Archiv Orientalni* XVII 2 (1949) S. 379–82.

⁸³ Dazu Eissfeldt, *JBL* LXXXII (1963) 199 f.

⁸⁴ So mit W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (1955) S. 200, Anm.

⁸⁵ So mit Nöld. *BS*, S. 92 und 98; *IPN*, S. 222; auch KBL, S. 31a. Ähnlich wäre nach *IPN*, S. 222, auch *ʿahjō* zu erklären; akkad. Parallelen *AN*, S. 244.

⁸⁶ Ferner: I Reg. 2:5, 32; I Chr. 2:17 (Vater des Amasa); I Chr. 2:32, 4:17, 7:38.

I Chr. 7:37 *jitrān*,⁸⁷ letzteres eine Diminutiv-Bildung wie *ʔahjān*.⁸⁸ Wenn *jitreʿām* (II Sam. 3:5; I Chr. 3:3) als "Rest der Familie" zu interpretieren wäre, müsste es angefügt werden. Neben der Ableitung von *jaetaer* erwägt Noth (IPN, S. 197) [noch die Wiedergabe "Der Stammesgott möge schirmen," wobei das Verb von einer Wurzel *trh* = akkad. *tarû*, "warten," "pflegen," abgeleitet wird (zu letzterem s. Knut

Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta* [1938] S. 243).

jitmāh, "Waise" (I Chr. 11:46)⁸⁹ hat in Elephantine mehrere Entsprechungen: *jtwm* (AP, S. 291b; BMAP, S. 306a), *ʔjtwmh* (AP, S. 291b), *jtmʔ* (AP, S. 291b).

Einem Kind, das beide Eltern verlor, mag der Name gegeben sein: *ʿazūbāh*, "Die Verlassene" (I Reg. 22:42 = II Chr. 20:31; I Chr. 2:18 f.).

III. SCHLUSSBEMERKUNGEN

a. Eine weitergehende Untersuchung der EN hätte auch ihre zeitliche Streuung gründlicher zu erfassen, als es jetzt möglich war. Doch auch so drängt sich der folgende Hinweis auf: Alte EN sind die Klagen aus II A 1, und alte bis sehr alte Typen gibt es auch unter den Bezeichnungsnamen, namentlich in II B 2. Auch in II A 2 gibt es frühe Beispiele, wie die mit *-hūd* und *-tūb* gebildeten Namen. Bei den Danknamen von II A 3 und den Bezeichnungen von II B 1 überwiegen dagegen die Belege aus der nachexilischen Zeit. Solche aus früheren Epochen fehlen freilich nicht, wie *šillēm* und *ʔaeljāqīm* aus II A 3, *menaššaeh*, *šallūm* und *menahhēm* aus II B 1. Im ganzen aber bildet das ältere Namensgut eine Minderheit gegenüber dem jüngeren.

Dieser Befund hängt damit zusammen, dass in den Listen von Chr., Esr. und Neh. aus späterer Zeit viel mehr Namen überliefert sind als aus früherer. Weil die in den späten Dokumenten auftretenden Namen in ihrem Typus durchaus nicht auch spät zu sein brauchen, wird man kaum den Schluss ziehen dürfen, in der nachexilischen Gemeinde seien die EN beliebter gewesen als früher. Vielmehr hatten diese als ein wesentliches Stück volkstümlichen Empfindens wohl immer ihren Platz in der hebräischen Namengebung, nur treten sie wegen des jungen Alters der Listen im chronistischen Geschichtswerk nunmehr besonders stark hervor.

b. Beim Vergleich mit den akkadischen EN fällt bei den hebräischen das Fehlen von Bitten und Wünschen auf, was dem entspricht, was die hebräische Namengebung überhaupt von der

akkadischen unterscheidet (vgl. oben Ib). Auch Formen, die den akkadischen Begrüßungsnamen (AN, S. 291 ff.) ähnlich wären, kennt das Hebräische nicht.

Gut vertreten sind dagegen hier wie dort Klagen in der Fragegestalt "Wo ist," nur wird im Akkadischen direkter nach dem verstorbenen Familienglied gefragt, während im Hebräischen das Verwandtschaftswort mehrheitlich durch die Umschreibungen "Pracht," "Herrlichkeit" ersetzt ist. Offenbar als altes Erbe sind in beiden Bereichen EN wie "Vatersbruder," "Grossvater" etc. gebräuchlich. Den hebräischen Bezeichnungsnamen *menahhēm* und *menaššaeh* (II B 1) lassen sich aus dem Akkadischen, zwar mehr wegen der formalen als wegen der inhaltlichen Übereinstimmung, die PN *munawwirum*, *muḥaddūm* (AN, S. 247) und *mupahhūrūm*, *musallimum* (AN, S. 305) an die Seite stellen.

Bei den EN vom Typus *abum-waqar* (AN, S. 293 ff.) und *aḥum-ili* (AN, S. 297 ff.) gibt es im Hebräischen Parallelen zu beiden, zu ersterem *ʔabitūb/ʔahitūb* und *ʔahišār*, zu letzterem *ʔabihūd* und *ʔahihūd* (vgl. oben II A 2). Doch bemerkten wir schon zuvor, dass im Hebräischen die den Toten preisenden Prädikate allgemeiner und weniger auf die Lage des Namensträgers bezogen sind als im Akkadischen. Im Unterschied zum Akkadischen ist ausserdem im Hebräischen mit zahlreichen gleichgebauten PN zu rechnen, in denen das Verwandtschaftswort theophor gebraucht, der betreffende Name somit nicht zu den EN zu zählen ist. Die Aussonderung wirk-

⁸⁷ Hier haben aber 2 MSS und LXX^a *jaetaer*.

⁸⁸ Als Name eines horit. Geschlechts erscheint *jitrān* noch Gen. 36:26 und I Chr. 1:41.

⁸⁹ Vgl. dazu jüd.-aram. *jatmāʔ*, "Waise" (Gustaf Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch* . . . [3. Aufl.; 1938] S. 190, und IPN, S. 231, Anm. 16).

licher EN aus der Zahl ähnlicher theophorer ist nicht immer leicht und sicher zu vollziehen.

Bei den Danknamen (II A 3) gebrauchen akkadische und hebräische EN, wenn auch mit Hilfe verschiedener Verbalwurzeln (akkad. *rābu*, hebr. *šillēm*), den Begriff des Ersatzes. Obwohl unter den akkadischen PN solche mit einem Partizip sonst häufig sind, gibt es von *rābu* keine, während das Hebräische bei seinen *šillēm*-Namen einige späte Partizipialbildungen (II A 3b β) kennt. Der Gedanke der Wiederkehr des Toten lebt sowohl in akkadischen als auch in hebräischen EN, hingegen reden allein he-

bräische davon, dass der Verstorbene wieder erstanden sei (*qûm*).

Zu den Namen mit *nihham*, "trösten," und *nāšāh*, "vergessen" (in den PN = "vergessen machen"), gibt es im Akkadischen kein Gegenstück. Bei dem hebräischen PN ʿāsāp glaubten wir (oben II A 3b γ), an die akkadischen mit *paḥāru* und *puḥḥuru* gebildeten Namen erinnern zu dürfen. In beiden Namengebungen finden sich Beispiele mit dem Sinn "Rest." Sie lassen hinsichtlich des Benannten auf eine Lage schließen, die derjenigen ähnlich ist, wie man sie für die EN voraussetzen muss.

ZUR STELLUNG DES JAUDISCHEN IN DER NORDWEST- SEMITISCHEN SPRACHGESCHICHTE

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Im Jahre 1951 behandelte der Verfasser dieser Zeilen im Anhang zu seiner Phönizisch-punischen Grammatik die Sprache zweier nordwestsemitischer Inschriften aus der Umgebung von Zincirli, der von Panammū I. dem Gotte Hadad geweihten (abgekürzt Had.) und der von Bar-Rakib seinem Vater Panammū II. gewidmeten (abgekürzt Pan.). Zur Interpretation der letzteren hat unser hoch verehrter Jubilar in seiner (leider wenig bekannten) Schrift *Sam'al*, S. 61–70, Wesentliches beigesteuert.

Als der Verfasser damals für diese Sprache den Namen Jaudisch einfuhrte und sie als eine besondere nordwestsemitische Sprache, nicht einfach mit der communis opinio als eine Spielart des Aramäischen behandelte, rechnete er von vorn herein mit mancherlei Widerspruch und Kritik. Nicht vorausgesehen war die Tatsache, dass die Kritik teilweise recht kläglich und naiv ausfallen werde, entschuldbar vielleicht durch die geringe Vertrautheit einiger rein philologisch geschulter Semitisten mit sprachgeschichtlichen Fragen. Wer nur schulgrammatisch die zwei Sprachformen des Kanaanäischen (d. h. in erster Linie des Hebräischen) und des Aramäischen als zwei klar unterschiedene Größen kennen gelernt hat, der kann sprachgeschichtlichen Erörterungen schwer folgen, zumal dann, wenn sie, wie notwendigerweise in einer Grammatik, in einfach lehrhafter Darstellung gegeben werden. Als rühmliche Ausnahmen seien übrigens die Behandlungen des Themas durch S. Moscatti in den *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida* II (1956) 206–8 und von St. Segert in *Archiv Orientalní* XXVI (1958) 561–72 genannt, die auch beide der Auffassung des Verf. ein ganzes Stück entgegenkommen und von denen sich namentlich Segert grosse Mühe um eine gerechte Beurteilung gibt.¹ Eine Nennung aller Kritiken an dieser Stelle erübrigt sich, da sie von H. Donner

in Bd. II (Kommentar) des von H. Donner und W. Röllig veröffentlichten Buches *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1964; abgekürzt *KAI*) S. 214 aufgezählt sind. Die folgende Begründung der Auffassung des Verfassers berücksichtigt die verschiedenen Kritiken, jedoch ohne stets ihre Urheber im einzelnen zu nennen.

Beginnen wir nicht mit den schwierigen Fragen der Lautlehre, sondern mit der charakteristischsten Tatsache der jaudischen Morphologie, den maskulinischen Pluralendungen $-ū$ und $-ī$. Die Endungen $-ū$ des Nom. Plur. und $-ī$ des Gen.-Akk. Plur. werden ziemlich allgemein anerkannt. Dass יֵלֵהֵי Pan. 22 auch *Nom. Plur.* sei, wie G. Garbini, "L'Aramaico antico" (*Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Ser. VIII, Vol. VII, fasc. 5 [Roma, 1956]) S. 260 f., meint, kann ich nicht anerkennen. Z. 22, deren Ende zerstört ist, und Z. 23 können, mit emphatischer Anfangsstellung des Objekts, wohl gelautet haben ". . . und alle Götter von Jaudi [rufe ich zu Zeugen] (23) vor Göttern und vor Menschen." Dass die Endung יֵ möglicherweise nicht $-ī$, sondern $-aī$ bzw. $-ē$ zu lesen sei wie im Status constructus Plur. des späteren Kanaanäischen (hebr. פָּנִי; phön. *panē, פָּנֵעַ, φανε), wie Segert S. 567 zur Erwägung stellt, leuchtet nicht ein: das $-ē < -aī$ der späteren Dialekte ist eine späte analogische Übertragung der Dualendung auf den Plural und harmoniert nicht mit dem unbestrittenen alten $-ū$ des Nom. Plur., neben dem nur ein ebenso altes $-ī$ denkbar ist.

Rechnet man also mit der *Doppelheit* Nom. Plur. auf $-ū$, Gen.-Akk. Plur. auf $-ī$ (ohne Unter-

¹ Im Gegensatz dazu steht B. Kienast mit seiner geradezu autoritär anmutenden Ablehnung ohne Begründung in den *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* X (1957) 72, Anm. 2.

schied zwischen Status absolutus und Status constructus), so finden sich weder im Kanaanäischen noch im Aramäischen damit vergleichbare Erscheinungen.² Vielmehr müssen wir auf das ältere Akkadische zurückgehen, um in altbabylonisch *šarrū*, *šarrī* vergleichbare Endungen zu finden. Mit diesem Vergleich erhält die jaudische Pluralbildung den Charakter hoher Altertümlichkeit. Im übrigen Westsemitischen sind diese Pluralendungen nämlich durch den Antritt von Partikeln erweitert, im Ugaritischen durch *-ma* (**ilu*, "Gott," Plur. **ilūma*, **ilīma*), im klassischen Arabischen durch *-na* (*ḥammālun*, "Lastträger," Plur. *ḥammālūna*, *ḥammālīna*). Im Nordwestsemitischen fallen zu Beginn des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. die kurzen Endvokale ab, und der Unterschied zwischen Nom. Plur. mit *-ū*- und Gen.-Akk. Plur. mit *-ī*- wird durch Verallgemeinerung des *-ī*- auch für den Nom. Plur. aufgehoben. Infolgedessen geht der hebräische und phönizische Plural (mit Partikel *-m(a)* wie im Ugaritischen) auf *-īm*, der aramäische und moabitische (mit Partikel *-n(a)* wie im Arabischen) auf *-īn* aus. Jedenfalls findet der jaudische Plural keinerlei Anschluss im Westsemitischen und kann in seiner archaischen Gestalt nur als ein Relikt aus der vorauszusetzenden westsemitischen Ursprache angesehen werden.

Altertümlich ist auch die *Artikkellosigkeit* des Jaudischen, an der kein Zweifel aufkommen sollte. Nicht eines der Substantiva auf *א*-, die man für den Status emphaticus hat in Anspruch nehmen wollen, ist klar und sicher. Auch לילא, "Nacht," Had. 24, das Garbini S. 260 in diesem Sinne deutet, enthält vielmehr mit Donner in *KAI* S. 221 das alte Richtungselement *-ā* wie in hebr. ארצה, "zur Erde," לילה, "nachts." Einen nachgesetzten Artikel sollte man übrigens auch im Plural erwarten, aber wie sollte er sich etwa am Nom. Plur. אלהו, "die Götter," auswirken? Und die Ausrede, dass der nachgesetzte Artikel vorhanden, aber ungeschrieben sei, kann man nicht gelten lassen. Der Artikel wird ja in den noch älteren aramäischen Inschriften des Barha-

² Es ist mir unverständlich, wie Donner in *KAI* S. 214 diese Endungen als Kanaanismen bezeichnen kann. Rechnet er das Ugaritische zum Kanaanäischen (vgl. dazu noch u. S. 429) und denkt er an die ugaritischen Endungen *-ū*, *-ī* nur des Status *constructus* im Plural?

dad (9. Jhd. v. Chr.) und ZKR (etwa 800 v. Chr.) durchaus verwendet (נצבת, "die Stele," Barh. 1, מלכיא, "die Könige," ZKR A 9), und Barrakib von Jaudi (Sam'al) (um 730 v. Chr.) schreibt ihn in seiner aramäischen Bauinschrift *KAI* 216 ganz korrekt (ארקא, "die Erde," Z. 4, מלכיא, "die Könige," Z. 14 f.); warum sollte er ihn dann nicht auch in der Panammū-Inschrift, wenn sie aramäisch wäre, geschrieben haben? Nein, wir kommen nicht um die Tatsache herum, dass die jaudische Sprachform artikellos ist. Und damit rückt sie, historisch gesehen, auf einen altertümlicheren Sprachzustand, wie er in den älteren Sprachen Akkadisch und Ugaritisch (und altertümlich konserviert im Äthiopischen) vorliegt.³

Nunmehr können wir daran gehen, die sonstigen sprachlichen Tatsachen des Jaudischen vor allem nach ihrem Verhältnis zum Aramäischen zu betrachten. Besonders schwierig ist da eine Beurteilung der *Lautverhältnisse*. Der *Vokalismus* ist in der vokallosen Schrift leider nicht erkennbar. Deshalb können wir beispielsweise über die Entwicklung von ursprachlichem *ā* hier ebenso wenig etwas sagen wie im Moabitischen. Voreilig wäre es, das Pronomen אנך, "ich," Had. 1, אנכי Pan. 19⁴ einfach als kanaanäisch zu erklären und in der Mitte mit *o*-Vokal anzusetzen.⁵ Die Monophthongisierung von altem *-ai-* und *-au-* zu *-ē-* und *-ō-* (J. Friedrich, *Phönizisch-punische Grammatik* § 6*) teilt das Jaudische mit dem Ugaritischen, Phönizischen und Aramäischen. Und der im 10. Jhd. v. Chr. eingetretene Schwund der kurzen Endvokale (*ibid.* §§ 91 f. und 7*) hat das Jaudische ebenso betroffen wie das Kanaanäische und Aramäische. Der Vokalis-

³ Das Phönizische verwendet den (vorgesetzten) Artikel zwar schon in der Inschrift des Jehimilk (*KAI* 4, Z. 2; Mitte des 10. Jhds. v. Chr.), aber er ist in den Karatepe-Inschriften (*KAI* 26; etwa 720 v. Chr.) noch selten, und in der Beschwörung vom Arslan Taš (*KAI* 27; 7. Jhd. v. Chr.) fehlt er (in archaischer religiöser Sprache?) noch ganz. Mit den semitischen Verhältnissen vergleiche man die Entwicklung des Artikels in den romanischen und germanischen Sprachen, während die slawischen und baltischen Sprachen gleich dem Äthiopischen artikellos bleiben.

⁴ So steht deutlich da, auch auf der Tafel bei Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik* II (1898) Tafel XXIII. Donner ist in *KAI* S. 40 mit אנך ein bedauerlicher Druckfehler unterlaufen.

⁵ Dasselbe gilt für moabit. אנך, "ich."

mus lässt also keinen Anhaltspunkt für nähere Zugehörigkeit zum Aramäischen erkennen.

Das *Konsonantensystem* des Jaudischen ist deshalb ebenfalls schwer zu erkennen, weil ebenso wie in den altaramäischen Inschriften und Papyri die alten Spiranten \dot{t} und \dot{d} durch \dot{s} und \dot{z} bezeichnet werden, als wäre der kanaanäische Lautwandel von \dot{t} zu \dot{s} und \dot{d} zu \dot{z} eingetreten; man schreibt also altaramäisch und jaudisch ebenso wie im Phönizischen שקל, "Sekel," שב, "sitzen," זהב, "Gold," זן, "dieser" (statt aramäisch תקל, יחב, דהב und דן). Die ältere Forschung meinte, die ersten Schreiber aramäischer Inschriften seien Kanaanäer gewesen, die einfach die Formen ihrer Muttersprache in das bisher ungeschriebene Aramäische gemischt hätten. Heute nimmt man vielmehr an, dass das Altaramäische noch den vorhistorischen Lautstand mit bewahrtem \dot{t} und \dot{d} besessen habe und dass diese Laute durch (kanaanäisches) \dot{s} und \dot{z} nur als Notbehelf bezeichnet worden seien. Für das Jaudische lässt sich leider nicht sagen, ob wir den kanaanäischen Lautstand oder den altaramäischen Lautstand mit Behelfsschreibung anzunehmen haben. Oberflächlich aber ist es, wenn Garbini S. 259 einfach sagt, das jaudische Konsonantensystem sei mit dem des älteren Aramäischen identisch.

In einem Punkte allerdings stimmt das Jaudische zum Aramäischen, in der Entwicklung von vorhistorischem \dot{d} zu q (Friedrich § 8* b): ארק, "Erde" (aramäisch ארק, hebr. ארץ, ugar. ars), מוקא, "(Sonnen-)Aufgang" (hebr. מוצא). Aber wenn man wegen dieser einen Übereinstimmung den ganzen jaudischen Konsonantismus aramäisch nennen wollte, so wäre das genau so verkehrt, wie wenn man das Ugaritische aramäisch nännte, weil es ursprachliches \dot{d} wie das Aramäische zu d wandelt, oder wenn man das Moabitische wegen des nominalen Plurals auf \dot{n} auch zum Aramäischen rechnete. Solche einzelne Übereinstimmungen sind kein Beweis für das Ganze. Auch der Schwund des anlautenden \aleph in jaud. חד, "eins," wie im Aramäischen beweist nicht viel, zumal da diesem Schwunde zusätzliche Alephs in אום, "auch," und אשם, "Name," gegenüberstehen (wie in phön. אשם, "zwei," אנוד, "Bande," neben hebr. שנים, גרוד).

In der *Formenlehre* sind zunächst einige Worte

zum *Pronomen* zu sagen. Allerdings das Wort אנכי (אנכי), "ich," soll erst später unter den sogenannten Kanaanismen behandelt werden. Von den Demonstrativen findet sich das Maskulinum Sg. זן, "dieser," Had. 1 und 14, Pan. 1 und 20 im Aramäischen, aber auch im Phönizischen der Byblos-Inschriften wieder, während das Mask. Sing. זנה, "dieser," Pan. 22 und das Fem. Sg. זא, "diese," Had. 18 so nur im Aramäischen Anschluss finden. Ebenso kehrt das Relativum זי Had. 1 deutlich im Aramäischen, weniger klar in altphöniz. ז KAI 1, 4, 6 und 7 wieder. Die Pronomina bieten also einige Handhaben, um das Jaudische näher zum Aramäischen als zum Kanaanäischen zu stellen.

Beim *Nomen* gibt der Singular des Maskulinums keine besonderen Merkmale an die Hand, und der Plural des Maskulinums ist in seiner altertümlichen Eigenart schon oben S. 425 f. gewürdigt. Der Singular des Feminiums auf \dot{h} , d. h. $\dot{a}(h)$ (Friedrich § 33*), stimmt zwar zum Aramäischen, aber ebenso gut zum Hebräischen (gegenüber $-(a)t$ des Phönizischen und auch Moabitischen; Friedrich § 213). Die femininischen Abstrakta auf $\dot{u}t$ haben im Status absolutus des Singulars den Ausgang \dot{u} (כברו, "Grösse," Had. 11, זכרו, "Erinnerung," Had. 31), der ausschliesslich im Aramäischen seinen Anschluss findet. Aber der Plural der Feminina weicht wieder vom Aramäischen ab: das Aramäische bildet ihn auf $\dot{a}n$ (nach Analogie der Maskulina auf $\dot{a}n$?), das Jaudische aber hat die alte Endung $\dot{x}t$ (Vokalismus unklar; ugaritisch $\dot{a}t$, hebräisch und phönizisch $\dot{o}t$) bewahrt: קירת, "Städte," Had. 10 und Pan. 4, קחילת, "getötete (Frauen)," Pan. 8. In diesem Punkte ist das Jaudische auch wieder altertümlicher als das Aramäische.

Die Flexion des *Verbums* lässt anscheinend mehrere Uebereinstimmungen mit dem Aramäischen erkennen: (1) Die 1. Person Sing. des Perfekts scheint nicht wie im Kanaanäischen auf $\dot{t}\dot{i}$, sondern wie im Aramäischen auf blosses \dot{t} auszugehen: ישבת, "ich setzte mich," Had. 8, הושבת, "ich setzte," Had. 19, הקמת, "ich stellte auf," Had. 1, בנית, "ich baute," Had. 14 und Pan. 20. (2) Die 3. Pers. Sing. Fem. des Perfekts endigt wie im Aramäischen auf \dot{t} , nicht wie im Kanaanäischen auf $\dot{a}(h)$: אכלת, "sie ass," Pan. 9. (3) Das passivische Partizip des Qal hat die

aramäische Vokalisation *qatūl* (nicht wie im Kanaanäischen *qatūl*): קתילת, "getötete (Frauen)," Pan. 8.

Aber diesen Aramaismen stehen auch zwei Kanaanismen gegenüber: (1) Im Imperfekt endigt die 3. und 2. Person Plur. des Maskulinums nicht auf *-ūn* wie im Aramäischen, sondern mit dem Kanaanäischen auf *-ū*: יעברו, "sie (mögen?) bearbeiten," Had. 7, תהרו, "ihr tötet" ("möget töten?"), Pan. 5. Die Zerstörungen des Textes lassen nicht erkennen, ob diese Formen Indikative oder Jussive sind. (2) Noch wichtiger ist, dass der Infinitiv des Qal nicht in der für das Aramäische charakteristischen Weise mit dem Präfix *m-*, sondern in kanaanäischer Art vom reinen Stamme gebildet wird: לנצב, "aufzustellen," Had. 10, לאכל, "zu essen," Had. 23, לבנא, "zu bauen," Had. 13–14.

Unter den Konjunktionen sei פא, "und," hervorgehoben, das Had. 17 und 33 und Pan. 22 selbständig, Had. 3, 13, 14 und 30 proklitisch als פ vorkommt⁶ und das weder aramäisch noch⁷ kanaanäisch ist, wohl aber in arab. *fa-* und auch in ugar. *p-* seinen Anschluss findet.⁸ Vom Standpunkt der Sprachgeschichte aus darf man die Verwendung dieser Konjunktion im Jaudischen wohl wieder als Altertümlichkeit auffassen.

Die Basis der jaudischen Grammatik ist also keineswegs die nordsyrische Form des Altaramäischen,⁹ sondern ein Gemisch aus Parallelen zum Aramäischen und aus altertümlichen, weder aramäischen noch kanaanäischen, Formen. Es erübrigt sich nun noch ein Blick auf das *Lexikon*, vor allem auf die angeblichen kanaanäischen Einschiebsel im angeblich aramäischen Texte. Die Annahme kanaanäischer Bestandteile hat wohl ihren Ursprung in der o. S. 427 besprochenen "kanaanisierenden" Schreibung der Spiranten (ישב für יתב, זהב für דהב usw.). Was die heutige Forschung als Notbehelf der

⁶ Unklar פ Pan. 11.

⁷ Gegen Donner in *KAI* S. 214, wo die angeblich kanaanäische Konjunktion *d-* wohl ein Druckfehler für *ugaritisch p-* ist.

⁸ Das *-פ* in der aramäischen Bauinschrift *KAI* 216, Z. 18, ist natürlich nicht aramäisch, sondern aus der jaudischen Muttersprache des Verfassers in den Text gedrungen. Und das Palmyrenische und Nabatäische haben ihr *-פ*, "und," natürlich aus dem Arabischen bezogen.

⁹ So Donner in *KAI* S. 214.

Schreibung ansieht, waren für die älteren Forscher tatsächlich kanaanäische Wörter anstelle aramäischer. Von da aus war es dann nicht schwer, noch mehr "kanaanäische" Wörter wie הרו, "töten," גם, "auch," נתן, "geben," אנך (אנכי), "ich," in den "aramäischen" Texten von Jaudi zu finden. Auch diese Frage sieht sich heute etwas anders an. In alter Zeit scheinen die Wörter noch nicht so streng nach Sprachgebieten getrennt wie später. Während später nur aram. נסב, "nehmen," דן (geschrieben auch זן), "dieser," די (זי) (Relativum) usw. vorkommen, sind נשב, "nehmen," זן, "dieser," Relativ † auch in der ältesten byblischen Mundart des Phönizischen vorhanden. Und ähnlich ist es offenbar umgekehrt hier; da sind später speziell kanaanäische Wörter wie הרו, "töten," גם, "auch," נתן, "geben," auch im Jaudischen vorhanden und verschwinden erst mit der Überwucherung der Lokalmundart durch das Aramäische.

Ein besonderes Wort ist zu אנך (אנכי), "ich," nötig. Wo sich Sprachen mischen, wie es auf den jaudischen Inschriften angenommen wird, sind die Pronomina, besonders die Personalpronomina, die Elemente, die sich am hartnäckigsten gegen Überflutung durch Fremdes wehren.¹⁰ So ist es höchst unwahrscheinlich, dass in Jaudi, wenn man dort aramäisch gesprochen hätte, gerade das Pronomen "ich" aus der Fremde übernommen wäre, ganz zu schweigen von unserer Unklarheit über den Vokal der Mittelsilbe (*ā* oder *ō*?). Am einfachsten scheint es, in *ʿanxki* (mit strittigem Mittelvokal) ein Pronomen des *Jaudischen* zu sehen, womit wieder ein Argument gegen dessen aramäischen Charakter gegeben ist.

Für die Annahme eines aramäischen Untergrundes mit kanaanäischen Beimischungen scheint mir also zu wenig Aramäisches und vor allem zu viel Eigenständiges und noch dazu recht Altertümliches darin. Wer andere Dialektgebiete kennt, kommt m. E. unbedingt zu

¹⁰ Nur ein paar zufällig herausgegriffene Beispiele: Die ursprünglich niederdeutsche Berliner Mundart ist heute unter mitteldeutschem Einfluss hochdeutsch geworden, hat aber niederdeutsches *ik*, *dat* und *wat* bewahrt. In Nieblum auf der Insel Föhr ist das ursprüngliche Friesische durch das Plattdeutsche verdrängt worden, aber die Pronomina sind friesisch geblieben. Die griechischen Mundarten Kappadokiens waren im Wortschatz schon ungemein stark vom Türkischen zersetzt, aber die Pronomina sind griechisch geblieben.

dem Schlusse, dass in Syrien die Verhältnisse nicht anders gewesen sind als auf anderen, uns näher liegenden, Sprachgebieten, etwa dem altgriechischen, dem althochdeutschen, altenglischen oder altfranzösischen: Überall da finden wir vor Beginn der schriftlichen Überlieferung eine grössere Zahl sehr verschiedener Dialekte, von denen sich dann einzelne zu Schriftsprachen entwickeln und die anderen zurückdrängen. In Europa dauert das Eigenleben der Dialekte länger, in Syrien dringen die Schriftsprachen, erst die phönizische und dann die aramäische, rascher durch. Im Jaudischen dürfte ein altertümlicher Sonderdialekt erhalten geblieben sein, so wie im heutigen Deutschland das altertümliche Alemannische neben weiter entwickelten Mundarten lebt.

Das Jaudische ist nicht die einzige semitische Mundart, die anstelle der bisherigen Monotonie etwas Leben in die semitische Sprachgeschichte bringt. Eine zweite, die sich der Schablone des Kanaanäischen und Aramäischen widersetzt, ist

das mehrere Jahrhunderte ältere *Ugaritische*. Auch diese Sprache wird von vielen noch falsch eingeordnet, indem man sie, wenn auch nicht unwidersprochen, einfach für kanaanäisch und zwar speziell phönizisch erklärt, obwohl wichtige lautliche Tatsachen wie die Bewahrung des \bar{a} ¹¹ und die Entwicklung von t und d dagegen sprechen. Man stützt sich dabei auf die nominale Pluralendung *-m*, die Gestalt des Verbums *ītn*, "geben," im Ugaritischen und Phönizischen und tut die lautlichen Bedenken wohl mit der Bemerkung ab, das betreffende Lautgesetz sei eben in der altertümlichen ugaritischen Sprache noch nicht eingetreten. Aber dann sollte man das Ugaritische auch nicht kanaanäisch nennen, wenn man die Dialektunterschiede nicht verwischen will. Vielmehr sind Ugaritisch wie Jaudisch Reste der ursprünglichen dialektischen Vielfalt im Nordwestsemitischen, und beide ragen wie erratische Blöcke in die Verarmung der späteren Zeit herein.

¹¹ Gegenüber \bar{o} in dem *a-nu-ki*, "ich," der Amarna-Briefe.

DER RELATIVSATZ IM PHÖNIZISCHEN UND PUNISCHEN¹

HANS-SIEGFRIED SCHUSTER

Köln

Die verschiedenen Relativsatzkonstruktionen im Phönizischen und Punischen wurden im Zusammenhang zuletzt besprochen in den §§ 121–24 und 291–94 der *Phönizisch-Punischen Grammatik* von J. Friedrich (1951) mit folgendem Ergebnis:

1. Die Einleitung eines Relativsatzes erfolgt überwiegend mit 𐤨𐤍 , das "offenbar mit späthebr. ש (ש) und akkad. ša identisch" ist, doch in der Regel nicht so, sondern "mit einem Vorsatzvokal als 𐤨𐤍 " erscheint (§§ 121, 122 b, 291.1). Pronominaler Rückverweis ist selten (§ 291.2).
2. In einigen alten Inschriften wird 𐤓 als Relativum verwendet; die regierenden Substantiva (Leitnomina) sind "im status constructus zu denken, daher ohne Artikel" (§ 293).
3. In einigen wenigen Fällen sind die Relativ-

¹ Für Abkürzungen vgl. die Liste bei J. Friedrich, *Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik*, S. XVII–XXII.

Ferner

- | | |
|----------|--|
| CRAI | <i>Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i> |
| DISO | Ch.-F. Jean et J. Hoftijzer, <i>Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'Ouest</i> (Leiden, 1960—) |
| Dunand I | M. Dunand, <i>Fouilles de Byblos. I. 1926–1932</i> (Paris, 1937–39) |
| Fr. | J. Friedrich, <i>Phönizisch-Punische Grammatik</i> (Roma, 1951) |
| GAG | W. von Soden, <i>Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik</i> (Roma, 1952) |
| GVG | C. Brockelmann, <i>Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen</i> (Berlin, 1908–13) |
| NSI | G. A. Cooke, <i>A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions</i> (Oxford, 1903) |

Sehr nützlich bei der Überprüfung des Materials war mir der inzwischen erschienene Textband von H. Donner und W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1962; abgekürzt KAI). Sie enthalten vor allem auch eine charakteristische Auswahl der sonst weit verstreut veröffentlichten und daher praktisch unzugänglichen neupunischen Inschriften. Erst kurz vor Abschluss des Manuskriptes erreichte mich Bd. II (Kommentar [1964]), sodass es nicht mehr möglich war, in größerem Umfange entsprechende Verweise oder Bemerkungen anzubringen.

sätze auch asyndetisch, ohne ein Relativum, belegt; entsprechend dem akkadischen Beispiel *bīt ṛpušu*, "das Haus, das er gebaut hat" (GAG § 166), ist das übergeordnete Nomen hier ebenfalls im status constructus anzunehmen (§ 292).

4. Relativ selten werden auch die Fragepronomina "wer" oder "was" abgeschwächt als persönliche bzw. sächliche Relativa verwendet (§ 124 a und c).

Die Frage ist nun, ob sich diese Deutung, namentlich die von 𐤨𐤍 ,² beweisen lässt oder ob sie wenigstens durch weitere Argumente wahrscheinlicher gemacht werden kann. Sie würde—was wohl noch nicht bedacht worden ist—ein enges Zusammengehen des Phönizischen mit dem Akkadischen in einer sehr speziellen sprachlichen Ausdrucksweise bezeugen, wenn nicht gar eine Entlehnung, was nicht ohne Einfluss auf die Betrachtung der Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der semitischen Sprachen bleiben könnte; denn die Benutzung von akkad. ša in der Relativsatzkonstruktion stellt ja nur einen Sonderfall der allgemeinen Genitivverbindung dar (GAG §§ 138 und 165).

Inzwischen hat St. Gevartz an der Gleichsetzung von 𐤨𐤍 mit akkad. ša Anstoß genommen, jedoch mehr deswegen, weil ein prothetisches Aleph lediglich aus euphonischen Gründen erforderlich sei und daher nur zur Auflockerung einer Konsonantengruppe am Wortbeginn diene, was bei 𐤨𐤍 ja nicht zutrefte, und bietet als Alternative eine Etymologie an, die 𐤨𐤍 mit ugar. ʾt , aram. תא verbindet.³ Damit wird jedoch das Problem nicht gelöst, sondern nur verschoben, da ja die Fälle übrig bleiben, in denen im Phön.

² Sie findet sich schon bei Z. S. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* (New Haven, 1936) S. 55, sowie Ch. C. Torrey in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* LVII (1937) 398 und geht wohl letzten Endes auf P. Schröder, *Die phönizische Sprache* (Halle, 1869) S. 163, zurück.

³ St. Gevartz, "On the etymology of the Phoenician particle 𐤨𐤍 ," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* XVI (1957) 124–27.

ו erscheint, dessen Gleichsetzung mit akkad. *ša* stillschweigend vorgenommen wird.⁴

Aus den letzten Jahren ist weiter zu erwähnen ein Aufsatz von H. B. Rosén,⁵ dessen Anliegen vor allem die Darlegung der Entwicklung der 'Relativpronomina' zu 'Universalkonjunktionen' ist, der dabei aber vielleicht etwas zu theoretisch vorgeht und bisweilen verschiedene relativsatzeinleitende Elemente allzu rasch funktional miteinander gleichsetzt, wenngleich auch ein solches Vorgehen manche Anregungen vermitteln kann.⁶

Dem Bemühen, die Konstruktionen der Relativsätze aufzuhellen durch Befragen nur des phönizischen Materials, sind sehr rasch Grenzen gesetzt, bedingt teils durch die Vokallösigkeit der Schrift, teils durch den spröden Inhalt der Texte. Es ist deshalb nicht zu umgehen, von vornherein Vergleichsmaterial aus semitischen Sprachen des näheren Umkreises heranzuziehen. Ohne weiteres ist dies gestattet für die altaramäischen Inschriften (zur Abgrenzung s. Anm. 44), da diese nicht nur zeitlich und räumlich benachbart sind, sondern auch im formalen Aufbau und in der Einzelstilisierung grosse Ähnlichkeiten aufweisen. Vor allem das Hebräische hat man bisher zu Wort kommen lassen, das, relativ nahe verwandt, durch den Reichtum der Überlieferung und wegen der Schreibung mit Vokalzeichen immer bestimmend sein wird; es ist jedoch notwendig, unsere Fragen auch an die übrigen semitischen Sprachen—mit der notwendigen Behutsamkeit—zu stellen.

Die semitischen Sprachen haben zwei verschiedene Formen ausgebildet, ein relativisches

Verhältnis darzustellen: die Unterordnung und die Juxtaposition, die Anfügung des Relativsatzes an das Leitnomen wie ein attributives Adjektiv. Jene ist im Akkadischen, diese im Arabischen am deutlichsten ausgeprägt.

Das Akkadische ordnet alle abhängigen Sätze, so auch die Relativsätze, genitivisch unter, sodass das Leitnomen stets im status constructus steht, und hat für das Verbum des abhängigen Satzes einen eigenen Modus, den Subjunktiv, entwickelt. Die Verschiebung der Genitivkonstruktion, indem ein dem ursprünglichen Regens appositionell beigefügtes, in alter Zeit noch flektiertes, doch bald erstarrtes Determinativpronomen, nämlich *ša*, nunmehr die Rolle des Regens übernimmt, wird auch für die Relativsätze nutzbar gemacht, sodass hier ebenfalls das gegenüber Kasus, Numerus und Genus der Leitnomina invariable *ša* als Regens auftritt. Mit dem Fortfall der kurzen Auslautvokale im Neubabylonischen, sodass sich Indikativ und Subjunktiv äusserlich nicht mehr voneinander unterscheiden, wird die Bahn frei für eine Entwicklung von *ša* zu einer relativsatzeinleitenden Konjunktion.

Das Arabische fügt dagegen den Relativsatz attributiv an das Leitnomen; bei determiniertem Beziehungssubstantiv besorgt zusätzlich ein Pronomen, das demonstrative Elemente benutzt, die Anhebung des Relativsatzes auf das Niveau dieses Leitnomens. Die von diesem Pronomen gebildeten Formen sowie ein gewisser 'Perfektionismus' in der Handhabung der pronominalen Rückverweise zeigen, dass der uns vorliegende Zustand verhältnismässig jung ist.⁷

אש

Es sind sogleich zwei Gruppen erkennbar.

1.11. Das Leitnomen ist zugleich Subjekt des an אש angefügten Verbalsatzes. Z.B. Ešm. 17/18: ואנחן אש בנן בתם לאלן צדנם, "Und wir (sind es),

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 127.

⁵ H. B. Rosén, "Zur Vorgeschichte des Relativsatzes im Nordwestsemitischen," *Archiv Orientalní* XXVII (1959) 186–98.

⁶ Ich möchte insbesondere hervorheben, dass mir die verschiedenen dort gegebenen Zusammenstellungen eine wertvolle Kontrollmöglichkeit boten.

⁷ Es ist bisher in allen Grammatiken verkannt, dass das arab. الذي weder ein 'Relativpronomen' ist noch einen Be-

standteil des übergeordneten Satzes bildet, sondern ein Determinativpronomen, das den Relativsatz eröffnet und dessen einzige Aufgabe darin besteht, die Kongruenz mit dem determinierten Leitnomen in Kasus, Numerus und Genus zu gewährleisten, sodass es für uns nicht übersetzbar ist; vgl. z.B. C. Brockelmann, *Arabische Grammatik* (15. Aufl.; 1962) § 149: "Die Pronomina gehören ihrer Konstruktion nach zu dem übergeordneten Satze." Darüber ausführlicher an anderer Stelle. Den tatsächlichen Verhältnissen am nächsten gekommen ist H. Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen* (1898) S. 523 bzw. 595.

die Tempel für die Götter der Sidonier bauten"; Kar. A i 9: ותרק אנך כל הרע אש כן בארץ, "Und ich rottete(?) das gesamte Böse aus, welches im Lande war"; *KI*, Nr. 29 A 5: לבנם אש בן אית בת, "Und wir (sind es),

עשתרת כח, "Den Bauleuten, welche den Tempel der 'Astart von Kition bauten"; Ešm. 6/7: כל ז ומלכת וכל אדם אש יפתח עלה משכב ז וכל אש לסר ת אבן ז; KAI, Nr. 79:6-8: "Und jeder, der (sich anschickt), diesen Stein zu entfernen." Das Leitnomen ist determiniert, formal determiniert (כל אדם), gelegentlich auch indeterminiert (כל); es sieht so aus, als seien die letzten zwei Fälle auf die Mitwirkung von כל beschränkt.

1.12. Das Leitwort tritt in dem Satze hinter אש als (virtuelles) Objekt wieder auf. Z.B. Jeħaum. 1/2: אנך יחומלך . . . אש פעלתן הרבה בעלת גבל; ממלכת על גבל, "Ich (bin) J. . . , welchen (mich) die Gebieterin, die Herrin von Byblos, zum König gemacht hat"; KI, Nr. 19:2: אסמלתן אש יתן אש, "Dieses Bild (ist es), welches darbrachte NN"; Ešm. 4: במקם אש בנה, "an dem Orte, welchen ich baute"; Kar. A i 18/19: וען אנך ארצת עות במבא שמש אש בל ען כל לפני, "Und ich unterwarf mächtige Länder im Westen, welche alle die Könige, welche vor mir waren, nicht unterworfen hatten." Das Leitnomen ist fast stets determiniert.⁹

1.13. Die angeführten Stellen zeigen deutlich, dass weder Genus- oder Numerusunterschiede noch auch die Determination des Leitnomens einen Einfluss auf das 'Relativum' אש haben (zumindest nicht in der Schrift), und ganz besonders Kar. A i 14 . . . במקם באש [1.21] weist darauf hin, dass der durch אש eingeleitete Passus appositionell auf das Leitnomen folgt, sich mit ihm also nur hinsichtlich des Kasus in Kongruenz befindet.

1.141. Zu widersprechen scheint dem jedoch ein Fall wie KI, Nr. 97:1/2 (pun.): מתנת אש נדר NN, "Gabe, welche NN gelobte" (voran geht eine Widmung an die Gottheit; s. Anm. 10). Das ist zunächst ein ziemlich später Beleg (ca. 2. Jh. v. Chr.), er gewinnt jedoch eine Bedeutung dadurch, dass er in der Tradition des Schemas der Votivinschriften steht, das von den ältesten

⁹ Diese beiden Worte vermutlich in Kar. B ausgelassen; vgl. die Rekonstruktion des Wortlauts durch A. Alt in *Die Welt des Orients* II (1954-59) 176 f.

⁹ Was vielleicht durch die stereotype Formulierung der Votivinschriften [1.141] mit bedingt ist und dann nicht Allgemeingültigkeit beanspruchen kann.—Formale Determinierung (mit כל, "jeder") in den Bestimmungen des Opfertarifs von Massilia (KI, Nr. 63) und verwandter Texte.

Inschriften bis hin zu den späten neupunischen Perioden unverändert beibehalten wird: es handelt sich um die Form, in welcher der Gegenstand eingeführt wird, von dem die Inschrift spricht, d.h. um die Art der Nennung des 'Stichwortes.'

Dieses steht stets am Eingang des (eigentlichen) Inschriftentextes¹⁰ und kann sein

a) persönlich:

"Ich (bin) NN" (Jeħaum., Kil., Kar. usw.; Meša-Inschrift [= KI, Nr. 1]; aram. Pan., NSI, Nr. 63 [Barrākib], usw.)

"Ich, der NN . . ." (Tabn., Kil. 9 [Beginn des zweiten Abschnitts], KI, Nr. 23 [Zypern]; aram. nicht nachweisbar)¹¹

"NN . . ." (Bod. [= KI, Nr. 8 und 9])

b) sächlich: "Der GEGENSTAND (ist es), welchen . . ." oder "D e n GEGENSTAND . . ."

Dabei wird, abgesehen von Byblos (s. Anm. 42), in älterer Zeit (im Phön. fast stets, im Pun. überwiegend) dem 'Stichwort' noch ein Demonstrativum beigefügt, z.B. KI, Nr. 31:1: מרקע אש יתן, "Dieses goldene *mrq* (ist es), welches darbrachte . . .," wobei mit wenigen Ausnahmen kein Artikel am einleitenden Nomen verwendet wird.

1.142. Sachlich und im formalen Aufbau mit dem vorhin zitierten NN מתנת אש נדר identisch ist Aħ. 1: ארן ז פעלו אוחבעל, "Sarkophag, welchen Ittoba'al gemacht hat" [2.1]. Lässt man mit Fr. § 293 gelten, dass hier das Leitnomen im status constructus und daher ohne Artikel¹² stehe, müsste das Gleiche selbstverständlich auch bei den Konstruktionen mit אש der Fall sein, was nach den sonstigen Belegen [1.11 und 1.12] sicher nicht zutrifft.

¹⁰ Diesem können vorgeschaltet sein und werden hier daher nicht mit gerechnet:

a) eine Datierung (z.B. Ešm.; KI, Nr. 18, 52 usw.)

b) eine Widmung (KI, Nr. 58, "Dem Herrn, dem Ba'al-Šamēm"; KAI, Nr. 105, 118 usw.); vgl. [1.22]

c) (selten) ein Segenswunsch (KI, Nr. 36; KAI, Nr. 78); dieser vielmehr in der Regel am Schluss der Inschrift oder eine Kombination von ihnen; KAI, Nr. 78:4, durch einen trennenden Punkt, der eine Zäsur anzeigt, auch äusserlich von dem eigentlichen Anliegen der Inschrift abgesetzt.

¹¹ Weiteres dazu bei A. Poebel, *Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen der 1. Pers. Sing. in den westsemitischen Inschriften und im Alten Testament* (Chicago, 1932) [mir nicht zugänglich].

¹² D.h. soweit er schon gebräuchlich ist, was für die Aħrām-Inschrift sicher noch nicht zutrifft [7.4].

1.143. In den altaramäischen Inschriften entspricht, ebenfalls im Schema völlig gleich, *NN* **נצבא · זי · שם**, “Die Stele, welche gesetzt hat NN” (*KAI*, Nr. 201 und 202);¹³ vgl. weiter *NSI*, Nr. 70 (Tema, ca. 5. Jh. v. Chr.): **מליחבא** *NN* **זי קרוב**, “Das Postament(?), welches darbrachte NN”; *Syria XXXII* (1955) 263 (Hatra, 1. Jh. n. Chr.): *M* **ארזא די בנא**, “Die Zeder(ntür) [*DISO*, S. 24], welche M gebaut hat.”

1.144. Das Aramäische setzt hier also den Artikel; das bedeutet für das Phön., dass auch hier das ‘Stichwort’ determiniert zu denken ist und, da ohne Artikel, gewissermassen in ‘Eigennamenfunktion’ steht, sodass der Artikel auch bei Hinzufügung des demonstrativen *ז* nicht zu erscheinen hat. Besonders instruktiv ist *KI*, Nr. 69:1/2 (Karthago): **מקדשם חדשם . . . והחרטית אש**, “Die neuen Heiligtümer . . . und die Skulpturen(?) [vgl. *DISO*, S. 96], welche in diesen Heiligtümern (sind), . . .”; am Beginn ohne, am zweiten (parallelen) Gliede mit Artikel.

1.145. Gelangt das ‘Stichwort’ + Demonstrativ jedoch in das Innere des Eingangssatzes oder der Inschrift, tritt die normale Konstruktion mit Artikel wieder ein; vgl. *KI*, Nr. 69, zweites Glied (s. oben), oder *KI*, Nr. 68:1 (Karthago): **חדשם ופעל אית המטבח ז . . . עשרת האשם**, “Es erneuerten und stellten her diese Schlachtstelle (für Opfer) . . . die zehn Männer.” In allen besprochenen Fällen haben wir es daher weniger mit einer grammatischen als vielmehr mit einer stilistischen Eigenheit zu tun, sodass sich im Grundsätzlichen keine Abweichung vom sonst erheblich vorherrschenden Typus **הדָּבָר זָה** (*Fr.* § 300.1) ergibt.¹⁴

1.146. Diese Regel erleidet nur wenige Ausnahmen. Bekannt sind mir

Syria VI (1925) 271 (Byblos, ca. 1. Jh. n. Chr.): **החוטם אל פעלת**, “Diese *hnwt* [vgl. *DISO*, S. 92] habe ich gemacht”

KI, Nr. 11:1 (Sidon, ca. 200 v. Chr.): **המנחת ז** *NN* **אש יתן**, “Diese Gabe (ist es), welche darbrachte NN”

¹³ Die Einordnung in das Schema der Votivinschriften macht die Übersetzung “cippus est hic, (quem) erexit Z.” bei Rosén in *Archiv Orientalní XXVII* 187 und die daran geknüpften Folgerungen hinfällig.

¹⁴ Für weitere daraus abzuleitende Folgerungen s. den Exkurs [7].

KI, Nr. 21:1 (Zypern, 4.-3. Jh. v. Chr.): **המצבת** **או לאשמן**, “Diese Stele (weihte NN) dem Eshmun”

KI, Nr. 33:3 (Zypern, 255 v. Chr.): **הסמלם האל** *B* **אש יטנא**, “Diese Bilder (sind es), welche darbrachte B” (voran geht die Datierung; s. Anm. 10); zugleich das einzige Beispiel für den Artikel auch am Demonstrativum (*Fr.* § 300.2)

KI, Nr. 36:2 (Zypern, 3. Jh. v. Chr.): **הסמל ז** (voran geht ein Segenswunsch; s. Anm. 10)

KI, Nr. 37:1 (Ägypten, ca. 2. Jh. v. Chr.): **המטנא [ז] יטנא[ת] אנך** dar”

NSI, Nr. 59 A 1 (Libyen, neupun.): **המזרח . . . אש**, “Die *mzrh*, welche . . .” (ähnlich *NSI*, Nr. 59 C 1).¹⁵

1.147. In neupunischer Zeit wird das Schema aufgelockert und die Stellung der Worte veränderlich, sodass nicht selten das Verb die Inschriften einleitet, was sicher nicht als Wiederherstellung der ursprünglichen Wortstellung in einem semitischen Verbalsatz, sondern als vulgäre Erscheinung zu werten ist. Das Schema ‘Stichwort’ ohne Artikel + Demonstrativ ist aber so starr, dass es sich auch hier durchsetzt und wir Wendungen begegnen wie *Eph.* II 188:1: **בנא בות ז וקוער[ט]ה**, “Es baute dieses Gebäude Quarta”; *Eph.* II 65 C 1: **טנע עבן ז**, “Diesen Stein errichteten (die NN)”; oder *KAI*, Nr. 165:2: **קראת פעס אש . . .**¹⁶

1.21. Entsprechend dem Charakter des mit **אש** eingeleiteten Passus als einer Apposition zum Leitnomen [1.13] wirkt eine vor diesem stehende Präposition auch auf **אש** weiter, unabhängig davon, in welchem Kasus das Leitnomen im Satz

¹⁵ Versucht man, diese Belege unter einem einheitlichen Gesichtspunkt zu ordnen, könnte man vielleicht sagen, dass der Artikel gesetzt werden kann, wenn dem ‘Stichwort’ nicht unmittelbar der Relativsatz folgt, sondern dieses in einen vollständigen Satz eingebunden ist; ferner, wenn der ‘Vorspann’ (Datierung usw.) als zum Inschrifttext gehörig angesehen wurde, sodass nur noch *KI*, Nr. 11, und *NSI*, Nr. 59, eine Ausnahme bilden würden. Doch sind zu wenige Beispiele vorhanden, um eine eindeutige Regel ableiten zu können.

¹⁶ Da mir *CIS I* und die vielen verstreuten Publikationen neupunischer Inschriften nicht zur Verfügung stehen, war es nicht möglich, den Kontext sämtlicher Verbindungen ‘Nomen + Demonstrativum’ nachzuprüfen. Nach den bei *Fr.* § 300.3 gegebenen charakteristischen Beispielen ist jedoch mit keinen weiteren Ausnahmen zu rechnen.

hinter **אש** wieder auftritt; vgl. [1.12] **במקם אש בנת** oder Kar. A ii 3–5: **ובמקם אש כן לפנם נשחעם אש**, „auch an den Orten, welche vordem gefürchtet waren (und) (an denen) ein Mann sich fürchtete, einen Weg zu gehen.“¹⁷ Es gibt unter solchen Sätzen auch einige Fälle—und der zweite der eben zitierten Relativsätze ist der erste Beleg dafür—, in denen das Leitnomen im Satz hinter **אש** in der gleichen präpositionalen Verbindung zu denken ist wie zuvor am Leitnomen selbst. Die Abwesenheit eines pronominalen Rückverweises erscheint hier nicht unerheblich, doch ist diese sicher auf das fast völlige Fehlen eines Rückverweissystems im Phön. zurückzuführen¹⁸ und nicht auf eine Regel analog der des Arabischen, wonach der Rückverweis unterbleiben kann, wenn die Präposition davor identisch mit der am Leitnomen ist.¹⁹ Noch deutlicher aus der gleichen Inschrift i 14/15: **במקם באש כן אשם**, **רעם בעל אנדרם אש כל אש עבד כן לבת מפש**, „an den Orten, an (denen) böse Menschen waren, Anführer von Banden,²⁰ (und) (an denen) kein Untertan war dem Hause des Mopsos,²¹ zugleich der einzige Beleg mit Wiederholung der

¹⁷ Wörtlich: „(weg)zugehen (und wieder) einzutreten.“—Zwei parallele Sätze mit **אש** zum Leitnomen **במקם** (ב).

¹⁸ Ein Rückverweis ist aber nicht völlig unmöglich; vgl. Šipitb. II A 3: **במשכב ון אש שכב כן**, „in dieser Ruhestätte, in welcher ich ruhe“ (בן Rückverweis [zur Form Fr. § 254 I a mit Anm. 1], **שכב** Partizip).

¹⁹ Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen*, S. 620 f.

²⁰ Diese Verbindung in Kar. B wahrscheinlich ausgelassen; vgl. Anm. 8.

²¹ Wie an der vorher zitierten Stelle zwei parallele Sätze mit **אש** zum Leitnomen **במקם** (ב). Da **כן** hinter **עבד** steht, kann es entgegen Fr. § 262.3, Anm. 2, und A. Dupont-Sommer in *Oriens* II (1949) 125 nicht als Ausdruck der Vorvergangenheit angesehen werden (auch nicht unter Berufung auf den Gebrauch von syr. *hw* [Th. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik* (2. Aufl.; 1898) § 263], denn dabei handelt es sich um eine späte und innersyrische Entwicklung), sondern ist parallel zu **כן** des ersten Satzes; **עבד** Partizip und Attribut zu **אש**, „Mann.“

Die Hinzufügung von **כן** zur Projizierung in das Plusquamperfekt ist jetzt nur mehr bezeugt durch die (auch von Dupont-Sommer herangezogene) verhältnismässig späte Inschrift KI, Nr. 33:5 (255 v. Chr.): **הגדר אש כן נדר אבנם M בחי**, „das Gelübde, welches ihr Vater M zu seinen Lebzeiten geleistet hatte.“

Die bildheth. Fassung weicht ab: „Die BANDENANFÜHRER [Behelfsübersetzung aufgrund des Phön.], welche nicht untertan waren dem Hause des Moxos, die legte ich, A., mir auch unter die Füße“ (anders H. Th. Bossert in *Oriens* II [1949] 90 und 113).

Präposition vor **אש**,²² was die syntaktische Stellung des damit anhebenden Passus als Apposition endgültig sichert [1.13].

I.22. Ob der nicht seltene Typ **אש נדר A-ל** (A Name der Gottheit, B der des Weihenden) hier anzuschliessen ist, sodass eine alte Formel bewahrt wäre und übersetzt werden müsste „Der Gottheit A, welcher (es) B gelobte,²³ ist nicht ganz sicher, da nach den Feststellungen über die bei der Komposition der Inschriften an-

²² Wegen dieser Singularität könnte man an einen Schreibfehler denken oder die Wiederholung der Präposition als Charakteristikum eines ‘Übersetzungsphönizisch’ werten, zumal eine solche Doppelsetzung an der vorher besprochenen, ähnlich aufgebauten Stelle A ii 3–5 unterblieben ist. Ein Schreibfehler erscheint ausgeschlossen, denn der Wortlaut ist in allen drei Exemplaren identisch, das erneute Auftreten der Präposition also beabsichtigt. Ein endgültiges Urteil über die Frage einer gegenseitigen Abhängigkeit der beiden Fassungen hinsichtlich Wortwahl oder der angewandten Konstruktionen wird sich zwar erst fällen lassen, wenn der gesamte bildheth. Text vorliegt, die verschiedenen zu registrierenden Abweichungen oder Auslassungen in den bis jetzt bekannten Teilen (z.B. in den A i 11–13 entsprechenden Partien) lassen aber durchaus den Schluss auf eine relativ selbständige Redaktion der phön. Fassung zu; speziell an der hier zu besprechenden Stelle ist keine Übernahme einer (indogermanisch-)bildheth. Konstruktion erkennbar.

Im Übrigen ist im Phön. die Wiederaufnahme einer Präposition innerhalb einer appositionellen Verbindung keineswegs ungewöhnlich, sie findet sich regelmässig in den Widmungen, in denen der Eigenname die gleiche Präposition erhält wie der davor stehende ‘Titel.’ Die Belege stammen zwar überwiegend aus pun. und neupun. Zeit und auch das älteste datierbare phön. Vorkommen ist relativ spät: KI, Nr. 34 (363 v. Chr.), die Konstruktion ist aber schon in den ältesten aram. Inschriften nachweisbar; s. Barhadad 3/4 (zitiert [1.22]) und Pan. 1. Weitere und nicht so spezielle Typen umfassende Zeugnisse aus verschiedenen semitischen Sprachen sind GVG II § 144a zusammengestellt. Bei umgekehrter Reihenfolge unterbleibt jedoch die Wiederholung der Präposition; s. Aḥ. 1: **אבה לאחרם** usw.

Aufgrund der Belege wird man sagen dürfen, dass die Präposition wiederaufgenommen wird, wenn die Verbindung etwas lockerer aufgefasst erscheint, dass sie dagegen nur einmal steht, wenn ein stärkeres Heranrücken an das Leitnomen, eine Behandlung ähnlich einem attributiven Adjektiv, beabsichtigt ist.

Dementsprechend werte ich das spätere völlige Fehlen der Wiederholung der Präposition bei der Anfügung von Relativsätzen an ein mit einer Präposition versehenes Leitnomen als ein Zeichen für eine Verfestigung (und damit gleichzeitig auch für eine gewisse Erstarrung) der Konstruktion, denn nachdem uns die Inschriften von Karatepe Zeugnis gegeben haben von manchen altertümlichen Konstruktionen (Typus **פעל אך** [Fr. § 286, Anm. 1]; Behandlung des Artikels [7.2]), darf ein isoliertes Vorkommen darin nicht lediglich deshalb als suspekt betrachtet werden, weil es in keinem späteren Text wieder aufzufinden ist.

²³ So auch Rosén in *Archiv Orientalní* XXVII 191.

gewendeten Schemata die Widmung normalerweise ausserhalb des eigentlichen Inschrifttextes steht (s. Anm. 10). Somit wäre **אש** + Fortsetzung eine Abbrüviatur für das normale "(Das ist) der GEGENSTAND, welchen B gelobte," woraus aber nicht ein Beweis für das selbständige Auftreten von **אש**, ohne Leitnomen, abgeleitet werden darf; denn es gibt keine einzige Inschrift, die mit **אש** beginnt, zumindest heisst es A **נער אש נער**, "Gelübde, welches A gelobte" (KAI, Nr. 156). Ausserdem darf der deutliche Hinweis in der aramäischen Weihinschrift des Barhadad, **למראה למלקרת זי נור לה**, "dem Melqart, seinem Herrn, welchem er (es) gelobte" (KAI, Nr. 201:3/4; mit rückweisendem Pronomen), nicht übersehen werden, sodass ich mehr der ersten Auffassung zuneige.

Das älteste mir bekannte Beispiel für diesen Typ ist KI, Nr. 57 (Sizilien, ca. 3. Jh. v. Chr.): A **לאדן לבעלחמן אש נדר חנא בן**, "Dem Herrn, dem Ba'al-Hammōn, welchem (es) Hanno, Sohn des A, gelobte."

1.3. Bei dem eben zitierten Inschriftentyp blieb es letzten Endes nicht entscheidbar, ob der mit **אש** beginnende Passus im Satze auch in selbständiger syntaktischer Funktion auftreten kann. Für eine solche gibt es nun tatsächlich einige Belege, doch nie als Subjekt oder Objekt, sondern nur in Verbindung mit Präpositionen.²⁴ 1.31. KI, Nr. 63:20 (Opfertarif von Massilia): **כל כהן אש יקח משאת בדרך לאש ש בפס ז**, "Jeder Priester, der eine Abgabe nimmt im Gegensatz zu dem, was auf dieser Tafel festgesetzt ist, . . ." Der Kontext zeigt, dass **אש** + nachfolgendem (Nominal)satz²⁵ [1.4] in der Funktion eines von einer Präposition abhängigen speziell determinierten, also mit Artikel zu denkenden Nomens auftritt.

1.32. Genau das Gleiche finden wir an den

²⁴ Was ich auch als Argument bei der Beurteilung des Typs B **אש נדר** A-ל [1.22] werten möchte.

²⁵ Man wird versuchen, **ש** in den drei hintereinander stehenden (und im Grundsätzlichen parallelen) Stellen (Z. 17, 18: **כול משאת אש איבל ש בפס ז**; "Jede Abgabe, die nicht auf dieser Tafel festgesetzt ist," und 20) als die gleiche grammatische Form zu erklären. Da **ש** in Z. 17 passives Partizip [4.3] ist, wird man es auch in Z. 18 einsetzen (nominaler Relativsatz, Subjekt = Leitnomen, nominativisches Prädikatsnomen [1.4]); vgl. dazu KI, Nr. 29 A 7: **לאדם בער אש שכנס למלכה קרשה בים ז**, "Den Leuten des **בִּר**, welche an diesem Tage für den heiligen Dienst sorgen (?) [mit KAI II 55] (sollen)."

übrigen Stellen, sämtlich mit der Präposition **כּם**, "wie."

1.321. Batn. (= Dunand I 30 f.) (nachdem aufgeführt ist, welche Dinge der Toten mit ins Grab gegeben wurden): **כמאש למלכיה אש כן לפני**, "(genau) wie das, was den weiblichen Angehörigen der Königs(familie) (zukommt) [1.4], welche vor mir waren." Es wird also nicht nur hervorgehoben, dass Batno'am wie schon Andere vor ihr in der königlichen Gruft bestattet wurde, sondern auch, dass sie mit den gleichen Beigaben und in der gleichen Weise wie diese—wir würden sagen: standesgemäss—beigesetzt ist. Da ihr Gatte als "Priester" bezeichnet wird, also zwar von vornehmer Herkunft ist, aber nicht unbedingt der engeren Königsfamilie angehören muss, und sie selbst nicht Königin genannt wird, erscheint die Betonung der absoluten Gleichheit in der Behandlung wohl notwendig. Die Determiniertheit des gesamten Ausdrucks ist deutlich. 1.322. Jehaum. 6/7 (nach einer langen und detaillierten Aufzählung der Votivgegenstände): **פעל אנך יחומלך מלך גבל לרבתי בעלה גבל כמאש קראת את רבתי**, "Ich, Jehaumilk, König von Byblos, machte (alles das) für meine Gebieterin, die Herrin von Byblos, (genau) wie das, was ich zu meiner Gebieterin gerufen hatte," d.h. genau wie das, was er ihr gelobt hatte, eine besondere Betonung, dass bei der Ausführung in keinem Punkte von dem Inhalt des Gelübdes abgewichen wurde; deshalb wohl auch die pedantische Aufführung und Beschreibung der geweihten Gegenstände bzw. Bauteile. Determinierung auch hier eindeutig.

1.323. KI, Nr. 16:9/10: **כמאש בן איה כל אחרי**, "(Die Säulenhalle auf der Ostseite und . . . sind es, welche die NN bauten . . .) (genau) wie die (Tatsache), dass sie alle übrigen Heiligtümer bauten, welche im Lande (sind), (damit es ihnen zum Gedenken und zu einem guten Namen auf ewig werde)." Auch hier wieder die Gegenüberstellung der beiden durch **כּם** miteinander verglichenen Partien und Determinierung des von **כּם** abhängigen **אש** + Verbalsatz: der ausdrückliche Hinweis an die Gottheit, dass über den neuen Heiligtümern die bisherigen nicht vernachlässigt worden sind.

Zu **כמאש**, Kil. 6 [4.2]; zu **מאש**, Kil. 4 [5.2].

1.33. In **לאש** wie in **כמאש** führt sich somit der

mit **אש** beginnende Ausdruck wie ein normales determiniertes Nomen auf; für die Annahme einer Erstarrung von **כמאש** zu einer Konjunktion fehlen alle Anzeichen (gegen Fr. § 258 a).²⁶

1.34. Die gleiche Erklärung erlaubt *NSI*, Nr. 63:2 (neupun.): . . . **אחר אש פעל**; Satz mit **אש** abhängig von der Präposition **אחר**, "(zeitlich) nach." Wenngleich bei dem Auftreten einer raum- oder zeitbezogenen Präposition der Schritt bis zu einer Konjunktion nicht weit ist und wir auch bei der Wiedergabe im Deutschen eine solche benutzen müssen: "nachdem gemacht hatte (der NN) . . .," so ist doch dieses eine und späte Beispiel nicht ausreichend, um eine Entwicklung von **אחר + אש** zu einer Konjunktion zu beweisen.

1.4. Nominalsätze mit separatem Subjekt sind als Relativsätze im Phön. und Pun. kaum zu finden. Ein sicherer Fall ist *KI*, Nr. 63:5: **בעגל** **אש קרני למבמחסר**, "Beim Kalb, dessen Hörner noch in Ermangelung (sind) [d.h. fehlen]," mit pronominalem Rückverweis auf das Leitnomen.

Normalerweise stimmen Leitnomen und Subjekt des Relativsatzes überein, wobei nur vereinzelt das Subjekt wiederholt und dadurch ein pronominaler Rückverweis erzeugt wird, so in den Datierungen von *KI*, Nr. 33 und 36; vgl. Nr. 36:5: **33 לפט שנת** **אש המת לעם**, "(das 11. Jahr des Ptolemaios . . .), welches²⁷ (ist) das Jahr 33 beim Volk von Lapethos." Andererseits *Kar. A iii 12/13*: **אם אדם אש אדם שם**, "wenn ein²⁸ Mensch, welcher der Mensch eines 'Namens' (ist) [d.h. also, kein 'nemo']"; zugleich der älteste der wenigen Belege für das Prädikatsnomen im Nominativ (zu weiteren s. Anm. 25); Leitnomen indeterminiert.

Gewöhnlich aber wird diese Stelle von einem präpositionalen Ausdruck eingenommen, ein

²⁶ Auch einfaches **כ** hat kaum je den Wert einer Konjunktion (anders Fr. § 258, Anm. 2), da fast immer mit davon abhängigem Genitiv und da vor allem nunmehr **כמאש** dafür ausfällt. Einzig *Eph. III 288, Z. 4/5* (spätpunisch) scheint dafür zu sprechen, doch ist die Stelle noch dunkel.

Fr. §§ 251 II und 252 b setzt für das Phön. neben **כ** auch **כ** als Präposition mit der Bedeutung "wie" an. Es dürfte jedoch nur **כ** anzuerkennen und **כ** auf die Konjunktion (Fr. § 257 c) zu beschränken sein, denn **כמרת** (*KI*, Nr. 63:17) ist nach § 99 a zu beurteilen. Blicke also nur das (erstarrte?) Adverb **כקדם**, "wie vorher(?)" (*KI*, Nr. 36:12)?

²⁷ Da die Jahre im Plural gezählt werden (Fr. § 315 a), muss das darauf bezügliche (pronominale) Subjekt des Relativsatzes ebenfalls im Plural erscheinen.

Typ, der in den Inschriften überreich belegt ist, angefangen mit *Kil. 15*: **לגבר אש צמד בעל**, "der Ba'al-šmd, welcher zu *Gbr* (gehört)," bis hin zu den spätesten neupun. Inschriften, etwa *KAI*, Nr. 165:2/3: **ה פעס אש על המנצבת סח**, "die Tafel [Akk.], welche (sich) auf dieser Stele (befindet)"; das Leitnomen ist stets determiniert.

1.51. Die vorangegangene Analyse führte zu folgenden, hier noch einmal zusammengestellten Ergebnissen:

- אש** mit nachfolgendem Satz steht appositionell zu einem Leitnomen, das in jedem Kasus auftreten kann und mit dem **אש** im Kasus kongruiert [1.13]; der Relativsatz selbst kann verbal [1.1–1.3] oder nominal [1.4] sein
- der Passus kann selbständig auftreten, aber nur in Abhängigkeit von einer Präposition [1.3], was die nominale Natur von **אש** unterstreicht
- weder Genus noch Numerus, Determination oder Indetermination des Leitnomens wirken sich (in der Schrift) an **אש** aus [1.13]
- אש** wird nie zur Umschreibung der Genitivverbindung benutzt.

1.52. Diese Ausprägung des Relativsatzsystems unterscheidet sich zunächst nicht grundsätzlich von der anderer semitischer Sprachen, etwa des Akkadischen. Bemerkenswert ist jedoch, dass es hier nicht zur konsequenten Anwendung pronominaler Rückverweise gekommen ist.²⁸ Im engeren Sinne vergleichbar sind sonach aus dem Kreise der älteren semitischen Sprachen nur die akkadischen Relativsätze ohne *ša*, der Typ *ayāt iqbū*, "das Wort, das er sagte," bei dem ebenfalls pronominale Rückverweise nicht angebracht werden (*GAG* § 166).

1.53. Deshalb und weil **אש** in dem doch sonst einigermassen gleichmässig über die semitischen Sprachen verteilten System der Pronomina nie wieder erscheint, wird man darauf geführt, in **אש** nicht ein 'Relativpronomen,' sondern ein Vollnomen im status constructus zu sehen, zu dem sich der eigentliche Relativsatz in genitivischer Abhängigkeit befindet.

Nunmehr darf auf die von Gevirtz für **אש** vorgeschlagene Etymologie (S. 431 mit Anm. 3)

²⁸ Während uns ein solcher bereits in den ältesten aram. Inschriften entgegentritt [1.22].

zurückgegriffen werden, die ich trotz mancher Schwierigkeiten—nicht nur der mit der Einbeziehung von arab. ليس verbundenen—für möglich halte, sodass etwa Ešm. 4, במקם אש בנת [1.12], wörtlich zu übersetzen wäre “an dem Orte (mit) der Tatsache, dass ich baute” oder Kar. A i 14/15, במקמם באש כן אשם רעם [1.21], wiederzugeben wäre durch “an den Orten (mit) der Tatsache, dass böse Menschen vorhanden waren.”

1.54. Das Phönizische verfährt also grundsätzlich in der gleichen Weise wie das Hebräische, das mit אשׁר ebenfalls ein Nicht-Pronomen als Relativum wählt, dessen oft bestrittene²⁹ ety-

mologische Zusammengehörigkeit mit akkad. *ašru*, “Stelle,” “Ort,” nicht zu bezweifeln ist.

1.55. Wenn hier im Gegensatz zur verglichenen akkadischen Konstruktion (*GAG* § 166 a) auch Nominalsätze möglich sind, mag dies vielleicht damit zusammenhängen, dass im Akkad. jedes Nomen als Regens eines Relativsatzes gebraucht werden kann, während es im Phön. auf éines, noch dazu mit einem speziellen Inhalt, beschränkt wird, sodass die Eindeutigkeit der Aussage bei einem Nominalsatz leichter erzielt werden kann und wir hinter diesem Unterschied nicht eine grundsätzliche grammatische Differenz zu suchen haben.

ש

1.61. Auch ש dient der Einleitung von Relativsätzen; vgl. *NE*, S. 437 D a 6/7 (Tunesien): מן הצפא ש על כמר ניטמן *M*, “M, der Seher, welcher über die Priester des/der N (gesetzt ist),” mit *KI*, Nr. 29 A 6 (Zypern): ולארמם אש על דל, “und den Leuten, welche über die Tür (gesetzt sind),” oder *KI*, Nr. 68:1 (Karthago): עשרת האשם אש, על המקדשם, “die zehn Männer, welche über die Heiligtümer (gesetzt waren).”

1.62. Doch zeigen sich auch charakteristische Unterschiede. Lassen wir zunächst die Inschrift von Nora [1.68] beiseite, so ist ש auf die späten und spätesten Perioden beschränkt. Es tritt nie vor Verbalsätzen auf, dies wird bis zu den jüngsten Inschriften von אש wahrgenommen.³⁰ Andererseits dient es zur Umschreibung von Genitivverbindungen, wofür wiederum אש nie herangezogen wird, z.B. *Eph.* III 288, Z. 3: ת המזבח שהמקנת, “die Opferstätte [Akk.] für Vieh,” vor allem aber zur Kennzeichnung eines im Genitiv stehenden Eigennamens, z.B. *Leptis 2* (= *KAI*, Nr. 122) Z. 2: ומסויאת שהנסכת שגרמעניקס, “und die Bekleidung der Statue des Germanicus und des Drusus Caesar.”³¹

²⁹ Zuletzt C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax* (1956) S. 145 f. mit S. 146, Anm. 1.

³⁰ Mit der Einschränkung von Anm. 16.

³¹ Der scheinbar selbständige Gebrauch von ש in Grab- und Stelenaufschriften aus neupun. Zeit (Fr. § 310.2) hat nichts mit einem Determinativpronomen zu tun. Genau wie in den Münzaufschriften “(MÜNZE) von Tyrus” usw. (Fr. § 310.1b) ist es eine Abbeviatur: “(GRAB) des NN,” sodass der beschriftete Gegenstand mitredet. Bei den Münzen handelt es sich um

1.63. Dass אש und ש zwei verschiedene Aussprachen besaßen, ergibt sich aus zwei punischen Inschriften in griechischer bzw. lateinischer Schrift: einerseits *vs* *ναδωρ* = אש נדר, “welchem (es) NN gelobte” [1.22], also *ys* für אש; andererseits *feliioth . iadem . sy rogate*, “Werk der Hände des Rogatus” [1.62], also *sy* für ש.³² Diese Stellen sind verlässlicher als die Wiedergaben in den punischen Versen des Poenulus von Plautus,³³ weil dort Missverständnisse und Abschreibefehler den Wortlaut oft überaus verdunkelt haben. Die Angaben widersprechen sich hinsichtlich אש: Poenulus Vers 935, *ys* (wie erwartet) in *thyfel yth chyl ys chon chen liful*, “Du tust alles, was ganz(?) zu tun ist” (הפעל אית) *לפעל*); dagegen Vers 930, *si* in *si *carothi* (Fr. § 80 b), “(die Götter und Göttinnen), welche ich anrief” (אש קראת), ebenso Vers 937, *chirs aelychot sith naso[t]*, “die Scherbe der Gastfreundschaft, welche ich mit mir trage” (Fr. §§ 220 b und 93 a). Der Beleg Vers 933, *bymarob syllohom*, “durch den Schutz, welcher ihnen (zukommt)” (Fr. § 239) (Nominalsatz mit

die Nachahmung eines gängigen Typs griechischer Münzaufschriften (zu diesen vgl. z.B. B. V. Head, *Historia numorum* [2. Aufl.; Oxford, 1911] S. lxiv f.), wie sich ja auch häufig die Darstellungen stilistisch nicht von denen der griechischen Münzen unterscheiden (s. *ibid.* S. 877).

³² Zitate nach Friedrich in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* CVII (1957) 283, Nr. 1, bzw. S. 296.

³³ Vgl. L. H. Gray, “The Punic passages in the ‘Poenulus’ of Plautus,” *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* XXXIX (1922/23) 73–88, insbesondere die Textherstellung S. 76 f.

präpositionalem Prädikat als Relativsatz [1.4]), spricht für Benutzung von ψ an dieser Stelle [1.61].

1.64. Trotzdem erscheint es möglich, aufgrund der partiell funktionellen Gleichheit von ψ und ψ , nämlich bei der Einführung von relativischen Nominalsätzen mit präpositionalem Prädikat [1.61], eine Brücke auch in lautlicher Hinsicht zu schlagen unter der plausiblen Annahme, dass die Vordersilbe von ψ bei enger Anlehnung an ein Nomen—und das ist bei einer Funktion als Genitivexponent der Fall—enttont und abgeschliffen worden sei, wie wir es bei der Akkusativpartikel ψ beobachten, die in späterer Zeit graphisch nur noch als η erscheint (Fr. § 94), und dass diese lautliche Entwicklung und damit die Schreibung auch auf die erwähnten Relativsätze übergreifen habe, die ja praktisch aus nur einem Worte bestehen.³⁴ Es liegt also kein Anlass vor, gerade hier eine Verbindung zu akkad. $\dot{s}a$ zu suchen.

1.65. Zur funktionellen Übereinstimmung vgl. noch *KI*, Nr. 36:9 (Zypern, ca. 3. Jh. v. Chr.): ψ ψ ψ , „dem Herrn, welcher mir (ist) [d.h. meinem Herrn],“ und *NSI*, Nr. 59 C 4: ψ ψ , „sein Ruf.“ Und da hier ein klarer Aramaismus vorliegt,³⁵ wird auch deutlich, wo der Ursprung für die neue Funktion von $\psi < \psi$ liegt: es ist ein Impuls des weithin als Umgangssprache vorauszusetzenden Reichsaramäischen auf der Basis der dort vorhandenen Gleichheit des Genitivexponenten mit der (demonstrativen) Relativsatzpartikel (vgl. ferner [2.5]).

1.66. Dagegen ist das hebräische Relativum ψ ³⁶ als Entlehnung aus akkadisch $\dot{s}a$ zu betrachten, dessen Anwendungsbereich sich vor allem unter aramäischem Einfluss ausgedehnt hat, denn es ist erst nach dem Exil mit Sicherheit nachzuweisen.³⁷ So liegt also nur eine zufällige

³⁴ Ob man den Angaben im Poenulus [1.63] so viel entnehmen darf, dass in der Umgangssprache zwischen ψ (mit Verbalsatz) und ψ kein Ausspracheunterschied mehr bestand, dieser vielmehr nur noch in der Schrift aufrecht erhalten wurde?

³⁵ Vgl. z.B. A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (1923) Nr. 5 (*passim*), 6:5 usw.

³⁶ S. G. Bergsträsser, „Das hebräische Präfix ψ ,“ *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* XXIX (1909) 40–56; K. Albrecht, „ ψ in der Mischna,“ *ZAW* XXXI (1911) 205–17.

³⁷ Denn Bergsträsser hat *op. cit.* S. 41–45 nachdrücklich

gleiche Lautung (bzw. gleiche Schreibung) mit dem pun. ψ vor, während funktionell eine Divergenz besteht: hebr. ψ steht bevorzugt vor Verbalsätzen, was bei pun. ψ nie der Fall ist [1.62]. 1.67. Aus *KI*, Nr. 69:4: ψ ψ ψ ψ , „(die X), welche hinaufführen auf das ψ dieser Heiligtümer,“ scheint sich zu ergeben, dass genau wie bei den Präpositionen ψ und ψ (Fr. § 119) auch bei ψ der Artikel durch Synkopierung in der Schrift verloren geht, da hier kein Grund zu erkennen ist, weshalb der Artikel in der Verbindung mit dem Demonstrativum wegfallen sollte [1.144, 7.111 und 7.121]. Die weiteren Belege sind widersprüchlich; einerseits mit Artikel: *NSI*, Nr. 59 B 4, ψ ψ , und *KAI*, Nr. 122:1, ψ ψ (ebenso Z. 2 [1.62]); andererseits *Eph.* III 288, Z. 3/4, ψ ψ ψ ψ (am ersten Gliede mit ausgeschriebenem Artikel, danach ohne).

Keine Hilfe ist von den Stellen im Poenulus (s. Anm. 33) zu erhoffen: Vers 930, *sy macom syth*, „dieses Ortes,“ und Vers 935, *ys si dobrim*, „ein Mann, (von dem) man sagt“^{37a} [folgt wörtliche Rede]; denn einmal vertritt *y* verschiedene Vokale (Fr. § 90), zum anderen ist auf die Nichtschreibung der zumindest in Vers 930 zu erwartenden Verdoppelung des Anlautkonsonanten nichts zu geben (Fr. § 97 a).

Eine einwandfreie Bestätigung der Annahme einer Synkopierung würde hingegen die Schreibung ψ ψ , „des Ortes“ (*KAI*, Nr. 173:5; zitiert Fr. § 117 b; Bitia, ca. 180 n. Chr.), liefern. Die sämtlichen semitischen Schreibgewohnheiten widersprechende Doppelsetzung des geminierten Konsonanten *m* (Fr. § 97 b) weist den Artikel ψ als Bestandteil des Wortanfangs aus; ψ als Behelfsschreibung für den Vokal *a*, den wir bei einer Synkopierung zu erwarten haben,

darauf hingewiesen, dass die wenigen Stellen für ψ in den älteren Büchern des AT sämtlich unklar oder unsicher sind, für die Beurteilung des Gebrauchs dieses Präfixes also auszuscheiden haben.

^{37a} So nach der lateinischen Paraphrase, „*eum fecisse aiunt sibi quod faciendum fuit*“ (Vers 956), was dem phön. Wortlaut freilich nicht ganz adäquat ist. — Übrigens bieten hier die Handschriften, wie ich erst später feststellen konnte, ausnahmslos *yssid dobrim* (vgl. die Ausgabe von A. Ernout, t. V [2. Aufl.; Paris, 1961] S. 225re; nicht bei Gray, *op. cit.* S. 77 vermerkt, aber schon von Schröder, *Die phönizische Sprache*, S. 290, notiert), was, dürften wir uns darauf verlassen, ein weiteres Argument zugunsten einer Synkopierung des Artikels nach ψ wäre. [Korrektur-Zusatz]

ist ganz geläufig im Neupun. (Fr. § 107.3), sodass wir eine reguläre, keine 'verwilderte' Schreibung vor uns hätten, wenn wir eine Synkopierung einsetzen.³⁸ Der Wert dieser Stelle wird jedoch sofort gemindert durch שֶׁהַבְּרֵךְ, "der Brunnen," in Z. 3 der gleichen Inschrift, das seinerseits in Z. 5 im Singular als הַבְּעָרָר erscheint.

1.68. Bleibt noch die Inschrift von Nora (KI, Nr. 60),³⁹ in der ש dreimal vorkommen soll (Fr. § 121). Sie wird allgemein als ziemlich früh angesetzt: Lidzbarski (zu KI, Nr. 60), 6. Jh. v. Chr.; Dupont-Sommer (nach dem Vorgange von Dussaud in *Syria* V [1924] 147), 9. Jh. v. Chr. (CRAI, 1948, S. 12 f. und 20–22, mit weitreichenden kulturhistorischen Folgerungen); Albright (*op. cit.* S. 20; vgl. hier Anm. 39), 1. Hälfte des 9. Jh. v. Chr. Nach dem paläographischen Befund lässt sich die Inschrift aber ohne weiteres bis an das Ende des 6. Jh. v. Chr. herabrücken,⁴⁰ und mir scheint, dass die groben und ungeschlachten Formen der Buchstaben überhaupt ein erheblich zu hohes Alter der Inschrift vortäuschen.

Da die Inschrift in sekundärer Verwendung gefunden ist, weiss man ausserdem nicht, ob der Stein nachträglich bearbeitet wurde, d.h. ob die Inschrift vollständig ist (für Unvollständigkeit Albright, *op. cit.* S. 18 f.; vgl. hier Anm. 39).^{40a}

Zum Text selbst ist zu bemerken:

DAS DEMONSTRATIVPRONOMEN ALS RELATIVUM

2.1. In den ältesten byblichen Inschriften sowie in der kurzen Votivinschrift Kilamuwas

- Wenn man in Z. 1 רֵאשׁ > רֵשׁ durch Schwund eines Aleph für möglich hält, muss man das Gleiche einem אֵשׁ > שׁ zubilligen, wodurch jedes Argument zugunsten eines alten und ursprünglichen ש hinfällig wird.
- Da nie ש, sondern nur אֵשׁ vor einem Verbal-satz steht [1.62], ist in Z. 7 zumindest שׁ(אֵ) בֵן גֵּר zu lesen bzw. zu ergänzen, was Konsequenzen hinsichtlich eines Textverlustes auch für die übrigen Zeilen der Inschrift mit sich bringt.
- Die unter der Voraussetzung eines intakten Wortlauts sich ergebende Verbindung אֵם לְכַת, "mère de Kiton" (Z. 5/6), enthielte die verhältnismässig späte Umschreibung der Genitivverbindung durch ל (Fr. § 310.1); die dazu von Dupont-Sommer zitierten—ebenfalls jungen—Münzlegenden zeigen aber noch die alte Konstruktion (אֵם צִדְנֵם usw.); und solche fest geprägten Verbindungen haben ein besonders starkes Beharrungsvermögen.^{40b}

Solange die Resultate der Bearbeitungen dieses Textes noch so extrem divergieren wie die der hier zitierten (s. Anm. 39), erscheinen mir jegliche Schlüsse für oder gegen das Auftreten von ש in dieser Inschrift verfrüht.⁴¹ Ob eine Überprüfung des Originals neue Gesichtspunkte ergäbe?

³⁸ Denn der Artikel wird im Neupunischen, soweit nicht regulär mit -ר geschrieben, gern durch -א wiedergegeben (Fr. § 118); und da א als Vokalbuchstabe e und o andeutet (Fr. § 107.4b), werden wir eine Lautung *(h)e- bzw. *(h)o- ansetzen dürfen, nicht aber mehr den ursprünglichen a-Vokal (anders Fr. § 117 b).

³⁹ Neuere Bearbeitungen von A. Dupont-Sommer in CRAI, 1948, S. 12–22 (mit Faksimile); J.-G. Février in *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* XLIV (1950) 123–26 und W. F. Albright in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* Nr. 83 (1941) S. 17–22 (ebenfalls mit Faksimile).

⁴⁰ Vgl. Sp. 16 (Abydos, 4. Jh. v. Chr.) der Schrifttafel bei Fr., wo die äusserste Grenze gerade überschritten ist (Formen von מ, ש und נ); in Sp. 9 (Nora) scheinen die Formen der Buchstaben, verglichen mit den in Anm. 39 genannten Nachzeichnungen, nicht genau genug getroffen zu sein.

^{40a} Insbesondere zeigt die dort gegebene, sehr sorgfältig ausgeführte Nachzeichnung, die mir erst nachträglich zugänglich wurde, dass die Konturen der ersten Buchstaben in Z. 4

begegnet das demonstrative א als Relativum (und nur dieses) und zwar in der stets gleichen

und 6–8 so nah an der Kante des Steines verlaufen bzw. sogar in sie hineinreichen, wie sie nie vom Steinmetzen eingemeisselt sein können, während in Z. 1 und 2 ein Abstand bis zum ersten erhaltenen Zeichen vorhanden ist. Das macht es unabweislich, mit nachträglicher Bearbeitung des Steines zu rechnen, sodass nach rechts ein Textverlust anzunehmen ist, während nach links die Zeilenenden erreicht zu sein scheinen. Albright denkt an Textverlust nur nach links; da die Inschrift keine Worttrenner benutzt, ist dies für die Herstellung des Wortlauts nicht relevant. [Korrektur-Zusatz]

^{40b} Auch die von Dupont-Sommer zwischen Z. 2 und 3 vorgenommene Verbindung, "Nogar qui est en Sardaigne" (Nominalsatz mit präpositionalem Prädikatsnomen als Relativsatz; Subjekt = Leitnomen, das als selbständiges Pronomen wieder aufgenommen wäre), erscheint angesichts der ständig gleichbleibenden Formulierung solcher Sätze [1.4] überaus bedenklich.

⁴¹ Vielleicht darf aber noch erwähnt werden, dass sich der älteste sichere Beleg für ש ebenfalls in einer Inschrift aus Sardinien findet (KI, Nr. 58; 4.–3. Jh. v. Chr.).

Verbindung am Eingang des Textes "GEGENSTAND † VERBUM NN," z.B. ארן · ז פּעל · ׀ · אַחֲבַעַל, "Sarkophag, welchen Ittoba'al gemacht hat."⁴² Diese Deutung ist sicher aufgrund der konsequenten Setzung eines Trennpunktes vor †, während dahinter kein solcher steht, sodass dieses ähnlich wie etwa in der entsprechend behandelten Verbindung מלך גבל, "König von Byblos" (Aḥ. 1 u.ö.), hier als zum Verbum gehörig gekennzeichnet und damit eine Auffassung von † als attributiv zum vorangehenden Nomen (also "Diesen GEGENSTAND verfertigte NN") ausgeschlossen wird.⁴³

2.2. Dass die hier zu behandelnden Relativsätze nicht in einer status-constructus-Verbindung stehen können, hatte die Einordnung in das allgemeine Schema der Votivinschriften ergeben [1.142 und 1.144]. Die Verwendung eines Demonstrativums lässt nun die Vermutung aufkommen, dass hier der Relativsatz dem Leitnomen attributiv nachgeschaltet ist und das Demonstrativum lediglich die Funktion eines determinierenden Elements übernimmt, um die Kongruenz zwischen Leitnomen und attributivem Relativsatz sicherzustellen, ähnlich wie es im Arabischen der Fall ist (vgl. S. 432).

2.3. Um hier zu einer Entscheidung zu gelangen, müssen wir auch die altaramäischen Inschriften⁴⁴ befragen, welche ebenfalls das Demonstra-

tivum zur Einleitung von Relativsätzen benutzen und in denen die zu besprechende Konstruktion, wie wir mit Gewissheit annehmen dürfen, Heimatrecht hat. Voraussetzung für eine solche Deutung wäre, dass das relativisch gebrauchte Demonstrativum je nach Kasus, Numerus und Genus des Leitnomens wechselt, soweit von ihm entsprechende Formen gebildet werden.

2.4. In einer dieser aram. Inschriften finden wir nun in der Tat die erforderliche Bestätigung: Pan. 1/2, אבה · פלטוה · אלה · יאדי · מן · בוצדק (2) · שחתה · אזה · הות · בבית · אבוה ·, "Aufgrund der Gerechtigkeit [mit KAI II 225] seines Vaters haben ihn die Götter von Ja'udi aus dem Verderben errettet, das im Hause seiner Väter^{44a} (entstanden) war"; durch den Absolutus שחתה eine Bestätigung, dass der relativische Passus attributiv zum Leitnomen steht und nicht untergeordnet ist, durch das feminine Demonstrativum אזה,⁴⁵ dass dieses mit dem femininen Leitnomen im Genus kongruiert.

2.5. In den Texten im Dialekt von Damaskus und Hama (Inschriften von Bar-Hadad und Hazael sowie Stele des Zkr) zeigt sich jedoch ein etwas anderes Bild. Hier verbindet sich ein singularisches wie ein pluralisches Leitnomen mit

⁴² Die Vermeidung des später üblichen Schemas "Dieser GEGENSTAND (ist es), welchen . . ." [1.141] darf vermutungsweise damit begründet werden, dass sonst das gleiche Demonstrativum zweimal hintereinander hätte stehen müssen.

⁴³ Zur Worttrennung ausführlich Friedrich in *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud* (1939) S. 42 f.: zur Frage: Relativum oder Demonstrativum, *ibid.* S. 44–47.

Dagegen hilft uns die Setzung der Trennpunkte in den altaramäischen Inschriften nicht weiter, da sie dort hinter jedem Worte stehen, soweit sie nicht von den Steinmetzen vergessen wurden.

⁴⁴ Vgl. dazu G. Garbini, "L'aramaico antico," *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie*, Ser. VIII, vol. VII (1956) 237–83. Hinsichtlich der Bezeichnungen der einzelnen Dialekte, der Inschrifteneditionen und -Bearbeitungen sei generell auf diese Arbeit verwiesen.

In der Einteilung weiche ich etwas von Garbini ab bzw. möchte das Material in zwei verschiedene Gruppen gliedern: eine, die das Demonstrativum † bereits für die Genitivverbindung verwendet, und eine, die dies noch nicht tut. Zu jener ('jüngeren') Gruppe gehören die Texte aus dem assyrischen Raum, aber auch die Stelen von Sfire (vgl. Stele III 7/8: וכל מלכיא זי סחרתי, "und alle Könige meines Umkreises"; Dupont-Sommer in *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* XIII [1956] 26 f.). Nur die Texte der 'älteren' Gruppe werden hier herangezogen.

^{44a} Es ist nicht möglich, † in אבוה (Genitiv! 'Akkusativ' bei Fr. § 35* ist wohl Versehen) mit KAI II 225 als plene-Schreibung des langen Auslautvokals von אב vor Suffix zu erklären, denn dann müsste † verwendet sein, vgl. die Flexion des Plurals: (Fr. § 31): Nom. אלוהו (Had. 2), Gen./Akk. אלוהי (Pan. 23). Will man nicht von vornherein einen Schreibfehler in Rechnung stellen, kommt man nicht umhin, in dieser Form einen status constructus im Plural mit Suffix zu sehen, auch wenn vergleichbare Bildungen im Umkreis nicht vorhanden sind; vgl. für das Phön. Leptis 7:8: אבתי, "seine Vorfahren"; hebr. אבותי; aram. KAI, Nr. 216:16 (Barrāḳib): אבתי, "meine Väter" (weitere Belege s. *DISO*, S. 1); in Ugarit ist der Plural zu ab noch nicht belegt. Die Pluralbildung geschieht also entweder mit h als drittem Konsonanten oder in Analogie zum Plural von אב, "Mutter," oder auch durch eine Kombination beider (vgl. etwa jüd.-aram. אבחות).

Gleichwohl kann die Lautgestalt des Wortes vielleicht bestimmt und als wahrscheinliche Vokalisation im Nom. pl. *abāwū angesetzt werden, wenn wir uns einerseits an dem alt- und mittellass. Plural a-ba-ū/ab-ba-ū (*GAG* § 61g), andererseits an dem Verhältnis des arab. Plurals أَبَاءٌ zu sabäisch ḥbw (beide Typus af^hāl, einmal mit Hiatus, einmal mit Gleitlaut; für das Sab. vgl. A. F. L. Beeston, *A Descriptive Grammar of Epigraphic South Arabian* [London, 1962] § 31:1) orientieren und zugleich die spätere Vokalisation des Plurals zu אב im Aram. berücksichtigen.

⁴⁵ Diese Form fehlt bei Garbini, *op. cit.* S. 259.

dem gleichen Relativum י (für Plural vgl. Zkr A 16: . . . על · מהאו · י · אל · זי · מלכיא · אל · כל, "alle diese Könige [Kasus nicht bestimmbar], welche aufgeworfen haben [gegen mich . . .]"). In der Folgezeit setzt sich, ausgehend von den Inschriften des assyrischen Raumes, dann rasch der Gebrauch von י in der Genitivverbindung durch (bereits in einer der Stelen von Sfire; s. Anm. 44), und in keinem der späteren Texte findet sich wieder eine Variabilität des Relativums.

Dazu ist, wie ich glaube, wohl die folgende Annahme erlaubt: die Verwendung von י/יזי in der Genitivverbindung beruht auf einer Lehnübersetzung aus dem Akkadischen, jedoch nicht a priori, sondern auf der Basis eines im Aram. bereits vorhandenen Gebrauchs der Demonstrativa zur Determinierung von Relativsätzen, in der Weise, dass die Invarianz von akkad. ša

gegenüber Genus und Numerus des Leitnomens die Entwicklung auch bei den Relativsätzen gesteuert und eine Erstarrung verursacht hat. Die Dominanz von י als Genitivexponent hat es dann vor Relativsätzen praktisch zu einer unterordnenden Konjunktion werden lassen. Das wird sich natürlich nie beweisen lassen, vermag aber vielleicht am ungezwungensten die Entwicklung zu erklären. Obschon älter als die Inschriften von Zincirli, sind also die Texte von Damaskus und Hama früher in die jüngere Entwicklung einbezogen worden, was für die Beurteilung des Dialekts von Sam'al vielleicht nicht ganz unwichtig ist.

2.6. Auch die zweite der Voraussetzungen für die hier vorgetragene Deutung ist erfüllt: zum Nachweis asyndetischer Relativsätze bei indeterminiertem Leitnomen [4].

DER ARTIKEL ALS RELATIVUM

3. Der Artikel als determinierendes Element eines Relativsatzes kommt in den semitischen Sprachen zwar ziemlich selten vor, ist aber zumindest im Hebr. mit einigen sicheren Belegen vertreten (*GVG* II § 366; Kautzsch § 138.2 i und k).

3.1. Einen solchen Fall glaube ich in Kar. A i 1 בעל הברך zu erkennen. Bei der überaus speziellen Verwendung des Artikels in dieser Inschrift [7.21] ist es nicht angängig, mit Fr. § 296, Anm. 5, mit der zusätzlichen Determinierung des Regens einer status-constructus-Verbindung durch den Artikel zu rechnen, auch wenn bzw. gerade wenn es sich um eine festgeprägte Wendung (Titel o.ä.) handeln sollte, denn diese benutzen so gut wie nie den Artikel (Fr. § 297.2); vgl. dazu u.a. Kil. 16: בעל · בה, "der Herr der Dynastie," in einer Inschrift, die den Artikel in weit stärkerem Masse als Kar. gebraucht. Eine Deutung von ברך als Partizip mit verbaler Rektion, sodass בעל Akkusativ wäre, ist sachlich unmöglich; so bleibt lediglich eine Auffassung als verbaler Relativsatz mit Determinierung durch den Artikel zur Herstellung der Kongruenz mit dem davor stehenden Eigennamen: "Ich (bin) Azitawanda, welchen Ba'al gesegnet hat [oder als Wunsch: 'den Ba'al segnen möge'⁴⁶],

Diener des Ba'al . . .," ein archaisches Relikt in Gestalt einer alten Formel, denn unmittelbar darauf folgt bereits das normale phön. Relativum שן.

3.2. Diese Deutung wird durch die bildheth. Entsprechung keinesfalls widerlegt, denn diese weicht völlig ab. Zwar heißt es dort "Diener des Wettergottes (Tarḥunt)" als Entsprechung zu עבר בעל (s. Bossert in *Oriens* I [1948] 170 f.), aber vorher liest man "der Mann 'Meiner Sonne'" (Übersetzung nach Bossert, *ibid.*). Und da eine neue, vom Wettergott völlig verschie-

men, d.h. durch den alten Jussiv, ausgedrückt (Fr. § 264.1); entsprechend ist die in neupun. Texten häufige Formel שםע ברבא קלא ברבא (*KI*, Nr. 96; *KAI*, Nr. 116, u.ö.), die man gern als Wunsch verstehen würde, indikativisch zu übersetzen: "er (der Gott) erhörte seine Stimme (und) segnete ihn," denn es ist Abkürzung von . . . כ, "denn er . . ." (*KI*, Nr. 95, 97 usw.); vgl. dazu die schon altaram. Formulierung ושמע ל[קל]ה, "und er hörte auf seine [Stimme]" (Barhadad 4/5 = *KAI*, Nr. 201).

Einzig die Inschriften von Karatepe formulieren Wünsche im Perfekt und dokumentieren damit eine ausgesprochene Sonderstellung; vgl. Kar. A iii 2: K-בעל, "Und es segne der Ba'al-K. . ." (die Übersetzung ist sicher aufgrund der bildheth. Fassung; s. Bossert in *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung* II [1953] 309 bzw. 318). Doch ob dies echte Perfekta sind und nicht vielmehr neutrische Formulierungen, wie sie in Aussagesätzen in Kar. zu Beginn eines neuen Gedankens geläufig sind (Typ פעל אך) und die dann in normaler Weise (mit Personen- und Tempusbezeichnung) weitergeführt werden (Fr. § 286, Anm. 1)? Denn die lange Reihe der Wünsche Kar. A iii 7-10 (= C iv 6-11) setzt ein mit כן, "es möge sein," und wird fortgeführt mit (dem jussivischen) יכן und weiteren präfigierten Verbalformen.

⁴⁶ Wünsche werden in den phön. Inschriften durchgehend bis in die spätesten Perioden durch präfigierende Verbalfor-

dene Gottheit auftritt (falls nicht überhaupt der ganze Ausdruck 'profan' zu verstehen ist), liegt sicher eine Aussage anderen Inhalts vor, sodass

die dabei angewandte Genitivkonstruktion nicht bindend sein kann für die Übersetzung der phön. Fassung.^{46a}

ASYNDETISCHE RELATIVSÄTZE

4.1. Bereits erkannt ist die von Fr. § 292 besprochene Stelle aus der Beschwörung von Arslan Tash⁴⁷ 5–8: **בלא תבאן (7) וחצרי** | **בת אבא (6)** | **בלא תדרכן (8) אדרך**. Nachdem die Gründe weggefallen sind, bei den übrigen Typen der Relativsätze eine genitivische Unterordnung anzunehmen [1.142], wird man sie hier ebenfalls nicht aufrecht erhalten wollen. Zudem ist bei dem akkad. Typus *ayāt iqbu*, der verglichen werden müsste, das Leitwort stets speziell determiniert (*GAG* § 166 a; ein schönes Beispiel, *ana bīt tērubu damiqta šukun*, "schaffe dem Hause, in das du eintratest, Gutes!" [§ 166 b]). In einer Beschwörung liegt es aber näher, den zu Schützenden überall vor dem Unheil zu bewahren, als dass dies nur an einer ganz bestimmten Stelle der Fall sein soll, sodass gewiss mit asyndetischem Anschluss des Relativsatzes an ein indeterminiertes Leitnomen übersetzt werden darf: "In (irgend)ein Haus, (in das) ich komme, sollt ihr nicht kommen; und (irgend)einen Hof, (den) ich betrete, sollt ihr nicht betreten!"

4.2. Einen weiteren Fall sehe ich in Kil. 6/7: **וכח ביד מלכם כמאש אכלת (7) זקן וחכמאש** | **יד אכלת**. Diese Stelle hat viele Deutungen erfahren (vgl. *Eph.* III 228 f.). Sicher ist, dass die Notlage beschrieben werden soll, in welcher sich Kilamuwa befindet, und dass dabei eine sprichwörtliche Redensart benutzt wird; weiter, dass der mit **כמאש** beginnende Ausdruck die Stellung eines Prädikatsnomens besitzt. Wollte man in **כמאש** das Relativum **אש** abtrennen, so wäre entsprechend den übrigen Belegen für **כמאש** [1.32] der Ausdruck ab **כם** substantivisch, determiniert und stark impersonell. Das passt hier

keineswegs, auch erwartet man bei einer sprichwörtlichen Fügung eine allgemeine Aussage, also eine Indetermination. **אש** = "Feuer" (so zuletzt Fr. Rosenthal in J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* [2. Aufl.; 1955] S. 500b) würde eher zur Schilderung der Ungeduld dienen, den unwürdigen Zustand zu beenden, und man erwartet, dass sogleich die Taten folgen. Die Beschreibung der Notzeit geht aber weiter; so ist auch dies nicht brauchbar. So bleibt einzig die schon früher geäußerte Auffassung von **אש** als "Mann," indeterminiert mit asyndetisch angefügtem Relativsatz in einer persönlichen Formulierung:⁴⁸ "Und ich war in der Hand der Könige wie ein Mann, der seinen Bart verzehrte, und wie einer, der seine Hand verzehrte [wörtlich: 'der ich meine Hand verzehrte' usw.]."⁴⁹

4.3. Auszuscheiden hat der auch von Fr. § 292 als unsicher bezeichnete Beleg *KI*, Nr. 63:17, **משאת על זבח אחד כמדת שת בכחבות**, da hier mit ziemlicher Sicherheit eine Genitivverbindung vorliegt, **שת** also als passives Partizip (oder Verbalnomen?) zu erklären ist; vgl. einerseits die Formulierung **לפי הכחבת**, "nach dem Wortlaut des Textes, (welchen geschrieben haben . . .)," in der Nachbarschaft (*Z.* 18), andererseits *Ešm.* 19: **למדת עצמת אש פעלת**, "in Gemässheit der Heldentaten, welche ich tat."

4.4. Der Herstellungsort des Amuletts von Arslan Tash ist nicht mit Sicherheit bestimmbar, da das Stück im Handel gewandert sein könnte;⁵⁰ als Fixpunkt bleibt also nur die In-

^{46a} Dupont-Sommer hat allerdings in *Oriens* I (1948) 193 f. eine direkte Übertragung der bildheth. Konstruktion auf das Phön. für möglich gehalten, sodass sich der Artikel als Regens ergäbe und der Rest einen Eigennamen, vermutlich den des Oberherrn des Azitawanda, repräsentieren würde. Da aber nicht die geringsten Spuren vorhanden sind, dass im Phön. (und auch im Hebr.) je von einem demonstrativen Element ein Genitiv abhängig gemacht werden konnte, ist eine solche Deutung auch bei Annahme einer noch so unbeholfenen 'Übersetzung' nicht diskutabel.

⁴⁷ Wortlaut z.B. bei Th. H. Gaster in *Orientalia* NS XI (1942) 44.

⁴⁸ Für eine solche vgl. *Had.* 1: **אנך פנמו . . . זי הקמה וצב . . .** | **אן להדר**, "Ich bin Panammuwa . . ., der ich diese Statue dem Hadad errichtet habe."

⁴⁹ Zum Sachlichen vgl. die von Gevirtz (*Journal of Near Eastern Studies* XVI 126, Anm. 29) aufgespürte akkadische Wendung: *mahhūlaš illik-ma ina miqit ũeme unaššak rittišu*, "Er wurde von Sinnen und im Wahnsinn nagte er an seinen Händen."

⁵⁰ Dürfte man in *Z.* 22 und 26 einen Eigennamen lesen (so u.a. *KAI* II 46 in Erwägung gezogen), so wäre die Anfertigung an Ort und Stelle ziemlich sicher. Ich halte aber die Interpretation von Gaster in *Orientalia* NS XI 67 als graphische Wiedergabe gemurmelter Zauberworte für zutreffender.

schrift des Kilamuwa. Immerhin können wir aber so viel feststellen, dass wir uns mit den Belegen hier etwa in dem gleichen Zeitraum, z.T. auch im selben geographischen Bereich, bewegen wie bei den Stellen für den relativischen

Gebrauch von † und des Artikels, was—bei den wenigen zur Verfügung stehenden Zeugnissen nicht unerheblich—als Argument für eine gegenseitige Stützung unserer Deutungen gewertet werden darf.

FRAGEPRONOMINA IN RELATIVISCHER VERWENDUNG

5. Die in den indogermanischen Sprachen so beliebte Bildung von Relativsätzen durch die Abschwächung von Fragesätzen ist in den semitischen Sprachen nicht so gebräuchlich, die attributive oder unterordnende Konstruktion hat den Vorrang.⁵¹

5.1. Dementsprechend treten im Phön. Sätze mit den Pronomina "wer" oder "was" gegenüber den anderen Typen stark zurück. Belegt ist **מי**, "wer," in Sätzen, die im Nachsatz als Subjekt oder Objekt wiederaufgenommen werden; es erscheint aber nie in genitivischer Abhängigkeit oder nach Präpositionen.⁵² S. Tabn. 3: **מי את כל**: "Wer du (auch) seist, jeder Mensch, der du auf diesen Sarkophag stösst"; Kil. 11/12: **ומי בל חז פן אלף שתי בעל** (12), "Und wer nie ein Rind gesehen hatte, den [pronominaler Rückverweis am Verbum] machte ich zum Besitzer einer Rinderherde."

5.2. Kil. 13/14: **ומי בבני אש ישב תחתן** (14), "Und wer unter meinen Nachkommen, die an meiner Stelle sitzen, . . ." scheint **מי** mit **אש** kombiniert zu sein (so Fr. § 120 b), doch täuscht dies, denn der Relativsatz ist abhängig von **בבני**; vgl. als Parallele Tabn. 3 [5.1], wo **אש** zu **אח**, "du," bzw. der Apposition **אדם כל**, "jeder Mensch," gehört.

Entsprechend wird man nun auch **מאש** in Kil.

4/5 **הלפנים פעל כל פעל (5) מאש פעל** anzuzweifeln haben, wo "was" mit **אש** in einen engen Kontakt getreten wäre. Da von den Fragepronomina ein Genitiv nicht direkt abhängig sein kann, sondern umschrieben werden muss (vgl. Kil. 13/14; s. soeben), könnte **אש** hier nur Apposition oder Prädikatsnomen zum Subjekt "was" sein. Da aber **אש** nie selbständig als Subjekt oder Objekt auftritt [1.3], bleibt nur übrig, **מאש** analog **כמאש** [1.32] als präpositionalen Ausdruck, als **מן + אש** zu erklären: "von dem, was ich machte, hatten die Früheren nicht (etwas) getan," m.a.W.: nichts von dem, was Kilamuwa leistete, hatten seine Vorgänger getan.⁵³

Eine solche Analyse ist möglich, wenn man, wie teilweise im Hebr. der Fall (Kautzsch § 102.1b), mit einem Schwund des *n* von **מן** vor Aleph rechnet. Dem kann nicht entgegengehalten werden, dass Elib. 1 bzw. Šipitb. I 3 in der Filiation zwar **בן יחמלך** * als **ביחמלך** erscheine, in **בן אלבעל** (Šipitb. I 2) die Assimilation jedoch unterblieben sei (Fr. § 99 b), denn hier handelt es sich um das Zusammentreten zweier selbständiger Nomina in der Genitivverbindung, während die Präposition **מן** grösstenteils proklitisch ist und mit ihr daher anders verfahren sein kann, ausserdem um eine andere Zeit und Gegend.⁵⁴

DER PRONOMINALE RÜCKVERWEIS

6.1. Mehrfach wurde deutlich, dass sich in den phön. Relativsätzen kein System pronominaler Rückverweisungen ausgebildet hat [1.21, 1.4 und 1.52]. Lediglich zu den Sätzen mit dem persönlichen Pronomen **מי** scheint im Nachsatz eine pronominale Wiederaufnahme geläufiger zu

sein, wenn wir das Vorkommen in der Kilamuwa-Inschrift [5.1] verallgemeinern dürfen.⁵⁵

6.2. So bleibt nur übrig, die Belege dafür kurz zu verzeichnen bzw. auf die Stellen zu verweisen, an denen sie im Wortlaut zitiert sind.

⁵¹ Vgl. aber immerhin den Überblick *GVG* II §§ 370–74.

⁵² Wie etwa im Arab. möglich; s. H. Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax* (1921) § 210.1–3 und 7.

^{52a} Zur Textherstellung vgl. *KAI* II 32.

⁵³ Dürfte man die Setzung des rückweisenden Pronomens bei den Sätzen mit **מי** [5.1] als verbindlich betrachten, so wäre auch das Fehlen eines solchen am Verbum (**פעל** gegenüber

פעלי) als Argument gegen das Auftreten des Fragepronomens anzuführen.

⁵⁴ Entgegen Fr. § 120 b, Anm. 1, wissen wir also nichts über die Lautung von "was?" im Phön.; es kann daher durchaus analog hebr. **מה** und ugar. *mh* ebenfalls **מה** * gewesen sein.

⁵⁵ Doch vgl. aus dem Nachbarbereich Had. 4: **ומן אשאל מן לי** und **אלי יתנו לי**, "Und was (immer) ich von meinen Göttern erbitte, (das) geben sie mir."

Rückweisendes Pronomen
als Nominativ (Subjekt eines Nominalsatzes),
KI, Nr. 33:2 und 36:5 [1.4]
als Objekt am Verbum, Jehaum. 2 (Suffix der 1.
sg.) [1.12]; im Nachsatz zu מי, Kil. 11, 11/12
[5.1], 12(?)
als Genitiv am Nomen, *KI*, Nr. 63:5 (Nominal-
satz) [1.4], ArslT 16 (אִשְׁתְּ חֹרְרֵי אִשׁוֹ [תָּם] פִּי);
es wird nicht deutlich, ob der Satz verbal
oder nominal ist⁵⁶); im Nachsatz zu מי, Kil.
15 (אִשְׁתְּ mit Suffix der 3. m. sg., das bei Kil.
in der Schrift nicht bezeichnet wird; s. Fr.
§ 112.1)
mit Präposition verbunden, Šipitb. II A 3 (בְּ);
s. Anm. 18) und *KI*, Nr. 51:1 (לִי).

Der meist spröde Inhalt und die ungleichmä-
sige, oft nur punktförmige Überlieferung der
phönizischen Texte verwehren uns den Einblick
in manche Einzelheiten bei der Bildung der
Relativsätze. Trotzdem ist es möglich, davon ein
im grossen und ganzen deutliches Bild zu erhal-
ten, das freilich von dem bisherigen nicht uner-
heblich abweicht.

Das Phönizische hat Anteil an jedem der bei-
den Verfahren, welche die semitischen Sprachen
für die Anfügung eines Relativsatzes an ein No-
men entwickelt haben: der Unterordnung und
der attributiven Nebeneinandersetzung. Doch
sind die Gewichte sehr ungleich verteilt: die
Unterordnung scheint von Anfang an zu über-
wiegen und hat sich schliesslich ganz durchge-
setzt; die attributive Konstruktion ist bislang
nur in alter Zeit im Gebiet von Byblos zu belegen
und hat ihre nächste Entsprechung im aramäi-
schen Raum, wo freilich bald eine Erstarrung
Platz greift. Wir wissen nicht, wie lange das at-
tributive Verfahren in Byblos in Gebrauch ge-
wesen ist; aber vielleicht darf man vermuten,
dass es so lange der Fall war, wie die Benutzung
der Gen./Akk.-Form ך des Demonstrativpronomen⁵⁷
voll lebendig blieb. Zusammen mit der

⁵⁶ Nach Gaster in *Orientalia* NS XI 62 soll jedoch hinter אִשְׁ
nichts fehlen; der Passus würde dann bedeuten: "die Frauen
des Hauron, dessen Ausspruch endgültig ist."

⁵⁷ Die ich also nicht wie Fr. § 113b als Ausdruck der Nah-
deixis betrachte. Das Nebeneinander von ך על פתח חרץ ך und
ז על פן פתח ך, "gegenüber von dieser meiner Eingravierung(?),"

nur zögernden Ausbreitung des Artikels [7.4 und
7.6] lässt das auf einen konservativen Zug in der
Entwicklung dieses Dialektes schliessen; vgl.
auch Anm. 66.

Wie auf den ersten Blick zu erkennen, über-
schneiden und durchdringen sich im Hebräi-
schen diese beiden Konstruktionen zur Bildung
der Relativsätze in viel stärkerem Masse, als es
uns das Phönizische zurzeit überliefert, doch
sind dort, z.T. bedingt durch redaktionelle
Überarbeitungen, die Fäden so eng geknüpft,
dass sie sich wohl nicht in jedem einzelnen Falle
wieder entwirren lassen.⁵⁸

Weit in der Minderzahl sind im Phön. auch
die substantivischen Relativsätze mit Benut-
zung der Fragepronomina.

Diese Zeilen seien, verbunden mit den herz-
lichsten Wünschen, Benno Landsberger darge-
bracht als ein bescheidenes Zeichen des tiefen
Dankes, den ich ihm schulde für all das, was er
mir als Lehrer und Mensch gewesen ist in den
vielen Jahren, seitdem ich als junger Student
zum ersten Male die Räume des Orientalischen
Instituts der Leipziger Universität betrat. Nicht
ohne Wehmut gehen meine Gedanken gerade in
jene Jahre zurück, als dieses Institut unter der
einzigartigen Leitung von Landsberger interna-
tionales Ansehen gewann, sodass fast ständig in
längeren oder kürzeren Aufhalten Gelehrte
aller Länder dort seinen Rat suchten, bis Kräfte
der Unvernunft und der Zerstörung dieser Ent-
wicklung ein jähes Ende bereiteten und dem In-
stitut durch die Katastrophe vom 4. Dezember
1943 auch äusserlich ein Schlusspunkt gesetzt
wurde. Doch auch der bescheidene Versuch nach
dem Kriege, dieses Ende zu überwinden und an
die alte Tradition anzuknüpfen, wurde wieder
zunichte gemacht.

in fast der gleichen präpositionalen Verbindung und in der
gleichen Zeile Jehaum. 5 spricht entschieden dagegen und ist
eher als eine Auflösungserscheinung zu werten (t im Obliquus
noch in Z. 4, 10 und 14). Für ך als Genitiv und Akkusativ zu t
auch Rosén in *Archiv Orientalní* XXVII 188 mit Anm. 6.

⁵⁸ Das Ugaritische ist hier ausserhalb der Betrachtung ge-
blieben, denn es scheint eine etwas abweichende Methode ent-
wickelt zu haben, wenn wirklich C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Manu-
al* (Roma, 1955) § 6.21-23, im Recht ist mit der Annahme,
dass d nur persönlich, dt dagegen sächlich gebraucht sei, sodass
noch eine Sonderuntersuchung vonnöten ist.

EXKURS

DER GEBRAUCH DES ARTIKELS IN DEN ÄLTEREN
PHÖNIZISCHEN INSCRIFTEN

7.1. Die Feststellungen über die Sonderbehandlung des 'Stichworts' am Eingang der Inschriften [1.14] erlaubten, die von Fr. § 300 beklagte Regellosigkeit in der Setzung oder Nichtsetzung des Artikels bei der Verbindung eines Substantivums mit einem Demonstrativpronomen stark zu reduzieren. Der verbleibende (noch immer ansehnliche) Rest lässt sich nun fast ganz in zwei Gruppen aufteilen.⁵⁹

7.111. Es zeigt sich, dass in einigen Texten bei Genitivverbindungen und Zugehörigkeit des ׀ zum abhängigen Genitiv der Artikel ebensowenig verwendet wird wie im umgekehrten Falle.

Jehaum. 10: חן לען אלנם ולען עם ארץ ׀, "Gnade vor den Göttern und vor dem Volk dieses Landes"

Esm. 11: ואית זרע ממל(כ)ת הא אם אדם המת, "und den Samen jenes Königs oder jener Menschen"; dagegen Z. 22 (ohne genitivische Abhängigkeit): המת (direktes Objekt ohne אית)

KAI, Nr. 79: 10/11 (Karthago): ושפט תנת פן בעל, ברה אדם הא, "und Tinnit, 'Angesicht des Ba'al,' (wird) Richter sein am Lebensodem jenes Menschen"

KAI, Nr. 141: 4/5: ער את אבן ׀, "bis zum Zeichen [DISO, S. 29] dieses Steines."^{59a}

7.112. Ein sicheres Beispiel für den 'regulären' Gebrauch lässt sich erst aus relativ später Zeit beibringen.

KI, Nr. 85:6 (Karthago): [ב]ברחת הכסף ׀, "[wegen] des Verlierens [DISO, S. 43, und KAI II 103] dieses Silbers."

⁵⁹ Es verbleiben nun nur noch zwei isolierte Belege:

Jehaum. 14: מולא(כ)ת זא, "dieses Werk [Akk.]" (Wortlaut nach KAI, Nr. 10, aufgrund von Dupont-Sommer in *Semitica* III [1950] 43). Die Stelle ist beschädigt, die Lesung daher nicht sicher. Das ausgezeichnete Foto bei Dunand I, Tf. XXIX, ist wegen der porösen Oberfläche des Steines schwer zu verwerten, gestattet aber doch, zu erkennen, dass der erste Buchstabe kein מ sein kann, am wahrscheinlichsten ב, wie auch Dunand I 56 gelesen hat. כח ist sicher, doch wird der Raum nun etwas knapp für eine Ergänzung ב.מולא(כ)ת. Zu übersetzen dann: "(Wenn du aber den Namen nicht zu dem deinigen setzt oder wenn du (ihn) entfernst) von diesem Werk (oder . . .)." Damit aber scheidet der Beleg aus.

KI, Nr. 69: 4: שמקדשם אל [1.67].

^{59a} Wahrscheinlich wie das 'Stichwort' [1.141 und 1.147] behandelt; vgl. den Beginn der Inschrift, . . . מנא ת אבן ׀.

7.121. Die jüngeren Präpositionen (gelegentlich auch die Akkusativpartikel אית) werden in den älteren Texten offenbar noch als Nomina empfunden, nicht schon als erstarrte Präpositionen, sodass bei Hinzufügung von ׀ verfahren wird wie unter [7.111]. Darauf deuten die folgenden Belege.

Jehaum. 5: על פתח חרץ זן, "(auf dem Stein) über dieser goldenen Eingravierung(?) [NE, S. 355b]"; dagegen Z. 4 und 6: . . . המזבח נחשת זן, "diesen Altar aus Kupfer (usw.)," direkte Objekte zu פעל אך, "ich machte" (Z. 3)

Jehaum. 11/12: עלת מזבח זן וועלת פתח חרץ זן, "wer noch etwas hinzutut) zu diesem Altar und zu dieser goldenen Eingravierung(?) und zu dieser Säulenhalle"

Jehaum. 13: על מלאכת הא, "auf jenes Werk"

Jehaum. 14: עלת מקם ז, "oberhalb dieses Ortes"

Esm. 7: אש יפתח עלת משכב ז, "wer diese Ruhestätte öffnet" (desgl. Z. 10)

Esm. 4: אית משכב ז, "diese Ruhestätte"; Z. 10/11: אית חלה ז, "diesen Sarkophag"; Z. 10: אית ממלכת אם אדם הא, "jenen⁶⁰ König oder jenen Menschen"; sämtlich Objekte mit אית

KAI, Nr. 79: 6-8: וכל אש לסר ת אבן ז, "und jeder, der diesen Stein zu entfernen (sich anschickt)"; vgl. Anm. 59a

NE, S. 436 f., Nr. 11: 2 (neupun.): תחת אבן זה, "unter diesem Stein."⁶¹

7.122. Demgegenüber KI, Nr. 63: 7 (Opfertarif von Massilia): עלת פן המשאת ז, "über diese Abgabe hinaus" (ergänzt, nach den Paralleltexen sicher).

7.13. Während man die punischen und neupunischen Stellen als sporadische Unregelmäßigkeiten betrachten darf (zu beachten jedoch, dass KAI, Nr. 79, je einen Beleg für die beiden unterschiedenen Gruppen liefert), wird man die älteren Belege mit der Sparsamkeit in der Ver-

⁶⁰ הא hinter ממלכת vielleicht nicht vom Steinmetzen übergangen, sondern הא am Ende für beide Glieder gültig.

⁶¹ Die gleichen Erscheinungen in der 'Kranzinschrift' KI, Nr. 52, wird man hier nicht mit notieren, sondern auf die mechanische Umsetzung der griechischen Konstruktion in das Phön. zurückführen (vgl. Fr. § 327).

wendung des Artikels in den frühen Inschriften in Verbindung bringen dürfen.

7.21. Zu verweisen ist zunächst auf Karatepe. Dort steht der Artikel nur (vgl. auch schon Fr. § 296, Anm. 4)

a) in der Verbindung mit כל in der Bedeutung "alle," "ganz":

A i 9, כל הרע, "das ganze Böse"; i 19, כל המלכם, "die gesamten Könige"; ii 19/iii 1, זבחה לכל המסכת, "Schlachtopfer für alle Götterbilder" (= C iv 3, hier + ז)

b) in Verbindung mit einem Demonstrativum (darunter befinden sich keine Genitivverbindungen):

A ii 9, ז הקרת, "diese Stadt" (ferner ii 17, iii 7,⁶² iii 15 = C iv 17); A iii 15 und 18, ז השער, "dieses Tor"; A iii 19/iv 1, אית הממלכה הא, "jenes Königtum und jenen König und jenen Menschen"; C iii 16, ז האלם, "diesen Gott"

c) in A i 1: בעל הברך [3.1].

7.22. Der Artikel wird in Karatepe also noch nicht verwendet.

a) Zur Determinierung am abhängigen Genitiv.

Wir erwarten eine solche etwa in A ii 8: נחה לב, "Ruhe des Herzens" (desgl. ii 13/14); A iii 1/2: ש ובעה קצר ש, "zur Zeit des Pflügens ein Schaf und zur Zeit der Ernte ein Schaf" (= C iv 4–6); A iii 5: כל אלן קרת, "jegliche Götter der Stadt" (nämlich der von Azitawanda gegründeten).

Mit [7.111] konform geht C iv 15/16: בסמל ז אלום, "auf dem Bilde dieses Gottes"; dagegen zeigt C iv 18/19: אית סמל האלם אש פעל A, "das Bild [Akk.] des Gottes, das A gemacht hat," die Tendenz des Artikels, sich auszudehnen (einziger Beleg des Artikels am Genitiv).⁶⁴

b) Zur Kennzeichnung eines determinierten Objekts ohne weitere Zusätze.

⁶² Fortgesetzt parallel dazu mit ועם, "und dieses Volk"; wohl Schreiberversehen, obgleich auch die Entsprechung C iv 6/7 die gleiche Aufeinanderfolge bietet. Oder Synkopierung des Artikels (in Kar. kommt kein weiterer Fall vor, wo ו und der Artikel zusammen stehen müssten)?

⁶³ Wegen der Parallelität der Ausdrücke Fehlen des Artikels wohl Schreiberversehen, bedingt durch die Unterbrechung beim Beginn einer neuen Kolumne (in C nicht mehr erhalten).

⁶⁴ Besteht somit bei dem quasi-Eigennamen אלם eine Art Korrespondenz zwischen der Setzung des Demonstrativums ו und des Artikels ה-?

A i 8: ושברת מלצם, "und ich zerbrach die Aufsässigen," denn Azitawanda wird kaum gemeint haben, dass er irgendwelche Aufsässige vernichtet habe, zumal er anschließend die Beseitigung alles Bösen hervorhebt.

c) In präpositionalen Ausdrücken.

A i 14: על גבלם, "auf den Grenzen" (es ist kaum an irgendwelche beliebige Grenzen gedacht); entsprechend wird bei Verbindungen mit ב und ל, bei denen wegen der ständigen Synkopierung des Artikels dieser in der Schrift nicht mehr erkennbar ist (Fr. § 119), in dieser Inschrift ein Artikel nicht mitzudenken sein.

d) Ob determinierte (isolierte) Subjekte den Artikel zu tragen hätten, lässt sich nicht bestimmen, da die drei einzigen Belege den beiden Kategorien angehören, die ihn sowieso verlangen [7.21] (A i 19, "die gesamten Könige"; A iii 7, "diese Stadt" und "dieses Volk" [= C iv 6/7]). Sonst sind die Subjekte entweder Eigennamen (bzw. "ich" = Azitawanda), indeterminiert (A i 15 und ii 4, "ein Mann"; i 15, "böse Menschen" usw.) oder nur generell determiniert (A ii 7, "Behagen und Wohlsein" usw.; A i 12, "jeder König").

7.3. Fast genau die gleichen Verhältnisse treffen wir in den Inschriften an, die uns durch die Sonderbehandlung des Artikels bei Zufügung eines Demonstrativpronomens auffielen [7.111 und 7.121]. Wir geben hier die Belege, soweit sie nicht dort zum Vergleich vorausgenommen wurden, zusammen mit den entsprechenden Stellen aus den übrigen älteren Inschriften.

7.31. Mit Artikel.

Jehim. 2/3: אל (3) מכלה · הבתם · כל, "die gesamten Baufälligkeiten dieser Tempel" (כל und ז) Šipitb. II A 1: המשכב זן, "diese Ruhestätte [Akk.]"

Šipitb. II B 2: (ז) המשכב זן, "neben(?) dieser(?) Ruhestätte" (wegen Textzerstörung syntaktische Verbindung unklar)

Šipitb. II B 3: . . . המשכב אש תפתח, "die Ruhestätte, welche du öffnest" (Zusammenhang gestört)

Jehaum. 2: הרבת, "die Herrin" (ebenso Z. 15, beide Male Subjekt)

Jehaum. 15: אית האדם הא, "jenen Menschen" Tabn. 6: הדבר הא, "jene Angelegenheit" (Subjekt)

Tabn. 3: אית הארון ז, "diesen Sarkophag"

Ešm 9: האלנים הקדשים, "die heiligen Götter" (Subjekt); in der Parallelstelle Z. 22, אלנים הקדשים, אל, "diese heiligen Götter," ist ה- vielleicht durch den Zeilenumbruch verloren gegangen, die Inschrift ist ja auch sonst nicht fehlerfrei (vgl. Z. 11 [7.111]).⁶⁵

7.32. Ohne Artikel.

Jehīm. 4/5: קדשים (5) אל גבל, "und die Versammlung der heiligen Götter von Byblos"; —mit Präposition, Jehīm. 7: אל גבל · קדשים

Šipitb. II B 4: ועלת ארן, "und über dem Sarkophag" (wohl auch A 2)

Jehaum. 5: אש בתכת אבן, "die (sich) in der Mitte des Steines (befindet)"

Ešm. 19: למדה עצמת אש פעלת, "gemäss den Heldentaten, welche ich tat"; unsicher ist Z. 19: ארצת דגן האדרת, "die gewaltigen Getreidefelder," da דגן auch als Eigennamen empfunden sein kann (Fr. § 299); Z. 20: עלת גבל ארץ, "(wir fügten sie hinzu) zu den Grenzen des Landes"; Z. 15/16: בנן אית בת אלנים, "wir bauten den Tempel der Götter"

Ešm. 5: אית חלת משכבי, "den Sarg, meine Ruhestätte" (falls nicht Genitivverbindung: "den S. meiner R."; desgl. Z. 7 und 21)

Ešm. 6: אדמים, "Menschen" (Subjekt) (wohl indet.).

7.4. Die Geschichte der Anwendung des Artikels im Phön. stellt sich nunmehr folgendermassen dar. Aus Aḥ. 2, ארן · זן, "diesen Sarkophag," darf man schliessen, dass zu dieser Zeit (10. Jh. v. Chr.) ein Artikel noch nicht vorhanden war. Wegen seines starken deiktischen Gewichtes hat er sich zunächst nur in der Verbindung eines absolut stehenden Nomens mit einem Demonstrativum eingebürgert sowie in den Totalitätsausdrücken mit כל als Regens in der Bedeutung "alle," "gesamt" (Kar., Jehīm.).

⁶⁵ Oder darf an den Vergleich von Kar. C iv 15/16 mit Z. 18/19 ([7.22] a mit Anm. 64) erinnert werden?

Ob das determinierte Subjekt auf dieser Stufe bereits den Artikel erhielt, ist mangels Belegen nicht zu erkennen. Später kommt die Determinierung des direkten Objekts durch den Artikel hinzu. Nicht mit Artikel versehen werden die abhängigen Genitive in Genitivverbindungen wie in präpositionalen Ausdrücken, woran auch die Hinzufügung eines Demonstrativums nichts ändert. Auf dieser Stufe stehen die Dialekte von Byblos und Sidon noch zur Zeit von Jehaumilk (5.-4. Jh. v. Chr.) und Ešmun^cazar (Anfang des 5. Jh. v. Chr.). Wann hier der Artikel allgemeine Verbreitung erlangt hat, ist wegen des Fehlens ausreichend langer Inschriften aus den nachfolgenden Jahrhunderten nicht zu sagen.

7.5. Eine Besonderheit der Inschrift des Ešmun^cazar ist die Einbeziehung auch der Akkusativpartikel אית in das System des Nichtgebrauchs des Artikels, die sich weder vorher noch später nachweisen lässt (vorher s. Jehaum. und Tabn., für später vgl. Bod. I und II: אית הבת ז; 5. Jh. v. Chr.).

7.6. In anderen Dialekten ist jedoch die Entwicklung weit früher fortgeschritten; vgl. einerseits Kil. 9/10 (ca. 825 v. Chr.): לפן · המלכם ·, "angesichts der früheren Könige" (aber noch Z. 16: בעל · בה, "der Herr der Dynastie"), andererseits Alte Zyp. 2 (Iraq VI [1939] 107): כעל הגבר זא, "denn über diesen Mann"; beides Präpositionalausdrücke. In diesem Unterschied zeigt sich deutlich eine konservative Haltung der Dialekte von Byblos und Sidon, dem zumindest für Byblos der Gebrauch des Demonstrativpronomens als Relativum [2.1] zur Seite gestellt werden kann.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Inzwischen hat Friedrich in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* CXIV (1964) 225 f. auf weitere altentümliche Züge des Dialekts von Byblos zur Zeit des Jehaumilk aufmerksam gemacht: die Graphik des Pronominalsuffixes der 1. sg. sowie der 3. m. sg. am Nomen. Diese Feststellungen lassen sich noch etwas ausdehnen und verfeinern. [Korrektur-Zusatz]