

STUDIES PRESENTED
To
A. LEO OPPENHEIM

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June 7, 1964

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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FOREWORD

The essays composing this volume are offered as a tribute to one of the most productive and versatile Assyriologists today. So much is standard praise. Perhaps Professor Oppenheim's unique and overriding quality, however, is an impatience with the accepted paradigm of the discipline, a determination both to expand its field of action and to examine critically some of its most fundamental assumptions. Whether collaborating with chemists in studies of ancient glass or with economists on institutions of marketless trading, he continues a vigorous, wide-ranging search for new methods of study and new areas of relevance. At the same time, in emphasizing (characteristically, in an anthropological journal) the canonical distortions and limitations of the recorded stream of tradition with which Assyriologists deal, he calls for a reappraisal of the structure of the field itself. These facets of his outlook and activities converge in his editorship of the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*; without such a tool, it is difficult to see how a new generation will appear that can either test and modify the paradigm further or meet the challenge of the flood of new material and the increasing interest on the part of other disciplines.

It is only fitting that the contributors to this volume all have been junior collaborators or former students of Dr. Oppenheim and that the initiative in conceiving and editing it has remained entirely in their hands. Principal responsibility for initiating it rested with Rivkah Harris, Anne D. Kilmer, and E. V. Leichty, while the papers were edited by R. D. Biggs and J. A. Brinkman.

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AN INSCRIPTION OF ILUM-GĀMIL OF URUK

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One of the more obscure periods in Mesopotamian history is that between the end of the Third Dynasty of Ur and the reign of Hammurapi of Babylon. A recent study of D. Edzard¹ has done much to further our knowledge concerning the kingdoms which flourished during the early part of this period. The history of one of these kingdoms, Uruk, has now been further elucidated by texts excavated in Uruk in the palace of Šîn-kāšid, the founder of the independent dynasty of Uruk, and studied by A. Falkenstein.²

Among the more than three hundred tablets and fragments, mostly from the reigns of Anam (a reading Dingiram is also possible) and Irdanene, were found a document with a date formula and a fragmentary letter giving evidence for the reign of a previously unknown king of Uruk, Ilum-gāmil. Like Šîn-gāmil, he was a son of Šîn-iribam, long known as a king of Uruk.³ His reign was very brief, probably not longer than a year, dated by Falkenstein, using Sidney Smith's "middle" chronology, to about 1823 B.C.⁴ No royal inscription from his reign has been known.⁵

The text published here⁶ will fill a small gap in our meagre sources for the middle years of the Uruk dynasty. It is an inscription in Sumerian of a servant of Ilum-gāmil recording work done on the temple of Iškur which he carried out as a votive offering. It seems likely that the structure in question is a shrine or a part of the

¹ D. O. Edzard, *Die "Zweite Zwischenzeit" Babyloniens*, Wiesbaden, 1957.

² Adam Falkenstein, "Zu den Inschriften der Grabung in Uruk-Warka 1960-1961," *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 2 (1963) 1-82.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 34 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 21. Following the "low" chronology of Albright and Cornelius, the date would be 1759 B.C.

⁵ See *ibid.*, p. 51 for an inscription which may, as Falkenstein suggests, belong to this king. To judge from the space and the trace of a sign, [DINGIR]-ga-mi-il seems more likely. If this attribution is correct, Šîn-gāmil is attested only by the date formulas of his three-year reign.

⁶ The inscription is the property of a private collector to whom the writer is much indebted for permission to study and publish the text. It is inscribed on a cone of grey-yellow clay measuring 14.5 cm. in length. It is quite probable that the cone came originally from Uruk. It will be noted that the script is strikingly like that of W 16062 (*ibid.*, pl. 8) and that the scribe of both, probably not completely accustomed to the "monumental" script which he was using, has slightly differing sign forms, such as NAM, within the same inscription.

temple of Iškur, É.UD.GAL.GIM.KI.ĜUŠ.A.DÙ.A, built by Ilum-gāmil's grandfather, Sîn-kāšid,⁷ and not another temple of Iškur.

Although the inscription is not, strictly speaking, an inscription of the king Ilum-gāmil himself, but that of a subject of his who dedicated a temple structure for the king's life and for his own,⁸ it may nevertheless, following the criteria of Hallo, be considered a royal building inscription.⁹

1 d i š k u r	For Iškur,
2 e n n í . g a l . a n . k i	the lord, awesome splendor
	of heaven and earth,
3 d i n g i r . r a . n i . i r	his god,
4 n a m . t i	for the life of
5 DINGIR-ga-mi-il	Ilum-gāmil,
6 l u g a l . u n u ^{ki} . g a	king of Uruk,
7 d u m u ^{dEN.ZU-i-ri-ba-am}	son of Sîn-irībam,
8 u . b a r - d i š k u r	Ubar-Iškur,
9 a r a d . d a . n i	his servant,
10 d u m u a-pil-ku-bi	son of Apil-kūbi,
11 é . s a g . g i ₄ . a . n i . 'k a m'	É.SAG.GI ₄ .A.NI.KAM
12 k i . t u š n a m . e n . n a . n i	his lordly dwelling-place,
13 m u . n a . a n . d ù	he built for him,
14 'ù' n a m . [t i] . l a . n i . š è	and for his own life
15 z i . d è . e š	faithfully
16 m u . n a . t ú m . m u	he made it suitable for him.

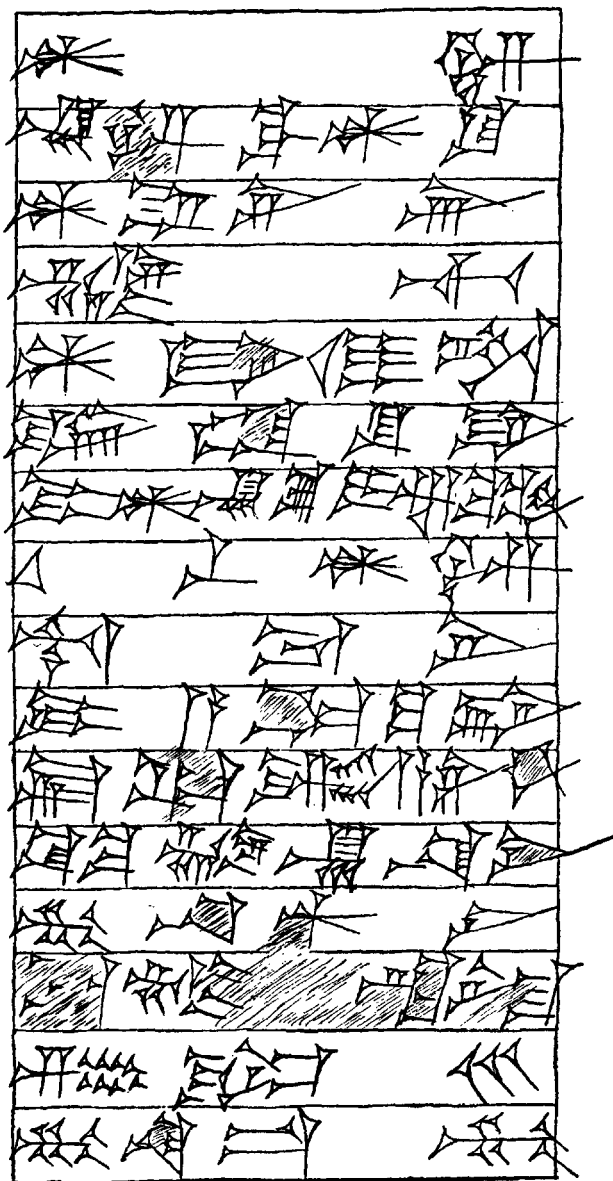
1 For Iškur-Adad in general, see Hans Schlobies, "Der akkadische Wettergott in Mesopotamien," *MAOG* 1/3, Berlin, 1925.

2 The damaged sign is clearly IM and not GÚ, so that the common epithet of Iškur-Adad, GÚ.GAL, is excluded. For n í . g a l, which often occurs with g ù r and its phonetic variants, see A. Sjöberg, *Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen in der sumerischen Überlieferung*, p. 79 n. 16 and J. van Dijk, *Sumerische Götterlieder* 2, p. 11.

⁷ For the relevant inscription of Sîn-kāšid see *ibid.*, p. 50 f. The name of the temple is in part restored by Falkenstein on the basis of parallels. A temple of Adad is known in Uruk in Seleucid times (*VAS* 15 17:6), probably the one called É.ĜÉ.NUN.NA (*TCL* 6 39 rev. 26), but in view of the extensive rebuilding of temples on new sites in this period (cf. Falkenstein, *Topographie von Uruk*, p. 2), it is doubtful that it can be the same as that of the Old Babylonian period. For details of the most recent excavations in the palace of Sîn-kāšid, see A. von Haller, *UVB* 18, pp. 23-29.

⁸ See the very useful study of William W. Hallo, "The Royal Inscriptions of Ur: a Typology," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 33 (1962) 18 for other inscriptions of this type.

⁹ Cf. F. R. Kraus, "Tonnägel mit Keilinschriften," *Halil Edhem Hâtira Kitabı*, Ankara, 1947, vol. 1, p. 81 f. and Hallo, *op. cit.*, p. 21. For a discussion of cones as phallic symbols with religious significance, see Jacques Bernolles, "Quelques considérations anthropomorphiques sur les 'clous' et les anneaux de fondation," *RA* 57 (1963) 1-20.



For the Sumerian pronunciation cf. the phonetic writing in *Sumer* 13 73:10 *ne.qa.a.l*. (However, see Falkenstein, *ZANF* 21 42 f. for a suggestion that *NE* here be read *ni_s*.) We find *ní.gal* (and the Akkadian equivalent *namrirru*) used with reference to several deities: Inanna-Ištar: *ní.gal^dinanna.ke₄: nam-ri-ir-ri ša^diš-tar* (Macmillan, "Religious Texts," *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 5, pt. 5, No. 58 rev. 9 f.); *nin ní.gal gùr.ru* (*UET* 1 127:2); Nergal: *ní.gal.i ganzi[r* (van Dijk, *op. cit.*, p. 13:2); *gi-ir-ru la-biš me-lam-me šá a-na šú-un-bu-uš nam-ri-ri-šú* . . . (Böllenrücher, *Nergal*, p. 50:9); Nanna-Sîn: [*n*] *ní.gal.zu su.zi im.du_s.du_s: [xxx] x ša-lu-ma-tam ma-lu* (Sjöberg, *op. cit.*, p. 104, 12); An-Anu: *ní.gal.zu kur.ra lú.erim.ma dul.la.ab: pu-lu^h-ta-ka ma-a-tú a-a-bi ka-ta-am* (*BRM* 4 8 rev. 30 f., a copy from the Seleucid period). The epithet seems attested for Adad only once: *ša hi-it-lu-pu nam-ri-ri* (Unger, *Reliefstele Adadniraris III*, p. 8:4). In spite of the number of occurrences of *ní.gal* and *namrirru*, it is still possible that we should read *im* as *im* and translate "great wind of heaven and earth." Cf. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, pl. 6 i 11 *š^dISKUR GÚ.GAL AN-e u KI-tim EN IM u NIM.GÍR* "Adad, canal-inspector of heaven and earth, lord of wind and lightning." Note also the inscription of Sîn-kāšid (Falkenstein, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 2 50) where Iškur is given the epithet *ud.gál an.ki* "the . . . storm of heaven and earth."

- 8 Note that the divine element in the name is that of the god for whom the structure was built. The element *u.bar* is common in personal names of the Old Babylonian period (see Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names*, p. 170). It is possible that *iškur* should be read Adad in the personal name, but the Sumerian form is retained here. The name Ubar-Iškur is unattested in published documents from Uruk, but occurs in contemporary records from Larsa (*YOS* 8 55:4 and 9 and 16:4, the first dated to Rīm-Sîn's first year, the second to his sixteenth year). The man's paternity is given in the seal impression on the first of these texts: *u.bar-^diškur dumu^dEN.ZU-[xx] arad^diškur*. Even if the occurrences in Larsa should refer to the same individual, there is no reason to assume that he is the same as the Ubar-Iškur in our text.
- 10 For this name and its interpretation see Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung*, p. 306, and now E. Porada in this volume. Note the writing *a-pi-il-ku-bi* in another Old Babylonian text (Çiğ-Kizilyay-Kraus, *Eski Babil Zamanına ait Nippur Hukukî Vesikalari* [*Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus Nippur*], Istanbul, 1952, No. 6) on the seal inscription, but *a-pil-ku-bi* in the text, which raises the question of the interpretation of personal names written *a-pi-il-DN*.
- 11 The interpretation of the name of this structure, unattested elsewhere, is uncertain. A reading *du₁₀* is, of course, equally possible for the last sign. One should probably consider it a shrine or a particular part of the Iškur temple built

by Sin-kāšid, probably within the Eanna precinct. Compare the case of Nanai's temple or shrine, É.ĜI.LI.AN.NA, which is specifically said to be within Eanna (Borger, *Esrh.* 77 c 5).

- 12 For the reading *ki.tuš* instead of *ki.dúr*, see Sjöberg, *Mondgott*, p. 96 n. 4.
- 14 While it is not impossible that the damaged sign represents a word which is the object of the verb *túm*, it is not likely. The sign is probably *ù*. As to literary structure, votive inscriptions mentioning a royal name and that of a servant or official virtually always have *ù nam.ti.la.ni.šè* preceding the verb (cf. *JAOS* 57, p. 367 and *passim* in votive texts), though occasionally, as in *CT* 21 22 ii 19 and *Sumer* 7 68:9, it is omitted. The only example known to the writer in which any sign other than *ù* begins the phrase is that in the inscription on a theriomorphic vase (*RA* 6 69:11) where, in any case, it seems necessary to understand *ú* as a mistake for *ù*.
- 16 The verb *túm* here corresponds to Akkadian *šūluku* "to make suitable." One may compare such bilingual passages as *4R* 18 No. 3:31 f. *giš.midda an.ta.gál zà nam.lugal.e túm.ma*: *miṭ-tu šá-qu-ú šá a-na i-di šar-ru-ti šu-lu-ku* "a superb mace, fit for the royal arm" and *KAR* 4 rev. 17 *bá.ra.ma ḫ.a túm.a*: *ša a-na BĀRA ṣe-ri šu-lu-kát* "(the goddess) who is fit for the majestic dais." Note that in other Sumerian votive inscriptions the verb *muna.dù* is followed by specific details of construction and embellishment. An example is *UET* 1 139:30–33: *diri u₄.bi.ta.šè é.šu.sì.ga.bi mu.dagal sag.bi im.mi.in.í[l] gal.le.eš im.in.dar* "he made its *šusig*-structure wider than before, made its top higher, and improved it greatly."

MERODACH-BALADAN II¹

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I. INTRODUCTION

Merodach-Baladan² is one of the better known Babylonian monarchs of the early first millennium B.C. Originally prince of the powerful Bit-Jakin tribe in southern Babylonia, he appeared on the stage of history at a time when the political fortunes of Babylonia were at a low ebb. The Assyrians by then had become the dominant power in Western Asia, and it was largely the efforts of Merodach-Baladan which kept Babylonia from becoming altogether submerged during the last quarter of the eighth century B.C.

Merodach-Baladan's political sagacity earned him a deserved fame among later generations in antiquity. He was the first native Babylonian ruler to win mention by name in the Hebrew bible³ and also the only native Babylonian to become king of Babylonia twice according to the tradition enshrined in Kinglist A.⁴ Although militarily overshadowed for the most part by his great Assyrian contemporaries, Tiglath-Pileser III, Shalmaneser V, Sargon II, and Sennacherib, his name shines out among other coeval monarchs: Umbanigaš and Šutruk-Nahhunte of Elam and Ahaz and Hezekiah of Judah.

This essay is an attempt to present in summary form the present state of our

¹ The abbreviations throughout this article will conform to those of *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, with the following additions and alterations:

BR	San Nicolò, <i>Babylonische Rechtsurkunden</i>
CAH	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i>
Carnegie, Catalogue	Carnegie, <i>Catalogue of the Collection of Antique Gems Formed by James, Ninth Earl of Southesk, K. T.</i>
FGrH	Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i>
King, Cat. Suppl.	King, <i>Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum, Supplement</i>
Lie	Lie, <i>The Inscriptions of Sargon II, Part I: The Annals</i>
Lyon	Lyon, <i>Keilschrifttexte Sargons</i>
Steinmetzer	Steinmetzer, <i>Die babylonischen Kudurru (Grenzsteine) als Urkundenform</i>
Winckler	Winckler, <i>Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons</i>

² Babylonian: Marduk-apla-iddina II. A form of his name modelled on that found in the Hebrew bible has won general acceptance in modern English. The first Marduk-apla-iddina was the third-last ruler of the Kassite dynasty in Babylonia and ruled in the first half of the twelfth century (ca. 1173–1161 B.C.).

³ 2 Kings 20:12 (= Isaiah 39:1).

⁴ iv 10, 14. The Assyrian Sennacherib also occurs twice in this list.

knowledge about Merodach-Baladan, to piece together what information can be garnered from the scattered ancient sources, and to survey the problems that these often ill-preserved and fragmentary documents raise for us. We shall begin by giving a chronologically arranged sketch of Merodach-Baladan's career and its antecedents: Part II will deal with his tribal ancestry and his rule as prince of the Sealand before his elevation to the throne of Babylon, Part III with his twelve-year reign over Babylonia, Part IV with his loss of power in Babylonia and his subsequent struggles with the Assyrians. In Part V, we shall discuss several items of information on Merodach-Baladan which do not readily lend themselves to precise chronological classification: his family, the embassy dispatched by him to Hezekiah of Judah, the mention of his name in undated letters to the Sargonid court, and sundry isolated references to him in various (chiefly minor) texts. After a few remarks by way of summary and conclusion (Part VI), a bibliography of the ancient sources dealing with Merodach-Baladan will be appended at the close of the article (Part VII).

II. MERODACH-BALADAN, KING OF THE SEALAND

To understand the complex political character of Merodach-Baladan in its proper perspective, we must understand that he was first and foremost a member of the Jakin tribe in southern Babylonia. The Jakin, the Dakūri, the Amukāni,⁵ and later the Ša'alli were the most powerful tribal units in southern Babylonia (or Chaldea) from the middle of the ninth down through most of the seventh century. Their origin is at best obscure. They are usually traced back to the Aramean raider tribes active on the Middle Euphrates from the days of Tiglath-Pileser I.⁶ Various marauding groups—described both as Arameans and as Sutians—continued to strike at western Babylonia during the succeeding centuries, usually attacking cities not far from the Euphrates.⁷ It is generally believed that in the course of the eleventh through the ninth centuries these West Semitic peoples gradually worked their way down into southern Babylonia, where Shalmaneser III found them in the year 850. By the time of Tiglath-Pileser III, some 120 years later, these tribes had spread all

⁵ The names of the Dakūri and Amukāni tribes should probably be spelled with a single *k*. Babylonian and Assyrian texts apparently use either one or two *k*'s in these names; but in all instances (save one) where two *k*'s are attested, the first of the two *k*'s is expressed by a *cvc* sign. Now, *cvc* signs in this period cannot be taken as an adequate indication of the spelling of a word, because the final consonant in such a cluster was often not pronounced. Therefore, to postulate a doubled consonant in these words, we should demand unequivocal evidence on the basis of a spelling such as *vc-cv* to substantiate the doubled consonant. The lone such spelling currently available (*Da-ak-ku-ri* in an inscription of Shalmaneser III [WO 1 466 ii 52]) seems to be an exception rather than the rule.

⁶ See most recently Kupper, *Les Nomades*, pp. 115 f.

⁷ These raids form the background for the story of the Erra Epic, especially Tablet IV (see Lambert, *Afo* 18 397 f.). See also the events narrated in *BBS* no. 36 i 1–iii 18 and in King's "Religious Chronicle," esp. iii 4–19.

over southern Mesopotamia; and their territory stretched from the Euphrates as far east as the Elamite frontier.

The earliest description of these Chaldean tribes is preserved in the annals of Shalmaneser III, describing the events of the year 850.⁸ After Shalmaneser had assisted Marduk-zākir-šumi I of Babylonia in quelling a revolt in the northern part of the country, he proceeded to southern Babylonia to clamp down on tribal disturbances that were apparently beyond the control of the weak Babylonian monarch.⁹ Shalmaneser mentions three kings of Chaldea who subsequently came to Babylon to offer him "tribute": Jakini, king of the Sealand, Mušallim-Marduk of the Amukāni tribe, and Adini of the Dakūri tribe.¹⁰ The Assyrians do not seem to have been well acquainted with these people, since in two of the three instances here recorded (Jakini and Adini) they probably speak of an eponymous ancestor as though he were a living person.¹¹

Between the mention of these tribes in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III and their recurrence in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser III over a century later, very little is known of them. Their depredations on the land of their more settled neighbors of northern Babylonia, especially the city dwellers of Babylon and Borsippa, would bespeak little law and order in the land.¹² One of their number, Eriša-Marduk, a member of the Jakin tribe, for a time succeeded in making himself king over the

⁸ The first mention of Chaldea itself occurs in the annals of Ashurnasirpal II after the description of his battle at the city of Sūru in the land of Suḫi in the year 878. The king states that fear of his military prowess overwhelmed even Chaldea (xun *Kal-du* [AKA 352 iii 24]). . . . The possible relations of *Kaldu* to *Kešed* (Gen. 22:22), to *Kašdīm* (Gen. 11:28, etc.), and to *Kardu(niaš)* form too extensive a problem to be discussed conveniently here. Suffice it to say that there are vague hints of an earlier origin of the name *Kaldu*, none of them by any means certain.

⁹ The principal sources of Shalmaneser III touching on these events of his ninth campaign are edited in: *BA* 6/1 137 vi 5-8, 147:82-84, 152:19-20; *WO* 1 67 r. 3-5, 466 ii 50-54; *WO* 2 34 ii 42-44, 150:83-84; *Iraq* 25 56:47-49.

¹⁰ Mušallim-Marduk is referred to as *mār Ṿ-ka-(a)-ni* in these texts. The only account that preserves the names of all three rulers is that on the Bronze Gates of Balawat (*BA* 6/1 137 vi 5-8). As in the account of "tribute" proffered to Tiglath-Pileser III in 729, the only one of the chieftains who is designated by the personal title "king" is the representative of the Jakin tribe. For a pictorial representation of the bringing of "tribute" by Adini of the Dakūri tribe, see *BA* 6/1, *Schiene K, Obere Reihe* (inscription: *ibid.*, 61).

¹¹ Cf. a similar use of "Janzi" (the Kassite word for "king") as a personal name in the accounts of Shalmaneser's sixteenth campaign, e.g., *WO* 1 16 r. 10.

¹² New Babylonian Chronicle, r. 10-12; cf. *ibid.*, r. 7: "for *x* years there was no king in the land." This chaos is also the background for the events sketched in *BM* 33428 (= *Rm.* 3, 105; published by Strong in *JRAS* 1892 350-368). See also *Lie* 64:9-11, *Winckler* I 124:135-36, which allude back to these days from the standpoint of Sargon. . . . We might remark parenthetically that even in the supposedly more stable days of the later Sargonids the fields of the citizens of Babylon and Borsippa were still not free from the raids of the neighboring tribesmen (e.g., *Borger, Esarh.* 52:64-65).

whole of Babylonia.¹³ But, while we might expect that he would show preference towards his fellow tribesmen, Eriba-Marduk actually took the trouble during his reign to restore lands previously appropriated by the tribes to their rightful owners who lived in the cities.¹⁴

Eriba-Marduk was probably the grandfather of Merodach-Baladan,¹⁵ and the latter showed obvious pride in the accomplishments of his famous ancestor. In several of his inscriptions, he refers to himself as "the eldest legitimate son of Eriba-Marduk,"¹⁶ "offspring of Eriba-Marduk,"¹⁷ or "the eternal royal scion who makes illustrious the name of the father who begot him, the offspring of Eriba-Marduk."¹⁸ Eriba-Marduk himself he characterizes as "king of Babylon, who established the foundation(s) of the land."¹⁹ Certainly Eriba-Marduk did introduce an element of stability into the grievously debilitated government of Babylonia in the early eighth century;²⁰ and, in this respect, Merodach-Baladan was to prove himself a worthy successor.

Merodach-Baladan himself first appears in written documents in the final years of the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727). In the troubled times which succeeded the assassination of Nabû-nâdin-zêri of Babylonia in 732, Merodach-Bala-

¹³ That Eriba-Marduk belonged to the Jakin tribe is not explicitly attested. It may be inferred from the fact that his descendant Merodach-Baladan belonged to this group. This contention is strengthened by the inscription on a seal now in the British Museum, BM 129532 (published as Q839 in *Carnegie, Catalogue*, II, 82 f.), which possibly describes Eriba-Marduk's father as a member of the Jakin tribe. See *JCS* 16 98 f. sub 28-32 (b) and 36.1.3.

¹⁴ New Babylonian Chronicle, r. 12.

¹⁵ From chronological considerations, we know that the latest possible date for the last official regnal year of Eriba-Marduk's reign was 761 (a fact that follows from *BRM* 1 3, which is dated in the thirteenth year of his successor on the Babylonian throne; this successor's reign ended in 748). The year 761 would thus normally be the latest possible date for Eriba-Marduk's death. On the other hand, the first dated appearance of Merodach-Baladan is in 729; and, since his career lasted till at least 700, he was presumably still fairly young in 729. Thus an intervening generation should probably be posited between these two figures. (See also Leemans, *JEOL* 10 442-43.) The possibility, however, that Eriba-Marduk may have been the father of Merodach-Baladan cannot be categorically excluded on a chronological basis, especially since the latter was old enough to have a full-grown son act as witness to a kudurru in 715 (*VAS* 1 37 iv 57).

The documentary sources for the reign of Eriba-Marduk have been listed in *JCS* 16 99-100. To the references given there may be added: under 36.3.2: also *ibid.*, iii 52; under 36.3.3: all references included below under 44.2.2 (a); as 36.3.3': *BBS* no. 35, obv. 16.

¹⁶ *Iraq* 15 133:13.

¹⁷ Text on bricks from Uruk (bibliography under 44.2.2[a] below), line 6.

¹⁸ *VAS* 1 37 ii 40-44. Cf. *BBS* no. 35:15-16, which probably contained a shortened version of the same epithets. The Babylonian is even more ambiguous than the English translation and could be rendered in a variety of ways, including "who makes illustrious the name of the father of (the one) who begot him (and who was) the offspring of Eriba-Marduk."

¹⁹ *Iraq* 15 133:13, *VAS* 1 37 ii 44.

²⁰ See n. 14 above.

dan is mentioned both in the Nimrud Letters and in Tiglath-Pileser's royal inscriptions as a prominent chieftain in southern Babylonia. These documents describe the prevailing currents of power politics in Babylonia from 731 to 729, when Tiglath-Pileser was campaigning to remove Mukīn-zēri, the head of the Amukāni tribe, from the kingship of Babylonia which the latter had usurped.

It is difficult to see from the Nimrud Letters what position Merodach-Baladan played in this struggle. These letters from the archives of the contemporary Assyrian capital at Kalḫu are unfortunately quite fragmentary, and their interpretation in any precise historical context is at best conjectural. Merodach-Baladan is mentioned by name in three of these letters and is perhaps the subject of discussion in obscure sections of two more. Nimrud Letter V speaks twice of a "letter concerning Merodach-Baladan";²¹ and apparently, when this letter was read out in the presence of another southern tribal chieftain, Balāssu of the Dakūri tribe, it caused him to join forces with the Assyrians against his conniving fellow-chieftains of the south.²² Nimrud Letter IX mentions Merodach-Baladan too; seemingly a statement made by him is quoted.²³ Nimrud Letter LXV speaks of the capture of an unnamed city after the defeat of Mukīn-zēri and his son Šuma-ukīn and alludes to grain which either belonged to or should have been sent to Merodach-Baladan at that time.²⁴ Nimrud Letter VI tells of a *mār Jakin*,²⁵ which in this period might refer to the preeminent member of the Jakin tribe; but this cannot be demonstrated with certainty.²⁶

These isolated pieces of detailed information are tantalizing but too fragile to essay any plausible large-scale historical reconstruction. But one item of historical significance can safely be derived from the Nimrud Letters: the tribal chieftains in southern Babylonia did not present a united front against the Assyrian invaders at this time. (This fact is also substantiated from the more formal accounts in the

²¹ For the place of publication of the individual Nimrud Letters, see Part VII, A, 44.2.22. In Nimrud Letter V, we may read *e-gir-tum ša ina muḫḫi Marduk-apla-iddina* (9') and possibly *[e]-gir-(tum) ina muḫḫi Marduk apla-iddina* (4').

²² This seems to be the most plausible interpretation of the main point of this letter. See Saggs, *Iraq* 17 47-48.

²³ Obv. 3'.

²⁴ *muḫḫi še'u* (ŠE.PAD.MEŠ) *ša ana Marduk-apla-iddina ša šarru bēl iqbāni* (25-26). The phrase is ambiguous; and, unfortunately, the letter breaks off shortly afterwards.

For the present, I would prefer to translate *dēki* in lines 10 and 11 as "are defeated" rather than as "are killed." Deaths of ancient Near Eastern rulers in battle were comparatively rare, and the death of both a king and his son in the same battle would undoubtedly have attracted more notice than this bald statement in Letter LXV. (For *dāku* in the meaning "to defeat," see Tadmor in *JNES* 17 129-41 and *CAD D* 41-42.)

²⁵ Face B: 18'.

²⁶ The second doubtful reference in a Nimrud Letter (XXXIX) to Merodach-Baladan is treated below in n. 102.

Assyrian annals, as we shall see in the succeeding paragraph.) Later when Merodach-Baladan gained control of Babylonia, one of his distinctive contributions was to weld the vacillating Chaldean tribes to a common interest. This was undeniably a weighty factor in his long successful resistance of Assyrian might, with no fears of his fellow tribesmen dickering with the enemy behind his back.

The official records of Tiglath-Pileser's reign, aided where necessary by the chronological details of the Babylonian Chronicle, Kinglist A, and the Assyrian eponym canons, give us a fairly coherent picture of events in southern Babylonia during these years. In 731²⁷ Tiglath-Pileser marched for the first time against the usurper king of Babylonia, Mukîn-zēri, attacking his capital city of Šapija.²⁸ The assault proved unsuccessful, and the Assyrian king spent the next year (730) in his own land, renewing the offensive only in 729.²⁹ This time he was able to besiege Mukîn-zēri in his capital and to devastate the surrounding area. Tiglath-Pileser does not claim to have captured the king in his attack, and it appears that some regions of Babylonia continued to acknowledge the sovereignty of Mukîn-zēri as late as 728.³⁰ But, while Tiglath-Pileser was conducting the siege at Šapija, the heads of other tribes in Chaldea made their submission to him: Balāssu of the Dakūri, Nādinu of Larak, and Merodach-Baladan of the Jakin tribe.³¹

²⁷ Eponym canon C^b1 r. 43 (*RLA* 2 431) records under the year 731 (eponymy of Nergal-uballit): *a-na URU Šá-pi-ja*.

²⁸ The Babylonian sources and the eponym canon reproduce the initial sibilant as š: URU Šá-pi-(i)-ja (canon C^b1 r. 43; *YOS* 7 148:15; *YOS* 3 39:10; *UET* 4 70:10) and Šá-pi-i (Kinglist A iv 7; the statement in *JCS* 16 101 under 41.1.1 should be corrected accordingly). The Assyrian sources write it as s: URU Sa-pi-ja (2*R* 67:27; D.T. 3:16, Nimrud Letter II 6'), URU Sa-pi-a (Smith. *Senn.* 42), URU Sa-pi-e (2*R* 67:23; and possibly Nimrud Letter II 5'). This geographical name is probably a hypocoristic for a longer form of the type URU Šá-pi-i-DN (cf. Šapī-Bēl in 5*R* 3:54, etc.; is it mere coincidence that the capital of Bit-Amukāni bore the name Šapija and the capital of the later Assyrian province of Gambulu in approximately the same region was called Šapī-Bēl?) The location of the city is unknown.

²⁹ Bab. Chron. i 19. (The Babylonian Chronicle throughout this article will be cited according to the forthcoming edition by A. K. Grayson.) According to eponym canon C^b1 r. 45, Tiglath-Pileser also "took the hand" of Bēl during the eponymy of 729. This would be during the month of Nisan subsequent to his defeat of Mukîn-zēri. This Nisan would be the beginning of the Babylonian year 728/7, and Tiglath-Pileser is officially listed as king of Babylonia in both Kinglist A and in the Babylonian Chronicle, starting with his first official regnal year in 728. The same Nisan, however, would fall before the change of eponym officials in Assyria (which took place in Ajjār) and so would be reckoned as part of the old Assyrian year 729/8. This would explain the apparent discrepancies in the statements of canon C^b1 and the Babylonian tradition. (A similar problem is discussed below in connection with Sargon's accession in Babylonia at the beginning of the Babylonian year 709/8.)

³⁰ This interpretation is based on an economic text dated in the fourth year of Nabû-mukîn-zēri: MLC 1805 (published as *BRM* 1 22), which may be explained in this fashion. See *JCS* 16 101 n. 31.

³¹ 2*R* 67:26-28; D.T. 3:18-19. The submission of the other tribal chiefs after the defeat of one of their number is reminiscent of the capitulation of the Jakin and Amukāni leaders after Shalmaneser III defeated the Dakūri head in 850 (*BA* 6/1 137 vi 5-8).

Merodach-Baladan was obviously regarded by the Assyrians as the most important of these chiefs. Much more space in their official account is devoted to the recital of his submission, and his wealthy "tribute" is described in detail: gold ore in quantity,³² artifacts of gold, necklaces set in gold, precious stones native to the sea,³³ as well as wooden beams suitable for building, plants, bright-colored clothes, frankincense and cattle.³⁴ The statement is likewise appended that he had not submitted to previous Assyrian kings.³⁵ Furthermore, he is the only ruler (including even Mukîn-zēri himself) who is dignified with the title "king" in the official Assyrian account.³⁶ Even at this early date Merodach-Baladan appears to have been a formidable prince.

For the years 728 and 727 Tiglath-Pileser III (under the name Pūlu) was officially king of Babylonia, the first Assyrian ruler to hold the dual monarchy of both countries in his own name.³⁷ After his death, his son Shalmaneser V succeeded him on both thrones for a brief, five-year reign.

III. MERODACH-BALADAN, KING OF BABYLONIA

After the death of Shalmaneser V in Tebet 722,³⁸ there seems to have been some irregularity in the succession to the Assyrian throne. Sargon II was probably not directly in line for the kingship and may have maintained his position only precariously at first.³⁹ Occupied as the new ruler was with Assyrian affairs, he was unable to retain the control over Babylonia exercised by his immediate predecessors. Merodach-Baladan came up from his tribal lands in the south and in Nisan 722, less than three months after Shalmaneser's death, officially assumed the reins of government in Babylonia.⁴⁰

³² For the phrase *epir šadišu* referring to metals in their natural state see *CAD E* 189a.

³³ *binūt tāmim* might also mean "native to the Sealand."

³⁴ *2R* 67:27-28. Cf. D.T. 3:19.

³⁵ Whether or not this statement should be interpreted as applying literally to Merodach-Baladan (and therefore implying that he personally had ruled before the reign of Tiglath-Pileser) is open to question. The way the phrase is worded it would seem to apply generically to Merodach-Baladan and his predecessors as well, even though this is not explicitly brought out in the telescoped phraseology.

³⁶ He is called LUGAL *Tam-tim*, which can be translated "king of the Sea(land)"; cf. Kinglist A iv 10. The absence of the determinative KUR before *Tāmim* when referring to the Sealand is not unknown; cf. *BBSI* no. 11 i 6. It is worthy of note that the designation *mār Jakin* ("member of the Jakin tribe") precedes his other title in the Assyrian narrative.

³⁷ Tukulti-Ninurta I probably controlled both Babylonia and Assyria at one time, but he did not assume the Babylonian throne.

³⁸ Bab. Chron. i 29.

³⁹ Contrary to the custom of legitimate Assyrian monarchs, Sargon very rarely cites his ancestry in formal inscriptions; and this is rightly taken as an indication that he was a usurper. A possibility that he may have belonged to a junior branch of the royal house is proffered by an inscription found in Istanbul by Unger ("Altorientalische Könige als Kulturbringer," *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 9 246; reproduced in *Afo* 9 79), in which Sargon calls himself a son of Tiglath-Pileser (III).

⁴⁰ Bab. Chron. i 32.

Assyria's temporary weakness did not escape the notice of other neighboring countries. In 720⁴¹ the Assyrian army was attacked at Dēr by an Elamite army led by Umbanigaš, king of Elam;⁴² and the Assyrian forces appear to have sustained a considerable defeat.⁴³ Though Merodach-Baladan had an alliance with the Elamite king, he did not arrive in time to render him assistance in this battle.⁴⁴ Nonetheless, following the Assyrian reverses, Babylonia enjoyed a ten-year respite from interference from the north.

It is difficult to assess this interlude of Chaldean rule in Babylonia. There are two divergent interpretations presented for our view by the contemporary documents. On the one hand, Sargon claims that Merodach-Baladan was a foreigner, a Chaldean,⁴⁵ who had unlawfully occupied the throne of Babylonia.⁴⁶ His reign had reputedly brought about oppression of the interests of the northern section of the country and an eclipse of the hereditary privileges enjoyed by the ancient cult centers of Babylon, Nippur, Sippar, and Borsippa.⁴⁷ Some consider the *Fürstenspiegel* to be a document written at this time to underline the theological implications of

⁴¹ For this date, see Bab. Chron. i 33 and Tadmor, *JCS* 12 94.

⁴² Bab. Chron. i 33–34. Despite the fact that Sargon later referred to this encounter as his first (var.: second) campaign, he is undoubtedly the one under attack. The phraseology of the Bab. Chron. makes this clear: *Umbanigaš šar Elamti ina pīḫat Dēr^{ki} šaltum ana libbi Šarru-kēn šar māt Aššur ipuṣ* (i 33–34). According to the usual idiom, Umbanigaš is the subject of the sentence and the aggressor in the action.

Confirmation of this interpretation comes from another consideration, viz., that Dēr at this time was part of regular Assyrian territory. An Assyrian governor of the city is attested in the third year of Shalmaneser V (724) in *VAS* 1 70 i 1–2; and, according to the same kudurru, the city was also under Assyrian control in the year 721 (ii 28), which would be just before the celebrated battle in 720, and in 711 (v 4). Also, probably under the reign of Sargon II, Šamaš-bēla-ušur was active in the city of Dēr, according to *ABL* 157:17 f., 799:2 ff., 800:2 ff. [The approximate date of these letters would be borne out if the Balāssu in *ABL* 537:8, 799 r. 29, is the same tribal chief-tain mentioned by Tiglath-Pileser III (2*R* 67:26; D.T. 3:18) and in the Nimrud Letters (V:7', 10'; XI r. 5').]

⁴³ *Umbanigaš . . . nabalkut māt Aššur iltakan dabdāšunu ma-diš iltakan* (Bab. Chron. i 35). For the official Assyrian version of Sargon's "victory," see the so-called Assur Charter, K. 1349:17 (published in Winckler *Sammlung* 2, no. 1) and Lie 6:20. For a further discussion of the battle, see n. 53 below.

⁴⁴ Bab. Chron. i 36–37. Merodach-Baladan exhibited a decided propensity during the reigns of both Sargon and Sennacherib to avoid any direct military conflict with the main Assyrian army. The Elamites did most of his fighting for him, and Sennacherib claims that this service on the part of the Elamites was rendered for payment (Smith, *Senn.* 7 ff.).

⁴⁵ Lie 54:9 seems to be the only instance where Sargon's inscriptions accord Merodach-Baladan the title of king of Babylonia (*Karduniaš*). Otherwise he is always described as either the king of Chaldea (*māt Kaldā*) or as a member of the Jakin tribe (*mār Jakin*).

⁴⁶ Lie 42:267–68 and *passim*.

⁴⁷ Winckler I 96:5–8, etc. The neglect of these cities is also implied in the eagerness with which the chief citizens of Babylon and Borsippa invite Sargon to enter their towns once Merodach-Baladan had fled towards Elam in 710 (Lie 54:371; 56:375). On the question of the privileges of these towns, see W. F. Leemans, "Kidinnu, un symbole de droit divin babylonien," *Symbolae van Oven*, 36–61.

the conduct of a king who would maltreat these cities as Merodach-Baladan is supposed to have done.⁴⁸ The fact that at the fall of Dūr-Jakin, Merodach-Baladan's southern capital, in 709 there were numerous hostages from these northern cities released from captivity⁴⁹ would seem to give substance to the charge that Merodach-Baladan's rule was opposed in the north and tolerated only because of his superior force. Earlier hints of north-south hostility in Babylonia during the eighth century⁵⁰ and accounts of plundering of merchant caravans within Babylonia at this time⁵¹ would lend credence to the situation as portrayed by Sargon.

On the other hand, Merodach-Baladan himself began his reign with a claim to being "handpicked" by the god Marduk, the national deity of Babylon, to rectify the evils caused by the years of Assyrian domination in the land. He portrayed himself as a savior of the country, the agent through whom Marduk defeated the enemies of the Babylonian people:

At that time the great lord Marduk had turned away in wrath from the land of Akkad, and the evil enemy, the Subarian,⁵² exercised lordship over the land of Akkad for [seven] years until the days were fulfilled and the appointed time had arrived and the great lord Marduk became reconciled with the land of Akkad, with which he had been angry. He looked graciously upon Marduk-apla-iddina, king of Babylon, a prince who revered him, his (Marduk's) personal appointee, the legitimate eldest son of Eriba-Marduk, king of Babylon, who had established the foundation(s) of the country. Asari, king of the gods, definitely named him to the shepherdship of Sumer and Akkad, saying: 'This is indeed the shepherd to gather the scattered (flock).' With the help of the great lord Marduk and the warrior of the gods, Pirigallu, he defeated the widespread horde of Subartu and shattered their weapons. He overthrew them and banished their steps from the soil of Akkad.⁵³

⁴⁸ E.g., F. M. Th. Böhl, *MAOG* 11/3 28-35; but see S. Smith, *BSOAS* 11 457 n. 6. Latest edition of the document in Lambert, *BWL* 110-15.

⁴⁹ *Lie* 64:8-11; Winckler I 122:134-36; *Iraq* 16 Pl. XLVIII vi 63-74.

⁵⁰ See n. 12 above; cf. also Nimrud Letter I.

⁵¹ *Lie* 56:379-82.

⁵² I.e., Assyrian.

⁵³ *Iraq* 15 133:8-18. Cf. *VAS* 1 37 i 17 ff. Gadd believes that the closing lines translated above constitute a claim of victory for Merodach-Baladan at the battle of Dēr in 720 (*Iraq* 15 128). While the text does not literally go so far in direct statement, the inference is legitimate. When we consider that Merodach-Baladan on another occasion put a "hired" Elamite army in the field (Smith, *Senn.* 7 ff.), it is easy to see that he might have done something similar on this occasion, which would make his veiled claim less outlandish than would appear at first glance.

Can one unravel the truth behind these three apparently conflicting claims on the outcome of the battle? Sargon in his own inscriptions claimed victory; and, looked at from the Assyrian point of view, the battle might have appeared a qualified success. The Assyrians had been attacked at Dēr and, though suffering considerable reverses, probably retained possession of the area (see n. 42 above). Secondly, the Babylonian Chronicle claims a great victory for Umbanigaš, the Elamite king. He undoubtedly scored a significant triumph over the Assyrian army in the field and effectively stopped the Assyrians from being able to meddle in Babylonian affairs for another decade. It is nowhere stated that he gained any territory as a result of this battle. Finally, the account of Merodach-Baladan in his own cylinder inscription could be explained simply as a figurative state-

Besides the theological backing thus adduced for his reign, Merodach-Baladan often often emphasized in his inscriptions, as we have seen, his descent from Eriša-Marduk, the earlier Babylonian king, presumably to exclude the charge of being merely a Chaldean interloper on the throne.⁵⁴ One of royal blood could scarcely be considered a foreigner, even if he did hale from the less civilized southern tribes. Merodach-Baladan also mentioned his preservation and extension of the ancient privileges of certain cities of Babylonia⁵⁵ and pledged himself to maintain and repair the cult places of Nippur, Babylon, and Sippar.⁵⁶ His own inscriptions give the reverse impression from that conveyed by Sargon's writings about him.

Babylonia does not seem to have suffered much from his reign. Temples were repaired, royal land grants made, the local provincial administration appears to have flourished, and business to have gone on as usual. His rule is attested in a number of cities of Babylonia over his twelve years in office, and he always seems to be enjoying the role of a typical Babylonian monarch. Besides his sway over the tribal settlements in the south, his rule is documented in the following major cities:

BABYLON. Merodach-Baladan probably participated in the New Year Festival here to inaugurate his first year of reign.⁵⁷ A small private inscription accompanying a personal gift, dated in the first year of the king, may originally have been drafted in Babylon.⁵⁸ Ptolemy mentions three lunar eclipses observed and recorded in Babylon in the first and second years of Merodach-Baladan.^{58a} The first certain contemporary attestation of the king's rule there is in an economic text in a private collection in Leiden, dated Addar 18, year 2.⁵⁹ A kudurru dated in Merodach-Baladan's seventh year comes from there; in it mention is made of the governor (*šakin tēmi*) of Babylon,⁶⁰ the mayor (*ḥazannu*) of Babylon,⁶¹ and the *šatammu* of

ment regarding his agency in the battle of Dēr. No allusion to participation in a specific battle is made; and, if the royal Elamite army were fighting under hire to him as it did later in 703, the outcome of the battle—regardless of his physical presence—could technically be ascribed to him. (It is known that Assyrian kings certainly won more battles in their annals than they ever assisted at personally in the field.)

⁵⁴ *Iraq* 15 133:13; *VAS* 1 37 ii 40–44; *BBS* no. 35:16; *IR* 5 no. XVII:6 (and duplicates; see appendix sub 44.2.2[a]).

⁵⁵ *VAS* 1 37 iii 24–35.

⁵⁶ *VAS* 1 37 ii 8 ff.

⁵⁷ *Bab. Chron.* i 32. Nothing is said explicitly of the festival, but the mention of Nisan makes this interpretation highly probable.

⁵⁸ *BM* 98562 (= *Th.* 1905–4–9, 68; published in King, *Cat. Suppl.*, p. 57). The ninth line of the inscription mentions Babylon, but the designation of the place of writing is usually just before the date in such documents. Dr. Sollberger has kindly informed me that there is room for one large or two small signs in the chipped section immediately before *DIN.TIR.KI* in this line, but there are no traces extant.

^{58a} One eclipse in Merodach-Baladan's first year and two in his second year. See *Claudii Ptolemaei Opera quae exstant omnia*, Vol. I: *Syntaxis Mathematica*, ed. J. L. Heiberg, Pars I, pp. 302–4. [I am much obliged to Mr. G. Gragg, S.J., for verifying this reference for me.]

⁵⁹ Böhl, *Leiden Coll.*, III 7–8; transliteration in *MAOG* 11/3 31–32 n. 3.

⁶⁰ *VAS* 1 37 iv 50–51.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, v 5–6.

Esagila,⁶² all of them high officials of the city who took part in the signing of the document. As king, he claimed to have restored the fields previously lost by native Babylonians and to have protected the "exempt" citizens of the town from encroachments on their liberty.⁶³ Sargon found Merodach-Baladan's residence in Babylon on his campaign in 710;⁶⁴ and his capital was apparently there too when Sennacherib launched his campaign of 703.⁶⁵

BORSIPPA. The governor (*šākin tēmi*) of this area acted as witness to the kudurru drawn up in the seventh year of Merodach-Baladan's reign.⁶⁶ In the same kudurru, the king boasted of having made the privileged citizens of the city happy by expanding their land holdings and by protecting their interests.⁶⁷ Later, in Merodach-Baladan's second term as king, Borsippa was one of the cities that assisted him against the invading Sennacherib.⁶⁸

CUTHA. In one of the Harper letters, mention is made of a gift of money given to a temple here in the second year of Merodach-Baladan,⁶⁹ so it was under his control by 720. The governor (*šākin tēmi*) of Cutha is a witness to the kudurru of 715.⁷⁰ The city likewise assisted Merodach-Baladan against Sennacherib in 703.⁷¹

KISH. Repairs on the Eḫursagkalamma temple were made during the king's reign by Iddin-Nergal, governor (*šaknu*) of Kish.⁷² This city also seems to have been the principal camp of Merodach-Baladan's forces in the battle of 703.⁷³

NIPPUR. In the preface to the kudurru of 715, Merodach-Baladan pledged to support this city.⁷⁴ According to the Assyrian records, it aided him against Sennacherib's army in 703.⁷⁵ An economic text from his reign (year not preserved) was drawn up here.⁷⁶

SIPPAR. Merodach-Baladan likewise pledged to support Sippar in the kudurru preface.⁷⁷

UR. Two texts from here are dated during his reign. *UET* 4 206 (= *UET* 1 261) is dated 11-X, year 22 of [Mar]duk-apla-iddina, *mār ri-du-tu*.⁷⁸ *Mār (bit) rīdūti* in both Assyria and Babylonia ordinarily denotes the crown prince of the ruling monarch,⁷⁹ but there is no question of that meaning here.⁸⁰ The twenty-second year of Merodach-Baladan (if we count consecutively from his first official regnal year in 721) would fall in 700, the year of his last stand in the south against Sennacherib. A possible interpretation might be advanced that the people of Ur, though realizing that Merodach-Baladan no longer legitimately bore the title of king (since 703), still wished to append some royal title after the name of the individual for so long in charge of their city and chose this anomalous designation rather than that of king.⁸¹

⁶² *Ibid.*, v 8-9.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, iii 15-35.

⁶⁴ *Lie* 54:9.

⁶⁵ Smith, *Senn.* 30 (and parallels) speak of his palace there.

⁶⁶ *VAS* 1 37 v 10-11.

⁶⁸ Smith, *Senn.* 15.

⁷⁰ *VAS* 1 37 v 12-13.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, iii 24-35.

⁶⁹ *ABL* 527:14-19.

⁷¹ Smith, *Senn.* 15.

⁷² Langdon in Watelin, *Excavations at Kish*, III, 17-19 and Pl. XI.

⁷³ Smith, *Senn.* 21-25.

⁷⁵ Smith, *Senn.* 15.

⁷⁷ *VAS* 1 37 ii 8.

⁷⁴ *VAS* 1 37 ii 9.

⁷⁶ *TuM* 2-3 no. 8.

⁷⁸ r. 9'-10'.

⁷⁹ For Assyrian examples, see Wiseman, *Treaties* 11 and *passim*. Babylonian examples may be found in Wiseman, *Chronicles* 64:6, 66:1, etc.

⁸⁰ Merodach-Baladan had been an independent "king of the Sealand" (2R 67:26; D.T. 3:19) before coming to the Babylonian throne; cf. also Kinglist A iv 10: RN BAL Tam (abbreviation for Tam-tim). If he had been "crown prince" for twenty-two years before that, his active career would have extended from at least 751 to 700, which is highly unlikely. Furthermore, none of his six immediate predecessors on the Babylonian throne ruled long enough to have a crown prince for such an extended period of time.

⁸¹ For other roughly contemporary dating by years of local officials not kings at Ur, cf. *UET* 4 27 and 90.

Connected with this text is another, *UET* 4 8, a private contract recording the sale of a house, in which Merodach-Baladan was still given the title of king.⁸² The document comes from approximately the same time as *UET* 4 206, since not only are two of the major witnesses identical—certainly Nabû-rēša-iši, governor (*šākin tēmi*) of Ur in *UET* 4 206 r. 3' and *UET* 4 8:28⁸³ and possibly [Balāssu] the *sangu* of Ur in *UET* 4 206 r. [2'] and *UET* 4 8:29⁸⁴—but the scribe who wrote both documents is the same: Nabû-suma/zēra-iddina, *UET* 4 206 r. 8' and *UET* 4 8:37.⁸⁵ Thus Merodach-Baladan, the *mār rīdūtu*, must be connected with Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon.⁸⁶

Ur also supported him in his fight against Sennacherib in 703.⁸⁷

URUK. Extensive repairs on the Eanna complex, including the shrine to Ningišzida, were completed during his reign.⁸⁸ From his fourth year (718), long lists of foremen supervising crews working near Uruk on the canal named after the king⁸⁹ are also extant.⁹⁰

Considering the sparse information we have on most kings of Babylonia about this time, it looks as though Babylonia was in an approximately normal condition during Merodach-Baladan's term of office. The major cities seem to be under his control, and governors of five of them (Babylon, Borsippa, Cutha, Kish, and Ur) are functioning as provincial officials under his aegis. He had temples repaired in at least Kish and Uruk, and *BBS* no. 35 may record yet another temple as the beneficiary of royal endowments during his reign.⁹¹ Whatever Sargon's later propaganda stated, Merodach-Baladan did not neglect the cities of Babylonia, even though he

⁸² Line 1: [MU x]KAM m^dAMAR.UTU^l-DUMU.UŠ-S[UM.NA] Line 2: 'LUGAL' DIN.TIR.K[I].

⁸³ See also *UET* 4 169:1, a letter addressed to the same official. Ebeling (*Neubab. Briefe*, no. 305, n. to lines 1–4) remarks on the unusual character of the introduction of the letter, which is similar to that for MB letters. This should not be surprising, considering that it is one of the earliest strictly NB letters yet published.

⁸⁴ Though the title only is preserved in *UET* 4 206, this man occurs next to the *šākin tēmi* in both documents. The similarity of the governor and the scribe, however, are by themselves enough to establish the chronological continuity of the documents without the aid of this additional evidence.

⁸⁵ The names are obviously identical because of the patronymic involved: m^{se}ŠEŠ-TUG-ŠI (*UET* 4 206 r. 8'), [m^{se}ŠE]Š-TUG-ŠI' (*UET* 4 8:37). Unfortunately neither of the tablets could immediately be consulted in the Philadelphia or Baghdad museums to check which of the readings of the second element is correct. The signs MU and NUMUN can be easily confused in the script common to NB economic documents.

⁸⁶ A contrary opinion is expressed by San Nicolò in *Or* 19 219; but see his remarks in *BR* under no. 26.

⁸⁷ Smith, *Senn.* 10. Names of other southern cities such as Kullab and Eridu are also listed here. Cf. Lie 58:17.

⁸⁸ Gadd, *Iraq* 15 123–34; Lenzen, *Iraq* 19 146–50. There are also numerous bricks from the site which bear his name—from both his first and, apparently, his second reign (see sub 44.2.2 in the appended bibliography).

⁸⁹ In *harri ša Marduk-apla-iddina*. The same canal occurs in a letter dated over a century later (*YOS* 3 74:7–8), where a city near the locks of the canal is mentioned. *ABL* 747:8–9 and 942 r. 13 (and probably also *ABL* 1135:11–12) refer to the same waterway.

⁹⁰ *An. Or.* 9 no. 1; cf. *JCS* 1 352.

⁹¹ For the dating of this text, see M. J. Seux in *RA* 54 206–8.

may have taken the trouble to hold as hostages certain pro-Assyrian elements from the larger towns.⁹²

Probably neither Sargon's picture of Merodach-Baladan nor Merodach-Baladan's self-portrait is entirely correct. Merodach-Baladan was a Chaldean, but could hardly have been considered altogether a foreigner. There were undoubtedly disturbances from various tribes perpetrated in the north throughout his reign,⁹³ and the presence of prisoners from several northern cities in Dūr-Jakin in 709 indicates that not everyone was happy with his rule. He abandoned Babylon without a struggle in 710, and the leading men of the city invited Sargon to enter and, presumably, to take over the kingship. But he repaired temples in the major cities, claimed to have respected the rights of the people of Sippar, Nippur, and Babylon; and Babylonia made no spontaneous effort to revolt against him and later to a large extent even supported him against Sennacherib. There is without doubt truth on both sides of this picture—certain parties in northern Babylonia did not profit from his rule, but there can be little question of general disfavor throughout the north. Perhaps future uncovering of more detailed evidence will permit a finer revision of our present conclusions.

IV. MERODACH-BALADAN, MILITARY STRATEGIST⁹⁴

Between the battle of Dēr in 720 and Sargon's campaign in Babylonia in 710, we know very little of the foreign relations of Merodach-Baladan. The Babylonian Chronicle informs us of his conquest of a region of *Bit-[. . .]-ri* in 712, his tenth year, and of his despoiling of that area;⁹⁵ but we are still unable to restore the geographical name involved.⁹⁶

By the year 710, Sargon II felt in a sufficiently strong position as king of Assyria to test his prowess against Babylonia and Elam once more. Unfortunately, the campaigns of 710 and 709, in which Sargon finally succeeded in ousting Merodach-Baladan from the Babylonian throne, are known only from the Assyrian side. Both

⁹² Men of Assyrian extraction had infiltrated into high positions in Babylonia (at least in the ecclesiastical realm), as may be seen from the slightly earlier *VAS* 1 36 iii 6–19. This state of affairs will be discussed more fully in n. 103 below.

⁹³ Sargon had to remedy some internal lawlessness when he took over Babylonia (*Lie* 56:379–84, 64:10–11).

⁹⁴ This epithet may perhaps be justified by the consideration that Merodach-Baladan, even though seldom venturing an open battle, managed his tactic of strategic withdrawal so successfully that he hampered the advance of the powerful Assyrian military machine for many years. The charge of cowardice often laid at his door does not explain sufficiently his perduring negative attitude (and its concomitant actions) against Assyria any more than a similar label could amply describe perennial nomad raiding tactics.

⁹⁵ *Bab. Chron.* i 43–44, restored from 83-1-18,1338 (*CT* 34 44) ii 7'–8'. Another cryptic reference (badly broken) to an intervening year occurs in i 41–42 and in 83-1-18,1338 ii 3'–6'.

⁹⁶ *Bit-Dakūri* does come to mind, but there is hardly sufficient evidence to propose it seriously.

campaigns are described in detail in the Khorsabad edition of Sargon's annals, which undoubtedly underwent some retouching before being inscribed on the palace walls a few years later. This description is supplemented by various other inscriptions of Sargon, especially the detailed accounts of the events of 709 contained in the Display Inscription and in the Nimrud Prisms.⁹⁷

Sargon's account of these campaigns begins with the recounting of the past history of Merodach-Baladan and his offenses. Merodach-Baladan, king of Chaldea, lived on the shore of the Persian Gulf and trusted in his remote, swampy location to preserve him from the Assyrians. Consequently, on the death of Shalmaneser V, he withheld the *tāmartu* ("tribute") that he had paid since the time of Tiglath-Pileser III.⁹⁸ He formed an alliance with the Elamite king (Ḫ)umbanigaš and incited the Sutian nomads to hostilities against Assyria. With the support of Elam and various tribes of southern Babylonia, he managed to govern Sumer and Akkad for twelve years against the will of the gods.⁹⁹

But then, the account continues, at the command of the gods, Sargon assembled his troops and marched to southeastern Babylonia to attack the town of Dūr-Aṭhara, where Merodach-Baladan had assembled most of his forces and then flooded the surrounding terrain. Sargon conquered this city despite its watery defenses in a single day, renamed it Dūr-Nabû, and then proceeded to make a tour of the whole area, including Elam, defeating Arameans and other nomad tribes and driving the Elamite king, Šutruk-Nahḫunte, into hiding in the mountains.¹⁰⁰ Merodach-Baladan heard with dismay of Sargon's successes and decided to seek sanctuary in the Elamite province of Jadbûr. He sent rich presents¹⁰¹ to Šutruk-Nahḫunte to allow him this favor, but the Elamite forbade him to advance any further. Mero-

⁹⁷ For the complete bibliography of Sargon's inscriptions touching on the events of these two years, see Part VII, A, 44.2.20.

⁹⁸ We have no way of verifying this statement of Sargon, but cf. 2R 67:26-28 and D.T. 3:19.

⁹⁹ The summary of Merodach-Baladan's past history before 710 is contained in Lie 42:263-68, Winckler I 120:121-24, *Iraq* 16 Pl. XLVII vi 14-21. The short summaries in Winckler I 84:18, 150:46, and Lyon 14:31 likewise allege that Merodach-Baladan was ruling without the consent of the gods.

¹⁰⁰ Sargon was in possession of Nippur by Ulul of 710, as may be seen from the date of 2 NT 280: EN.LÍL.KI [IT]I KIN UD 29 KAM [MU SAG.N]AM.LUGAL ^mLUGAL-DU LUGAL KÁ.DIN[GIR.RA.KI]. That this document belongs to 710 rather than to 722 may be seen from the fact that Shalmaneser V did not die until Tebet of 722 and so Sargon's "accession year" then had no Ulul.

¹⁰¹ Merodach-Baladan seems to have been a rather wealthy chieftain. His extensive "tribute" to Tiglath-Pileser III in 729, the hereditary wealth of southern Babylonia as intimated in the descriptions of the "tribute" to Shalmaneser III in 850, the two instances of considerable sums paid to Elam in 710 and again in 703 for military assistance, the treasure taken from Merodach-Baladan's palace in Babylon by Sargon in 710 and by Sennacherib in 703, the extensive gold camp furniture captured at Dūr-Jakin in 709, the kudurru grant in 715 from crown lands near Babylon all point to a generous view of Merodach-Baladan's financial status. See also Leemans, *JEOL* 10 443.

dach-Baladan was then forced to relinquish his plan of staying in Jadbūr and retired to the town of Iqbi-Bēl on the Elamite-Babylonian frontier.¹⁰²

After Merodach-Baladan's flight from Babylon, the chief citizens and especially the temple administration of Babylon and Borsippa eagerly invited Sargon to enter the land.¹⁰³ Sargon accepted the invitation, "took the hand" of Bēl at the New Year Festival in 709,¹⁰⁴ thereby officially becoming sovereign of Babylonia and re-

¹⁰² The principal events of 710 are narrated in Lie 42:268-54:371. The flight to Iqbi-Bēl is told also in Winckler I 120:125-26. See also Bab. Chron. ii 1-5. Further possible sources, not directly affecting Merodach-Baladan, are mentioned by Tadmor in *JCS* 12 96.

A variant tradition that Sargon received (tribute) from Merodach-Baladan at the end of 710 may be recorded in Lie 58:13. Substantiation for a theory that Merodach-Baladan submitted and was allowed to remain as prince of Bit-Jakin could also be adduced from Nimrud Letter XXXIX 66-70 (Saggs, *Iraq* 20 183 f., 207 f.). The passage speaks of an Apla-iddina who is to be sent to Sargon along with citizens of the leading cities of Babylonia (Babylon, Borsippa, Kish, Nippur, Uruk, Dēr), who are described as his people (*nišēšu*). Saggs makes an excellent case on other grounds for dating the letter around 710 or 709 B.C., and the possibility that we are here dealing with a shortened form of the name of Merodach-Baladan (Saggs, *Iraq* 20 207 and n. 5) seems quite plausible.

At present, however, it seems preferable to think that Merodach-Baladan did not submit to Sargon at this time (late 710). First of all, there is as yet no clear statement that he ever served as a subordinate to either Sargon or Sennacherib. Secondly, the usually reliable Babylonian Chronicle (ii 3) states explicitly that he retreated before Sargon and fled into Elam (*Marduk-apla-iddina ina pāni[šu] ibbaki[lt] ana Elamti iḥliq*). The flight to Iqbi-Bēl on the Elamite border is quite well established from other sources as well (Lie 54:370-71; Winckler I 120:125-26). Furthermore, in the second month of 709, Sargon found that Merodach-Baladan had already fortified Dūr-Jakin against him (Lie 58:404-60:408), a surprising action coming so shortly after his supposed submission. Since the evidence for such a submission comes from a broken and not altogether clear section of the Annals and since the passage in Nimrud Letter XXXIX does not certainly refer to (Marduk)-apla-iddina (even the writing of the name, 'DUMU'.UŠ-[SUM] is not incontestable in *Iraq* 20, Pl. XXXVII, and the orthography of the last element of his RN as SUM alone would be unique), the weight of the evidence would seem to indicate that Merodach-Baladan retained full independence at this time.

¹⁰³ The pro-Assyrian character of the temple administration (especially the *ērib-bīti* class) in Babylon and Borsippa in the eighth century is well attested. As early as 753 (the document may be dated even slightly earlier), several of the high officials of Ezida in Borsippa were of Assyrian descent (*VAS* 1 36 iii 6 ff.). Another document from the same place and approximately the same time (*JRAS* 1892 350-68) depicts the active hostilities carried on against a governor of Borsippa (who happened to be of Assyrian descent and a temple official) during the reign of a Babylonian king from the Dakūri tribe. In 745, the officials of Esagila and Ezida welcomed Tiglath-Pileser during his campaign in Babylonia (Rost, *Tigl. III*, I 2:6-8). Then in 710, the *ērib-bīti* officials were conspicuously on hand to welcome Sargon to Babylon and Borsippa (Lie 54:371-56:374). On the other hand, the ecclesiastical lack of enthusiasm for Merodach-Baladan in Borsippa apparently did not prevent that city from fighting on his side in the campaign of 703 (Smith, *Senn.* 15).

On the Babylonian officials who came out to meet Sargon, see Sidney Smith's remarks in *BSOAS* 11 457-58. He classifies them as priests (*ērib-bīti*) and as civilian administrators (*ummānti mudē šipri ālikūt pāni mu'irrūt māti*).

¹⁰⁴ The New Year Festival in Babylon marked the beginning of the first official regnal year of Sargon (709). Once again, the Assyrian change of *limmu*'s, marking the start of their official year, did not take place until the following month; hence the Babylonian festival is still included in the account at the end of the *palū* of 710 in the Assyrian reckoning (Lie 56:384-58:15).

uniting Babylonia and Assyria under the person of one king for the first time since the death of Shalmaneser V, some twelve years before. He restored order in the land by dispatching soldiers to deal with bandits interfering with caravans in the neighborhood of Sippar.¹⁰⁵ He bestowed gifts on the local temples and then prepared for the campaign of 709, which he commenced in Ajjar.¹⁰⁶

Merodach-Baladan had in the meantime collected his forces in the south for a stand at his old tribal capital of Dūr-Jakin.¹⁰⁷ He had strengthened the walls of the city and had dug a sizeable moat in front of the defenses. But the Assyrians crossed the moat, besieged and captured the city. The city itself was destroyed by fire and the surrounding countryside devastated.¹⁰⁸ Merodach-Baladan himself appears to have suffered a slight wound in battle, but escaped—even though most of his royal camp furniture was captured.¹⁰⁹ The captives from the northern cities of Babylonia detained in Dūr-Jakin were released from prison and returned to their homes, where their sequestered lands were restored.¹¹⁰ Many other cities in the area were captured and leveled, including Iqbi-Bēl, Merodach-Baladan's place of refuge in the preceding year.¹¹¹ Sargon also "restored" the ancient privileges of such cities as Ur, Uruk, and Eridu.¹¹² He built fortresses on the Elamite border to prevent Merodach-Baladan from returning to the land unhindered.¹¹³ The captured Babylonian territory was then divided and placed under the administration of two Assyrian provincial governors (*šaknu*, sg.), one of Babylon and one of Gambulu.¹¹⁴ Many

¹⁰⁵ Lie 56:379–84.

¹⁰⁶ Sargon's activities in Babylon at the end of 710 and the beginning of 709 are treated in Lie 54:371–58:15.

¹⁰⁷ For a possible identification of this site, see Saggs, "A Cylinder from Tell al-Lahm," *Sumer* 13 190–95. Another town in Bit-Jakin, present day Abu Šalabiḥ, has also recently been identified by a short NB inscription, IM 62777 (Georges Roux, *Sumer* 16 27).

¹⁰⁸ The fortification and subsequent capture of Dūr-Jakin is treated in Lie 58:17–64:8, Winckler I 120:126–122:134, *Iraq* 16 Pls. XLVII f. vi 27–62. See also Lyon 14:32–33, Bab. Chron. ii 1'–2'. The eponym canon C^b4 r. 17–18 (*RLA* 2 434) indicates that the final destruction of Dūr-Jakin under Sargon did not take place until 707; cf. also the mention of Dūr-Jakin in what seems to be a tribute list from Nimrud dated in that same year: ND 2451:26 (*Iraq* 23 Pl. XIV). By 703, however, it was again a strong city (Smith, *Senn.* 48).

Two Harper letters may probably be assigned to around the time of Sargon's campaign to Dūr-Jakin: see *ABL* 865 r. 6–8; 131 r. 4–5. They contain no information on the battles. É. Dhorme (*RB* 31 [1922] 403–6; reprinted in *Recueil Édouard Dhorme* [Paris, 1951], pp. 301–4) would see in the oracle in Isaiah 21 an allusion to the defeat of the Sealand and Babylonia in 710–709.

¹⁰⁹ The wound (in his hand) is mentioned in Lie 60:411. The capture of the camp furnishings is told in Lie 60:413–14, Winckler I 122:131–32. He himself doubtless escaped (Lie 62:12–13), though some recensions of the campaign claim that he was captured: Winckler I 122:133–34, *Iraq* 16 Pl. XLVIII vi 45, Winckler I 84:18–19 and 150:48–49, Lyon 14:31–32.

¹¹⁰ Lie 64:8–11, Winckler I 122:134–124:136, *Iraq* 16 Pl. XLVIII vi 63–74.

¹¹¹ Lie 64:13–15, Winckler I 124:137–38, *Iraq* 16 Pl. XLVIII vi 50–52.

¹¹² Lie 64:11–13, Winckler I 124:136–37, *Iraq* 16 Pl. XLVIII vi 75–79.

¹¹³ Lie 64:16–17, Winckler I 124:139, ostensibly to keep out the Elamites.

¹¹⁴ Lie 66:1, Winckler I 124:140, 84:19, and 150:49–53; *Iraq* 16 Pl. XLVIII vi 83.

people of Bit-Jakin were subsequently deported to Commagene (Kummuh);¹¹⁵ and their lands were in turn settled by deportees from Commagene, which Sargon captured in the following year.¹¹⁶

After the conquest of Dūr-Jakin in 709, we hear no more of Merodach-Baladan until after Sennacherib's accession to the Assyrian throne. Sargon ruled Babylonia as its official king¹¹⁷ from 709 till his death in battle in Iran in 705.¹¹⁸ Sennacherib then succeeded to the dual monarchy, but not without opposition.

We shall have to preface our consideration of Sennacherib's campaigns against Merodach-Baladan with some remarks on the chronology of the period. The problems surrounding the date of Sennacherib's accession and the date of his first campaign are complex and cannot hope to be settled here with any degree of finality. But several observations may be made which will help to clarify the present situation.

As Julius Lewy has pointed out,¹¹⁹ there are three separate traditions about the date of Sennacherib's first official regnal year. Various documents point to 705, 704, and 703 as possible contenders for that distinction.¹²⁰ With the evidence available, Lewy rightly concluded that 704 is the most likely date. This is supported by Kinglist A and probably by the Babylonian Chronicle,¹²¹ the most reliable general chronological documents dealing with the period.

The date of Sennacherib's first campaign (primarily directed against Merodach-Baladan) is equally obscure. The documentary evidence may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Kinglist A iv 12–15—Sennacherib is assigned 704 and 703 as his official reign; then Marduk-zākir-šumi II and Merodach-Baladan II are given 1 month and 9

¹¹⁵ Lie 72:9–10, Winckler I 118:116.

¹¹⁶ Lie 64:15–16, Winckler I 124:138–39.

¹¹⁷ Kinglist A iv 11; but Sargon prefers to use the older title *šakkanakku* rather than “king” of Babylonia in his inscriptions.

¹¹⁸ Eponym canon C 6 r. 10 (*RLA* 2 435), discussed by Tadmor in *JCS* 12 97. See also the general comments of Lehmann-Haupt, “Zum Tode Sargons von Assyrien,” *Klio* 16 340–42.

¹¹⁹ “The Chronology of Sennacherib's Accession,” *An. Or.* 12 225–31.

¹²⁰ For 705: K. 2856 + K. 6406 (partly published in *AJSL* 35 136–37), Rm. 167 (= *ADD* 230), K. 2670 (= *3R* 2 no. XXII), 82-5-22, 34 (= *ADD* 447); for 704: three unpublished tablets cited in Smith, *The Assyrian Canon*, p. 88, K. 398 (Bezold, *Cat.*, I, 99), and K. 75 + K. 237 (Bezold, *Cat.*, I, 20–21); for 703: Walters Art Gallery, no. 41109 iv 126 (see Grayson, *AJO* 20 Taf. IV). These are all inscriptions dating from the reign of Sennacherib which bear double dating, i.e., both in terms of a named eponym year and a numbered regnal year.

¹²¹ The Kinglist A (iv 12) assigns the years 704–703 as official regnal years to Sennacherib, while the Ptolemaic Canon describes these same years as ἀβασίλευτα (sc. ἐτη)—presumably because Sennacherib did not undergo the formal installation ceremonies as king at the New Year and thus was not reckoned as monarch according to one school of thought. The Babylonian Chronicle (ii 12) preserves a cryptic reference to the second year of a king between Sargon II and Bēl-ibni, which can only be Sennacherib.

months respectively (no official regnal year for either);¹²² Bēl-ibni receives the next three official years, 702–700;

2. Babylonian Chronicle ii 12–23—the campaign is apparently ascribed to the second year of Sennacherib, since no horizontal line in the text divides the events described in lines 19–23 from the date in 12;

3. Eponym canon C^b6 r. 11–12 (*RLA* 2 435)—mentions [the capture of] the cities of Larak and Sarabanu¹²³ under the eponym of Nabû-dīnī-ēpuš (704);

4. Sennacherib in his various inscriptions recounting the first campaign alludes to it as taking place either *ina rēš šarrūtiya* (*ša ina kussi šarrūti rabiš ūšibuma*)¹²⁴ or *ina mahṛī girrija*,¹²⁵ these phrases, which may be translated as “at the beginning of my kingship”¹²⁶ and “in my first campaign,” have no absolute chronological significance.

Except for the evidence of the eponym canon C^b6, all the rest of these data may be fitted into the coherent schema shown at the top of page 24.

The only difficulty in this arrangement is that Sennacherib must have been able to complete his rout of Merodach-Baladan within about forty days. But even this is decidedly within the realm of possibility. The march down the Tigris from Assur to Cutha need have taken only a few days at the outside, towards the end of which Merodach-Baladan left Babylon and routed the advance guard of the army which

¹²² Hence they are omitted from the Ptolemaic Canon, which only recorded reigns of at least one official year.

¹²³ Cf. Bab. Chron. i 22.

¹²⁴ Smith, *Senn.* 5; *OIP* 2 56:5.

¹²⁵ *OIP* 2 24:20 and *passim*.

¹²⁶ *Rēš šarrūtiya* does not mean “accession year” in the context of Assyrian annals. The longer phrase *ina rēš šarrūtiya ša ina kussi šarrūti rabiš ūšibuma*, which occurs in Sennacherib, is a direct descendant of the older lapidary formula used in the annals of Shalmaneser III: *ina šurrāt šarrūtiya ša ina kussi šarrūti rabiš ūšibu* (3*R* 7 i 14–15)—the two phrases being too similar (save for the interchange of *rēš* and *šurrāt*) to admit of any other explanation. Almost identical phrases occur earlier in Ashurnasirpal II, Adad-nirari II, Aššur-dan II, and Aššur-bēl-kala (for references, see Tadmor, *JCS* 12 28 nn. 46–49 and *AKA* 269 i 44), where the older *šurrū* sometimes alternates with *šurrāt*. Here, as Tadmor has pointed out, *šurrū/āt šarrūtiya* may refer to an event in the accession year or the first year of the king. But once it is likewise used of an event in Shalmaneser III’s second official year: *ina šurrāt šarrūtiya ina limme šatti šumija* (3*R* 8 ii 66–67). *Rēš šarrūtiya* replaces *šurrū/āt šarrūtiya* in these phrases and without doubt takes on the same general chronological significance.

Why *rēš šarrūtiya* came to be substituted for *šurrū/āt šarrūtiya* in the eighth century is unknown, though it may simply have been a result of Babylonizing influences. The first occurrence of *rēš* in this usage in Assyria may be in line 10 of Sargon’s annals (as restored by Tadmor in *JCS* 12 34). Before this time, *rēš šarrūtiya* is as yet unattested in the phrase *ina rēš šarrūtiya* in Assyrian inscriptions, though the phrase *ultu rēš šarrūtiya* does occur as early as the time of Tiglath-Pileser I (*AKA* 83 vi 44). For other references of *ultu rēš šarrūtiya* with the meaning “from the beginning of my reign” in Assyria before Sennacherib, see Tadmor, *JCS* 12 27 n. 44. References to *rēš šarrūtiya* in Assyria after Sennacherib are listed in *JCS* 12 28 nn. 50–51.

Year ¹²⁷	Month	Day	
703	I		Sennacherib in possession of Babylon ¹²⁸
	I/II		accession of Marduk-zākir-šumi II ¹²⁹
	II/III		accession of Merodach-Baladan
	XI	20	Sennacherib leaves Assur to go to Babylon on his first campaign ¹³⁰
	XI/XII		Merodach-Baladan flees from Kish; Sennacherib wins battle there and proceeds to Babylon ¹³¹
702	I		Bēl-ibni installed as king in Babylon ¹³²

had been sent ahead to Kish.¹³³ Sennacherib made short work of resistance at Cutha;¹³⁴ and, by the time he reached Kish, Merodach-Baladan appears to have fled.¹³⁵ The whole campaign could certainly have occupied less than a month.¹³⁶

Several interesting facts emerge from a more detailed study of this first campaign. Despite the fact that Merodach-Baladan had been king for just a few months—immediately following the disappearance of the almost unknown Marduk-zākir-šumi II¹³⁷—he once again enjoyed a large following. Troops were gathered for him from

¹²⁷ As is the custom in most historical articles, the year 703/702 is called simply 703, even though events occurring from the end of the ninth month on in the Babylonian year might fall into the early months of what would be 702 according to our reckoning.

¹²⁸ Kinglist A iv 12 officially assigns him the regnal year 703 (as his second regnal year) so that he should have been in control of Babylon for the Near Year Festival of that year. Presumably he lost control there soon after.

¹²⁹ Since the year 703 was officially assigned to Sennacherib and the year 702 to Bēl-ibni, the ten-month period in which Marduk-zākir-šumi II and Merodach-Baladan controlled Babylon should fall between the Nisans of these two years. Thus Merodach-Baladan, at the latest, must have been expelled toward the close of Addar 703 and Marduk-zākir-šumi, at the earliest, should have come to the throne towards the end of Nisan 703, when the New Year Festival was over.

¹³⁰ Smith, *Senn.* 19.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 25–33.

¹³² Bab. Chron. ii 24 and Kinglist A iv 15 list the year 702 as the first official year of his reign.

¹³³ Smith, *Senn.* 20–22. For the Gate of Zababa, from which Merodach-Baladan left Babylon for Kish, see Unger, *Babylon*, pp. 74–75.

¹³⁴ Smith, *Senn.* 23–24.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 25–26.

¹³⁶ I.e., from the departure from Assur on XI-20 to the strategic withdrawal of Merodach-Baladan before an imminent battle at Kish. According to the Bab. Chron. ii 24–25, Sennacherib finished the rest of his first campaign (especially against Ḫirimma and Ḫararatum) in the early months of 702.

The eponym chronicle C³⁶ would seemingly try to present a picture of Sennacherib beginning his first campaign in late 704 (and then continuing for more than thirteen months into early 702?). This would be belied by the fact that Sennacherib was still officially king of Babylon at the beginning of 703 before being challenged for that position by the two native Babylonian rulers. It is definitely contradicted by the statement of the Babylonian Chronicle ii 12–23, as explained above on p. 23.

¹³⁷ He is attested in Kinglist A iv 13: ITI 1 ^{md}šū-za-kir-MU A ^{mr}IR. The only other probable contemporary reference to Marduk-zākir-šumi II known to me at present is contained in the kudurru of Merodach-Baladan's seventh year, where a ^{md}AMAR.UTU-za-kir-MU A ^{mr}IR-^dBAD LÚ EN.NAM

Ur, Eridu, Kullab, Bit-Jakin, Bit-Amukāni, Bit-Šaalli, Bit-Dakūri, Nippur, Borsippa, and Cutha, to mention the most important places.¹³⁸ Elamite troops, according to Sennacherib's account were also hired; and it was these who bore the brunt of the defeat after Merodach-Baladan's defection at Kish.¹³⁹ In this same battle, Merodach-Baladan's nephew was captured.¹⁴⁰ Sennacherib was then free to enter Babylon and to loot the palace that Merodach-Baladan had inhabited there.¹⁴¹ From here, Sennacherib dispatched a pursuit party to retrieve Merodach-Baladan from his refuge in the swamps, but it proved unsuccessful in its quest.¹⁴² An Assyrian army then proceeded to tour many of the villages and towns belonging to the larger tribes in southern Babylonia and to weed out the rebellious elements there; a similar process was also launched in Nippur, Sippar, Kish, and Hursagkalamma further north.¹⁴³ Apparently Merodach-Baladan had such widespread support

occurs as a witness among other high officers of the realm, just twelve years before this king ascended the throne (*VAS* 1 37 v 2-3). The probability of two men with the same name and such similar patronymics occurring in high official circles within these two ill-documented decades is minimal; so we may reasonably assume that king Marduk-zākir-šumi II was the son of this Arad-Enlil. Consequently, the tendency to translate the *amir* in Kinglist A as "son of a slave" (e.g., Meissner, *Könige Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 193; Luckenbill, *OIP* 2, p. 10; Moortgat in *Aegypten und Vorderasien im Altertum*, p. 416; Schmökel, *Geschichte des alten Vorderasien*, p. 272) should be allowed to die out.

A later and less clear allusion occurs in Berossus, who says that the predecessor of Merodach-Baladan ruled less than thirty days (rounded off to a month in Kinglist A) and was slain by Merodach-Baladan. The time intervals in this section of Berossus—6 months for Merodach-Baladan, 3 years for Bēl-ibni, 6 years for Aššur-nādin-šumi—are relatively reliable, but other factual information, e.g., that Merodach-Baladan was in turn slain by Bēl-ibni, is manifestly untrustworthy.

Although the seal with the short votive inscription bearing the name of Marduk-zākir-šumi (see *JCS* 16 96 sub 25.2.1) might strictly speaking be assigned to this king, the likelihood of such an assignation is small since Marduk-zākir-šumi I ruled ca. 25-35 years, as contrasted with the few weeks of Marduk-zākir-šumi II.

¹³⁸ Smith, *Senn.* 10-15.

¹³⁹ Smith, *Senn.* 7-9, 27. Cf. also *OIP* 2 56:5, 24:21, 66-67:4, 76:10, 85:7; *Sumer* 9 118:25. It would be more accurate to say that the services of the Elamite army and of various high Elamite officials were purchased rather than that mercenaries were hired.

¹⁴⁰ Smith, *Senn.* 28. Reading *DUMU NIN!* RN would seem to be preferable to reading the passage as *DUMU DAM* RN, as though Merodach-Baladan's wife had had children by a previous marriage. (Dr. Sollberger has kindly collated the line in question in the British Museum and remarks that while the sign as it stands is clearly *DAM*, it is not impossible that the *Winkelhaken* before the final upright is just accidental.) Other evidence of scribal confusion in signs may be seen in the text: *A* for *E* (line 17), *RU* for *TA* (line 23).

¹⁴¹ Smith, *Senn.* 30-33; *OIP* 2 56:8-10, 24:27-35, 67:5-6; *Sumer* 9 120:32-41.

¹⁴² Smith, *Senn.* 34; *OIP* 2 56:10. Guzummanu, Merodach-Baladan's place of refuge, is otherwise unknown.

¹⁴³ Smith, *Senn.* 36-52; *OIP* 2 56:11-57:12, 24:35-25:50, 67:6-7, 77:13, 85:7; *Sumer* 9 120:42-122:63. Possibly *ARU* 13 (= *ADD* 620 = *ABL* 1452) and *OIP* 2 157 no. XXX date from either this or the fourth campaign.

throughout Babylonia that Sennacherib felt that a thorough housecleaning was in order before he could reign peacefully.

Very little is known about Merodach-Baladan's brief, nine-month term as king of Babylonia. Any inscription connected with him that bears no specific date might conceivably be linked to this second period of rule.¹⁴⁴ But the only documents probably to be assigned here in preference to the first reign are those brick inscriptions from Uruk which bear the line *n a m . l u g a l . l a . t a m i n . k a m*, plausibly translated as "in his second kingship."¹⁴⁵

After his rout of Merodach-Baladan in 703, Sennacherib did not attempt to ascend the Babylonian throne at that time.¹⁴⁶ Instead he installed Bēl-ibni, a man of Babylonian descent who had been educated at the Assyrian court.¹⁴⁷ Bēl-ibni, a member of the *rab-bāni* class in Babylonia,¹⁴⁸ apparently remained loyal to the Assyrians for at least the beginning of his reign. But, in 700, when Sennacherib once again undertook a campaign against Babylonia, either his abilities or his sympathies were in question; for he was removed as king and deported to Assyria.¹⁴⁹ In his stead Sennacherib then installed his own crown prince, Aššur-nādin-šumi, on the Babylonian throne.¹⁵⁰

The campaign of 700 was directed primarily against Bīt-Jakin, the homeland of Merodach-Baladan. On his way to the extreme south of Babylonia, Sennacherib

¹⁴⁴ E.g., *UET* 4 8, *BBSI* no. 35, etc.

¹⁴⁵ The translation of this line of late Sumerian is open to question: see A. Schott in *UVB* 1 55. It should be noted that in these later brick inscriptions Merodach-Baladan no longer feels it necessary to allude to his Eriba-Marduk pedigree.

¹⁴⁶ A recently excavated economic text from Nippur is dated "the ninth day of Nisan, year 3 of Sennacherib, king of Assyria" (2 NT 285). This tablet is probably to be assigned to the year 686 (Sennacherib's second official reign as king of Babylonia, according to Kinglist A iv 19) since another economic text dated from the same city in Addar 703 (2 NT 284; 13-XII, accession year of Bēl-ibni) shows clearly that Bēl-ibni was already reckoned as king there at the end of what was originally Sennacherib's second regnal year.

¹⁴⁷ Smith, *Senn.* 54; cf. *OIP* 2 57: 13. Bēl-ibni is graphically described as *piri' Bābili* (ŠU.AN.NA. KI) *ša kīma mīrāni šaḥri qirib ekalliḡa irbā*: "a scion of Babylon who had grown up like a young puppy in my palace."

¹⁴⁸ The exact function of the class is uncertain. In slightly later texts, the word seems to be *rabbānu*—cf. the writing *LÚ GAL-ba-a-a-ni-e* (*BRM* 1 73:36).

¹⁴⁹ Bab. Chron. ii 26–28; Berossus in *FGH* III C/1 p. 386: 12–13. Olmstead's claim that Bēl-ibni was living in Assyria as late as 682 (*AJSL* 38 78; *History of Assyria*, p. 290) is based on the fact that a Bēl-ibni (no patronymic given) occurs as a witness in *ADD* 222 and possibly *ADD* 101. This and a similar assertion that Bēl-ibni witnessed a document in Kalḡu in 707 B.C. (*ADD* 292; *AJSL* 38 76) are hardly well grounded. Bēl-ibni was a relatively common name (Tallqvist, *APN*, pp. 57–58), and there is no indication whatsoever that the Bēl-ibni('s) in *ADD* and the sometime Babylonian monarch are to be identified.

¹⁵⁰ Bab. Chron. ii 30–31.

stopped off at Bittūtu to subdue one of the rising local chieftains, Šūzubu, who some seven years later reappeared on the scene as king of Babylonia under his full name of Mušēzib-Marduk.¹⁵¹ After the defeat of Šūzubu, Sennacherib headed directly for the territory of Merodach-Baladan. The Chaldean prince once more fled in the wake of the Assyrian army to the city of Nagīte, which the official Assyrian versions of the campaign usually describe as being on an island (*ša qabal tāmtim*) but, as one inscription indicates, was probably swampy land in the region of Elam reached by crossing the Persian Gulf.¹⁵²

This is the last that we hear of Merodach-Baladan. He had fled to Elam with his national gods and the bones of his ancestors¹⁵³ sometime in the year 700, abandoning even members of his family, if Sennacherib can be believed.¹⁵⁴ Before the next campaign of Sennacherib against the refugees of Bit-Jakin in Elam, which took place in 694, Merodach-Baladan had apparently died,¹⁵⁵ since he is not mentioned in the account of that campaign. His son, Nabū-šuma-iškun, subsequently replaced him as the leading man of the Jakin tribe.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵¹ *OIP* 2 34:52–57, 71:33–34; *Sumer* 9 142:14–18. Since Šūzubu is also used as a hypocoristic for Nergal-ušēzib (e.g., *OIP* 2 38:46), we must distinguish carefully between Šūzubu the Chaldean (LÚ *Kal-dū-A.A.*, *OIP* 2 34:53, 41:17, 43:54, etc.) and Šūzubu the Babylonian (DUMU *KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI*, *OIP* 2 38:47). The former was Mušēzib-Marduk, king of Babylonia from 692 to 689; the latter was Nergal-ušēzib, king in 693. Olmstead (*History of Assyria*, pp. 289–90; *AJSL* 38 77) wrongly identifies the Šūzubu defeated by Sennacherib in 700 as Nergal-ušēzib, and Sidney Smith in *CAH* 3 65 calls him “Marduk-ushezib.” Both should be corrected to Mušēzib-Marduk.

¹⁵² *OIP* 2 35:59–65, 71:34–35, 77:25–78:27, 85:7–10; *Sumer* 9 142:25–34; cf. *OIP* 2 87:27, 89:4–6. The true location of the city is indicated by *OIP* 2 85:10 *ana URU Na-gi-ti ša ebertān īd Marrat* (i.e., on the other side of the Persian Gulf); cf. *OIP* 2 78:30. The prism inscription published by Heidel spells the GN: *KUR Na-gi-a-te*; the other versions all prefix the determinative *URU* rather than *KUR* and spell the name variously as *Na-gi-te*, *Na-gi-i-ti*, *Na-gi-ti*, *Na-gi-a-ti*. The modifier *raqqi*, as pointed out by Ungnad in *ZA* 38 197, should not be read as part of the GN, as was done in some instances by Luckenbill.

¹⁵³ Merodach-Baladan's removal of the bones of his ancestors from their graves (*OIP* 2 85:8–9) and his transporting them to Nagīte is a significant instance of respect for the remains of the ancestral dead in Mesopotamia—here even at the cost of leaving some of the living representatives of the royal family behind. This attitude becomes more intelligible when we remember that the burial places of earlier monarchs who came from the tribal regions in southern Babylonia were faithfully recorded in the so-called Dynastic Chronicle (King, *Chronicles*, 2 52 ff. r. ii 4–11) and that Aššur-etel-ilāni respected the local custom by graciously permitting a safe burial to Šamaš-ibni in his southern homeland of Bit-Dakūri (*YOS* 1 43). That the bones of the dead were not always similarly respected is shown by the vaunted actions of Ashurbanipal (Streck, *Asb.* 38 iv 83 ff., 126 vi 88 ff.).

¹⁵⁴ *OIP* 2 35:63–66, 71:36, 85:7–10.

¹⁵⁵ The only reference to that event is the laconic *īmid šadāšu* of *OIP* 2 86:11.

¹⁵⁶ He is mentioned by Sennacherib in *OIP* 2 46:17, 82:37, 89:50, 92:16, *Afo* 20 94:102, and probably in *OIP* 2 43:46. Other descendants of Merodach-Baladan who continued the family tradition of Assyrian harassment are treated below in Part V, Section A.

V. PARALIPOMENA

A. THE FAMILY OF MERODACH-BALADAN

The family of Merodach-Baladan has been reconstructed by both Streck¹⁵⁷ and Leemans,¹⁵⁸ and we do little more than to review their conclusions here. From "Jakin" in the time of Shalmaneser III (850 B.C.) down to the death of Nabû-bêl-šumâte in the time of Ashurbanipal (ca. 640 B.C.), we can identify seven separate generations of the royal family of the Sealand. Our information about them may be summed up in the following genealogical table:

(a) "Jakin"	850	king of the Sealand
[(b) Marduk-zêra-uballiṣ	n.d.	possibly father of Marduk-šākin-šumi] ¹⁵⁹
(c) Marduk-šākin-šumi	n.d.	father of Erība-Marduk ¹⁶⁰
(d) Erība-Marduk	761	king of Babylonia; his reign ended in this year at the latest; ancestor of Merodach-Baladan (probably grandfather)
(e) Merodach-Baladan	729	king of the Sealand
	721-710, 703	king of Babylonia
	715	full-grown son acts as witness to kudurru
	700	last recorded fight against the Assyrians
(f) sons of Merodach-Baladan		
1 Iqīša-Marduk	715	witness to kudurru ¹⁶¹
2 Nabû-šuma-iškun	691	captured after battle of Halulê during Sennacherib's eighth campaign ^{161a}
3 Nabû-zêr-kitti-lišir	680	governor (<i>šaknu</i>) of the Sealand; took advantage of revolt in Assyria to attack Ningal-iddina, the loyal governor of Ur; subsequently murdered in Elam ¹⁶²
4 Na'id-Marduk	680	brother of Nabû-zêr-kitti-lišir; ¹⁶³ after death of his brother, he flees from Elam to Assyria, where he is received with favor and placed in charge of the Sealand for the Assyrians ¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁷ Streck, *Asb.*, p. CDLXXI (for descendants of Merodach-Baladan).

¹⁵⁸ *JEOL* 10 443.

¹⁵⁹ See *JCS* 16 98 sub 28-32 (b). The reading of the last element of the PN is uncertain, but Dr. Sollberger has kindly collated the seal for me and reports that a queried *vin*(?) is preferable to a queried *mu*(?).

¹⁶⁰ New Babylonian Chronicle, r. 8.

¹⁶¹ *VAS* 1 37 iv 57.

^{161a} See Part VII, A, 44.3.1 for references.

¹⁶² See Part VII, A, 44.3.2, Bab. Chron. iii 39-42. Cf. *ABL* 589:3, r. 3; 965 r. 27 ff.; 1248:4 ff.; and possibly 1107:2.

¹⁶³ He is not called "son of Merodach-Baladan" in any published inscription.

¹⁶⁴ Borger, *Esarh.* 47:58-63; also *ibid.*, 47:35-38, 48: K. 8542:7 ff., 111:Fr. C:8. Cf. *ABL* 223 r. 5; 576:15; 839:15; 1114:13 ff.; 1131; and possibly 971:2 and 958:3, r. 17 f. For a suggested reading of *BHT* 12:2, see Borger, *Esarh.*, p. 121.

5 Nabû-ušallim ¹⁶⁵	n.d.	little known, save as father of Aplāju; there was some talk of his succeeding Na'id-Marduk as ruler of the Sealand; ¹⁶⁶ he is supposed to have fled the country in the time of Sennacherib ¹⁶⁷
(g) grandsons of Merodach-Baladan		
1 Aplāju ¹⁶⁸	ca. 653	approximate date of his execution in Assyria after extradition from Elam ¹⁶⁹
2 Nabû-bēl-šumāte	652	recruited by Šamaš-šum-ukin to assist in the latter's rebellion
	650	dispossessed of his territory in the Sealand by the second month of this year ¹⁷⁰
	ca. 640	dies in Elam after eluding Assyrian attempts at extradition for about a decade ¹⁷¹

After Nabû-bēl-šumāte, trace is lost of the royal family, though Olmstead was of the opinion that the dynasty of Nabopolassar was directly descended from the stock of Merodach-Baladan.¹⁷² Unfortunately, there is no proof as yet for this assertion.

We do not know, however, whether the generations enumerated above were in every instance consecutive. Places where uncertainty arises are between "Jakin" (a) and Marduk-šākin-šumi (c) and between Eriba-Marduk (d) and Merodach-Baladan (e). In the first case, we do not know: (1) whether Marduk-zēra-uballit [(b)] was really the name of the grandfather of Eriba-Marduk;¹⁷³ nor (2) how many generations must be interposed between "Jakin" and Marduk-šākin-šumi. No decisive evidence can be brought to bear on either question, though the greater probability lies with the identity of the two Marduk-šākin-šumi's and with only one generation intervening between "Jakin" and Marduk-šākin-šumi.¹⁷⁴ In the second case, as we

¹⁶⁵ Last element of PN also written *sa-lim* (Streck, *Asb.* 126 vi 61).

¹⁶⁶ *ABL* 1114. Cf. *ABL* 576:12, 1011 r. 4, and possibly 258:2, 336:4 ff.

¹⁶⁷ Streck, *Asb.* 126 vi 62-63.

¹⁶⁸ The possibility of this reading was already recognized by Streck (*Asb.* 124 y, etc.), but his alternate of *Šumāja* has generally been preferred (e.g., Leemans, *JEOL* 10 443). But the writing of the name clearly makes *Aplāju* the more likely reading: ^mDUMU.UŠ-a-a (Streck, *Asb.* 124 ff. vi 61, 65, 82; 420:Sm. 1350, r. 4), ^mDUMU.UŠ-ja (126 vi 65 [var.]; 332: K. 2764 r. 21), ^mA-a-a (322: K. 2637:10).

¹⁶⁹ Streck, *Asb.* 124 vi 61-126 vi 83, etc.

¹⁷⁰ *ABL* 289, which notes this fact, is dated 5-II-650 B.C.

¹⁷¹ For references, see Part VII, A, 44.3.3 (b). A full list of passages referring to both Aplāju and Nabû-bēl-šumāte may be found in the indices of the third volume of Streck, *Asb.*

¹⁷² E.g., *History of Assyria*, pp. 633-34.

¹⁷³ This depends on whether the Marduk-šākin-šumi of the seal (BM 129532) is identical with the Marduk-šākin-šumi who was Eriba-Marduk's father.

¹⁷⁴ The Marduk-šākin-šumi of the seal seems to have been an important person of the Jakin tribe (cf. the depiction on the seal itself: "a royal or princely personage with a long curved staff

have seen above,¹⁷⁶ Eriša-Marduk was probably grandfather to Merodach-Baladan, though the possibility of his being father cannot be excluded altogether.

With these considerations in mind, then, the most likely scheme of generations would be:

1	a
2	[b]
3	c
4	d
5	[unknown]
6	e
7	f
8	g

Less likely, but possible schemes would be:

1	a	a	a
2	[unknown]	[b]	[unknown]
3	[b]	c	[b]
4	c	d	c
5	d	e	d
6	[unknown]	f	e
7	e	g	f
8	f		g
9	g		

Unfortunately, the family of Merodach-Baladan is known chiefly from Assyrian sources, where they are naturally depicted as trouble-makers who disrupt the peace in southern Babylonia. Despite instances of "tribute" paid by "Jakīn" and by Merodach-Baladan in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III and Tiglath-Pileser III respectively, we meet the members of the Jakīn tribe almost exclusively in a context of hostility against Assyria. From the time of Merodach-Baladan on, the fate of the royal family of Jakīn is closely linked with that of the royal house of Elam. Merodach-Baladan supports his claim to the Babylonian throne with Elamite troops in 720 and in 703 and retreats rapidly when he is denied Elamite asylum in 710; his final stand after 700 is in Elam. Nabû-šuma-iškun is captured when fighting with the Elamites against Sennacherib in 691. Nabû-zēr-kitti-līšir flees to Elam after his revolt against Esarhaddon and meets his death there through Elamite treachery. Only when Elam thus appears disloyal, does Nabû-Marduk present a rare instance

in his hand," Carnegie, *Catalogue*, II, 82), and Eriša-Marduk's father undoubtedly belonged to the same tribe and should have been a prominent member. . . . Considering the average throne tenure for three generations to be approximately 80 years (see Rowton, *CAH* 1 [rev. ed.], chap. vi, 37), the generations here described as [b], c, d would have occupied the throne ca. 840-ca. 760, still allowing for "Jakīn" to rule for some years after 850.

¹⁷⁶ See nn. 15 and 18 above.

of a member of the Jakin tribe working peacefully for Assyria.¹⁷⁶ When King Teumman of Elam falls prey to Ashurbanipal, Aplāju, a grandson of Merodach-Baladan, is forced to share the same fate. And, lastly, after Nabû-bêl-šumâte has evaded extradition from Elam for so long, he too is forced to commit suicide¹⁷⁷ when King Ummanaldaš is about to betray him. Ironically enough, Elam as a royal power did not long survive the death of Nabû-bêl-šumâte.

In keeping with the nomad tradition, the Jakin tribe, despite its supposed wealth, never did much of its own fighting. Though Merodach-Baladan, Nabû-zêr-kitti-lišir, and Nabû-bêl-šumâte successfully organized resistance in southern Babylonia against Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal, their chief tactic in the advance of an Assyrian army was flight to Elam. Their policy, in general, worked well; and it was only later in the seventh century when Elam itself turned treacherous that Nabû-zêr-kitti-lišir and Nabû-bêl-šumâte met their downfall.

B. MERODACH-BALADAN'S EMBASSY TO HEZEKIAH

We will consider here four ancient sources (all in the Hebrew tradition) which touch on Merodach-Baladan's embassy to Hezekiah: (1) 2 Kings 20:12–21, (2) Isaiah 39:1–8, (3) 2 Chronicles 32:31, (4) Josephus, *The Antiquities of the Jews*, X, ii, 2.

According to the first two of these passages, which are almost verbally identical in the Massoretic text,¹⁷⁸ Merodach-Baladan¹⁷⁹ sent letters and gifts to Hezekiah to congratulate him on recovering from a near-fatal illness. Hezekiah was pleased with the embassy and showed the Babylonians the treasures of his house and kingdom. After the departure of the ambassadors, the prophet Isaiah voiced strong disapproval of Hezekiah's action and predicted that the treasures of the palace would one day be carried away to Babylon and that the king's descendants would serve as eunuchs in the Babylonian palace. The scene ended with Hezekiah accepting the

¹⁷⁶ Another rare instance must be inferred from the conduct of Nabû-zêr-kitti-lišir, who was probably serving as governor of the Sealand under Assyria since it is explicitly stated in Borger, *Esarh.* 46:40–42 that he had violated his previous oaths of fealty.

¹⁷⁷ He had a servant run him through with a dagger.

¹⁷⁸ The LXX versions of 2 Kings 20 and Isaiah are not nearly so verbally identical, but the variations are of little historical significance. Thus in LXX Kings, Merodach-Baladan sends *biblia kai manaa* to Hezekiah, while in LXX Isaiah it is *epistolas kai presbeis kai dōra*. It is probable that the divergences in the LXX are simply due to different translators, since most of the variations are synonyms. It is hardly necessary to postulate that the MT later brought two divergent Hebrew texts into line.

¹⁷⁹ The names given to Merodach-Baladan vary somewhat between the texts. 2 Kings 20:12 has *B^rōdak-Bal^adān ben-Bal^adān* (MT), *Marōdachbaladan huios Baladan* (LXX). Isaiah 39:1 has *M^rōdak-Bal^adān ben-Bal^adān* (MT), *Marōdach huios tou Laadan* (LXX). Josephus has *Balada*. The initial *bêth* in the MT text of 2 Kings is to be explained on the basis of the similarity of the two letters in pre-Christian Hebrew epigraphy rather than by a phonological hypothesis. (See the table of Hebrew scripts by Frank Moore Cross, Jr., in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, ed. G. Ernest Wright [Garden City, 1961], p. 137.)

decree of the Lord as good, content that at least his own reign would remain undisturbed.

The passage in 2 Chronicles is considerably abbreviated and does not mention Merodach-Baladan by name. "However, in the case of the ambassadors of the princes of Babylon who were sent to inquire about what was being done in the land, God forsook him [Hezekiah] in order to test him, that He might find out all that was in his heart." The context of this passage, following shortly after Sennacherib's campaign to Judea and Hezekiah's dangerous illness,¹⁸⁰ parallels the order of the narratives in 2 Kings and Isaiah; so there can be no question but that the same embassy is meant. But differences in the tradition in Chronicles can be noted: ambassadors (*m'lišê*) are sent rather than letters and gifts (*s'pārîm ûminhâ*); these are dispatched by princes of Babylon (*sarê bābel*) rather than by the king of Babylon (*melek bābel*); the embassy was sent to investigate what was being done in the land rather than on the occasion of Hezekiah's recovery from grave illness. Likewise, the divine purpose in permitting the event is noted in Chronicles rather than the divine condemnation *post factum*.

The account of Josephus differs again. Although the ambassadors bearing gifts (*presbeis dōra komizontas*) are sent to make Hezekiah an ally and friend (*summachon t[e] . . . kai philon*), they are shown through the palace treasures. Hezekiah gives them presents to take back to the Babylonian king. Isaiah comes to Hezekiah afterwards and utters the same gloomy prophecy as in the 2 Kings-Isaiah tradition. The ending is slightly altered, as Hezekiah prays that there may be peace in his time (rather than taking for granted that the disaster will not occur until after his reign).

Turning now to an attempted historical reconstruction of the events, we may ask first: when is the Babylonian mission to Hezekiah to be dated? Although the narrative order in the 2 Kings-Isaiah tradition is not strictly chronological,¹⁸¹ most modern commentators treat 2 Kings 20 and Isaiah 38-39 as a chronological unit and say that both the illness of Hezekiah and the subsequent sending of the mission are to be dated around fifteen years before Hezekiah's death.¹⁸² Hence, since the work of Thiele,¹⁸³ which placed the end of Hezekiah's reign about 687, it has been customary to date the embassy to shortly before the campaign of Sennacherib in Judea,

¹⁸⁰ The parallel order of the texts is as follows:

	2 Kings	Isaiah	2 Chronicles
Sennacherib's campaign	18:1-19:37	36:1-37:38	32:1-23
Hezekiah's illness	20:1-11	38:1-9	32:24
Merodach-Baladan's embassy . .	20:12-21	39:1-8	32:31

¹⁸¹ E.g., Hezekiah's illness and Isaiah's promise of delivery from the Assyrian king follow the account of the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib.

¹⁸² Because of the fifteen years of additional life promised to Hezekiah in his illness: 2 Kings 20:6, Isaiah 38:5.

¹⁸³ *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (1951), supplemented by several articles since in VT 4 185-95, BASOR 143 22-27, W. Irwin Anniversary Volume 39-52.

i.e., to sometime between 704 and 702.¹⁸⁴ This fits in well with the theory that the outbreak of troubles in Babylonia in 703 and similar events in Palestine shortly thereafter were part of a concerted effort to throw off the yoke of Assyria in western Asia.

Granted the probability of the chronological part of this hypothesis, the rest of the details may be filled in with some degree of plausibility. First of all, did the king or did princes of Babylonia send the embassy? If Merodach-Baladan was not actually king of Babylonia when the embassy was dispatched, the 2 Chronicles statement might mean that more than one ruler in the east was interested in securing Palestinian support.¹⁸⁵ As Sidney Smith thought,¹⁸⁶ the revolts in Babylonia and in Palestine might have been planned before Merodach-Baladan's coup of 703; in this case, the embassy might have been sent in the name of several lesser officials. The point is not crucial at any rate.

Why the embassy? The 2 Kings-Isaiah tradition links the embassy with the sickness of Hezekiah narrated in the immediately preceding section: and that might have formed the pretext for the mission. But the Chronicles tradition, which states that the ambassadors came to see what was being done in the land, probably comes closer to the truth. Merodach-Baladan naturally would have wished to find out how much support could be relied on from Hezekiah. Josephus confirms our suspicions, for in his account the ambassadors are sent to cement an alliance with Hezekiah—which would be much closer to the exigencies of our chronological reconstruction. The bestowal of gifts by Merodach-Baladan fits in well with his known monetary benefactions to Elam to insure support. And, on the other side, Hezekiah's display of the treasures of his house and kingdom substantiates the theory that the ambassadors came to assess his strength.

The alliance, of course, did not prove of lasting advantage to either party. Sennacherib crushed their revolts separately and remained master of the situation in both lands. Later tradition in Israel preserved the story primarily as an illustration of Isaiah's denunciation of foreign entanglements, in keeping with the isolationist policy necessary to guard the purity of the divine cult.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴ Thus Bright (*A History of Israel* [1959], p. 267), Noth (*The History of Israel* [rev. trans., 1960], p. 267), Schmökel (*Geschichte des alten Vorderasien* [1957], pp. 271–72), and Leemans (*JEOL* 10 452–53). When the end of Hezekiah's reign was commonly reputed to be about 698 or 697, the common tendency was to date the embassy around 714 or 713, e.g., Weissbach (*RLA* 1 378), Dhorme (*RB* 31 [1922] 405). One scholar who long ago recognized the connection between the embassy and the Palestinian revolt around 702 was Sidney Smith (e.g., Smith, *Senn.*, p. 11; *CAH* 3 63).

¹⁸⁵ Elam was likewise interested in the Babylonian cause, as we know from the military aid lent to Merodach-Baladan in 703.

¹⁸⁶ See references in n. 184 above.

¹⁸⁷ The result of a foreign alliance with Assyria is seen in the case of Hezekiah's father, Ahaz, who was forced to alter existing customs in the temple "on account of the king of Assyria" (2 Kings 16:17–18).

C. THE SARGONID LETTERS

One of the most difficult source types to utilize in writing Mesopotamian history is the letter. Written almost always without date and for a particular context to which the modern reader seldom has a clue, letters from this period present information and insights that are valuable, but cannot be fitted into a tight chronological scheme. For this reason, we present most letters dealing with Merodach-Baladan here as a separate section.¹⁸⁸

The situation is further complicated by the fact that there are at least two different individuals in the Harper Letter corpus who bear the name Marduk-apla-iddina. The first is the king, the second an official working for the Assyrians in the neighborhood of Uruk during the reign of Ashurbanipal. Unless the context of an individual letter makes it clear which Marduk-apla-iddina is meant, such texts can hardly be employed for historical purposes.

The letter K. 4740¹⁸⁹ apparently mentions [Tiglath]-Pileser III,¹⁹⁰ but the reference might be to a past event rather than strictly contemporary. Another name, qualified by the epithet "king," occurs in line 24, but only the end is legible [DN-*x-id*]dina. Two kings could qualify for this honor: either Esarhaddon or Merodach-Baladan; but neither of them seem to have had a son named Zākīru, which would be called for by the text.¹⁹¹ The subject of *kidinnūtu*, brought up in line 19, favors Merodach-Baladan, since he and Sargon are often associated with this word in the historical context in Babylonia.¹⁹²

Three letters mention both Sargon and Merodach-Baladan. Two of these are badly broken, and only enough survives to enable us to read the royal names with certainty and to assign the letters to this time.¹⁹³ The third letter is addressed to Sargon by name and mentions the activities of Bit-Jakin, Bit-Dakūri, and the Arameans.¹⁹⁴ Merodach-Baladan is reported to be in the process of repairing fortifications at Larak,¹⁹⁵ probably in anticipation of some trouble from Assyria. Sar-

¹⁸⁸ Some letters concerning Merodach-Baladan are treated elsewhere: e.g., the Nimrud Letters chiefly under the events of 729, letters mentioning him as an ancestor in the section on his family, letters speaking of his reign or of the canal named after him in the section dealing with his kingship over Babylonia, etc. For a complete list of all letters touching on Merodach-Baladan, see Part VII, A, under 44.2.22, 44.2.23, 44.3.4.

¹⁸⁹ Published by Winckler in *AOF* 2 24–25 (*Nachträge*, p. 578).

¹⁹⁰ Line 13.

¹⁹¹ Line 24: [x-x-s]UM.NA LUGAL u *Za-ki-ru* DUMU-šu. On explaining this line later, Winckler (*AOF* 2 578) thinks that Merodach-Baladan is a likely candidate and that Zākīru would then refer to the prince of the Šaʿalli tribe of that name under Tiglath-Pileser III.

¹⁹² See the studies cited of Leemans and Böhl in nn. 47–48 above.

¹⁹³ *ABL* 30:2 (Sargon), r. 5 (Merodach-Baladan); *ABL* 1029:6 (Sargon), 13 (Merodach-Baladan).

¹⁹⁴ *ABL* 542:8–20. These people are no longer siding with the Assyrians.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, r. 5–6.

gon's correspondent does not think that Assyria's hold over Babylonia is any longer very strong.¹⁹⁶ The date of the letter is unknown.¹⁹⁷

In other letters mentioning Merodach-Baladan, we cannot identify the Assyrian king involved, though it would presumably be either Sargon or Sennacherib. One is from Ištar-dūri, an official working in the region between Arrapha and the Diyala,¹⁹⁸ and presages a forthcoming defeat of Merodach-Baladan.¹⁹⁹ Ilu-iada³ also writes from the same region²⁰⁰ and sends news of the movements of Merodach-Baladan²⁰¹ and of another Babylonian nobleman and his army near Kish and Babylon.²⁰² He also mentions a water shortage in the area,²⁰³ a situation echoed in a reported statement of one Marduk-šarrāni to Merodach-Baladan.²⁰⁴ It seems as though Merodach-Baladan was looked upon as the one to remedy the difficulties.²⁰⁵

The second and later Merodach-Baladan is apparently a native Babylonian acting as an Assyrian agent around Uruk in the time of Ashurbanipal. He addresses ABL 1339 to that king and occurs in at least three other letters written at the time.²⁰⁶

Finally there is a large group of doubtful references in letters where there is insufficient information to determine which Merodach-Baladan is meant. A list of these letters (often fragmentary) is given below in Part VII, A, 44.2.23 j-p.

D. SUNDRY DOCUMENTS

1. *Kinglist A*.—Merodach-Baladan's name occurs twice in Kinglist A. The first time (iv 10) he is assigned a reign of twelve years and designated as belonging to

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, r. 23–24, cf. obv. 19–20. Merodach-Baladan is definitely in the ascendancy.

¹⁹⁷ The letter might be dated just after Sargon's accession to the throne or, more likely, sometime early in the last decade of the eighth century.

¹⁹⁸ He mentions Dēr (ABL 157:18), Mēturna (ABL 158 r. 16), and Arrapha (ABL 159:5) in his letters. He is almost certainly to be identified with the Ištar-dūri who was governor of Arrapha and held the eponym office in 714 B.C.

¹⁹⁹ ABL 158:22.

²⁰⁰ He mentions Dūr-Šarrukīn (ABL 503 r. 17; 505 r. 8), Kish (ABL 502 r. 12), Babylon (ABL 502 r. 13; 506 r. 9), the Diyala (ABL 503 r. 16), and Arrapha (ABL 505 r. 9). This Ilu-iada³ is presumably to be identified with the man of the same name who was governor of Dēr in 724 B.C. (VAS 1 70 i 2).

For Dūr-Šarrukīn in northern Babylonia, see RLA 2 249; to the references there might be added the gentilic PN form in the Caillou Michaux (1R 70) i 14: *URU-BAD-LUGAL-GI.NA-a-a-i-ti*, who was a daughter of a member of the Ḫabban tribe in northern Babylonia in the early eleventh century.

²⁰¹ ABL 503 r. 21 f. and probably 504:7–9.

²⁰² ABL 502 r. 11–13.

²⁰³ Probably behind the remarks in ABL 503 r. 11–18.

²⁰⁴ ABL 1024. He asks Merodach-Baladan to assume control of the water supply in the area.

²⁰⁵ Cf. Merodach-Baladan's similar work on the water supply at Uruk, where a canal was named after him, p. 17 and nn. 89–90.

²⁰⁶ ABL 222 r. 18, 20; ABL 1030:5; ABL 1095:8, r. 4. The name Marduk-apla-[iddina] might possibly be restored in K. 11239 (= ADD 910), but the Dūr-Ja[kin] mentioned in Bezold, *Cat.*, III, 1149 turns out to be Dūr-Šarru[kin] in Johns' copy.

BAL KUR *Tam*, which is to be translated “dynasty of the Sealand” (i.e., *Tam*-<*tim*>).²⁰⁷ The second reference (iv 14) allots him nine months²⁰⁸ and appends a different designation, ERÍN *Ħa-bi*.

To my knowledge, the epithet *šābu* (ERÍN) applied to a king occurs in only one other instance. In the Dynastic Chronicle,²⁰⁹ Simbar-Šipak, the founder of the Second Dynasty of the Sealand, is described as ERÍN BAL SIG₅-DINGIR-ŠÚ, “an ERÍN of the dynasty of Damiq-ilišu.”²¹⁰ It may not be significant that both of these kings, Simbar-Šipak and Merodach-Baladan, came from the Sealand; but the fact that they were both upstarts whose fathers had not sat upon the Babylonian throne is more likely to prove of weight. Hence it would not be surprising to see their lowly origin stressed; and, for this reason, I would tentatively translate *šābu* in this context as “soldier.”²¹¹

Ħa-bi, on the other hand, is one of the many abbreviations employed by Kinglist A. It is probably identical with the longer *Ħa-bi-gal* used in the same list of Sennacherib (iv 12) and Aššur-nādin-šumi (iv 16). Gelb has suggested that it also be identified with *Ħanigalbat*,²¹² and this interpretation is accepted here. It is worth observing that the gentilic *Ħanigalbatû* is used elsewhere to describe a type of soldier.²¹³ I cannot explain why the redactor of Kinglist A chose to call Merodach-Baladan a “*Ħanigalbat* soldier” here, especially since he had used a different epithet for the same king four lines earlier.²¹⁴ Nor can I clarify the precise contemporary

²⁰⁷ An inscription of Tiglath-Pileser III describes him as *šar Tāmtim* even before his accession (2R 67:26; cf. D.T. 3:19). The GN is written out in an unabbreviated form in Kinglist A iii 9': BAL KUR *Tam-tim* (referring to the Second Dynasty of the Sealand). Other instances of simple *tāmtu* for *māt tāmti* are noted by Weissbach in ZA 43 278.

²⁰⁸ Pinches (*PSBA* 6 193–198) read 6 months in his copy, but his transliteration had the correct 9.

²⁰⁹ King, *Chronicles* 2 53 r. ii 3.

²¹⁰ Probably referring to the Damiq-ilišu of the First Sealand Dynasty rather than to the ruler of the same name who reigned as last king of the First Dynasty of Isin.

²¹¹ A common meaning of the word as a collective (*CAD* § 46–55).

²¹² *Hurrians and Subarians*, p. 72, n. 184. Gelb noted such spellings as KUR *Ħa-na-kal-bat* (*EA* 255:10) KUR *Ħa-li-gal-bat* (*BASOR* 78 20), *Ħa-li-gal-ba-tu-û* (*MDP* 2 95:2), the *Ħa-bi-gal* of Kinglist A, and *Ħa-bi-gal-ba-tu-û* (Clay, *PNC*, 78). We might add now the occurrence of *Ħ[a]-bi-gal-ba-t[u-u]* as a gentilic following a PN in an unpublished MB economic text from Ur (*UET* 7 51 + 52:18; kindly collated for me by Dr. Gurney, who has graciously allowed me to cite it here) and possibly *û Ħa-bi-gal-[bat(?)]* in VAT 8903 iii 1 (= Köcher, *Pflanzenkunde* no. 36).

²¹³ *BE* 14 164:2 has 3 *Ħa-bi-gal-ba-tu-û* in a list of soldiers (ERÍN.GR.A). To this may be compared Hg. B VI 145 l ú . k i . z u . ú = *taš-li-šu* (!) = *Ħa-bi-gal-tum* (see *CAD* H 80a sub *Ħanigalbatu*, adj., for a slightly different reading).

²¹⁴ We might presume that the compiler of the kinglist no longer knew that the RN's in iv 10 and 14 referred to only one person. The epithet in iv 14 is the sole example in Kinglist A of a designation after an RN which does not relate either blood relationship to another individual or the dynasty to which the ruler reputedly belonged.

connotation of Dynasty of *Ha-bi-gal* as applied to Sennacherib and his son. More evidence is needed on these points before a definitive solution can be ventured.

2. *Colophons*.—The name of Merodach-Baladan also occurs in the colophon to a late copy of a list of 67 plants (and various gardening utensils and personnel), which are described as *gannati ša* ^{md}AMAR.UTU-A-MU LUGAL: "the garden(?) of King Merodach-Baladan."²¹⁵ It is of interest that several of the plant names are Aramaic;²¹⁶ this would lend credence to an origin of the list in the southern Babylonia of Merodach-Baladan's time. It is likewise striking that among the exotic plants and trees planted in the great gardens laid out in Nineveh shortly after this time Sennacherib gave a prominent place to flora native to Chaldea.²¹⁷ So the alleged gardening fame of Merodach-Baladan is not wholly without context.²¹⁸

Two other supposed occurrences of Merodach-Baladan's name in colophons are connected with the editing of the *sa.gig* series. The first occurs in a partially broken colophon to a copy of the twelfth tablet of the series, which is dated on "the 17th day of Arahsamnu, year [x of x-apl]a-iddina, king of Babylon."²¹⁹ I have remarked elsewhere that the RN here might more plausibly be restored as [Nabû-apl]a-iddina,²²⁰ but this cannot be proven definitely.²²¹ The second occurrence, likewise in broken context, is in a colophon to a catalogue of the *sa.gig* series recently unearthed at Nimrud.²²² Here reference is made to editing of the series done in the reign of 'DN'-apl-a-iddina, king of Babylon.²²³ Lambert has suggested that *Nabû-apl-a-iddina* fits the traces better than the *Marduk-apl-a-iddina* originally proposed and has cited other allusions to editing done in Nabû-apl-a-iddina's reign.²²⁴

3. "*Slave documents*."—A curious type of text is preserved for us in the so-called

²¹⁵ CT 14 50:74-75.

²¹⁶ Meissner, ZA 6 292-98. Cf. I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, II, 88 f. and *passim*.

²¹⁷ OIP 2 101:57, 111:55, 124:41.

²¹⁸ Leemans suggests too that this list might provide a precedent for the "hanging gardens" of Nebuchadnezzar II slightly more than a century later (*JEOL* 10 443).

²¹⁹ ITI APIN UD 17 KAM [MU x KAM ^{md}x-DUMU.U]Š-SUM.NA LUGAL KÁ.DINGIR.BA.KI. See Labat, *TDP*, I 110 and II Pl. XXXI: B 34-35. The MN in line 34 should be corrected in the transcription. (I have collated the text A 3442 in the Oriental Institute Museum, and the RN cannot be read more clearly.)

²²⁰ JCS 16 96 sub 24.3.3.

²²¹ The other dated colophons in the *TDP* corpus are all later than Merodach-Baladan: (a) Šamaš-šum-ukin (*TDP*, I 110 C), (b) Artaxerxes (abbreviated in *TDP*, I 212:118; largely restored in *TDP*, I 16:89).

²²² ND 4358, published by Kinnier Wilson in "Two Medical Texts from Nimrud," *Iraq* 18 130-46.

²²³ ND 4358 r. 10 (*Iraq* 18, Pl. XXIV).

²²⁴ JCS 11 6; see also *ibid.*, 5 and n. 21.

"slave documents."²²⁵ These are short inscriptions of four or five lines written on small ovoid pieces of clay, roughly in the shape of olives, and pierced, presumably for wearing. Six of these inscriptions have been published:²²⁶ four by Oppert in 1870 (A, B, C, D),²²⁷ one by Strassmaier in 1893 (E),²²⁸ and one by Gadd in 1928 (F).²²⁹ The formula of these inscriptions is strikingly similar:

ša²³⁰ PN²³¹ ša²³² qātē (šU²³³) PN₂

ITI zÍZ MU x²³³ KAM ^{md}AMAR.UTU-DUMU.UŠ-SUM.NA²³⁴ LUGAL DIN.TIR.KI

PN ša qātē PN₂ is usually taken to designate some sort of possession as of a slave, but it could also imply simply jurisdictional primacy of PN₂. I am unconvinced by the current explanation of these documents as slave tags, but have no plausible alternative to suggest at present. Several questions must be solved first. Why were the documents (except the Ur specimen) sufficiently important to be carried all the way to Assyria? Why is their time range so restricted, i.e., from the ninth to the eleventh (or possibly twelfth) years of Merodach-Baladan? Why are they all dated in the same month of these years, without any day indicated? I do not see how these questions are answered by the popular suggestion of "slave tags."

VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

It is a hazardous enterprise to assess an individual's impact on history on the basis of scattered and fragmentary evidence. Such an interpretation runs two risks:

²²⁵ The designation is found as early as 1870: Oppert, *Les Inscriptions de Dour-Sarkayan*, p. 27. See also Oppert and Ménant, *Documents juridiques de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée* (Paris, 1877), p. 168, and Meissner, *BuA*, I, 382. Strassmaier in *Actes du 8^e Congrès International I/2* 281 remarked that the document he published "diente wahrscheinlich als eine Art Amulet für die Frau Īipā von Sin-ereš."

²²⁶ A greater number, rarely illegible, remain unpublished (Oppert and Ménant, *Documents juridiques*, p. 168). [While this article was in press (March, 1964), I discovered another of these "slave tags" among the unpublished tablets from the Khorsabad excavations in the Oriental Institute, Chicago, where it bears the number DŠ 32-11. I hope to edit this text soon in a separate publication. It is catalogued below in Part VII, A, as 44.2.14'.]

²²⁷ Bibliography in Part VII, A, 44.2.12.

²²⁸ Bibliography in Part VII, A, 44.2.13.

²²⁹ Bibliography in Part VII, A, 44.2.14. This document, I believe, has not previously been identified as belonging to this class. Mr. A. R. Millard has kindly confirmed my suspicions regarding its character by checking the field catalogue of the Ur expedition, in which the document is said to be ovoid, pierced toward the left end.

²³⁰ BCDF omit.

²³¹ ABCE: /PN; DF: ^mPN. (The PN₂ are all ^mPN.)

²³² F: apparently *ana*; but the NB *ana* can easily be amended to NB ša, which often consists of only two wedges superimposed vertically.

²³³ A: 9; BDF: 10; CE: 11. Oppert stated in *Les Inscriptions de Dour-Sarkayan*, p. 27 n. 1, that Lenormant reported a similar inscription at Orleans dated in Merodach-Baladan's twelfth year.

²³⁴ The masculine personal determinative is omitted by E and F at the beginning of the RN. Otherwise the orthography is uniform.

(a) of representing merely the historian's peculiar slant on his material by focusing the scanty facts according to his own—albeit unconsciously—preconceived notions; or (b) of forming a synthesis by extensive interpolation and extrapolation that will be found untenable in the light of future evidence. It is only fair to call to the reader's attention that the present section of our discussion will be more than usually subject to these failings. But it is expedient that these hypotheses be advanced if the history of the period is ever to progress beyond the realm of disjointed and discrete data.

Merodach-Baladan represents but one stage of a recurring movement in Babylonia to retain political autonomy in the face of perennial invasions from her more powerful northern neighbor, Assyria. In the eighth and seventh centuries before Christ, the impetus for Babylonian independence came most effectively from the southern, tribal regions of the country. The kings Eriba-Marduk, Nabû-šuma-iškun II, Mukîn-zēri, Merodach-Baladan, Mušēzib-Marduk, and the chieftains Nabû-ušabši, Zākiru, Nabû-zēr-kitti-līšir, Šamaš-ibni, Aplāju, and Nabû-bēl-šumāte exemplified the same indomitable spirit of the southland that would culminate in the founding of the Chaldean dynasty under Nabopolassar in 626 and the subsequent annihilation of Assyria as a political power. The attitude of northern Babylonia at this time was not univalent. The presence of a small pro-Assyrian faction among the temple administration of the large cities and among some high-ranking officials of the civil government was counterbalanced by a less vocal group in the north which permitted southern tribesmen to rule as king in the northern capital without revolt. This same quiet faction supported Merodach-Baladan against Sennacherib in 703 and would later allow such kings as Nergal-ušēzib and Mušēzib-Marduk to defy the Assyrians in 693 and the following years. It was this group in the north (and not just a small minority of rebels explicitly named in the official Assyrian inscriptions) that would be the object of the wrath of Sennacherib in the destruction of Babylon and which would permit Šamaš-šum-ukīn to utilize the reconstructed city as a headquarters for his revolt from 652 to 648. These northern Babylonians acquiesced in the rebellions led by outsiders and often proved a bulwark of these causes, but during this time they themselves seldom ventured to take the initiative in rebelling against the Assyrians.²³⁵

Though Merodach-Baladan stands out as one of the more significant tribal figures who mustered Babylonian opposition to Assyria during these years, his endeavor was not ultimately crowned with success. Despite the fact that he was a

²³⁵ Possible exceptions are Marduk-zākir-šumi II and Nergal-ušēzib, who seem to have been northern Babylonians and in revolt against Assyria; but their ineffectual stands were quashed within a few months. Bēl-ibni might represent another case in point, but we are as yet unaware of the nature of the offense that prompted his removal to Assyria in 700.

wealthy prince and a diplomat capable of channeling the concerted efforts of intertribal and international forces,²³⁶ his career from his first coming to terms with Tiglath-Pileser III in 729 down to his death in exile after enforced flight from his native Sealand in 700 reveals him in the light of a second-rank monarch who usually managed to keep just one step ahead of the Assyrians. This in itself, considering the massive military organization of contemporary Assyria, may be regarded as no mean achievement. The fact that he could rule relatively unmolested for twelve consecutive years in a country contiguous to Sargonid Assyria is ample testimony to his political ability. His singular adroitness at avoiding direct contact with the overwhelming forces of a main Assyrian army may not induce modern accolades for bravery, but it was just such nomadic astuteness that enabled him to harry the Assyrians for better than two decades. A more direct approach under the circumstances would not only have been foolhardy, but would have deprived the Assyrians of several further identical entries in the campaign section of their eponym chronicles.

Nor did Merodach-Baladan's name live on in Mesopotamian history solely as a protagonist for Babylonian independence and as a temporary but tiresomely persistent obstruction in the path of Assyrian imperial expansion. His fame was also preserved in connection with more *pacifist* domestic pursuits. He kept the provincial administration of Babylonia functioning smoothly. He repaired and endowed temples of the ancient gods of the land. He respected the rights of the traditionally favored citizens of the oldest sacred cities, Babylon, Borsippa, and Sippar. He saw to the maintenance of the vital canal and irrigation systems; and one of the more important waterways near Uruk came to be named after him. Records of private business transactions from his reign seem to indicate a stable economy. While there is as yet no well substantiated evidence of the fostering of the literary arts at this time, later tradition does mention a garden of Merodach-Baladan filled with exotic plants and tells also of the functioning of an astronomical observatory in the land during his reign. The few years in which Merodach-Baladan was able to fend off the Assyrians from despoiling and subjugating Babylonia seem to have been a singularly fruitful time.

²³⁶ During the campaigns of Tiglath-Pileser III in southern Babylonia from 731 to 729, the various tribes were sometimes at odds with one another: the Nimrud Letters (especially IX) and the rapid capitulations of the tribal chieftains after the initial successes of Tiglath-Pileser show that the tribes did not present a solid front. There is no evidence for lack of accord among the tribes in the time of Merodach-Baladan. Except for the final campaign of 700 when Šūzubu was attacked separately by the Assyrians, the tribes always appear to be working in conjunction with Merodach-Baladan and not as distinct bargaining agents.

Merodach-Baladan's alliance with Elam in 720 and 703 provided military forces other than Babylonian which sustained the brunt of the battles. (His embassy might be construed as an attempt in the same vein, but this is considerably less likely.)

VII. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT SOURCES

A. CATALOGUE OF DOCUMENTS²³⁷44.1, 48.1 Chronological material²³⁸

44.1.1 Kinglist A iv 10—12 (years) plus RN and designation BAL KUR *Tam* (= "dynasty of the Sealand," i.e., *Tam*-<*tim*>).

48.1.1 Kinglist A iv 14—ITI ¹⁹1239 plus RN and designation ERIN *Ha-bi*.

44.1.2 Babylonian Chronicle i 32—ii 11—(a) RN arrives too late for the battle of Dēr, 720 B.C.; (b) Umbanigaš of Elam dies and is succeeded by his nephew, Ištarḫundu, 717 B.C.; (c) RN conquers Bit-[.]-ri, 712 B.C.; (d) Sargon removes RN from the Babylonian throne and forces him to flee to Elam, 710 B.C.; (e) Sargon's capture of Bit-Jakin and a brief summary of the rest of Sargon's activities down to 705 B.C.

48.1.2 Babylonian Chronicle ii 17—22(?)—fragmentary section dealing with Sennacherib's first campaign in Babylonia; beginning of RN probably preserved in line 17.

44.1.3 Ptolemaic Canon, 6—RN is assigned a reign of 12 (years).²⁴⁰

44.2 Contemporary material

44.2.1 ND 2090. Royal inscription on barrel cylinder, commemorating repairs on parts of the Eanna complex at Uruk by RN. Found at Nimrud in April 1952. Published by Gadd in *Iraq* 15 123–34 (copy, transliteration, translation, commentary). Further discussed by R. Follet in *Biblica* 35 413–28 (where it is compared in detail with YOS 1 38, the inscription Sargon had written to replace it at Uruk). Some emendations proposed by von Soden in *Or* 26 136–37. Archeological aspects of the inscription discussed by H. Lenzen in *Iraq* 19 146–50. Photo of one side of the cylinder published in *The Illustrated London News*, vol. 221, no. 5914 (Aug. 23, 1952), p. 294, fig. 4.

²³⁷ This catalogue is a continuation of the source list begun in *JCS* 16 83–109 and will be numbered accordingly. The abbreviations are approximately the same, save that the editorial *YBT* is now replaced by the *YOS* of the original MS. We should further note that it is not our purpose in these catalogues to give an exhaustive list of all minor translations or comments on each and every document; only the most significant can be included. We would be grateful once again if readers would call to our attention any lacunae in the documentation in these catalogues.

²³⁸ Bibliography in *JCS* 16 83–85. Since Merodach-Baladan was both the forty-fourth and the forty-eighth ruler in our Post-Kassite sequence, we make a corresponding distinction in the numbering of our chronological material. This practice is not viable for the contemporary and later materials, especially since it would be difficult to assign an inscription to precisely the nine months of his second reign. Thus all materials other than chronological (in our strict sense) are prefixed with the number 44 for the sake of simplicity.

²³⁹ Pinches' edition (*PSBA* 6 193–198) read rrr 6 in the copy (but 9 in the transliteration).

²⁴⁰ Greek: *Μαρδοκίμπαδος*. Because RN's second reign did not reach an official year, it is omitted in the Canon. (See also 44.3.12 below for further documentation from Ptolemy.)

- 44.2.2 Numerous bricks from Uruk with Sumerian inscriptions commemorating RN's repairs on Eanna. The texts represented fall into two chief classes:
- (a) *UVB* 1 p. 55 nr. 18 (Taf. 27e). Slight variants to this text are found in bricks published in *WVDOG* 51 Taf. 101c, 107d and in the brick(s) published as *1R* 5 XVII (= Fr. Lenormant, *Choix de textes cunéiformes*, no. 8; see also transliteration and translation by Peiser and Winckler in *ZA* 7 184 and n. 1 and by Langdon in *Excavations at Kish*, III, 17 and n. 4).
- (b) *UVB* 1 p. 54 nr. 16 (Taf. 27d) = *ibid.*, p. 55 nr. 17.
- 44.2.3 W. 1929, 136. Private inscription on brick found at Kish, commemorating repairs on Ehursagkalamma by Iddin-Nergal, governor (*šaknu*) of Kish in the reign of RN. Published by Langdon in *Excavations at Kish*, III, 17–19 and Pl. XI.
- 44.2.4 VA 2663 (published as *VAS* 1 37)—royal land grant made to the *šākin tēmi* of Babylon at Babylon on 23-IV, year 7 of RN. For bibliography, see Steinmetzer no. 72, B 5, and Leemans, *JEOL* 10 442, 1°. A detailed study is presented by Leemans, *ibid.*, 444–49.²⁴¹ This kudurru contains the only known pictorial representation of Merodach-Baladan (reproduced in W. J. Hinke, *A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar I from Nippur* [Philadelphia, 1907], p. 72), who is portrayed receiving the staff of kingship from Marduk.
- 44.2.5 BM 40006 (published as *BBS* no. 35)—fragmentary inscription dealing with royal endowment of a temple. The dating of the text has been established by M. J. Seux, *RA* 54 206–8.
- 44.2.6 BM 98562 (= Th. 1905–4–9, 68; published in King, *Cat. Suppl.*, 57)—nine-line private economic inscription to accompany the gift of a festival garment. Dated 17-VIII, year 1 of RN.
- 44.2.7 Economic tablet in private possession in Leiden. Transliteration by Böhl in *MAOG* 11/3 31 n. 3 and (Dutch) translation in Böhl, *Leiden Coll.*, III, 7–8. Dated in Babylon, 18-XII, year 2 of RN.
- 44.2.8 VAT 8498 (published as *AnOr* 9 1)—list of 91 foremen engaged in canal work. Dated in year 4 of RN.
- 44.2.9 NBC 4848 (partially published in *JCS* 1 352)—later copy of a similar list of 91 canal foremen. The original was dated at Uruk, 4-VIII, year 4 of RN.
- 44.2.10 Crozer Theological Seminary 201 (partially published in *JCS* 1 352)—duplicate of 44.2.9.
- 44.2.11 [YBC 7422 (mentioned by Goetze in *JNES* 3 43)—tablet dated at Uruk (?) on 1-VIII, year 8 of RN.]

²⁴¹ The legend that this stone was found originally on Cyprus has been thoroughly investigated by C. J. Gadd (*Iraq* 15 129 n. 1), who has found no more substantiation for it than a chance statement made by F. X. Steinmetzer in a footnote in 1922.

- 44.2.12 Inscriptions on four small pierced cylinders published by Oppert in Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, II, 307–8 (= Oppert, *Les Inscriptions de Dour-Sarkayan [Khorsabad] provenant des fouilles de M. Victor Place*, pp. 27–28).²⁴² Formula: (ša) PN ša qātē PN₂, date. All dated in XI month (no day), year 9, 10, or 11 of RN.
- 44.2.13 K. 3787 (published by Strassmaier in *Actes du 8^e Congrès*, suppl., p. 2, no. 1)—text on small pierced ovoid similar to those mentioned in 44.2.12 and 44.2.14. Dated XI, year 11 of RN. See also Bezold, *Cat.*, II, 564 and *KB* 4 166–67.
- 44.2.14 *UET* 1 262 (field catalogue no.: U.2662)—inscribed ovoid pierced toward the left end. Text type similar to 44.2.12 and 44.2.13. Dated XI, year 10 of RN. (Earlier publication of copy, together with transliteration and translation by Legrain in *MJ* 17 [1926] 392, no. 58.)
- 44.2.14' [DŠ 32-11 (found at Khorsabad in 1932; mentioned briefly in catalogue in Gordon Loud and Charles B. Altman, *Khorsabad*, Part II: *The Citadel and the Town* [OIP 40], p. 105, no. 38)—inscribed ovoid pierced at one end. Text type similar to 44.2.12, 44.2.13, 44.2.14. Unpublished, but see n. 226 above.]
- 44.2.15 [YBC 11383, 11386 (mentioned by Goetze in *JNES* 3 43)—tablets dated at Babylon, 22-I, year 11 of RN.]
- 44.2.16 HS 452 (published as *TuM* 2-3 no. 8)—tablet recording private purchase of a field. Dated at Nippur, 23-XI (year not preserved), in reign of RN. Transliteration, translation, and notes by San Nicolò, *BR*, no. 3.
- 44.2.17 *UET* 4 206 (last two lines published previously by Legrain in *MJ* 17 [1926] 392, no. 57, and by Gadd as *UET* 1 261; field catalogue number: U.2616)—fragmentary economic text with little more than list of witnesses and date preserved. Dated at [U]r, 11-IX, MU 22 KAM [^dAMAR.U]TU-IBILA-MU DUMU *ri-du-tu*.
- 44.2.18 *UET* 4 8—economic text from the reign of [^dAMAR.UTU]-IBILA-s[UM.NA]. Transliteration, translation, and notes by San Nicolò, *BR*, no. 26.
- 44.2.19 Inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III mentioning Merodach-Baladan:
 (a) K. 3751 (published as *2R* 67 and in Rost, *Tigl. III*, I, 60–62, and II, Pls. 35–38) 26–28—mention of RN, son of Jakin, king of the Sea(land), paying tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III after the latter's Chaldean campaign of 729;
 (b) D.T. 3 (Rost, *Tigl. III*, II, Pl. 34) 19—fragment of tribute list of Merodach-Baladan; RN not preserved.

²⁴² Also discussed later (with transliteration and translation) in J. Oppert and J. Ménañt, *Documents juridiques de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée* (Paris, 1877), pp. 168–96.

44.2.20 Inscriptions of Sargon II dealing with Merodach-Baladan:

(a) Annals from Khorsabad

- i) 1st *palû* (= 720)—restored reference to Merodach-Baladan occurs in Lie 6:[21] (= Winckler I 6:[21]);²⁴³
- ii) 12th *palû* (= 710)—campaign against Merodach-Baladan covered in Lie 40:262–58:14 (= Winckler I 38:228–54:316);
- iii) 13th *palû* (= 709)—section against Merodach-Baladan in Babylonia given in Lie 58:15–67:1 (= Winckler I 54:317–60:369). In these texts, Merodach-Baladan's name occurs in the following places: Lie 42:263 (= Winckler I 38:228), 42:273 (= Winckler I 40:245), 50:333 and 49 n. 5 (= Winckler I 46:271), 54:9 (= Winckler I 50:289), 58:13 (= Winckler I 54:315). This last reference may be partially restored from a duplicate text published by Jacobsen in Loud, *Khorsabad*, I (= *OIP* 38), 129, no. 1, where the name of Merodach-Baladan occurs in line 1; for the relief accompanying the text see *ibid.*, 60, Fig. 72.

- (b) Annals from Nineveh: 81-7-27, 3 (published in *AfO* 14 49): col. B 12 ff. contains the beginning of the campaign of 710; col. C 1 ff. describes the gifts given to the gods in Babylon by Sargon at the conclusion of the campaign in 709; fragmentary.

(c) Non-chronological accounts of the campaigns:

- i) Display Inscription from Khorsabad, 121–44 (Winckler I 120–26)—summary of Sargon's campaigns against Babylonia, with detailed description of the events of 709;
- ii) Nimrud Prisms D and E²⁴⁴ vi 14–85 (published in *Iraq* 16 Pls. XLVII f.; transliteration, etc., *ibid.*, pp. 185–91)—summary of Sargon's campaigns against Babylonia, with detailed description of the campaign of 709;
- iii) Inscription from "Salon XIV" at Khorsabad, 18–20 (Winckler I 84)—brief summary of Sargon's conquest of Merodach-Baladan;
- iv) Khorsabad pavement inscription (Winckler I 148:45–150:54)—same as preceding;
- v) Bull Inscription, 30–34 (Lyon, p. 14)—short summary of Sargon's conquest of Merodach-Baladan, with slight variations from (iii) and (iv) above;
- vi) K. 4471 (published in *JCS* 12 99–100, Winckler *Sammlung* 2 4)—very fragmentary, poetic description of the campaign of 710 (and 709?); Merodach-Baladan's name does not appear in the

²⁴³ For the correctness of the restoration, compare similar passages in Winckler I 84:19, *AfO* 14 49 B 13, *Iraq* 16 Pl. XLVII vi 15.

²⁴⁴ For the nomenclature, see Gadd, *Iraq* 16 174–75.

extant section; the complete document must have given a detailed description comparable to that of the annals.²⁴⁵

44.2.21 Inscriptions of Sennacherib treating of Merodach-Baladan:

- (a) detailed accounts of the first campaign, section against Merodach-Baladan, written in 702 B.C.:
 - i) BM 113203 (Smith, *Senn.*; *OIP* 2 48-55) 1-56;
 - ii) K. 1680 (Bellino Cylinder; *OIP* 2 55-60) 1-16;
- (b) shorter accounts of the first and fourth campaigns, sections against Merodach-Baladan, contained in chronological accounts of the individual campaigns:
 - i) official edition of the annals:
 - 1st campaign: *OIP* 2 24:20-25:53,
 - 4th campaign: *OIP* 2 34:50-35:74;
 - ii) bull inscription from Nineveh:
 - 1st campaign: *OIP* 2 66:3-67:7,
 - 4th campaign: *OIP* 2 71:33-37;
 - iii) IM 56578 (*Sumer* 9 117-188):
 - 1st campaign: 118:23-122:63,
 - 4th campaign: 140:10-144:48;
- (c) brief summary of campaigns against Merodach-Baladan, not chronologically divided:
 - i) another bull inscription: *OIP* 2 76:7-13, 76:25-77:27;
 - ii) Nebi Yunus inscription: *OIP* 2 85:6-86:12;
 - iii) BM 121025 (published in *Iraq* 7 94 no. 7): 1-5;
 - iv) epigraph: *OIP* 2 156 no. XXIV: 11-13;
 - v) Jerwan inscription(s): *OIP* 24 27: nos. 103 + 123 + 110 + 61 —probably short summary of campaigns against Merodach-Baladan; it may be doubted whether nos. 143 + 144 + 152 form part of the same section; many other fragments in *OIP* 24 may belong to the same description: 71 + 59, 74 + 73, and possibly also 57, 62, 63, 79, and 162;
- (d) mention of Merodach-Baladan as uncle (or stepfather) of Adinu, captured in Sennacherib's first campaign: Smith, *Senn.* 28;
- (e) unclassified: [K. 6109 (Bezold, *Cat.*, II, 763)—inscription of Sennacherib referring to his war with Merodach-Baladan].

44.2.22 Nimrud Letters mentioning Merodach-Baladan (pertinent letters published by H. W. F. Saggs in *Iraq* 17 21-50, *Iraq* 20 182-212, *Iraq* 25 70-80):

²⁴⁵ It is impossible to tell whether the events were arranged chronologically in this document. Tadmor has suggested that it may be written in a style similar to the "letter to a god" type (*JCS* 12 99 and 82); but many portions of Sargon's annals and other longer inscriptions contain poetic passages (e.g., *Lie* 44:282, 54:369-70, 60:408-12). The fragmentary character of the document does not permit closer analysis at present.

- (a) ND 2603 (Nimrud Letter V): 4', 9'—mention of a letter (*egirtum*) concerning Merodach-Baladan;
- (b) ND 2779 (Nimrud Letter IX): 3'—citation of a statement made by RN;
- *(c) ND 2674 (Nimrud Letter VI) face B: 18'—a possible allusion to *mār Jakin*, a description sometimes applied to Merodach-Baladan (cf. 2R 67:26);²⁴⁶
- *(d) ND 2759 (Nimrud Letter XXXIX): 66—mention of an Apladiddina, which could perhaps be identified with RN;
- (e) ND 2385 (Nimrud Letter LXV): 25—Merodach-Baladan referred to in connection with food supplies.

44.2.23 Kouyunjik Letters mentioning Merodach-Baladan

- (a) K. 4740 (published in Winckler, *AOF* 2 24–25; see also *ibid.*, 578)—fragmentary letter. [Tiglath]-Pileser is referred to in line 13, [*Marduk-apla-id*]*dina šarru* in line 24. Babylon is mentioned in lines 11, 18, 20, and 26. Also the subject of *kidinnūtu* is brought up in line 19;
- (b) K. 7426 (published as *ABL* 30)—letter to Sargon; broken context; Merodach-Baladan occurs in r. 5;
- (c) K. 530 (published as *ABL* 158)—letter to Sargon or Sennacherib; the defeat (*a-pi-ik-te*) of Merodach-Baladan is alluded to in line 22 of the obverse;
- (d) K. 667 (published as *ABL* 503)—letter to Sargon or Sennacherib; r. 21–22: “[ne]ws of Merodach-Baladan: he has returned and is in his land”;
- *(e) K. 1176 (published as *ABL* 504)—letter between the same two people as preceding; obv. 7–9 may be restored: “news [of the man of Bīt-Jakin: he is [in Bab]ylon,” probably refers to Merodach-Baladan; see also (g) below;
- (f) K. 114 (published as *ABL* 542)—letter to Sargon describing the activities of Bīt-Dakūri, Bīt-Jakin, and the Arameans; Larak is apparently being fortified by Merodach-Baladan, whose name occurs in 10, r. 5;
- (g) K. 5333b (published as *ABL* 1024)—mentioning lack of water in northern Babylonia near Dūr-Šarrukīn; note the equivalating of Merodach-Baladan (line 1) with the *mār Jakin* of r. 9;
- (h) K. 5550 + K. 5614 (published as *ABL* 1029)—the Sealand and Sargon are spoken of (obv. 6), as is Merodach-Baladan (obv. 13); very broken;
- *(j) K. 1980 (published as *ABL* 1005)—name of a Merodach-Baladan occurs in obv. 4;

²⁴⁶ Cf. also 44.2.23 (e) and (g).

- * (k) [K. 1159 + K. 4683 (Bezold, *Cat.*, I, 235)—mention of a Merodach-Baladan];
- * (l) K. 4670 (published in Winckler *Sammlung* 2 57)—a Merodach-Baladan occurs in 8, 12; context uncertain;
- * (m) [K. 5434a (Bezold, *Cat.*, II, 719)—a Merodach-Baladan is spoken of];
- * (n) [Rm. 2,495 (Bezold, *Cat.*, IV, 1678)—reference to a Merodach-Baladan];
- * (o) [79-7-8, 257 (Bezold, *Cat.*, IV, 1720)—allusion to a Merodach-Baladan];
- * (p) [restored references to a Merodach-Baladan in three unpublished letters:
 - i) K. 8403 (Bezold, *Cat.*, III, 924)—^{md}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-[SUM.NA];
 - ii) K. 13080 (Bezold, *Cat.*, III, 1287)—^{lmd}AMAR.UTU-IBILA-[SUM.NA];
 - iii) 79-7-8, 312 (Bezold, *Cat.*, IV, 1724)—^{md}AMAR.UTU-A-[SUM.NA].]²⁴⁷

44.3 Later material

- 44.3.1 References to Merodach-Baladan as ancestor of individual(s) fighting against Sennacherib:
 - (a) as father of Nabû-šuma-iškun, captured in Sennacherib's eighth campaign: *OIP* 2 46:17, 82:37, 89:50, 92:16; *AfO* 20 94:102;
 - (b) as father of unnamed individual in Sennacherib's eighth campaign (probably Nabû-šuma-iškun): *OIP* 2 43:46.
- 44.3.2 References to Merodach-Baladan as father of Nabû-zēr-kitti-lišir in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon:
 - (a) Borger, *Esarh.* 33:21;
 - (b) *ibid.*, 46 ii 40;
 - (c) *ibid.*, 47 ii 32;
 - (d) *ibid.*, 110, Frt. A: [7].
- 44.3.3 References to Merodach-Baladan as ancestor of contemporary Babylonians in the inscriptions of Ashurbanipal:
 - (a) reference to Merodach-Baladan as father of Nabû-salim and grandfather of Aplāju: Streck, *Asb.* 126 vi 61;
 - (b) references to Merodach-Baladan as (grand)father of Nabû-bēl-šumāte: Streck, *Asb.* 60 vii 17, 28 (DUMU DUMU); 130 vii 78 (A); 142 viii 47 (DUMU); 198 ii 30 (DUMU DUMU).
- 44.3.4 Later references to Merodach-Baladan in letters:

²⁴⁷ The Merodach-Baladan(s) mentioned in K. 186 (= *ABL* 222), K. 5594 (= *ABL* 1030), K. 8379 (= *ABL* 1339), 81-2-4, 76 (= *ABL* 1095) and K. 11239 (= *ADD* 910) are not to be identified with this king. The reading of Marduk-apla-iddina in Rm. 67:2 (= *ABL* 348) should be corrected to Marduk-šakin-šumi (see Waterman, *RCAE*, IV, 180).

- (a) as father of Nabû-ušallim: 83-1-18, 65 (published as *ABL* 1114): 10 and 83-1-18, 124 (published as *ABL* 1131): 5;
 - (b) [as father of individual, name not available: Sm. 740 (Bezold, *Cat.*, IV, 1431)];
 - (c) occurrences of the canal near Uruk named after him:
 - i) YBC 3552 (published as *YOS* 3 74): 7-8;
 - ii) K. 923 (published as *ABL* 747): 8-9;
 - iii) 83-1-18, 71 (published as *ABL* 942): r. 13;
 - *iv) 83-1-18, 131 (published as *ABL* 1135): 11-12;
 - (d) K. 830 (published as *ABL* 542): 15—money given to a temple (in Cutha?) in the second year of Merodach-Baladan's reign;
 - * (e) 83-1-18, 4 (published as *ABL* 521): 10—letter of Bêl-ibni to Ashurbanipal mentioning the gift of a statue (*ša-lam*) of Merodach-Baladan.
- 44.3.5 BM 46226 (= 81-7-6, 688; published in *CT* 14 50)—later copy of a list of plant names, many of them Aramaic, concluding with the following subscript: *gannati ša Marduk-apla-iddina šarri* (74-75). Study by Meissner, *ZA* 6 289-98.
- 44.3.6 *A 3442 (Labat, *TDP* I 110 and II, Pl. XXXI) iv 35—part of twelfth tablet of *enûma ana bît marši āšipu illiku* with a royal name occurring in the colophon. No trace of the theophoric element of the RN (based on personal collation of the text). I would prefer to read [*Nabû*]-*apla-iddina* here; see *JCS* 16 96 sub 24.3.3 for another alternative.
- 44.3.7 *ND 4358 (published by Kinnier Wilson in *Iraq* 18 130 ff.) r. 10—possible mention of RN in a *s a . g i g* catalogue from Nimrud; but see *JCS* 16 96 n. 19 and above, p. 40.
- 44.3.8 *D.T. 1 (latest edition, with bibliography, in Lambert, *BWL* 110-15)—the so-called *Fürstenspiegel*, describing what will happen to Babylonia if the king neglects the rights of the citizens of Sippar, Nippur, and Babylon; Böhl in *MAOG* 11/3 has plausibly argued for dating this document to this time.
- 44.3.9 Hebrew Bible:
- (a) 2 Kings 20:12-19—embassy of Berodach-Baladan to Hezekiah;
 - (b) Isaiah 39:1-8—embassy of Merodach-Baladan to Hezekiah;
 - (c) 2 Chronicles 32:31—reference to the same embassy, but the name of the Babylonian ruler is not given.
- 44.3.10 Berossus: *FGrH* III C/1 p. 386:5-9—Marudach-Baldan kills his predecessor and reigns for six months before being assassinated by his successor, elibos. The embassy to Hezekiah seems to be treated on p. 385:12-13. (All these references are from Eusebius' *Armenian Chron.*)
- 44.3.11 Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, Book X, chap. ii, no. 2—embassy of Baladan, king of Babylonia, to Hezekiah.

- 44.3.12 Cl. Ptolemy, *ΜΑΘΗΜΑΤΙΚΗΣ ΣΤΗΝΤΑΞΕΩΣ*, Δ's' (ed. Heiberg, I, 302-4)—mention of three lunar eclipses observed and recorded at Babylon in the reign of Merodach-Baladan (Gk.: *Μαρδοκέμπαδος*, var.: *Μαρδοκένπαδος*): one in his first year, two in his second.²⁴⁸

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²⁴⁸ See also F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, I (1906), 143-44.

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THE ENTHRONEMENT OF THE KING AND THE CAPITAL CITY
IN TEXTS FROM ANCIENT MESOPOTAMIA AND SYRIA

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"When the kingship was lowered from heaven, the kingship was in Eridu. (In) Eridu A-lulim (became) king and reigned 28,800 years. . . ."¹ To the mind of the ancient Sumerian historian, monarchy was the earliest attested form of political institutions: "In the beginning was the kingship." But, to be true to his historical and political conception, a detail should immediately be added: "And the kingship was in a city." The importance of the relationship between kingship and the city is evident throughout the King List.² Of particular interest is the formula which occurs in the passage just quoted and which is repeated in the text each time that the beginning of a new dynasty is related:³ "(In) Eridu A-lulim (became) king" (ERIDU A-lulim lu ga l).⁴ The formula emphasizes the fact that kingship has been transferred to a new city and is now staying *there*: "In such and such a city a certain person became king."

An identical formula occurs in other cuneiform documents of a similar nature but from later times: the Babylonian Chronicles. In the *Babylonian Chronicle*⁵ the formula is repeated often, in several variations. Six times it is said that a certain king "sat himself on the throne in Babylon" (*ina Bābili ina kussī ittašab*),⁶ whereas twice it is said that a foreign king "caused" a vassal of his choice "to sit on the throne in Babylon" (*ina Bābili ina kussī ultešib*).⁷ At the death of Esarhaddon, "his two sons sat on the throne, Šamaš-šum-ukīn in Babylon (and) Aššurbanipal in Assyria" (*Š. ina Bābili A. ina Aššur, 2 mārēšu, ina kussī ittašbū*).⁸ Here the formula is doubled, and the name of a country (Assur), rather than a city, is introduced. The name of a country is found regularly in the formulas pertaining to the Assyrian⁹

¹ T. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* (Chicago, 1939), p. 71, i 1-4.

² *Ibid.*, p. 37, n. 86.

³ The formula occurs twenty-four times: i 2, 11, 20, 26, 32, 43; ii 48; iii 39; iv 8, 20, 39, 45; v 3, 17, (23), 36, 44; vi 9, 24, 31; vii 15; viii 3, 9, 23. Once more (vii 27) the formula occurs in connection with "the horde of Gutium" rather than with a city.

⁴ This is the late wording of the formula, the introductory part of the King List having been added late, Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68, 136, 162. The earlier wording has: l u g a l - à m; see, e.g., *ibid.*, p. 76, i 43-44.

⁵ Text in CT 34, Pls. 43-50, partial translation by A. L. Oppenheim in *ANET*², pp. 301-3.

⁶ i 3, 23, 32; ii 5, 22; iii 12.

⁷ ii 30, 43-44.

⁸ iv 33.

⁹ *ina Aššur ina kussī ittašab*, i 2, 27-28, 31; iii 38.

and the Elamite kings.¹⁰ That "Assur" stands for the country rather than for the city is shown by the determinative KUR and also by the fact that in the case of Esarhaddon, to give only one example, we know that the enthronement took place in Nineveh.¹¹ In the *Babylonian Chronicle* the formula is used regularly for the accession of every new king, with one exception: the accession of Nabū-šum-ukīn. In this case the text has: "Šum-ukīn (!), the governor, a rebel, sat himself on the throne,"¹² without the specification "in Babylon."

In the *Chronicles of the Chaldaean Kings*, too, the formula occurs regularly whenever the accession of a new king is related. "For one year there was no king in the land. In the month of Araḫšamnu, the twenty-sixth day, Nabopolassar sat on the throne in Babylon (*ina Bābili ina kussī ittašab*)."¹³ In the case of Nebuchadnezzar there is a slight variation: "For twenty-one years Nabopolassar reigned over Babylon. In the month of Abu, the eighth day, he died. In the month of Ululu, Nebuchadnezzar came back to Babylon, and in the month of Ululu, the first day, he sat on the royal throne in Babylon (*ina Bābili ina kussī šarrūti ušīb*)."¹⁴ The double mention of Babylon should be noticed. After the statement that Nebuchadnezzar has come back to Babylon, the specification that he is enthroned in Babylon seems superfluous, and it can best be explained assuming that we are dealing with a standard, fixed formula. One last example concerns the Assyrian king Aššur-uballiṣ who "sat on the throne in Harran to reign over Assyria (*ina Ḥarrāni ana šarrūt Aššur ina kussī ittašab*)."¹⁵ In this case the mention of the city where the enthronement took place may be explained in terms of the context: the capital, Nineveh, is destroyed, and the new king is enthroned in a border region of the former Assyrian empire. But this is also the only place where the context calls for a specific mention of the city where the enthronement has occurred. The contrast with the other texts, where the mention of the city is not conditioned by the context, constitutes a further indication that the expression of the type *ina (āli) ina kussī wašābu* may be considered as a standard and "frozen" formula.

The formula seems to be limited, in Mesopotamia, to texts of the Chronicle type. It does not occur, for instance, in the annals of the Assyrian kings. It is true that an expression of a similar type occurs in the annals of Esarhaddon: "In the month of Addaru, a favorable month, the eighth day, the feast day of Nabū, I joyfully entered Nineveh, my lordly city, and sat on the throne of my father."¹⁶ But here the mention

¹⁰ *ina Elamtim ina kussī ittašab*, i 10, 40; ii 34; iii 9, 15-16, 27, [33]; iv 13.

¹¹ See below and *Babylonian Chronicle* iii 38.

¹² i 16.

¹³ *CCK* p. 50, ll. 14-15.

¹⁴ *CCK* p. 68, ll. 9-11.

¹⁵ *CCK* p. 60, ll. 49-50; cf. *ibid.*, p. 62, ll. 60-61: *ana Ḥarrāni [ana arki] Aššur-[uballiṣ] ša ina Aššur ina kussī ušībī illikū*.

¹⁶ . . . *ina qirib Ninua, āl bēlūtija, ḥadiš ērumma ina kussī abija ṭābiš ušīb*. R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons* (Graz, 1956), Nin. A II 1, p. 45.

of the capital is a detail, which stands by itself in the sequence of the events, being grammatically and logically separated from the sentence relating the enthronement of the king. In the annals of the other Assyrian kings the entrance to power of the king is regularly described by referring to his enthronement, but there never is a mention of the capital city nor of any other city where the enthronement may have taken place.

An identical formula can be found in texts from ancient Syria.¹⁷ In these texts the wording of the formula corresponds to the Sumerian, rather than the Akkadian, wording: the verb "to become king" is used instead of "to sit on the throne." After quoting these texts,¹⁸ an attempt will be made to point at some factors which are common to both Mesopotamia and Syria and which may give a reason for the origin of the formula.

In the beginning of the inscription of Zakir (ll. 3-4) we read: *whmlknj . b l šm* [/]*zrk*. The sentence is usually restored as follows: *whmlknj . b l šm [jn . l / h]zrk* "Ba'alšamaj made me king over Hazrak."¹⁹ Such a restoration is, however, questionable. Hazrak is a city, not a territory; more precisely, it is the capital city of the country of La'aš.²⁰ In West-Semitic texts the verbal expression *mlk l* is never followed, to my knowledge, by the name of a city, but only by the name of a country.²¹ Instead, the form *mlk b*, "to reign in," followed by the name of a city is very common.²² It seems likely, therefore, that in the inscription of Zakir we should read: *whmlknj . b l šm [jn / b h]zrk*,²³ "Ba'alšamaj made me king in Hazrak."

The fact that the verb is in the causative form does not make the strength of the formula any less: it is only a variant, due to the fact that in this case the source of

¹⁷ "Syria" is meant here in a broad sense, including Phoenicia and Palestine.

¹⁸ Most references are found in the Old Testament, but they come from different traditions and are found in considerably different contexts, so that they may be considered as independent pieces of evidence.

¹⁹ See, e.g., M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, III (Giessen, 1915), 3; H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, I (Wiesbaden, 1962), 37, n. 202.

²⁰ See M. Noth, "La'ašch und Hamath," in *ZDPV* 52 (1929), 124-41.

²¹ Such is the case in the texts quoted by Ch.-F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'Ouest*, III (Leiden, 1962), 152-53, s.v. *mlk*, as well as in the biblical passages quoted by G. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Alten Testament* (Stuttgart, 1958), pp. 804-7, s.v. *mlk*.

²² See, e.g., Sefire I (*KAI* 222) B 22, and very often in the Old Testament.

²³ Elsewhere in the inscription the preposition *b* is graphically connected with the succeeding word, see G. Garbini, *L'aramaico antico* (Rome, 1956), p. 256; for this reason I have restored *b* at the beginning of line 4 rather than at the end of line 3. Going over Noth's article (quoted in n. 20) I notice that he had reached the same conclusion (p. 127, n. 3), on the basis of paleographic considerations. Occasionally, it can be found that the restoration with *b* has been suggested by other scholars (e.g., C. C. Torrey, "The Zakar and Kalamu Inscriptions," in *JAOS* 35 [1915], 358) but with no specific justification.

the royal power is explicitly mentioned. The same is true of several biblical passages. The elders of Shechem "went and made Abimelek king by the terebinth of the sacred pillar which is at Shechem (*wajjamlikû ʔet-ʔAbimelek l'melek ʕim-ʔēlôn muššāb ʔāšer bišʕkem*)."²⁴ "All the people went to Gilgal and there they made Saul king in front of Jahweh in Gilgal (*wajjamlikû šām ʔet-Šāʔal lifnē JHWH baggilgāl*)."²⁵ The emphasis resulting from the repetition ". . . there . . . in Gilgal" should be noticed. It should also be noticed that in the case of Saul there was no traditional capital where the enthronement would naturally take place; the site of Gilgal, however, was one of the traditional cultural centers of the tribal league before the introduction of the monarchy,²⁶ and as such it was fit to be chosen for the enthronement of the first king. "All the elders of Israel came to the king in Hebron, and king David made a pact with them in Hebron before Jahweh (*wajjikrot lāhem hammelek Dāwīd bʕrīt bʕhebrôn lifnē JHWH*) and they anointed David king over Israel."²⁷ The standard formula is missing, but the situation is the same, because there is a special emphasis on the site where the people made David king: the elders came to Hebron and made David king in Hebron. "On that day all of Israel made king over Israel Omri, general of the army, in the camp (*wajjamlikû kol-Jisrāʔēl ʔet-Omri šar-šābā ʕal Jisrāʔēl bajjôm hahû bammahānē*)."²⁸ This example does not fit the standard pattern because the place where the enthronement takes place is not the capital, or not even a sanctuary worthy to be mentioned by name (like Gilgal in the case of Saul). In fact in this case the mention of "the camp" could be simply due to the intention of the historian to state with some detail a situation which was not the normal one at the enthronement of the king. "The people of the land took Jehoahaz, son of Josiah, and made him king in Jerusalem as the successor of his father (*wajjamlikuhû taḥat ʔabiw bīrāšālēm*)."²⁹

Other texts have the verb in the normal, rather than the causative, form. "Absalom sent messengers throughout all the tribes of Israel to say: When you hear the sound of the horn you will say: Absalom has become king in Hebron (*mālak ʔAbšālôm bʕhebrôn*)."³⁰ The special emphasis which is apparent in this text should be noticed. The "tribes of Israel" to which messengers had been sent were to be won over to Absalom's cause, so that when the horn would blow they would recognize him as the new king. The detail concerning the site of the enthronement would not really seem to be essential, especially since from the rest of the story it appears that Jerusalem was obviously more important to Absalom than Hebron. Yet the detail is there: the people recognize Absalom as their new king by proclaiming aloud, at the sound of the horn, that he "has become king in Hebron." "Ahaziah, son of

²⁴ Judg. 9:6.

²⁵ 1 Sam. 11:15.

²⁶ See, e.g., R. De Vaux, *Les institutions de l'Ancien Testament*, II (Paris, 1960), 134-35.

²⁷ 2 Sam. 5:3.

²⁸ 2 Chron. 36:1.

²⁹ 1 Kings 16:16.

³⁰ 2 Sam. 15:10.

Ahab, became king over Israel in Samaria (*mālak ʿal-Jiṣrāʾēl bʾšomrôn*) in the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah.”³¹ “Jehoram, son of Ahab, became king over Israel in Samaria (*mālak ʿal-Jiṣrāʾēl bʾšomrôn*) in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah.”³² “In the twenty-sixth year of Asah, king of Judah, Elah, son of Baasha, became king over Israel in Tirsa (and reigned for) two years (*mālak ʿĒlā ben-Baʿšā ʿal Jiṣrāʾēl bʾtiršā šʾnātājim*).”³³ In this case the verb *mālak* has a twofold meaning. On one hand it can be translated as “he became king,” because of the temporal specification which comes before it: “In the twenty-sixth year of Baasha.” On the other hand it can also be translated as “he reigned” because of the other temporal specification which comes after it “for two years.” Exactly the same expression occurs ten more times in Kings, always in connection with the kings of the Northern kingdom.³⁴

As shown by the last example, the meaning of the verb *mālak* is fluctuating,³⁵ and it must be established in each case according to either the syntax or the context. There are thus some cases which show an exact correspondence to the standard enthronement formula, were it not for the different meaning of the verb. These texts should be quoted here, not only because of the formal similarity, but also because they show the importance of the capital city in its relationship to the reign, as well as to the enthronement, of the king. The pertinent occurrences may be divided into several types. (1) In the summary of the reign of a king, the king is said to have reigned for a given time *over* his territory *in* his capital: “Ahab, son of Omri reigned over Israel in Samaria for twenty-two years (*wajjimlok ʿAḥāb ben ʿOmri ʿal-Jiṣrāʾēl bʾšomrôn*).”³⁶ (2) More frequent is the case where the specification pertaining to the country is grammatically separated from the mention of the capital city: “In the eighteenth year of king Jeroboam, son of Nebat, Abiam became king over Judah (and) reigned for three years in Jerusalem (*šāloš šānīm mālak bʾirūšālēm*).”³⁷ (3) Even more common is the case where only the capital, but not the country, is mentioned: “In the seventh year of Jehu, Joash became king and

³¹ 1 Kings 22:52.

³² 2 Kings 3:1.

³³ 1 Kings 16:8.

³⁴ 1 Kings 15:33; 16:15; 2 Kings 13:1, 10; 14:23; 15:8, 17, 23, 27; 17:1.

³⁵ On this subject see D. Michel, “Studien zu den Thronbesteigungspsalmen,” VT 6 (1956) pp. 60–63. It may be noticed that also the Sumerian expression *lu gal* (see above, p. 54) can be translated both as “he became king” and as “he is king,” and the choice has to be made on the basis of the context. In Sumerian, however, there is another expression which clearly means “to reign, to be king,” literally “to perform (kingship),” see Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, p. 37, n. 85.

³⁶ 1 Kings 16:29; see also 2 Sam. 5:4–5 (= 1 Kings 2:11; 1 Chron. 3:4; 29:27); 1 Kings 11:42 (= 2 Chron. 9:30); 2 Kings 10:36.

³⁷ 1 Kings 15:1–2 (2 Chron. 13:1–2); see also 1 Kings 14:21; 15:9–10; 16:23; 22:41–42; 2 Kings 8:16–17, 25–26, and parallels in 2 Chron.

reigned for forty years in Jerusalem (*w^carbā'im šānā mālak bīrūšālēm*)."³⁸ (4) In some cases there is a relative clause attached to the name of the king, such as: "Sihon, king of the Amorites, who was king in Heshbon (*ʿāšer mālak b^chešbōn*)."³⁹ Sometime the importance of the capital for the reign of a certain king is expressed without the verb *mālak*, such as in the list of the Edomite kings: "Bela^c, son of B^cor, reigned in Edom and the name of his city was Dinhabah."⁴⁰

Besides the texts pertaining to the enthronement of a human king, evidence for the same type of enthronement formula can be found in texts referring to Jahweh. "Jahweh Sabaoth has become king on Mount Sion and in Jerusalem (*mālak JHWH Š^cbāʾōt b^char Šijjōn ūbīrūšālēm*)."⁴¹ "Jahweh has become king over them on Mount Sion (*mālak JHWH ʿalēhem b^char Šijjōn*)."⁴² Elsewhere the same concept, but not the same formula, occurs. "Say to Sion: your God has become king (*mālak ʿelohajik*)."⁴³ "Jahweh reigns, . . . in Sion Jahweh is great (*JHWH mālak . . . JHWH b^cšijjōn gādōl*)."⁴⁴ As is well known, the problem of the "enthronement of Jahweh" is a highly controversial one among Old Testament scholars today. Without entering the discussion here, it should be stressed that the application of the enthronement formula to Jahweh does not imply by itself the existence of an enthronement feast of Jahweh, and it should be considered in the light of all the other expressions which are drawn from the language of the royal court and are applied to God and religion.

Independently from the problem of the feast of the "enthronement of Jahweh," the texts quoted above are important because they may help us in picturing the background against which the enthronement formula becomes meaningful. Since monarchy was vested with definite religious connotations, the site where a man would, formally and solemnly, be made king was also brought within the religious sphere. As the king is "consecrated," so is the physical site where the ceremony takes place. In the inscription of Zakir we read that a god, Ba^calšamajn, "made" Zakir "king in Hazrak." In the case of Saul, he was made king by the people "in front of Jahweh at Gilgal," and in the same way David "made a pact" with the elders of Israel "before Jahweh in Hebron." In most of the cases, the enthronement site would

³⁸ 2 Kings 12:2. See also 2 Kings 14:2; 15:2, 33; 16:2; 18:2; 21:1, 19; 22:1; 23:31, 33Q, 36; 24:8, 18 (=Jer. 52:1): all of these texts refer to kings of Judah, and are paralleled in 2 Chron. Two more occurrences, with a slightly different wording (*wajjimlok b^c*), refer to a king of Damascus (1 Kings 11:24) and a king of Israel (2 Kings 15:13).

³⁹ Josh. 13:10, 21; see also 13:21; Judg. 4:2; 1 Kings 15:18; Judith 1:1.

⁴⁰ Gen. 36:32 ff. (=1 Chron. 1:43 ff.).

⁴¹ Isa. 24:23. From the context, the perfect appears to be a prophetic future, but this does not have bearing on our problem.

⁴² Mic. 4:7: here, too, the perfect stands for a future.

⁴³ Isa. 52:7.

⁴⁴ Ps. 99:1-2.

remain the capital of the king and possibly of the dynasty.⁴⁶ So there is room for a further theological development: the enthronement site and seat of kingship is "chosen" by divine initiative, just as the king and his dynasty are "chosen." "I have consecrated my king, on Sion, my holy mountain."⁴⁶ "Jahweh has sworn to David . . . : From the fruit of your body I will put (a descendant) for you on the throne . . . , because Jahweh has chosen Sion, he wants it to be his dwelling. . . ."⁴⁷ Roboam "reigned seventeen years in Jerusalem, the city which Jahweh had chosen from among all the tribes of Israel to place in it his name."⁴⁸ This concept is well attested in the Old Testament, so much so that it has been suggested that there may have been a "feast of Sion," during which the election of the dynasty and of its city was celebrated.⁴⁹ Whether or not the existence of a "feast" can be accepted, it seems certain that to the people the capital was a city endowed with a religious character and that this aspect was emphasized at the moment of the king's enthronement.

Other evidence, drawn from Mesopotamian texts, points in the same direction. The beginning of the code of Hammurapi states that the king was "chosen" (literally, "called by name") by the great gods Anum and Enlil, in close connection with the choice of Marduk as the greatest among the other gods and of Babylon as royal city: "When lofty Anum, king of the Anunnaki, (and) Enlil, lord of heaven and earth, the determiner of the destinies of the land, determined for Marduk, the first-born of Enki, the Enlil-functions over all mankind, made him great among the Igigi, called Babylon by its exalted name, made it supreme in the world, established for him in its midst an enduring kingship, whose foundations are as firm as heaven and earth—at that time Anum and Enlil named me, . . . Hammurapi, (to become king)."⁵⁰ And similarly in an inscription by Samsu-iluna: "When Anum and Enlil . . . gave to Marduk the lordship of the four quarters of the world, gave him a lofty name among the Anunnaki, and established for him the foundations of Babylon (to be as firm) as those of heaven and earth, then Marduk . . . gave to me, Samsu-iluna . . . all of the lands for shepherding."⁵¹ In these texts the enthronement of the king, or at least his advent as the new ruler, is united in a single line of perspective with the original choice of Babylon as the city of Marduk, the king of the gods. The mythical story of this primeval event is to be found at the end of the *Enūma eliš* where the gods, gathered in Babylon, "the place which (Marduk) loves,"⁵² "granted him (i.e.,

⁴⁶ Besides the biblical examples where the enthronement site is different from the capital, the case of the Ur III kings may be mentioned: they were successively enthroned, as it seems, in Nipur, Uruk, and Ur. See T. Jacobsen, "The Reign of Ibbi-Suen," *JCS* 7 (1953), 36, n. 2.

⁴⁷ Ps. 2:6.

⁴⁸ Ps. 132:11, 13.

⁴⁹ 1 Kings 14:21.

⁵⁰ See H.-J. Kraus, *Die Königsherrschaft Gottes im Alten Testament* (Tübingen, 1951), pp. 27–99, especially pp. 38–39 and 44–49.

⁵¹ *CH* i 1–28, 49, transl. T. J. Meek in *ANET*², p. 164.

⁵² *LIH* 2 97 + *VAS* 1 33, 1–22.

⁵³ *En. el.* vi 72, see E. A. Speiser, in *ANET*², p. 69.

Marduk) the exercise of kingship of the gods, they confirmed him in dominion over the gods of heaven and earth."⁵³ The passages from the royal inscriptions just mentioned seem to refer explicitly to the traditions incorporated in the *Enūma eliš*, and they certainly reflect the same conviction: the choice of the site where Marduk's kingship was reconfirmed⁵⁴ was almost as important as the enthronement act itself.

To sum up, the following conclusions can be drawn. (1) The clause of the type "to become king in a certain city" is attested in a fairly large number of examples. In many cases it is clear that the mention of the city where the enthronement took place is not due to any specific interest in relating a particular historical detail. We must rather assume that we are dealing with a *formula* which was commonly in use. (2) Is it possible to point to any reason which may explain the origin of the formula? The answer seems to be affirmative. In both the areas which have been studied here, Mesopotamia and Syria, there is evidence to the effect that the city where the enthronement would take place (usually the capital city) was considered the object of a special divine choice. It was, therefore, because of religious reasons that the *act* of the enthronement was strictly linked with the *site* of the enthronement. (3) The research has brought up some implications concerning the problem of the "enthronement of Jahweh." Even though these implications have not been discussed here, they seem particularly interesting, especially in view of the considerable attention which has been given to that problem in recent Old Testament scholarship.

⁵³ vi 99–100, *ibid.* p. 514.

⁵⁴ There may have been an enthronement act, even though this is not described in the text. A royal throne is mentioned in vi 93, *ibid.* p. 514.

AKKADIAN "UD(D)Û"

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I

The sign-group UD.DA is well known in Akkadian, particularly in connection with the verb *šūtuqu*, "to make (something) pass by," "to avert." Dealing with personal names of the type DN-*mušētiq*-UD.DA, Stamm notes that "UD.DA wird herkömmlich (zuletzt Ungnad *NRVU I Glossar* 38) *urru* 'Licht' gelesen."¹ Rejecting this reading as unsubstantiated, he continues: "Deshalb ist zu erwägen, ob nicht für UD.DA die Lesung *šūtu* 'Trockenheit,' 'Dürre' (s. Landsberger *ZA* 42, 161)² eingesetzt werden kann. Zu übersetzen wäre dann 'Der Gott lässt das Fieber vorbeigehen.' " Similarly, von Soden takes the group UD.DA, when found in context with *šūtuqu*, as a logogram and suggests the reading *šētu*, "Auszehrung,"³ while CAD concludes that UD.DA is a logogram whose reading is unknown, and which "refers to some kind of disease . . . or to a state of uncleanness."⁴ Both dictionaries evidently take the variant Ū.DA of RA 21 130:6 (text no. 1 below) as an aberrant writing of the same logogram.

It is indeed true, as Landsberger has shown,⁵ that UD.DA occurs as a logogram for *šētu*; further inspection of the occurrences of the word in context with *šūtuqu*, however, indicates that Thureau-Dangin (*RA* 21 130:6) was justified in taking the group in this context as an Akkadian word, phonetically spelled.⁶ These occurrences may be listed here:

1. *la ṭūb lib-bi iredḏū-šu ud-da-a-tu*₄ (var. -*tū*, -*tī*) *immar šum-ma ittu ši-i ana rubē u māti-šu la ṭeḥē ud-da-šu* (var. *ū-da-šu*) *šu-tu-qim-ma*, "(If . . . , it means that) unhappiness will pursue him; he will experience *uddātu* [Thureau-Dangin: "tribulations"]. In order that' (the evil portended by) that portent may not approach the noble and his land, (and) to avert its *u*. [Thureau-Dangin: "tribulation"] . . ." (*RA* 21 130:4-6).

¹ *MVAG* 44 319 f. (Abbreviations used throughout as in the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*.)

² See now however Landsberger, *JNES* 8 252 n. 30, where the translation "dryness" is rejected as founded on a false etymology. "Setze ich jetzt nur ein einziges akk. *šūtu* an, indem ich auch *šūtu* mit Idgr. UD.DA von *ašū* ableite als das Draussen, die Atmosphäre, frische Luft, okkasionell auch schlechtes Wetter. . . ."

³ *AHW*. 262b, sub 7e.

⁴ *CAD* 4 395a, sub 6.

⁵ *ZA* 42 161 f.; see now *CAD* s.v. *šētu*.

⁶ See also Delitzsch, *HWB* 22a: *uddū* pl. *uddāti*, Noth, Drangsal; Bezold, *Glossar* 16b: *uddū*, pl. *uddāti*, Bedrängnis, Drangsal; Labat, *Hémerologies* 187: *uddū* (pl. *uddāti*), détresse.

⁷ Comparison to the normal introductory clauses of the *namburbū* indicates that *šumma* is to be taken as a scribal misinterpretation of *niš* = *ana*.

2. [ana lumun i]dāte an-na-te mal bašā la(!) sanāqa . . . ú-da šu-tu-qim-[ma], "[that the evil] of those portents, as many as there are, may not come close, . . . to avert u." (4R 60:11-13).

3. NAM.BÚR.BI lumun šēri ana šarri (var. amēli) la tēpē lumunšu amēla la kašādi ú-da ša šēri šu-tu-qim-ma, "Namburbū-ritual that the evil of a snake may not approach a king (var. man), that its evil may not affect a man, to avert the u. of a snake" (AMT 91, 2:1-2; variants from the British Museum text 80-7-19, 88:7-8, known from a copy of Dr. Geers).

4. NAM.¹BÚR.¹BI lumun še[hri(L[Ú.TUR]) ab]a-šú umma-šú la kašādi ú-da-a-šú šu-tu¹-qí-[im-ma], "Namburbū-ritual (whose purpose is) that the evil of a baby may not affect its father (or) its mother, (and) to avert its u." (STT 72:54).

5. šu-tuq ú-di, "my u. has been averted." (STT 63:5' and duplicates K. 9988:5' [unpubl.], BM 47938:7 [CT 39 27], and LKA 127 r. 4).

6. ana ud-da ħUL zuqaqīpi pa-ra-si, "to cut off the u., the evil of (or: the evil u. of) a scorpion" (CT 38 38 r. 69; parāsu here is clearly a synonym of šūtuqu).

7. [^dAnu ^dEn-]lil u ^dĒ-a mu-še-tiq ú-di šu-ut šamē eršeti mu-pa-as-si-su idāti, "[Anu, En]lil and Ea, who avert⁸ the u.'s of heaven (and) earth, who wipe away (the evil significance of) portents" (Bauer Asb. I Pl. 49, Sm. 671:13).

8. i-le-i ud-da šu-tu-qu, "she (Gula) is able to avert u." (KAR 100 ii 4).

In view of the undesirable nature of *ud-da* and its variants in the preceding passages, we cannot doubt that the same word is represented by *uddū* in the following selection from a prayer, though the word is not found here in conjunction with *šūtuqu* or a synonymous verb:

9. ina tu-di pu-uš-qí ù ud-di-e tu-še-šir ħ[arān(?)]-šú, "you direct his w[ay(?)] from the path of difficulty and u." (KAR 321 r. 2).

Finally, it is possible, though not certain,⁹ that *uddū* is found in the following passage:

10. am-me-ni muršu lumun lib-bi ud-du-u ħu-lu-uq-qu-u rit-ku-su(!) itti-ia, "why are disease, heartbreak, u. (and) losses always connected with me?" (Streck Asb. 2 252 r. 4).¹⁰

Similarity of context in the passages cited gives us assurance that we are dealing

⁸ Bauer Asb. 2 42 translates *mušētiq* as singular: "[. . . En]lils und Eas, der vorbeigehen lässt"; parallelism with *mupassissū*, however, shows that *mušētiq* is to be taken as plural. For a similar loss of final vowel, see [mu]-kin₇ eš-re-e[ti: mu-ub-bi-bu [š]u-luḥ-[hi], addressed to Ea, Šamaš and Asalluḫi, Iraq 18 pl. 14 6.

⁹ The reading *ē* (*šitu*) u *ħuluqqā*, "expenses and losses," is supported by other occurrences of the phrase: see CAD 6 233b.

¹⁰ We should possibly include here also the apodosis of ACh Sin IV 23, nu-ub-ħu-ut ú-di-e, "(there will be) a lessening of difficulties(?)." Dr. Benno Landsberger has kindly pointed out to the writer the Neo-Babylonian personal name ša-^dBēl-UD.DA, with variants -ú-du and -ú-da (Ungnad, Glossar 7). The variation in writing further substantiates the phonetic character of the sign-group UD.DA in the contexts discussed above.

with the same word in each, while the variation in spelling, both in the first sign and in the final vowel, indicates an inflected Akkadian word, phonetically spelled; both the lengthened final vowel and the pronominal suffix *-šu* (rather than *-su*, the expected suffix of UD.DA = *šētu* in nominative or accusative) show that in this context we cannot take *ud-da* and its variants as a logogram for *šētu*. The variation in spelling remains unexplained; in view of the consistent spelling *ud-da* in personal names, it may be that this is to be looked upon as a frozen "pseudo-logographic" writing.

While it is to be hoped that further attestation, particularly in lexical texts, will give more precise indication of the meaning of *uddû*, its general sense at least is clear from the passages cited. Nos. 1-6 are excerpted from *namburbû*-texts, apotropaic rituals whose purpose is to ward off evils threatened by portentous events or objects; nos. 1-5 are found in the introductory sections of these ritual texts, stating the purpose of the ritual: to avert (or cut off) *ud(d)û*. In this context, the heading (ana) *ud(d)û šūtuqi/parāsi* is equivalent to the more usual introductory formula of the *namburbû*, (ana) *lumun . . . šūtuqi*, "to avert the evil of so-and-so."¹¹ The interpretation of "evil" in this context is assured by the frequent quotation of omen protases or complete omens in the *namburbû* introductions, and the inclusion of several *namburbû*-rituals in the body of the omen series *Šumma ālu ina mēlē šakin*; these show that the phrase "the evil of so-and-so" is a standard reference to that indeterminate evil outcome which was considered to be portended by any of the manifestations or actions of the thing mentioned. That is, the precise nature of the portended evil *in se* is not given; rather, the evil is specified only in terms of the portent which indicates that it is imminent: thus "the evil of the portent of a *šurārû*-lizard,"¹² or "the evil of a snake which was observed in my house and (which) hunted (there) as I looked on."¹³

Similarly, *ud(d)û* signifies in the *namburbû*-texts a portended vicissitude or calamity which is further specified in terms of a portentous object, such as a snake (no. 3 above) or a baby (no. 4). The traditional translation¹⁴ "trouble" or "difficulty" is apt in the *namburbû*-texts, as well as in prayers and in proper names of the type "DN is avorter of *ud-da*."

II

The form *û-di*, modified by the plural *šūt* in no. 7 above, evidently represents a plural of *ud(d)û*. It may be questioned, however, whether UD-*da*-(a)-*tu*, well known in apodoses of omen-texts and in prayer literature, is not an alternate and indeed more common plural of the same word, and therefore to be read *uddātu*.¹⁵ While

¹¹ See, e.g., LKA 114:5; LKA 112:2-3.

¹² STT 63:27'.

¹³ Schollmeyer, *Sumerische-babylonische Hymnen und Gebete an Šamaš*, p. 139 r. 1-3.

¹⁴ See note 6 above.

¹⁵ For alternate plural forms, masculine and feminine, see von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*, § 61 o.

the word has been so interpreted by the scholars mentioned in note 6 above, other interpretations have also been advanced. Thus it is read *tam-ṭa-(a)-tu*, "losses," "privations," by Kraus¹⁶ and by CAD,¹⁷ and the reading *pir-da-a-ti*, "terrors," is given by Mullo Weir¹⁸ and by Ebeling.¹⁹

With a view to choosing among these alternatives, we list here some typical occurrences of the word as found in omen apodoses and prayers:

11. UD-da-a-tu₄ šá GAR.MEŠ-šú ip-pa-ra-sa, "the u. which constantly beset him will be cut off" (CT 39 45:33).

12. UD-da-a-tu₄ : id-dal-laḥ, "u.: he will be disturbed" (Kraus *Texte* 6:72).

13. UD-da-a-tu₄ itti ili šaknā-šú mim-mu-šú iḥalliq, "u. with a god are in store for him; his property will be lost" (*ibid.* 3b ii 56).

14. ek-liš ibašši ina UD-da-a-ti ittanallak, "he will be gloomy, he will constantly go amid u." (*ibid.* 3b: r. iii 10).

15. tāḥazu²⁰ ina māti iššakkan : bartu : UD-da-a-ti ana šār māti kalāma, "battle will take place in the land: revolt: u. for the king of every land" (Thompson *Rep.* 181:2-3).

16. ūmē rubē uqtattū mātu dan-na-tu₄ immar ana māti UD-da-a-ti bītu šū issappaḥ, "the days of the noble will come to an end; the land will experience hardship; u. for the land; that house(hold) will be scattered" (CT 27 18:18; similarly CT 27 8b:8 and 10; KAR 376:27 and 33).

17. UD-da-a-tu₄ ṣaltu sad-rat-su, "u.; strife is arrayed for him" (CT 39 2:100).

18. UD-da-a-tu₄ u du-ub-bu-ub-bu [...], "u. and rebellion . . ." (CT 38 31 r. 18).

19. nakru ana māti-ia₅ iḥ-ḥāb-ba-tam-ma UD-da(!)-a-tu₄ GAR.MEŠ-šú-ma rēqūssa (SUD-sā) ana māti-šú itār, "the enemy will make an incursion into my land, but u. will constantly be in store for him and he will return empty-handed to his land" (CT 31 21a:5).

20. mātu A.MEŠ DÈ.DAL išatti: UD-da-a-ti mur-šu, "the land will drink 'water of ashes' (means) u. (and) sickness" (2R 47:26; the omen apodosis interpreted by this commentary text is found in *ACh Sin* XXV 43).

21. šak-nu-nim-ma mur-šu di-³-i ḥu-lu-uq-qu-ú u šaḥ-lu-uq-ti šak-na-ni UD-da-a-ti suḥ-ḥur pa-ni u ma-le-e lib-ba-a-ti uz-zu uq-ga-ti šib-sat ilāni u a-me-lu-ti, "sickness, headache, loss and destruction are set upon me; u., grief and mourning, the anger, wrath (and) disgust of gods and men are set upon me" (STC 2 pl. 81 r. 69-71).

Finally, *ú-da-tú* in the following passage represents an undesirable outcome of a

¹⁶ Kraus, *Texte* p. 33.

¹⁷ CAD 4 70a, *sub ekliš*.

¹⁸ Cecil J. Mullo Weir, *A Lexicon of Akkadian Prayers*, p. 269 s.v. *pirittu*.

¹⁹ Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, p. 134:70 (with the note: "oder lies *uṭ-ta-a-ti* 'Wirrungen'").

²⁰ For the short second vowel of *tāḥazu*, see the gloss in K.2553 r. 11 (available to me in photo): *ta-ḥaḥi-zi*, indicating a short *a* subject to the Assyrian laws of vowel harmony.

situation of ill portent, and therefore seems certainly to be classified with the occurrences already listed:

22. *šār er-bīt-te lim-ḥu-ru ú-da-tú pī-ia, li-suḥ ina zumri(!)-ia₅ šāru na-zi-qu i-da-tú lum-ni-i[a]*, “may the four winds take upon themselves²¹ the *u*. of my mouth; may the wailing wind snatch from me²² the portents (which foretold) evil for me” (*KAR* 165:19–20; “of my mouth” here clearly signifies “caused or portended by unwary speech”).

Several considerations indicate that, of the possible readings of the word in nos. 11–21, *uddātu* is to be preferred:

a) First among these considerations is the close relationship between the *namburbû*-texts and the omen literature, already remarked upon; in the light of this relationship, we should expect that *UD-da-a-tu*, found as a prognostic in the omen texts, would be similar in meaning and origin to *ud(d)û*, the portended evil to be averted by the *namburbû*. The conclusion that the former should therefore be read *uddātu*, and interpreted as the plural of *ud(d)û*, is strengthened by the correspondence between the two words in a single text (no. 1 above), where we find a portent interpreted, in the usual omen formula, as predictive of unhappiness and *ud-da-a-tu₄*, while the accompanying ritual is designed to avert “the portent” and its *ud-da*.

b) The correspondence between *ud-da-a-tu₄* and the variant *ú-da* in no. 1, and the writing *ú-da-tú* of no. 22, indicate that the word is to be read with an initial *u*, and that the writing *UD-* does not represent *tam-* or *pir-*. Further, if these latter readings had been intended, we should expect to find in at least some instances an unequivocal spelling of these sounds in the omen or prayer texts of the Neo-Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian period, but no such spelling is known to the writer.²³

c) The sense “difficulties” or “troubles” is in at least some instances clearly more fitting than the alternate senses which have been suggested. Thus “terrors with a god” or “losses with a god” (no. 13) are unlikely, nor is the sense “losses for the king” (no. 15) or “for the land” (no. 16) probable.

d) Finally, the phraseology found in connection with *uddātu* is in some instances strikingly similar to that used of *ud(d)û*. Thus we may compare *ud-da parāsi* (no. 6) with *ud-da-a-tu₄ ipparrasā* of no. 11. Note further the similarity between the list of calamitous experiences in no. 10, with *ud-du-u*, and that of no. 21, with *ud-da-a-ti*.

²¹ For this sense of *maḥāru*, see von Soden, *Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Viktor Christian*, p. 102.

²² On this phrase, see Held, *JCS* 15 19, note to iii 9.

²³ No clear writing of *pirātu*, to my knowledge, occurs in this context. *Tamṭiātu* is found in an Old-Babylonian omen text, but in a phrase which does not recur in the texts which concern us here: *šú-ba-at ta-am-ṭi-a-tim*, “(If a man’s garment hangs down and is dotted with white spots: this is) the garment of privations” (*Afo* 18 pl. 6 ii 7). The same reading is probably to be adopted in *KAR* 395:10, *i-na tam-ṭi-a-ti DU.DU*.

A HYMN TO THE BEER GODDESS AND A DRINKING SONG*

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In addition to the list of technical terms about beer and brewing in ancient Mesopotamia, collected in the 23rd tablet of the series $\text{ĜAR-ra} = \text{hubullu}$, published by Professor Oppenheim some years ago (*JAOS Suppl.* 10, Dec. 1950), and the occasional information scattered in letters and economic documents,¹ we have, among the surviving Sumerian literary compositions, two short poems dealing with brewing and drinking. The first is a hymn praising Ninkasi, the beer goddess, the mysterious power which produces the fermentation and changes plain grain and water into the liquid which "makes the liver happy, fills the heart with joy." The various steps of the brewing process are described in the hymn in a poetic, but clearly recognizable, way. The second is the only Sumerian drinking song so far discovered. Although they are quite different in form and content and even seem to imply slightly different brewing techniques,² the two compositions³ are always found together on the tablets so far discovered. The tablets are:

A = AO 5385 (*TRS* 20) = 1-79

B = Ni 5469 iii 24'-iv 34' (copied by H. Kizilyay) = 1-13; 35-68

C = VAT 6705 (*VAS* 10 156) = 6-31; 38-61.

In A follows a short b a l - b a l - e to Inanna totally unrelated to the preceding compositions. B is a collective tablet with other hymns and lyrical songs.⁴ C con-

* Abbreviations are those of *CAD*, with the following additions:

Ant Lexical series $\text{a n t a g a l} = \text{šaĝu}$
 ELA S. N. Kramer, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*
 FH Forerunner to $\text{ĜAR-ra} = \text{hubullu}$
 P Proto, before the name of a lexical series
 P Proverb, followed by number of collection
 SKT C. Frank, *Strassburger Keilschrifttexte*
 SP E. I. Gordon, *Sumerian Proverbs*
 Ugu Lexical series u g u . m u

¹ Van Dijk published in *Sumer* 13 Pl. 23A the OB Akkadian fragment IM 51650A, which contains instructions for the manufacture of beer; a similar text is the unpublished IM 52196. Both, unfortunately, are in a fragmentary condition, and very little can be gleaned from them.

² Note especially that different types of fermenting and collector vats seem to be used.

³ The only attempt at a translation of *SRT* 20 and *VAS* 10 156 is, as far I know, the rather unsuccessful one of Witzel, *AnOr* 15 25 ff. Some allusions to the Ninkasi hymn are found in S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (Chicago, 1963) p. 111.

⁴ Some of them are published by S. N. Kramer in his study of the Sumerian love songs, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107/6 485 ff.

tains only our poems. One interesting feature of the latter tablet is the insertion of variant readings, in the form of glosses, a rudimentary form of textual criticism, by which the scribe tried to harmonize conflicting traditions. These variants are given in the textual notes under the siglum C'.

The first composition, Hymn to Ninkasi, consists of twelve four-line strophes with the following pattern:

A
B
^dnin-ka-si A
B

Interestingly enough, the individual lines seem to follow a uniform metric pattern, but our ignorance of Sumerian phonetics, and still more of its poetic licenses, makes it impossible to verify that supposition. The second composition has a freer construction, with the rhythmic repetitions and parallelisms typical of Sumerian poetry. The "Drinking Song" can be divided in three main parts:

1. Lines 49-57. Enumeration of vats and pots of every type and description used in brewing or serving beer. All of them are ready for the party.

2. Lines 58-68 (line 69 could also belong to this part). Toast to an unnamed individual, apparently a woman, by a group of likewise unidentified persons. Unless lines 64 ff. are only a literary image, the occasion for the drinking party is related in one way or another to the construction of a building.

3. Lines 69-77. Answer by the person to whom the toast has been addressed. The speaker is probably a woman because of the mention of the woman's garment ^t ⁴ ⁵ N A M . N I N , and because of the repetition in different dialect of the concluding line (see commentary to lines 78-79). The language of lines 69-77 cannot provide a linguistic criterion for the determination of the sex of the speaker because there are no words for which the Emesal form could regularly be expected.⁵ The only suggestion we dare to offer for the identification of the woman is that she could very well be an unnamed *sabitu*, since the poem certainly dates from a period when the profession of tavern-keeper was normally reserved to women. In conclusion, it is quite possible that we have before us a poem celebrating the inauguration of a tavern or éš - d a m - m a kept by a lady.

Reluctantly, the native words for the various types of vessels have been left untranslated, either because of insufficient information about a particular type of receptacle, or because no English words could translate the Sumerian terms exactly, and one would have to resort to awkward circumlocutions. In any case, the flavor and appeal of the original have been irremediably lost. Less apparent, but perhaps more important, is the difficulty in translating words expressing emotions or states

⁵ Isolated Emesal forms, in addition to line 79, are the var. m u - u n - in line 13, and è m in line 61.

of mind (g u r₄, m e - s i - g a , u l - t i - a). See the pertinent commentary for the justification of the translations.⁶

The purpose of this article is only to make available this source for the study of the ancient brewing techniques. A concise poem of an evidently lyrical nature is not the best starting point for a technological investigation, and the analysis of the practices of the ancient brewers is too complex an undertaking to be attempted here.

- a-zal-le ù-tu-da [x]¹x¹ [x (x)]
^dnin-ḥur-sag-gá-ke₄ mí-zi-dè-[eš dug₄-ga]
^dnin-ka-si a-zal-le ù-tu-da 'x'¹[x x (x)]
^dnin-ḥur-sag-gá-ke₄ mí-zi-dè-eš dug₄-ga
- 5 uru¹-zu lâl-ḥur-re² ki ús-sa
 bàd-gal-bi šu mu¹-ra-an-du₇-du₇
^dnin-ka-si uru¹-zu lâl-ḥur-re ki² ús-sa
 bàd-gal-bi šu mu¹-ra-an-du₇-du₇
- a-a-zu ^den-ki en-^dnu-dím-mud-e¹
- 10 ama-zu ^dnin-ti nin-abzu-a
^dnin-ka-si a-a-zu ^den-ki en-^dnu-dím-mud-e
 ama-zu ^dnin-ti nin-abzu-a
- si níg-sila_x¹ *i⁸mar-maḥ-a² du₈-a-zu³
 šim-lâl-ta ub₄-ba bappir₂ ḥe-ḥe-a
- 15 ^dnin-ka-si si níg-sila_x¹ *i⁸mar-maḥ-a² du₈-a-zu³
 šim-lâl-ta ub₄-ba bappir₂ ḥe-ḥe-a
- bappir₂ udun-maḥ-e¹ du₈-a-zu
 zar-gú-nida-àm¹ si sá-sá-àm²
^dnin-ka-si bappir₂ udun-maḥ-e du₈-a-zu¹
- 20 zar-gú-nida-àm si sá-sá-àm
- munu₃ saḥar-gar-ra a si-ga-zu
 ur-me-me nam¹ gam-gam-ma-àm
^dnin-ka-si munu₃ saḥar-gar-ra a si-ga-zu¹
 ur-me-me nam gam-gam-ma-àm
- 25 sún dug-a a gar-ra-zu¹
 i-zi zi-zi¹-dam i-zi gá-gá-dam
^dnin-ka-si sún dug-a a gar-ra-zu
 i-zi zi-zi¹-dam i-zi gá-gá-dam

⁶ The words u r₆ and š à as organs of emotions and mental acts have been simply translated by "liver" and "heart." Cf. the old, but still valid, study of E. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms des parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien*, 109 ff., 128 ff.

30 šà-šed₈ AN dab-ba-a¹

^dnin-ka-si titab ^{si}kid-mah-a bara₃-ga-zu
ša-šed₈ AN dab-ba-a

lál geštin téš-ba sur-ra-a

35 ^dnin-ka-si ^{kaš}dida-gal šu-tab-ba¹ gál-la-zu
lâl geštin téš-ba sur-ra-a

[NIG]

[^{kaš}dida dug-šè mi-ni-in-x-x]

[d]nin-ka-si NÍG 'x']

40 ^{kaš}dida dug-šè [m]i-ni-in-^ʔx-xʔ

^{dug}níg-dúr-bùr-e gú-nun-di-dam

lahtan-mah-a mi-ni-in-si-sá-àm

^dnin-ka-si ^{dug}níg-dúr-bùr-e gù-nun-di-dam

lahtan-mah-a¹ mi-ni-in-si-sá-àm

45 kaš-si-im-^{du}glaḥtan-na¹ dé-a-zu²

^{1d}idigna ^dburanun-na sag sì-ga-àm¹

^dnin-ka-si kaš-si-im-^{dug}lahtan-na¹ dé-a-zu²

^{fd}idigna ^{fd}buranun-na sag sì-ga-àm¹

gi gakkul-e gi gakkul-e

50 ^{gi}gakkul-e ^{dug}lam-sá-re

^{gi}gakkul-e níg ur₅ šag₅-šag₅-ge

^{du}lam-sá-re¹ níg šà húl-húl-e

dug^u-gur¹-bal níg é-a me-te-bi

*du*ṣṣà-gub-bé níḡ kaš si-si-ge

55 ^{du}g^{am}-am DU.DU-^{du}g¹lam-sá-ra-ke₄

gi¹bunin-ú¹búr gi¹ba-an-du⁸ʰx-xʰ-ke⁴

dug-sig₅ dag-dug-e¹ sa-gi₄-a

ša-dingir-za hu-mu-ra-ab-hun-e

igi-^{gi}gakkul-àm igi-me na-nam

60 šà-gi gakkul-àm šà-me na-nam

èm šà-zu gur₄-gur₄-ru ní-bi-a

šà-me-a gur₄-gur₄-ru ní-bi-a¹

ur₅-me bí-šag₅ šà-me bí-ḥúl

sig₄-nam-tar-ra a dé-zu¹

- 65 silim-ma h́e-gál-e ki ús-sa-zu¹
 ˢnin-ka-si za-da hu-mu-u₈¹-da-an-ti
 kaš geštin hu-mu-ra-an¹-bal-bal-e
 gurun_x-lál-e gù-nun ha-ra-ni-ib-bé
 ˢibunin-ˢbúr-a kaš-ku₇-ku₇-dam
- 70 sagi lú-tur-ra lunga bí-in-du-en
 a-nigin₂-e nigin-na-mu-dè
 gur₄-gur₄-re-gá gur₄-gur₄-re-gá-mu-dè
 kaš-nag-e me-e sì-ga-mu-dè
 gurun_x-nag-a ul-ti-a-mu-dè
- 75 šà-ḥúl-la ur₅-šag₅-ga-mu-dè
 šà-gá šà-ḥúl-la gál-la-bi
 ur₅-šag₅ ˢˢpala₃-a ša-mu₄-ra-mu-dè
 šà-ˢinanna ki-bi ba-ab-gi₄
 šà-ga-ša-an-an-na-ke₄ ki-bi ba-ab-gi₄

[bal-bal-e(?)-ˢnin-k]a-si-kam

TEXTUAL NOTES

5. ¹A: uru; B: uru₂; cf. line 7, note 1, for C. ²A: -re; B: -e (but -re in line 7).
6. ¹A: šu ma-; B: ša mu- (but cf. line 8); C: šu mu-.
7. ¹A: uru; B: uru₂; C: uru^{ki}. ²In A there is an erasure between ki and ús.
8. ¹A: šu ma-; BC: šu mu-.
9. ¹BC interchange the order of lines 9/10 and 11/12.
13. ¹A: mu-un-sila_x (šID); C: níg-LAGAB; C': níg^l-sila_x¹ (collated by F. Köcher). ²A: -a; C: -e. ³A: i-in-du₈; C: du₈-a-z[u].
14. C' adds a -ta, after šim.
15. Reading níg-sila_x according to C' in line 13; for the rest of the line same var. as above.
17. ¹AC': -a; C: -e.
18. ¹A: -àm; C: -a; C': -e. ²A: -àm; C om.
19. ¹A om. lines 19-20.
22. ¹A: nam₄ (ṛúg) [collated]; C: nam.
23. ¹A om. lines 23-24.
25. ¹C' on edge: titab gi (see commentary).
26. ¹A: zi-zi-; C: zi-i-zi.
28. ¹var. as in 26¹.
30. ¹A: -a; C: -àm.
35. ¹A: -tab^l-ba^l.
37. ¹Strophes 37-40 and 41-44 only in BC; A om.
44. ¹C: -a; B om.

45. ¹A: -na; C: -a; B unclear. ²AC: dé-a-zu; B: d|é-a-za; C': mi-ni-in-.
46. ¹AC: -àm; B: -a; C': -za? (cf. note 2 to line 47).
47. ¹= 45¹. ²B: d|é-a-za; C: -dé-a; C': -za (unless it belongs to the preceding line). ³A om. 47-48.
48. ¹B: -a; C: -àm. Dividing line after line 48 only in C.
52. ¹C: -e; C': -re.
53. ¹C: u-gur-bal; C': sig₇-bal.
55. ¹BC: dug; A om.
56. ¹AB: -du₈; C: -du.
57. ¹A: a-LAGAB/GIŠ; B: a-GIŠ; C: DAG-BI-e; C': a-⁺ba (for GIŠ? [not collated]).
62. ¹Line according to A; B:]NIGIN₂.NE[...]NE.BI.
63. ¹A: -a-dé-zu, with undeciphered gloss underneath; B:]GIŠ.NI (both signs probably a miscopy) -a-za.
65. ¹A: -zu; B: -za.
66. ¹A: -u₈-; B: -e-.
67. ¹A: -an-; B om.

Subscription only in C, left edge; on the upper third of the same edge the sign ZA, or 4 (meaning?).

1 Borne *by* the flowing water [. . .],
Tenderly cared for by Ninḫursag,
Ninkasi, borne *by* the flowing water [. . .]
Tenderly cared for by Ninḫursag.

5 Having founded your town on "wax,"
She finished its great walls for you,
Ninkasi, having founded your town on "wax,"
She finished its great walls for you.

Your father is Enki, the lord Nudimmud,
10 Your mother is Ninti, the queen of the abzu.
Ninkasi, your father is Enki, the lord Nudimmud,
Your mother is Ninti, the queen of the abzu.

You are the one who handles dough (and) . . . with a big shovel,
Mixing, in a pit, the b a p p i r with sweet aromatics.
15 Ninkasi, you are the one who handles dough (and) . . . with a big shovel,
Mixing, in a pit, the b a p p i r with sweet aromatics.

You are the one who bakes the b a p p i r in the big oven,
Puts in order the piles of *hulled* grain.
Ninkasi, you are the one who bakes the b a p p i r in the big oven,
20 Puts in order the piles of *hulled* grain.

You are the one who waters the earth-covered malt,
 The *noble* dogs guard (it even) from the potentates.
 Ninkasi, you are the one who waters the earth-covered malt,
 The *noble* dogs guard (it even) from the potentates.

- 25 You are the one who soaks the malt in a jar,
 The waves rise, the waves fall.
 Ninkasi, you are the one who soaks the malt in a jar,
 The waves rise, the waves fall.

- You are the one who spreads the cooked mash on large reed mats,
 30 Coolness overcomes
 Ninkasi, you are the one who spreads the cooked mash on large reed mats,
 Coolness overcomes

- You are the one who holds *with both hands* the great sweetwort,
 Brewing (it) with honey (and) wine.
 35 Ninkasi, you are the one who holds *with both hands* the great sweetwort,
 Brewing (it) with honey (and) wine.

- [. . .]
 [You . . . the sweetwort to the vessel].
 Ninkasi, [. . .],
 40 [You . . .] the sweetwort to the vessel.

- The fermenting vat, which makes a pleasant sound,
 You place appropriately on (top of) a large collector vat.
 Ninkasi, the fermenting vat, which makes a pleasant sound,
 You place appropriately on (top of) a large collector vat.
 45 You are the one who pours out the filtered beer of the collector vat,
 It is (like) the onrush of the Tigris and the Euphrates.
 Ninkasi, you are the one who pours out the filtered beer of the collector vat,
 It is (like) the onrush of the Tigris and the Euphrates.

-
- The g a k k u l vat, the g a k k u l vat,
 50 The g a k k u l vat, the l a m - s á - r e vat,
 The g a k k u l vat, which makes the liver happy,
 The l a m - s á - r e vat, which rejoices the heart,
 The u g u r - b a l jar, a fitting thing in the house,
 The š à - g u b jar, which is filled with beer,
 55 The a m - a m jar, which carries (the beer of) the l a m - s á - r e vat,
 The . . . reed buckets and the reed pails of . . . ,
 The beautiful vessels, are ready on (their) *pot stands!*

May the heart of your god be well disposed towards you!
 Let the eye of the g a k k u l vat be our eye,
 60 Let the heart of the g a k k u l vat be our heart!
 What makes your heart feel wonderful,
 Makes (also) our heart feel wonderful.
 Our liver is happy, our heart is joyful.
 You poured a libation over the brick of destiny,
 65 You placed the foundations in peace (and) prosperity,
 May Ninkasi live together with you!
 Let her pour for you beer (and) wine,
 Let (the pouring) of the sweet *liquor* resound pleasantly for you!

In the . . . reed buckets there is sweet beer,
 70 I will make cupbearers, boys, (and) brewers stand by,
 While I turn around the abundance of beer,
 While I feel wonderful, I feel wonderful,
 Drinking beer, in a blissful mood,
 Drinking *liquor*, feeling exhilarated,
 75 With joy in the heart (and) a happy liver—
 While my heart full of joy,
 (And) (my) happy liver I cover with a garment fit for a queen!

The heart of Inanna is happy again,
 The heart of the queen of heaven is happy again!

1. Cf. a - s a - l a 'ù - t u - d a , in broken context, in VAS 2 37:11.

5-8. We have no evidence to identify Ninkasi's town. There is late evidence for the existence of a city named LĀL.ÚR^{ki}, connected with Adad, ⁴IM EN LĀL.ÚR^{ki}, in Craig, ABRT 57:22, but the grammatical construction of lines 5/7 shows that l à l - ħ u r is the object of the verb k i - ú s and not in apposition to u r u - z u .

l à l - ħ u r , Akk. *iškuru* (CAD 7 251 f.), is a type of wax different from g a b - l à l , in spite of the fact that both have the same Akk. equivalent; l à l - ħ u r is not attested after Ur III outside of the lexical texts and Sumerian literary passages. A significant reference is UET 3 1498 i l , where this wax is used in the shop of the d i b i r a , together with ivory and precious woods. Other references from the same period are UET 3 567:1-3 and ITT 4 7059:1. In the former, twelve shekels of l à l - ħ u r are used for two unidentified silver objects,⁷ in the latter, ten mana

⁷ For wax (GAB.LĀL) used by the *gurgurru* (DIBIRA) to cast objects with the cire-perdue technique see VAS 8 103, quoted by CAD 5 137. In UET 3 567 the use of wax for a mold is excluded because that technique cannot be applied to silver.

of the same material are listed among garments, perfume, and in-daḥ-šū-u m.⁸ A derived meaning has to be assumed for the following passages:

gá-e mušen-ša₆-ga gal-zu-me-en
 kin-ša₆-ga ugun-ta g-ga-mu-šè
 lâl-ḥur-kù-zu kin la-ba-an-si-ga
 "I am (the bird speaks) a beautiful and very intelligent bird,
 Beautiful work (has been done) in my embellishment,
 (But) your . . . has not been worked!"
 (Contest between the Bird and the Fish 72-74).
 é-de n-ki-ke₄ lâl-ḥur-kù kur₇-a k
 "Inspecting the . . . in the temple of Enki"
 (Eridu Hymn 38).

These two passages clearly require a meaning like "material from which an object is made,"⁹ a meaning that can be easily derived from "modeling wax." In our context, unparalleled in the literary texts, "founded on lâl-ḥur" is an image to express the noble quality of the ground on which the city is built.

The subject of šū mu-ra-a-n-d u₇-d u₇ in lines 6/8 is Ninḥursag.

9-12. ^dnin-ti is here an epithet of Enki's wife, and different from the ^dnin-ti, the nin-iti-e, born of Enki and Ninḥursag (*BASOR* SS 1 20:265-66, 277) and sister of Ninkasi, whose birth is described also in the same passage (259-60).

The following strophes contain an enumeration of the most important activities of Ninkasi, the Brewer. The question might be raised, whether the hymn describes successive steps in the preparation of beer, or just isolated aspects in an arbitrary order. Since the strophe 13-16 obviously starts with an early stage of the process, and the last lines of the composition (strophe 45-48) describe the pouring of the finished product, it must be assumed that by and large successive steps are described, although in some cases parallel, or even alternate, ways of processing the grain may be intended. We must not forget, however, that the composition has no didactic purpose, and that some operations are not even mentioned in this short and concise poem. To help the understanding of the text, a brief and schematic relation of what we know about the raw materials and intermediate products of the old Mesopotamian brewing process will be given here:¹⁰

⁸ Cf., for the present, Gelb, *MAD* 3 47 2, mrgš.

⁹ The meaning "mold," in the sense of "form," is not excluded (see n. 7). The same lâl-ḥur appears in the divine name ^dlâl-ḥur-gal-zu *ŠL* 109, 13.

¹⁰ For additional information on particular terms and expressions, even when no explicit reference is given, the reader is referred to Oppenheim's study already mentioned. Bibliography on Mesopotamian brewing can be found in Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, n. 8. The study by B. Landsberger and K. Balkan announced there was published in *Belleten* 14 243 ff. Some remarks by H. Lewy are in *Or* 28 118².

The various materials and intermediate products are dealt with in the text in the following order:

	Ninkasi Hymn	U ₄ XXIII
bappir ₂	13-20	iii 8-14
munu ₃	21-24	iv 3-24
sún	25-28	iii 15-25
titab	29-32	iii 27-iv 2
dida	33-40	[]
fermentation and pouring	41-48	———

1) b a p p i r₂ is a cooked mixture of (fermented?) dough and aromatic herbs. In some cases it could be shaped into cakes and counted by number, but usually was measured by volume. It is uncertain whether malted cereal was used in its preparation. This question has probably to be answered negatively.

2) m u n u₃ (DIM₄, also written m u n u₄ [DIM₄+ŠE]) is the cereal which, after germination, will become greenmalt.

These two are the basic indispensable ingredients of the beer, as shown by the so-called beer "recipes" from Presargonic Lagaš,¹¹ as well as by later references (Oppenheim, *Beer*, n. 35).

3) s ú n is a crushed greenmalt infusion (mash), before decoction.

4) t i t a b is the cooked mash. It is not clear if the crushed greenmalt could be roasted without previous watering, or if all t i t a b had to pass first the s ú n stage.¹²

5) d i d a is the sweetwort, i.e., an infusion of the mash with lukewarm water, with the addition of substances rich in sugar. See commentary to lines 33 ff., for the justification of this interpretation which differs from the one commonly accepted.

One of the many points which remain unclear is how and when the b a p p i r and the greenmalt, presumably in form of t i t a b, were mixed together. The mixture of b a p p i r and greenmalt is mentioned in the passage *KUB* 17 10 ii 23 (translated by Goetze, *MVAG* 32/1 73): "like the greenmalt and the b a p p i r are intimately joined together. . . ." That, when mixed, the greenmalt was in form of t i t a b, is suggested by a brief description of the brewing process in the Contest between Laḫar and Ašnan 117-19:

b a p p i r₂ u d u n - n a m u n u s ù - b a - n i - d u s
 t i t a b u d u n - n a ù - b a - n i - d ù
 4 n i n - k a - s i - k e₄ m a - a b - š á r - š á r - r e

¹¹ Discussed by Hrozný, *Das Getreide*, 152 ff. See also Deimel, *Or* 32 (1928) 60 ff.

¹² That the basic ingredient of t i t a b is malted cereal was already recognized by Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, 18. We cannot follow him, however, in his interpretation of the BARA₂ of the logogram as ḫalāšu. The original logogram for t i t a b is L ù . M U N U₃ in Fara (Deimel, *Fara* 2 20 vi 10; 43 ix 11; etc.), in the Presargonic and Ur III texts, as well as in part of the OB texts (*MSL* 7 29 [Forerunner texts not collated]). This L ù could be an indication—nothing is however more dangerous than to analyze the components of a logogram with semantic intentions—that t i t a b was "malt stirred (in water)."

"After the woman has baked the *bappir* in the oven,
 After the *tita b* has been prepared in the oven,
 Ninkasi mixes them for me."

13-20. *Preparation of the bappir.* The meaning of *si* (line 13) and its relation with the following word are uncertain. A likely meaning for *si* is "sprouts," either of germinated grain, or of the aromatic herbs mentioned in the following line. There is no other evidence, however, to assume that malted cereal was used in the preparation of the *bappir* and, furthermore, in that case we would expect the *si* after *níg-sila_x*. More probably, the *si* is identical with the difficult (^{n i n d a})*si-gal* (parallel to (^{n i n d a})*gúg-gal*) of Gud. Cyl. A xxviii 6 and VAS 10 214:15'. It is uncertain whether there is any connection with the *bappir si.A* of the Forerunner *SLT* 12 iii 12 (dupl. *SLT* 16 and *OECT* 4 154) and *bappir-sig_s-si.A* of *ITT* 2/2 892 i 7'. After *si*, the texts give:

A *mu-un-šid*
 C *níg-LAGAB*
 C' *níg-šid* (collated by F. Köcher)

the intended word is thus in all probability *níg-sila_x* "dough." For the reading *silag* for *šid* in this meaning see Ea VII 198-99 (*JCS* 13 129). The var. *LAGAB* remains unexplained. The first element *mu-un-* in A must represent the emesal form of *níg*, cf. *mu-un-ga* = *níg-ga* in *MSL* 4 31:34, proving thus that we must read *níg-sila_x* and not *ninda-sila_x*. For *níg-sila_x* "dough," we have the following passages in literary texts: ^{si}*bunin-níg-sila_x-gá-zu níg-kud la-ba-ab-ak-[e]* *Hendur-sagga* Hymn 33 (also 123'', 126''); ^{si}*bunin-níg-sila_x-gá nu-luḥ-ḥa é gi_s-ù-na-ka bí-dib-ba* UM 55-21-438:15'-16'; *zé-da tur-tur-bi níg-sila_x ì-bí-kú* Contest between Silver and Copper C 78, this last passage to be compared with *Iraq* 23 160:78; *ninda-gúg-du_s šà-níg-sila_x-gá in-nu-ù* "a baked cake is not (to be found) in the middle of the dough" Gordon, *SP* 1.52.¹³

For ^{si}*m ar* as a tool of the brewer, see *Hh* VII B 18-20. Since the baking of the *bappir* is described in the strophe 17-20, it is perhaps better to take *du_s* not as *epû* "to bake," but as "to shovel" or the like.

The aromatic herbs used for the *bappir* are unknown. For later periods, see B. Landsberger, *AfO* 18 337.¹⁴

¹³ Our translation differs from the one given by Gordon, *loc. cit.*; his interpretation of *níg-šid* is hardly acceptable.

¹⁴ The use of *ka-si-ia* as a mere flavoring agent is, however, subject to serious doubts. In one of the texts quoted there, from Ungnad, *NRV* 76 ff., the *ka-si-ia* accounts for more than 20 per cent of the total material by volume (VAS 3 40).

The kiln for the *bappir* (line 17/19) is listed in *Ḫ* X 359, alongside the one reserved to cook the mash (*tita b*). For the reading of *nunu₃* as *nida* see *Ḫ* XXIV 130–33, quoted in *CAD* 5 127 sub *gulbūtu*. Since *gú-nida* is usually preceded by *gig* (Contest between Winter and Summer 77) or *zíz* (*RTC* 69:1; 70 v 1; Nikolski 63 v. 6; etc.) it is hardly, at least originally, a particular species. The translation *gulbūtu* (*CAD loc. cit.*) and the passage *gú-nida ellag_x (BIR)un_x (BÂD)-na ga-mu-ra-túm* Van Dijk, *Sagesse* 69:139, where the epithet *ellag_x* is to be explained by *lú-še-ellag_x-ak = mu-qá-li-pu-ú* OBLu A 201, support a translation “hulled grain.” The grain for the *bappir* was thus without husks, while for the *tita b* the husks were kept, since their presence in the mash is a desirable feature because it helps the filtering.

21–24. *Soaking and germination of the greenmalt*. For *munu₃* see above p. 76. “(Slightly) covered with earth,” according to *saḥar-gar-ra = kut-tu-mu* Ant VIII 186, is preferable to an explanation based on *iš-gar = ša-pi-[ik in]* *Igituḫ* X 287, usually written *iš-gar-íd-da*, for which see *RA* 54 67. The covering of the grain with a thin layer of earth had the purpose of helping the germination, keeping the grain moist. For *a-si-ga¹⁵* in relation with greenmalt cf. *ELA* 363: *munu₃ a-si-ga-na a-šà mu-ni-[...]* “[covered?] the fields with his watered greenmalt” (cf. also *ELA* 327). The germination of the grain was supervised by the ¹⁴*MUNU_{3/4}.MÚ.(MÚ)*, Sum. reading ‘a’-ma-a-n (*MSL* 2 70 ad 479c), Akk. *bāqilu* (references from economic texts in *ŠL* 60 43). The need to keep the grain within the right range of temperatures, lest the germination not start, is mentioned in the Contest between Silver and Copper B 3:26 *munu₃-mú-en-te-en ní nu-te-te...* “the sprouting grain does not need to be kept cool in winter. . . .”

Line 22/24 shows that dogs were used to keep people away and protect the germinating grain from being trampled. Of the meanings of *ur-me-me*:

- a) = *ka-lab šá-maš* *Ḫ* XIV 87
- b) = *sa-ma-nu* *Prac. Voc. Assur* 431
- c) = *šar šar-r[i]* *Lu* I 41 b

the first (cf. E. D. Van Buren *AfO* 11 14 ff.) is to be preferred because of the use of the verb *gam*, said typically of the watch dog, for example: *ur-gir_x m á š gam-gam nu-u-b-zu* *BASOR SS* 1 10:16 “the dog which watches the kids was not (yet) known.” Cf. also *ur gam-gam* (var. *ur gam-ma* from *CBS* 13924 + *UM* 29-15-355) = [*ka-na-nu šá*] *UR.GIR_x Nabnitu XXII* 5. Other

¹⁵ The Akk. term is *raḫābu* and, occasionally, *šabū* *CT* 43 8:12, 15 (cf. also *munu₄-a-di-a* [for -d é-a] = *ši-bu-tum* *Ḫ* XXIII iv 4). Whether there is any difference in the use of these terms, that is, whether they were used both for the watering of the grain before germination and for the infusion of the germinated grain when making the mash, is a question which still needs investigation.

examples of the verb *gam* with the meaning "to curb, to restrain," usually with an animal as the object, are: *am-sa₅ am-kur-ra lú-gešpu₂-gin_x im-ma-du-du lú-lirum-ma-gin_x im-ma-ši-gam* "the brown wild ox, the wild ox of the mountains, like a strong man he carried it away, like a fighter he restrained it" Lugalbanda and Hurrum 356; *amar-e im-ta-è amar-e ba-an-gam* "he left the calf free, (but) he kept it watched" P 5.36:4 (Gordon, *JCS* 12 18).

For the following *nam/na₄* the meaning seems assured by *nam rúg = ru-bu-ú MSL* 2 129:8; although *Ea I* 166 gives *na-am rúg = té-e-mu*, and an unpublished forerunner to *á-A* (MAH 15850 + viii 37') gives *rúg* (reading *na₄*) = *ši-im-tum*, this last meaning being verified by *nam₄-tar*, for *nam-tar*, writing attested in an unpublished Ur III literary text.

The need to protect the germinating greenmalt lying on the ground from careless trampling gave origin to the phrase *am-si munu₃-sig₇-sig₇ al-dag-ge* "the elephant tramples the sprouting greenmalt" Dialogue 1:17, to describe a clumsy person. Also, in a broken context, in Lugalbanda and Hurrum 302: [...*m*] *unu₃ am-si kár-kár*. Other enemies of the greenmalt were the birds (*BASOR* SS 1 10:19-20, completed by U 7754, to be published in *UET* 6): *nu-mu-un-su munu₃ ùr-ra bara₃-ga-ba mušen-an-na munu₃-bi na-an-kú-e* "when a widow had spread greenmalt on the roof, the birds of the sky did not eat that malt." But this spread malt could refer, in this particular case, equally well to the cooling of the cooked mash. See commentary to lines 29-32.

25-28. *Preparation of the mash: infusion of greenmalt.* The var. *tita b gi* of C' must be interpreted as an indication that some mss. interchanged the strophes 25-28 and 29-32. In both A and C the first sign could also be read *GI R₄*, but the context of lines 26/28 requires *sún* (< *sumun(u)* PEa 588). This word is extremely rare in the texts, the infusion *sún*, Akk. *narṭabu* (Hh XXIII iii 15; S^b II 337), being only an intermediate product: *dug-sún*, Akk. *karpāt murattibi* Hh X 74 (but cf. *dug ner-ta-bi* in *KAR* 382 r. 45), is mentioned in *RTC* 307 vii 18' and *ITT* 2/2 892 vii 18'; [x] *sún du ITT loc. cit.* i 5'.

For line 26/28 cf. *i-iz zi-ga = (a-gu-ú) te-bu-u*, *i-iz gá-gá = (a-gu-ú) šá-ka-nu Izi V* 86-87.

29-32. *Cooling of the cooked mash.* Since it is desirable to keep rather low temperatures during the decoction of the mash, once the mash had reached the right point, it was taken out of the oven and spread on reed mats to cool off. As a sample of the elliptical style of our poet, it should be noted that the decoction itself of the mash is merely implied. The oven where this operation was carried out was called *udun-tita b* Hh X 360; cf. also the passage from the Laḥar-Ašnan Contest quoted on p. 76. The reed mat on which the mash was cooled is well known **kid-tita b = ki-tú ti-ta-pu* Hh VIII 338. It must be assumed here that *ma ḥ*

in the present case is merely an adjective (compare *ⁱmar-maḥ [13/15], udun-maḥ [17/19], and laḥtan-maḥ [42/44]), in other words we do not deal with the special type of reed mat *ⁱKID.MAḤ (= muru_x) discussed by Goetze, *JCS* 2 176 ff. (cf. also *MSL* 7 25). The Ur III text *TCL* 5 6036 xiii 30-35 gives detailed information about the materials used in the manufacture of a reed mat for the titab:

3 *ⁱkid-titab (LÜ.MUNU₃) - ba esir₂ su-ba
 ki-lá-bi $\frac{1}{2}$ sar
 gi-bi 18 sa
 peš-bi $1\frac{1}{2}$ murgu
 esir₂-bi 29 sila
 á-bi u₄-4

The size of one mat was therefore about 54 sq. feet. In the Contest between the Reed and the Tree 89-90, the miserable end of the reed implements is thus described:

*ⁱmuru_x (KID.MAḤ) nam-sumun-ba ka-gir₄-ra [...]

*ⁱkid-titab lú šu-gur-ra še-ir-tab-ba [...]

"The large reed mats, when they get old, [are thrown] to the mouth of the kiln, The reed mats for the mash, which one used to roll up (carefully), [are now used for] fences."

The reading bara₃ (g) for DAG with the meaning "to spread" is proved by a number of lexical entries and literary passages:

a. pa-árDAG = še-tu-ú, followed by pâr-du₄-ga = šu-par-ru-ru, Erimḫuš V 160-61. Reading ba-ra in *MSL* 2 138 Text f 6: [ba]-ra DAG = šu-pa-ru-ru-um (thus, not -rum), same equation in S^b II 235. Cf. finally, Izi Bogh. A 298 ff.: DAG = ša-ta-du (probably an error for šatú), = me-iš-tu-u, = me-el-tu-u.

b. *CT* 15 18:38: *ⁱem-bara₃-ga-na ur ba-e-ná, with unpublished phonetic duplicate CBS 145:5': èm-ba-ra-ga-na ur₄ bé-nu; Keš Hymn 50: é an-šè utu-gin_x è-a ki-šè id₄-gin_x bara₃-ga, with var. -ba-ra-ga. See, for more references, Falkenstein, *AnOr* 28 24.

The Akkadian term is šetú, used in a literary image frequent in the Assyrian royal inscriptions: [k]ḫ buqlī erre šattū šalamtu "the corpses are spread out like parched malt" Bauer, *Asb.* 77 d 8; also Borger, *Esarh.* 56:70, and *TCL* 3:134, 226. We must mention also the Akkadian proverb (Lambert, *BWL* 246:23-24, and 250): bu-uq-li na-²-pi meš-tu-ú ul uḫ-ḫur-šú "for cooked greenmalt, spreading cannot be delayed."

Line 30/32 is extremely difficult. It is evident that it alludes, in one way or another, to the cooling of the mash, but the translation of AN is better left undecided for the moment. It is unlikely that it represents a verbal prefix. Although an- is well attested (see *RA* 54 56³), the parallelism with other lines, all of which have pre-

fixless forms, excludes this interpretation. It is possible to take AN as *dingir* and translate: "the coolness (of the mash) captivates the gods," but such a translation is not supported by any parallel passage and sounds like too daring an image for the simple Sumerian poetry. The word *an* can designate also the upper part of the stalks with the heads of grain (*antum ša še'im*) or without them (*hāmū*, etc.), but such a meaning is out of place in this context.

33-40. *Preparation of the wort.* In the assumption that the brewing operations are described in an approximately successive order, it seems natural to take **šdida* as a still unfermented product, in all probability the (sweet)wort. This translation is not completely free of objections, but it apparently agrees well with what we know about *dida*. The "mixture" implied by the Akkadian translation *billatu* (PDiri 425; Diri V 228; Sb I 67a) is clearly explained in line 34/36. The addition of sweeteners is well known in the history of brewing. The addition of honey, for instance, to the barley beer is mentioned by Pytheas in Strabo IV 201. Substances rich in sugar, added before fermentation, increase the alcoholic content of the final product. The usual translation of *dida* and *billatu* as "second-quality beer, inferior beer" is based solely on the logogram *ús.sá*. It must be noted, furthermore, that *billatu*, in later times, is very often qualified as *damigtu*, an ill-fitting qualification for an inferior type of beer. The *dida* was drunk as such, unfermented, on some occasions: *dida-nag lál-zú-lum-ma-dùg-da šár-ra...igi-šib-anšur-ra-ka si ba-ni-in-sá-sá-e-eš* "they duly presented in front of the table... *dida* mixed with good date honey" Lugalbanda and Hurum 94 ff.

The meaning of *šutab-ba* is uncertain. Of the lexical references available,¹⁶ none seems to fit the context. It is quite possible, and perhaps preferable, to translate simply "with both hands." For the use of the hands in brewing, see the remarks of B. Landsberger and K. Balkan, *Belleten* 14 245 C end.

Sumerian *sur* (transitive) means simply "to perform an action from which a liquid product results," without indicating concretely the action by means of which the liquid is obtained. Compare: *ga-sur* "to milk" Nies, *UDT* 59:85; Deimel, *Fara* 2 26 x 5; *i-sur* "to make oil," *geštin-sur* "to press grapes," *a-sur* "to urinate" (*dug-a-sur-ra* = *karpāt šināti* Hh X 339; cf. also *giš-sur* Gordon, *SP* 2.59). *kaš-sur* represents the last and essential stage of fermentation and filtering, and stands, by synecdoche, for the whole of the beer-making process: *káš-bi é-gal-la e-sur* *DP* 169 iv 4; *káš-bi*

¹⁶ 1. [(*ta-ab*) *TAB* = *šá šu.TAB 'x' []*
 = *šá šu.TAB.LÁ ha-nu-'x'-[y]*
 = *šá šu.TAB ub-bu-r[u?]*

2. *šutab-ba* = *e-še-pu* Erimbuš IV 157

3. *šutab* = (*ke-pu-u*) *šá GİR Nabnitu* XXII 125

4. *šutab* = *um-ša-tu* K. 207 i 27 (List of diseases)

é-mu-nu-s-ka ba-sur DP 170 ii 6 ff. For the Akkadian equivalent *mazû*, see Landsberger and Balkan, *loc. cit.*

Lines 37–40 are too poorly preserved to identify the action described; they presumably deal with putting the *dida* into the vat in order to start the fermentation. If a reading *h u n - g á* is admissible (the traces in the copy are unreliable), it could refer to letting the mixture stand for a few days in the vat to complete the fermentation.

41–44. *Filtering of the beer.* The *ḏuḡnīg-dúr-bùr* (reading from gloss in Hg X 123) is a special type of fermenting vat with a draining hole at the bottom, as recognized already by Landsberger and Balkan, *op. cit.*, 246⁵³. Examples of large vessels with a hole at the bottom are D.556. 540a (Delougaz, *OIP* 63 Pl. 195) and D.555.510b (*ibid.*, Pl. 194), types attested at least until the Agade period. The *nīg-dúr-bùr* is rarely attested in the texts, presumably because it could be included under a more generic designation such as *gakkul* (both translated in Akkadian by *namzîtu*). Cf. *ḏuḡdúr-bùr* CBS 7269:14 (unpubl. Presargonic lexical list of clay objects), and, perhaps, *ḏuḡdúr.pú*, listed among other brewing vessels, in *RTC* 307 viii 7' and *ITT* 2/2 892 viii 3'. Like other vats, the *nīg-dúr-bùr* needed a stand as shown by a ritual from later times *KAR* 184 obv. 7 ff.¹⁷ where three sticks (*sil-ti*) of cedarwood are used to support an unfired *NĠG.DÛR.BÛR* vat. The beer vats are always represented on such stands (for instance *UE* 2 pl. 194, 33, and *passim* in the representations of drinking scenes).

The “pleasant sound” (*gû-nu-n — di*) refers to the dripping of the beer being filtered through the hole at the bottom, and falling into the collector vat, the *lahṭan*.

The inscribed *LA* of *NUNUZ+AB×LA*, i.e., *lahṭan* (*MSL* 2 93 C 6; *S^b* II 298; *Diri* V 245), is clearly seen in text C. The reading *lahṭan* is, furthermore, confirmed by the phonetic complement *-na* in line 45/47, so that no confusion with the *mùd* (= *NUNUZ+AB×BI*) vat, or with related signs such as *NUNUZ+AB×TITAB* (*ŠL* 394 c'), is possible. *lahṭan* (Frank, *SKT* 38 r. 2 [after *namzîtu*]; *YOS* 2 152:40, 43, 44; *KAR* 376 r. 26) is explained in Hg to Hg X (*MSL* 7 109:65) as *namḥaru* (cf. the etymology of receptacle, recipient) and, as clearly shown by our passage, is the collector vat, where the beer drops after filtration.

45–48. *Pouring of the beer.* The adjective *si-im* can be translated by “fragrant,” cf. *ir-si-im* and *si-im — ak* (*Iraq* 23 168 f.), but in the present context it is better taken as a syllabic writing for *sim* “to sift” and, when said of liquids, “to filter”: *si-im* = *ša-ḥa-lum* OBGT XV 12; but usually written *nam*, with gloss *si-im* (*Ant* III 225–26; *Nabnitu* I 94), Akk. *napû*, *šaḥālu*. For line 46/48, cf. *sag-si* = *na-áš-pa-an-tu* “flood” *Kagal* B 235.

¹⁷ = Ebeling *TuL* no. 21 (as corrected by von Soden, *ZA* 43 273).

49. The *g a k k u l* (also in lines 59–60) is a fermenting vat, attested with both *g i* and *d u g* as determinatives:

1) ^{d u} *g a k k u l* = *kakkullum*, *namzītum* Diri V 259–60; *U*h X 211–12; *S*^b II 165–66; A VIII/2 132–33.

2) ^g *g a k k u l* *F*h VIII–IX 107–09 (see *MSL* 7 48 for the main text), Akk. equivalents not preserved, but presumably the same as above. Special types: ^g *g a k k u l - a b - b a* (var. *- a - a b - b a*) and ^g *g a k k u l - k a š* (var. *- d i š - k a š*) *F*h *loc. cit.* (also ^g *g a k k u l* = *kakkullu*, *nazītu* *U*h VII A 108–09).

3) *g a k k u l* = *īnu ša* *K*Aš, *k a š g a k k u l - a - a b d ù* = *šikara īna nadī* (where *g a k k u l - a - a b* represents the same item listed in *F*h VIII–IX 108) Nabnitu I 185–86. This lexical passage will be discussed later.

g a k k u l is written either as *U+DIM*, *U+DIM×ŠE*, or *U+DIM-gunû*, without any difference in meaning. All the texts of the Ninkasi hymn write *U+DIM*.¹⁸

The *g a k k u l*-vat was normally of clay, exceptionally of metal: *g i r - n é g a k k u l - z a b a r - r a*¹⁹ *i m - m a - a n - š ú - š ú* (*SEM* 98 ii 18' and dupl.), see also Landsberger and Balkan, *op. cit.*, 247⁶³. As for the *g a k k u l* listed among the reed objects, it was either made of wickerwork coated with bitumen (Oppenheim, *AOS* 32 28 f.) like the *b u g i n* "trough," or an earthen container protected, like a demijohn, by a reed wrapping (Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, 156), permanently, or at least for transportation. Compare, perhaps, the seal impression *UE* 2, pl. 194, 23.

From *KAR* 94:26 f. (quoted in *CAD* 6 225 sub *huhāru*) we learn that the *g a k k u l* was a rather paunchy vessel with a narrow opening. It had an opening called the "eye," as shown by our line 59. Since the term for a normal top opening in a pot is "mouth" (*k a*), cf. *KAR* 94, *loc. cit.*, we might assume that the *g a k k u l*-vat had also a draining hole at the bottom like the ^{d u} *g n i g - d ú r - b ù r* (see discussion above), although the possibility that the normal opening on top was called in this particular case "eye" to stress its reduced size, cannot be dismissed. The presence of an "eye" in the *g a k k u l* explains the equations of Nabnitu given above. The first one plays on the double meaning of *īnu* "eye/source" and describes the fermenting vat as the "source" from which the beer flows. The second equation means simply "beer dropped through the 'eye' (of the vat)."²⁰ It must be noted that both entries are in favor of the presence of a second opening at the bottom of the vat.

¹⁸ In Presargonic and, occasionally, in Ur III texts, it is written also *DIM×ŠE*, without the preceding *U*, to be read *g a k k u l*: Nikolski I 264 ii 2; *DP* 507 ii 7 (*DIM×ŠE* - *l a*, note the phonetic indicator!), followed in both cases by *l a m - r e*; ^g *g a k k u l* (*DIM×ŠE*)-*ab-ba* *UET* 3 862.

¹⁹ Var., from *UM* 29-13-7, adds determinative: ^g *g a k k u l - z a b a r - r a*.

²⁰ These equations are quoted in *CAD* 7 151 *īnu* 2d. The entries from Nabnitu I 181–84 quoted there obviously mean "spring," not "bubble," and they belong to the following section 2e.

The *gakkul* is listed with the *dušlam-sá-re*, as one of the two basic tools of Ninkasi in Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 17: [*dušgakkul-a-ni* (var. adds -ta) *na²za-gin-du₅-ru* (var. om. -ru): *nam-zi-is-sa uq-nu-u eb-bi*. The other references (CT 4, 8a, 8, 21, 22; CT 17, 35:78-79; SBH no. 4:64-65) all stress the fact that this type of vat was kept carefully closed, and has become thus a literary image of mystery and secrecy.

The same word *gakkul* designates also a part of the human eye, the eyeball in all probability: *gakkul-igi-mu* = *ka-ku-u[l-ti i-ni-ia]* Ugu 66 and B 2.²¹ The pupil is thus compared to the opening of the vat, and the flowing of tears from the eye was also a factor in the choice of this term. The texts mentioning the *šerānini*, corroborate also the meaning "eyeball," the translation "variculae of the conjunctiva" (Oppenheim, *Or* 31 28) is preferable to "artérioles de l'iris" (Labat, *TDP* 53:14), the first being much more apparent and apt to strike the observer.

Finally, in UM 29-16-85:24-26

šiškirix-mu hi-iz^{sAR}-ām a im-mi-dug₄
hi-iz^{sAR} gakkul-ām ma_x (KA×SAR) im-mi-dug₄
hi-iz^{sAR}-bi ù-mu-un-e ḫé-kú-e

"In my garden, I watered the lettuce,
 Of the lettuce, I crushed the *gakkul*.
 Let the lord eat that lettuce!"

The choicest part of the lettuce is obviously meant, and in spite of the existence of a term "heart of the lettuce" (*libiš-ḫi-iz^{sAR}*, see *CAD* 7 325 *janzu*), we must admit a parallel, perhaps merely poetic, term "eye of the lettuce." An interpretation of the passage above as a proof that lettuce was crushed and fermented in a vat, in a process similar to the preparation of sauerkraut, is not supported by the grammar.

The *dušlam-sá-re* is also a brewing vat which seems to play, in relation to the *gakkul* vat, the same role that the *laḫtan* has in relation to the *níg-dúr-bùr* (cf. above commentary to lines 41-44). It is mentioned already in the oldest texts, but disappears, except for the lexical lists, in the early OB period, except for a doubtful reference in Frank *SKT* 38 r. 3.²² The exact form of the word is difficult to establish because of variations in writing:

lam-re Deimel, *Fara* 2 43 ix 15, without determinative but with other brewing vessels: *dug-tita_b*, *dug-ninda-mun₅* (*ibid.* 11, 12); Nikolski I 264 ii 3, also without determinative but again among brewing vessels; *RTC* 307 viii 6'; *ITT* 2/1 892 viii 2'; *ITT* 5 6862 i' 11', ii' 7', etc. All the latter references have the determinative *dug*, except

²¹ Cf. GEŠTIN.UD.A *kak-kul-ti* IGI^U-šú *PBS* 10/4 12 iii 1. More references in *AHw.* 423.

²² Text: *dušlam-ir-uš*. Frank's copy is basically correct and confirmed by a recent collation by E. Laroche.

*i^šlam-re: DP 507 ii 8; 490 iv 3 (*i^šlam-re-káš); VAT 4632 iii 3 (Or 12 198).

^du^šlam-sá-(r), with -ra in our hymn line 55, or with -re, our lines 50 and 52, and SRT 1 v 1 (and dupl.):

^du^ššà-gub ^du^šlam-sá-re du-bu-ul-da-ba-al mu-un-da-ab-za.

^du^šlam-si-sá Erimḫuš VI 26, Akk. *lamsisû*; to be restored also in Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 18.

^du^š(e)lla_g (BIR)-si-sá Hh X 28 and the corresponding Hg 69.²³

It is certainly a foreign word, like practically all the technical terms of the Mesopotamian brewer. The only way to account for all the different writings is to assume an original *lamsre or *lams(a)re, the central consonantal cluster not being expressed in the older writings, and also a change *r* > *s*, certainly old because it is found already in Lugalbanda and Enmerkar.

53. The var. of C shows that the reading of SIG₇ as a name of a clay pot is to be read u_gur₍₂₎. This reading is already known from Ea I 271: pap-u-gur (var. pa-a-p-ú-kur) PAP.SIG₇ = šá *PAP (text AN).SIG₇ ú-ga-ru. The u_gur-bal pot is listed in Hh X 248 (with Hg 73), preceded by SIG₇-gíd and SIG₇-igi, but is not mentioned elsewhere, unless ^du^šgàr-bal in Nikolski I 264 ii 1 represents the same word, which is very probable.

54. ^du^ššà-gub = šu-bu, preceding ^du^šella_g-si-sá, in Hh X 27; in RTC 307 viii 5' and ITT 2/2 892 viii 1' it precedes also ^du^šlam-re. The only literary reference is SRT 1 v 1, quoted above.

55. The am-am is also a typical container of the tavern keeper. In the other occurrences, all lexical, the word is written ^du^šam-ma-am, Akk. *ammammu* Hh X 218 and Hg 67, where it is explained by *namḫar ša sábi*; Erimḫuš VI 22; also made of reeds: *am-ma-am Fh VIII-IX 105, and ⁿam-ma-am-za-gin = šu-[nu] Hh XVI 78 shows that it also could be made of stone. The form of the receptacle is unknown and, to judge from our line, it was used to carry the beer taken from the lam-sá-re vat.

56. The *ibunin (LAGABXA, according to text C, but A.LAGABXA¹ in line 69, according to text A) is a reed container coated with bitumen, used for liquids as well as solids (see for the bunin where the dough was kneaded the references quoted in the commentary to lines 13-20). The lexical references are collected and discussed by B. Landsberger in MSL 7 46.²⁴ The *ibunin for beer is mentioned in Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 21-22:

SILA.ŠU.DU₃ kaš di-di-da-ni gin-na nu-kúš-ù
^dnin-ka-si *i^šbunin zag-ga-[ni-šè im-mi-in-lá]

²³ The final consonant of lam is a normal m in PEa 917; the only indication of a final ġ for lam is the value lu-ug in Diri II Bogh. 222a.

²⁴ The distinction between LAGABXA and LAGABXGAR seems to be late and perhaps artificial; the older texts have always LAGABXA.

"The cupbearer who does not get tired distributing her beer, Ninkasi, carries the *bunin* at her side."

And in Dialogue 5:85:

é - k a š - g á l - l a **bunin* - b i - i m²⁵
 [bi-it ší-ka-ru] i-ba-aš-šu-ú ku'-ni-na' (text 'tu')-ša
 "Of the house where there is beer, you are its *bunin*."

Cf. also **bunin* - NUNUZ + ÁB × TITAB DP 75 vii 2; VAT 4632 iv 4 ff. (Or 12 199).

The *búr* is a plant product used as binding or matting in the manufacture of reed objects. Since the evidence for this word is somewhat confusing, the references will be given in some detail:

1. Ur III economic texts.

a. *búr* (without *ú*): RTC 307 vi 15': 3 gú 15 2/3 ma-na *búr* (after *esir₂*, *naga*, *im-babbār*, and before KA × SA, *peš* - SIG₄, etc.); ITT 2/2 892 vi 14' (parallel text); Reisner, *Telloh* 113 v. 9': 3 gú 40 ma-na *búr* (follow KA × SA and pieces of wood).

b. *búr*: TCL 5 6036 xvii 3: šu-nigin 16 ma-na *búr* (cf. already iii 34); this total is specified in col. ix 17, 22, and 11. The *búr* is used there in the manufacture of sieves (**ma-an-sim*); UET 3 1265 ii 7'-8' (cf. already 2'-4') 5 gú 35 ma-na ^{SAL+KU}2 gú 36 2/3 ma-na *búr* (among materials for the basket weavers). In this context ^{SAL+KU}, i.e., *nin₉*, stands for *ninnis*_(TIR)^(TIR), as will become clear from the passages 2 a-b, below.

2. Lexical texts.

a. FH VIII-IX 56: **ipisan* - *búr*' (collated), followed by **ipisan* - *ninnis*.

b. In the main text of Hh we find *gfr* in the places where *búr* is expected:

1'. Hh IX B b 6-7:

**ipisan* - **ú*. **gfr* = šá um-ša-[tum] (see note, MSL 7 41)

**ipisan* - *ninnis* = šá dš-[lu]

2'. Hh IX 128-29:

**ima-sá-ab-ú*. ^{ú-kur}*gfr* = šá um-ša-tum

**ima-sá-ab-ninnis*ⁿⁱ⁻ⁱⁿ = šá dš-lu

The gloss *ú-kur* is due to an already confused tradition, and is not a sufficient reason to introduce a reading *kur* for either *gfr* or *búr*. The constant mention of *umšatu* and *ašlu* together justifies the assumption, above 1 b, that *nin₉* stands in the text from Ur for *ninnis* (note the gloss *ni-in*).

²⁵ Var.: B: **LAGABXA* - bi - me - en; NOPR **A.LAGABXA* - bi - im; Q: bu' - nin' - bi - im.

3'. Hh X 172-72a:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{d u } \text{g k í r} - \text{ú G í R} &= \text{šd um-ša-tú} \\ &= \text{nam-sar-tu} \quad (\text{cf. also Hg to X 76}) \end{aligned}$$

In the numerous texts available for this passage the sign gfr is clearly written. This type of *kirru* jar was protected (cf. *namšartu*) by wickerwork.

c. A VIII/2:199: $\text{b u} - \text{ú r} \text{ B } \text{ú r} = \text{um-ša-tu}$. This passage is so far the only witness for an expected, but as yet unattested, equation $\text{ú b } \text{ú r} = \text{umšatu}$. The XVII tablet of Hh has preserved only $\text{ú G U G}_4 = \text{um-ša-tum}$ (line 6).

For *umšatu* see Thompson, *DAB* 9. The proposed identification with gen. *Rumex* (Sorrel), although etymologically suggestive, is in disagreement with the use of the plant in basketry.

The exact function of the *abúr* as a material for the *bunin* cannot be determined. The expression reappears again in line 69.

The *šib a-a-n-duš* is, like the *bunin*, a reed container to carry liquids, as shown by the Akk. translations *naḥbū* and *madlū* in *Ug X 223 ff.* The writing with *-du* instead of *-duš* in text C is in agreement with *FH VIII-IX 96 ff.*

At this point it is worth noting, because of its technological interest, the fact that most of the receptacles used in brewing and serving beer could be made of bitumen-coated basketwork or of wood (cf. ² i 51 a m - r e), instead of clay.

57. The texts differ in the second complex of this line: *da g - du g - e* in C can be explained as "on the pot stands." Although a meaning **šubat karpati* is not expressly attested for that expression, note *da g = šubtu* *MSL* 2 138 f. 4; *Erimḫuš* II 322; etc. The other texts have *a gi š* which can be interpreted as "the drink (and all) the implements." For a possible *a - ni gi n₂* in A, see line 71. For *sa - gi₄ - a* see *OBT XV r. 3-4*, and *CAD* 4 307 *ersū*.

59. For the "eye" of the g a k k u l -vat, see commentary to line 49.

61. "To feel wonderful" is an approximate translation of *g u r₄*, lit. "to be, to feel big." This word (*kabru*, *rabû*, *kabtu* A I/2:2 ff.; Ea I 23 ff.) not only refers to mere physical size ("big, thick"), but also to social rank and prestige ("honored, important"),²⁶ and especially to the consciousness of one's own superiority ("feeling of importance, pride"): *a š n a n - e n a m - g u r₄ - r a - n a š à i m - m i - i n - d a b* "Ašnan felt hurt in her pride" *Laḥar-Ašnan* Contest 168; *e n - t e - e n á - d i r i n í n a - a n - a b - g u r₄ - r e - e n* "Winter, do not feel so proud about (your) superior strength!" *Winter and Summer* Contest 265; *d i r i - š è n í - z u n a - a b - g u r₄ - r e - e n* "do not feel excessively proud about yourself!" *Dialogue* 2:34. Note the presence of both *š à* and *n í* in our passage, stressing the subjective meaning.

²⁸ Cf. in-nin šà-gur₄-ra CBS 13982:1, phon. in-nin šà-k u -r a, Akk. *ir-ni-na ra-bi-tam' li-ib-bi* (phon. and Akk. from Van Dijk, *Sumer* 13 pl. 1:1-2).

64-65. These two lines suggest that the occasion for the drinking party described in the poem could well have been the start of the construction of a building. For sig_4 - nam - $tar-ra$ see Gud. Cyl. A i 15; v 7; CT 36 26:12; SLTN 102:3.

68. "Liquor" must be taken here in the general meaning of alcoholic beverage; a closer rendering has not been attempted because of the uncertainty of the composition of the $gurun_x$ (DIN).²⁷ It is certainly not wine, as suggested by Poebel, ZA 39, 146 ff., because *kurunnu* and *karānu* are listed side by side as two different things: KAR 10 r. 20; BA 3 339 ff. ii 8; Thompson, *Esarh.* 12 vi 37, 52; etc. It is listed, furthermore, in the beer section of Hh XXIII ii 4 ff. In some cases, at least, it was made from sesame: $ku-ru-un-še-giš-i = ku-ru-un-nu$ Hh XXIV 89.²⁸

70. Reading $sagi$ for SILA.SU.DU₃ according to Jacobsen, ZA 52 191⁵⁹. For (lú).šIM the reading $lunga$ has been arbitrarily chosen from the manifold variants of this foreign word: $lu-um-gi$, $lu-un-ga$, $nu-un-gi$, $ni-in-gi$ -(in): references in MSL 3 101 ad 67c, 103 ad 76 (with addition to this line in MSL 4 205 ff.). The final -n in Gadd, *Second Lamentation for Ur* 62:11 $é-lunga-na káš nu-un-gál munu_3 nu-un-gál$; but vocalic ending in RTC 56 vii 6 $lú-BI×GAR-ke_4-ne$.

71. The reading $a-nigin_2$ is somewhat uncertain. We assume here that it is $a-nigin_{(2)} = amirānu$ "pool," cf. $ku_6 a-nigin_2-na lu-ga-gin_x$ "like fish living in a pool" Sumer and Akkad Lament 401. In the present context it designates, in a poetic exaggeration, the large amount of beer available for drinking.

72. For gur_4 see comments to lines 61-62.

73. The expression $me-e si-ga$ is not paralleled elsewhere, but the me is evidently the same as in $me-gar$, $me-gá-gá = qālu$ Nabnitu A 169 ff. Izi E 36, as well as in $nig-me-gar = rišātu$ GrVoc III C 10, = $qālu$ Nabnitu A 173, and in $mu d_5$ (šIM)²⁹ - $me-gar = rišātu$ Erimhuš IV 137; cf. Lugalbanda and Enmerkar 20 (CT 15 41): $káš al-tuš-a-ni mu d_5-me-gar ina ši-kar uš-ša-bu r[i-šá-a-ti]$, in parallelism with $nig-kiri_3-zal ta-ši-l[a-ti]$ (*ibid.* 19).

²⁷ Reading $gurun_x$ from PEa 200, elsewhere $kurun_2$. The imprecision of the meaning of $gurun_x$ is apparent in the lexical passages:

DIN = *ka-ra-nu*
 ši-ka-ru
 ku-ru-nu

MAH 15850+ ix 52' (Forerunner to á:A); same equations in Diri V 233 ff.; PDiri 426 f. (without *karānu*); and A V/1:129 ff.

²⁸ Thompson, *Gilg.* XI 72 (Pl. 46) *si-ri-[šu KU.BU.]UN.NU.ī.GIŠ u si¹⁸karānu* "beer, sesame wine, and (grape) wine."

²⁹ Reading $mu d_5$ from A V/1:183 ff.: $mu-u d_5 šIM = ri-šá-a-tum, e-bi-rum, qu-ú-lu$ (following the same equations with the reading $a-si-il-la$ for šIM); value $mu d_5$ also in Rec. Ea F 10'; cf. *mu d-me-mar-ra* CT 42 15:25 f.

The parallelism with *ul-ti-a* in our line 74, on the one hand, and the meaning *qālu* as well as the frequent association of *níg-me-gar* with *u₆-di* (Falkenstein, *SGL* 1 75), on the other, suggest a mixture of joy and silent admiration.

74. For *ul-ti-a* see *CAD* 6 8, *ḫabāṣu* A.

77. The *-ra-* after *mu₄* is difficult to explain. The verb *tu₆-r* and the possibility of *-r-* being a mere element to eliminate the hiatus will be discussed in the writer's forthcoming book, *Sumerian Literary Contests*.

78-79. "Queen of heaven" translates *ga-ša-an-an-na* which is nothing but the Emesal form of *ḫi₄na₄na*. The fact that the two lines differ only in dialect shows that they must be attributed to different speakers: line 78 presumably to the speakers of section 58 ff. and line 79 to the female speaker of section 70 ff. The expression *ša₄ki-bi₄gi₄*, lit. "to restore the heart," meaning "to be (again) in the usual good mood and disposition," is often found in the conclusions of letters: *dingir-mu₄lu₄-kúr-zu₄nu₄-me-en₄ša₄-zu₄ki-bi₄ḫa₄-ma₄-ab'-gi₄-gi₄* *TMH NF* 3 56:10 (and dupl.);³⁰ *ša₄-ḫulgi-lugal-gá₄ki-bi₄ḫa₄-ma₄-gi₄-gi₄* Letter Collection B 1 end; and it is a standard expression at the end of the *ér-ša₄-ḫun-gá* prayers; see, for instance, *CT* 44 14:31': *ša₄-dingir-mu₄ki-bi₄ḫa₄-ma₄-gi₄-gi₄*.

³⁰ Page 20 of the Introduction to *TMH NF* 3 to be corrected accordingly. Var. om. *-ab-* in the verbal form.

AMBUSH AND ANIMAL PIT IN AKKADIAN

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It is known that ambush tactics were employed in Palestine in the Old Testament period but it is not common knowledge that the practice of ambush was also known in ancient Mesopotamia.¹ There are two words in Akkadian for ambush, *šubtu* and *šūšubātu*. The Hebrew root *רָב* "to ambush" is not attested in Akkadian. The word *šubtu* was first recognized by Johnston in his translation of a Neo-Assyrian letter² and his interpretation was adopted by Harper (who also found a case of ambush in Aššur-nāšir-apli's Annals)³ and by Muss-Arnolt.⁴ It is the purpose of this article to (1) provide further examples in Akkadian of *šubtu* "ambush," (2) give examples of the word *šūšubātu* "ambush," and (3) suggest yet another meaning in certain passages for *šubtu*, "animal pit."

First to be considered is the Neo-Assyrian letter, *ABL* 138, in which *šubtu* "ambush" was first recognized. Ša-Aššur-dubbu, governor of Tušhan, reported to Sargon II that he sent a half dozen soldiers with two platoon leaders (*rēšu*) and two officers (*rab kišir*) to bring back some fugitives. En route the handful of soldiers was entertained by the Šupreans and the letter goes on to say:

*kur*Šup-ri-a-a šu-ub-tú ina pa-na-x ú-si-ši-bu
2 *lárēšēmeš-ia ultu* 6 *lūšābēmeš i-ta-šu lárāb*
ki-širmeš-ia ki-la-le ú-si-zi-bu

The Šupreans set an ambush. . . . The two platoon leaders escaped leaving the six soldiers behind (lit. the two platoon leaders went out from the six soldiers) but they rescued both my officers. 19-r. 4.⁵

There is a passage in Aššur-nāšir-apli's Annals about ambush to which Harper drew attention:⁶

ki-i ina pu-ut uruPár-sin-di us-ba-ku-ni pit-ḫal-lu lūkal-la-pu a-na šub(var.
šu-ub)-te ú-si-šib 50 *šābēmeš mun-taḫ-ši-šu šá m A-me-ka ina šēri a-duk*

¹ On ambush tactics in the Old Testament see the article by W. M. Roth, *Vetus Testamentum* 15 296-304.

² *ABL* 138, translated by Johnston in *JAOS* 18 152.

³ *AJSL* 14 3.

⁴ *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language* 2, p. 1008.

⁵ E. Sollberger kindly collated this passage for the author. After *ina* his collation shows the *PA* and *NA* to be certain and the third sign could be *UD*.

⁶ *AJSL* 14 3.

While I remained in front of Parsindi I set the cavalry (and) pioneers in ambush (*behind the city*). I killed fifty troops, the fighting men of Ameka, in the open country. AKA 319 f. ii 70 f.

Since Aššur-nāšir-apli makes a point of saying he was in front of the city one would surmise that the ambush was placed behind the city. In this connection note the tactics employed in the capture of the city of Ai in the Old Testament (Joshua 8). Joshua encamped on the north side of Ai in the open but during the night he placed part of his troops on the west side of the city in ambush. The following day the main force under Joshua's command approached Ai but suddenly turned and retreated hastily as though frightened by the enemy. The citizens of Ai, believing themselves to be victors, rushed out of the city in pursuit. When they did so, the Israelite troops which had remained hidden to the west of the city dashed out and took possession of the unguarded Ai. Meanwhile, the main Israelite force which had been pretending to retreat suddenly turned on its enemies. The citizens of Ai were surrounded and vanquished.

In omens and hemerologies the word *šubtu* is used in connection with the practices of thieves: [*ana šubat*] ^{1a}*ḥabbāti*(SA.GAZ)^{meš} *iššir*(SI.SÁ)-*ma úl iḥ-ḥab-bat* "He will walk straight [into an ambush] of thieves but not be robbed." Boissier, *DA*, p. 10 edge (ext.), restored from *ana* KI.DÚR *ḥab-ba-te iššir*(SI.SÁ) *KAR* 178 vi 25 and cf. *šu-bat ḥab-ba-tum RA* 38 28 iv 10 (both hemer.).

Finally one must also consider a passage in the badly broken letter *ABL* 560:

^{md}*Nabû-na'id* ^{1a}*ērib bīti šá bīt ili šu-ub-ta a-na muḥ-ḫi āli i-ti-pu-uš um-ma āla a-na a-ba-ta lud-din*

Nabonidus, the *ērib-bītu*-priest of the temple, set an ambush against the city saying, "I will bring about the destruction of the city." r. 1-7.

It seems strange that a priest should be engaged in such activities and the preceding preserved portion of the letter offers no explanation. Note that *šubtu* is here used with *epēšu* while in the other instances it is used with *šūšubu*. The phrase may have a different nuance.

The word *šūšubātu* meaning "ambush" was first "discovered" only a few years ago with the publication of D. J. Wiseman's *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* (London, 1956). It occurs in the chronicle concerning Neriglissar's campaigns:

^m*Ap-p[u]-ú-a-šú ummāni*^{me} *u kal-li-i šá sīsē*^{me} *šá ik-šu-ru ina na-aḫ-la šá šadē*^{meš} *a-na šu-šu-ba-a-tú ú-še-šib-ma* ^{md}*Nergal-šār-ušur ik-šu-ud-su-nu-ti-ma iš-kun dabdā-šú-[nu] ummāni*ⁿⁱ *ma-a-du-tú i-duk ummāni*ⁿⁱ *-šú u sīsē-šú ma-a-du-tú uš-šab-bi-ta*

Appuašu placed the troops and cavalry which he had prepared for combat in a mountain ravine in ambush. But Neriglissar overpowered them and defeated

them. He overwhelmed the large body of troops. He captured his (Appuašu's) numerous troops and horses. Wiseman, *Chronicles* 74:5-10.

The word *šūšubātu* also occurs in the *Chronicle of Early Kings* but it has not hitherto been recognized:

arki DIŠ^{kur} Subartī(SU.BIR₄)^{ki} ina gi-ip-ši-šú itbi-ma ana^{is} kakki ik-mi-is-su-ma Šarru-kên šu-šu-ba-a-tú ú-še-šib-ma dabdā(ŠI.ŠI)-šú-nu im-ḥaṣ ka-mar-šú-nu iš-kun um-man-šú-nu rapaštīm^{im} ú-šam-qī-it makkūra(NÍG.GA)-šú-nu a-na A-ga-dē^{ki} ú-še-ri-ba

Afterwards, Subartu attacked (Sargon) in full force and forced him to retreat. (However,) Sargon set an ambush and completely defeated them. He overpowered their extensive army and sent their possessions into Agade.

King, *Chronicles* no. 1:14-16.

Before discussing this passage one should consider the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian omen collections which contain parallel statements:

[amūt]^{ut} Šarru-kên ša ina šēri an-ni-i [...] Subartu(SU.BIR₄)^{ki} ina gi-ip-ši-šú itbū^{mes}-šú ana^{is} kakki ik-mi-su-ma [Šarr]u-kên KI.DÚR^{mes}-šú-nu ú-še-ši-bu-ma [dabdā(BAD.B)AD]-šú-nu im-ḥa-ṣu ka-mar-šú-nu iš-ku-nu um-ma-an-šú-nu rabīta^{ta} [x]-x-šú u KASKAL+KUR^{mes}-šú ú-qa-i-la ana A-ga-dē^{ki} ú-še-ri-bu

King, *Chronicles* no. 3 r. 5-9 (Neo-Assyrian).

amūt^{ut} Šarru-[kên]^{kur} Subartu(SU.BIR₄)^{ki} [. . . .] a-na^{is} kakki [. . . .] Šarru-kên šu-šu-[ba-a-tú . . .] da-ab-da-šu-[nu . . .] ka-mar-šú-nu iš-[ku-nu] makkūra(NÍG.GA)-šú-nu a-n[a . . .] King, *Chronicles* no. 4 r. 1-7 (Neo-Babylonian).⁷

In the Neo-Assyrian collection KI.DÚR^{mes} should probably be read *šūšubātu* in the light of the two duplicates. Three problems which remain unsolved in the passages are the phrase *ana kakki kamāsu*, the sign DIŠ before *Subartu* in the Chronicle, and the phrase [x]-x-šú u KASKAL+KUR^{mes}-šú ú-qa-i-la which occurs only in the Neo-Assyrian collection.

The phrase *ana kakki kamāsu* (lit. "to bow down to the weapon") is otherwise unknown but implies victory for the subject of the verb. The sign DIŠ is inexplicable. It is improbable that it is a scribal error since the text is relatively free of errors. DIŠ is apparently omitted in the Neo-Babylonian collection. The Neo-Assyrian collection is broken at this point. The DIŠ cannot be read *ana* since this would mean that Sargon had to be the subject of the verb. It could be the personal name wedge in which case one would translate "the Subartian." However, the sign LÚ rather than DIŠ would be the normal way of indicating this. The phrase [x]-x-šú u KASKAL+KUR^{mes}-šú ú-qa-i-la which occurs in the Neo-Assyrian collection remains obscure.

⁷ The writer is indebted to E. Sollberger for collating this passage. His collation shows šu-šu- [...] quite clearly after Šarru-kên.

With regard to form, *šūšubātu* is a plurale tantum. The singular *šūšubtu* is known but it denotes some kind of chair:

g i š . g u . z a n f . m a . l á = [šu]-šub-tum Hh. IV 90 (MSL 5, p. 157) šu-šub-tum = MIN (= ku-us-¹su¹-u) šá-pil-tum CT 18 3 r. vi 7

In Assyrian royal annals there is a word RU/ŠUB-tu/i/a used in connection with hunting. Weidner, *Afo* 3 160 n. 7, and Michel, *WO* 1 9 n. r, have drawn attention to it. It is proposed here that the word should be read *šubtu* and be regarded as some form of animal trap, possibly a pit. There appear to be no representations in art of the animal pit either in Assyria or Egypt.⁸ But this does not rule out the strong likelihood that pits were known as a means of trapping animals.

The word is used mainly in connection with elephants. In Aššur-nāšir-apli II's description of his hunting activities he says:

30 *pirāni*^{meš} ina šub-ti a-duk

I killed thirty elephants in a pit.

AKA 205 iv 70-72.

Similarly Šalmaneser III says:

[...] x *pirāni*^{meš} ina šub-[ti] ...

KAH 2 112 r. 11 (= WO 1 9).

Further note the following passage in Adad-nīrāri II's Annals:

6 *pirāni*^{meš} ina me-it-ḫu-ši a-duk x [ina] ^{8A} šub-te lu ad-di 4 *pirāni*^{meš} balḫūti^{meš} aš-bat 5 ina kip-pi aš-bat

I killed six elephants in a battle, I drove (lit. "threw") . . . into a pit, I captured four elephants alive, I captured five by means of a snare.

KAH 2 84 r. 125 (= Seidmann, *MAOG* 9/3, pp. 34 f.).⁹

Finally note the following passage in the Annals of Aššur-dān II:

2 ^{nit}pu-ḫal ^{gud}rēmā[ni^{meš} dan-nu-te i]-na šub-te ú-šab-bi-ta

I captured two strong wild breeding asses in a pit.

Afo 3 160 r. 26 f.¹⁰

These passages do not offer definitive proof that *šubtu* means a "pit" for trapping animals. However, in comparison with *šubtu* "ambush" one is tempted to believe this.

There is a passage in the Gilgamesh Epic which should be mentioned here. In the first tablet, after the hunter had seen Enkidu roving the steppe with the wild animals, he reported to his father:

⁸ For a description of Assyrian hunting practices see Meissner, *Der Alte Orient* 13/2. H. Goedicke kindly checked the Egyptian material for the author and reported that there was no certain evidence that the pit was employed in trapping animals in Egypt.

⁹ The writer is grateful to W. G. Lambert who collated the broken part at the author's request. From his collation it is impossible to identify the numeral after *a-duk*, but the *SAL* before *šub-te* is certain.

¹⁰ For *puḫālu* see Landsberger, *MSL* 8/1, pp. 69 f.

[um-tal-li bu]-ú-ri šá ú-ḥar-ru-ú [a-na-ku(?)]
 [ut-ta-as-si-iḥ] nu-bal-li-ia šá uš-¹pār¹-[ri-ru]
 [uš-te-li ina qātē-ia] bu-lam nam-maš-ša-a ša ¹šēri¹
 [ul i-nam-din-a]n-ni a-na e-piš ¹šēri¹

He filled the pit which I had dug,
 He tore up the trap which I had laid,
 He allowed the animals, the beasts of the steppe, to escape from me,
 He does not let me do my hunting.

Gilg. I iii 9-12 (restorations from *ibid.* 36-39).

Thus there is a word *šubtu* "ambush," a word *šūšubātu* "ambush," and probably a word *šubtu* "animal pit." Semantically it is probable that the meaning "ambush" was derived from the meaning "pit," the word for the device used to ambush an animal.

THE SLANDERED BRIDE¹

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On the twenty-eighth of Nisanu, 1737 B.C., one Enlil-issu,² a *nišakku*-priest of Enlil at Nippur, contracted to marry a certain Ama-sukkal³ according to an agreement which granted to both parties equally the right to divorce the other.⁴ For so undertaking, Enlil-issu received nineteen shekels of silver, to which five shekels were presently added⁵ according to a second contract dated some four years later.⁶ Ten years later, in 1727, the same contracting parties appeared in court, and the following record is preserved of the occasion:⁷

- 1 The bronze weapon of the god Ninurta
- 2 took its stand in the quarter and
- 3 his alderwomen took their stand and
- 4-6 they did not convict Ama-sukkal of speaking insolently against Enlil-issu;
- 7-8 they did, however, convict Enlil-issu of slandering and abusing her.
- 9 Thereupon Enlil-issu
- 10 spoke as follows, saying:
- 11 "You may convict me (even) more than now,
- 12 (still) I will not marry her.
- 13 Let them imprison me and
- 14 (then) I will pay money (instead)."⁸

There follows a list of male witnesses, four of them identical with some of those on the previous document.⁹

¹ The substance of this paper was presented to the joint meeting of the Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society and the Society of Biblical Literature at Madison, Wisconsin, on April 21, 1961. It is a pleasure to offer it here as a tribute to Prof. A. Leo Oppenheim, whose seminar on *UET* 5, a decade ago, first inspired it.

² Written *En-lil-id-zu* here (cf. also his seal impression) and *En-lil-is-su* in the lawsuit (below). For the same name written *En-lil-is-sú* or *En-lil-i-sú* cf., e.g., *YOS* 8 98:77, 125:36; *CT* 8 42a:2.

³ For the name, cf. e.g. *BIN* 7 (1943) Nos. 139-146.

⁴ Arno Poebel, *BE* 6/2 (1909) No. 40, translated *ibid.*, p. 35.

⁵ 5 G f N - 'K Û - B A B B A R' *e-zu-ub* 19 G [f N - K Û - B A B B A R] *ša i-na x-y*-[...].

⁶ Poebel, *op. cit.*, No. 47, translated *ibid.*, pp. 49 f. The tablet is partly destroyed, but besides the names of the principals, those of some of the witnesses from each of the other two documents here under discussion can be restored on it; see below, Excursus 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 58.

⁸ For the transcription, see most recently Georges Dossin, *RA* 42 (1948) 120, but cf. below, notes 24 and 28, and read *eli inanna tubarrāninnima* in line 11.

⁹ See below, Excursus 1.

This little dossier has received considerable attention since it was first published by Poebel in 1909. All three documents were translated by Kohler and Ungnad in the next two years,¹⁰ and the marriage contract again by Schorr in 1913.¹¹ The court battle interested Walther in his study of the Old Babylonian judiciary of 1917,¹² and Koschaker referred to it frequently in his *Rechtsvergleichende Studien* of the same year.¹³ Meissner cited the marriage contract in 1920—rather unjustly, it must be said—as further evidence of the legal inferiority of women.¹⁴ More recently, one or more of the three texts have been treated by van Praag in 1945¹⁵ and by Dossin in two separate articles in 1948.¹⁶ One of them has even found its way into the small group of “Mesopotamian legal texts” included in Pritchard’s *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* by Theophile Meek in 1950.¹⁷ Finally, in 1953, the court case was inadvertently republished by Figulla in the volume of Old Babylonian texts from Ur, having by a confusion of museum and excavation numbers found its way into this corpus.¹⁸

The text thus republished invites renewed attention, for its full significance has still, in my opinion, not been understood, and it presents, moreover, interesting parallels not only to Babylonian but also to Biblical case law. It is also interesting from a linguistic point of view. Like other trial documents of the Old Babylonian

¹⁰ Josef Kohler and Arthur Ungnad, *Hammurabi’s Gesetz* 4 (1910) Nos. 777 and 993; 5 (1911) No. 1200.

¹¹ Moses Schorr, *Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts* (= *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek* 5, 1913) No. 1.

¹² Arnold Walther, *Das altbabylonische Gerichtswesen* (= *Leipziger Semitistische Studien* 6/4-6 [1917], pp. 205 f.) Walther’s translation comes close to the one offered here, but he was less concerned with the lawsuit’s significance for marriage law than with its procedural aspects, particularly the use of the divine emblem in connection with sworn testimony. Here as in other cases (*ibid.*, pp. 191 ff.; *UET* 5 248:1, 248:27, 254:5 etc.), the emblem was a weapon of the deity. Like the Bible on which the courts may administer oaths to this day, it constituted the entire extent of religious participation in the judicial process. Cf. also B. Landsberger, *ZDMG* 69 (1915) 498.

¹³ Paul Koschaker, *Rechtsvergleichende Studien zur Gesetzgebung Hammurapis* (1917). On p. 39, note 27, he referred to it as a “trial document, unfortunately not clear in its details.” Cf. also below, note 40.

¹⁴ Bruno Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* 1 (1920), p. 406, note 10. See below, Excursus 2.

¹⁵ A. van Praag, *Droit Matrimoniel Assyro-Babylonien* (1945), p. 29 *et passim*.

¹⁶ “Un Procès en Répudiation sous le Règne de Samsu-iluna,” *Archives d’Histoire du Droit Oriental* 3 (1948) 145-159; “L’article 142/143 du Code de Hammurabi,” *RA* 42 (1948) 113-124.

¹⁷ P. 219 *sub* F(2).

¹⁸ H. H. Figulla and W. J. Martin, *Ur Excavation Texts* 5 (1953) No. 256; cf. the review by F. R. Kraus, *OLZ* 50 (1955) c. 517. There is no doubt that *BE* 6/2:58 and *UET* 5 256 are copies of one and the same original: not only the wording and spelling, but the line division and the very cracks are identical. In *BE* 6/2, the text is identified as CBS 11561, in *UET* 5 as U(r) Excavation Number 11561; presumably an Ur tablet rightfully bearing the latter number awaits publication in Baghdad. The inherent improbability of a text from Southern Babylonia bearing a Samsu-iluna date as late as his 23rd year was noted by W. F. Leemans in his review of *UET* 5 in *Bi Or* 12 (1955) 115.

period, it avoids the formulaic wording of the contemporary contracts which employ Sumerian largely or even exclusively. Its direct and indirect quotations exemplify a vivid and perhaps even colloquial Akkadian. Finally, it permits the role of the witnesses—usually somewhat neglected—to be viewed with a certain perspective.¹⁹

The interpretation of our text would seem to hinge on the exact significance attributed to two technical expressions in it, in the first place the female elders, or alderwomen (*šibātum*).²⁰ It is on their findings that the quarter (*bābtum*), which is to say the local court of first resort,²¹ relies to determine the guilt or innocence of the contending parties. A good deal is now known about the role of male elders, or aldermen (*šibūtum*) in the Old Babylonian judicial process. There, as recently shown by Klengel,²² they assisted the town, its governor, its mayor, or its assembly, in the determination of lawsuits. But the intervention of alderwomen is extremely rare, and we may well ask what motivated it in this case.

The answer to this question must be sought in the specifics of the charges of which the two principals were respectively cleared and indicted by the alderwomen. The bride is cleared of the charge of “speaking insolence against” her husband (*magīrtam*²³ *ana Enlil-issu qabām*²⁴). This translation, first approximated by Dossin,²⁵ certainly cannot be far from the literal meaning of the Akkadian. Dossin, however, goes on to argue that Enlil-issu chose these alderwomen as witnesses because he expected them to be favorable to him.²⁶ This seems less likely. A husband would hardly go to court, counting on the women of the quarter to accuse his wife of insolent gossip. There must have been a more specific reason for invoking their testimony, and a more reasonable chance for the husband to benefit by it.

¹⁹ See below, Excursus 1.

²⁰ Since the witnesses in the present text all bear masculine names, the term can hardly be translated by “female witnesses” here.

²¹ Cf. now Codex Eshnunna, §§ 54, 56, 58, where the *bābtum* has the function of notifying or warning the owner of a goring ox, a mad dog, or a sagging wall, and Albrecht Goetze’s comments *ad loc.* in *AASOR* 31 (1956) 134 f. with the references *ibid.*, p. 135, note 4.

²² Horst Klengel, “Zu den *šibūtum* in altbabylonischer Zeit,” *Or NS* 29 (1960) 357–375.

²³ *Magīrtam* may be simply a phonetic variant of *magrītām*, i.e., derived from *gerā*, to be hostile, start a lawsuit (*CAD* G 61 f.); cf. Dossin, *AHDO* 3 151 f. It can hardly be still another nominal formation from *magāru*, to agree (below, note 40). Von Soden derives it from *giāru*, to challenge(?) (*AHW* 287b) and translates it by “Frechheit” (*ibid.*, 109a) or “Widerwort” (*GAG* § 56c). Cf. also *magīrtam iqbiām/aqbīšum* in *OBGT* III 173 f. (Landsberger, *MSL* 4 72) which should probably be translated “he spoke insolently to me/I spoke insolently to him” on the basis of Emesal Vocabulary III 11 (*ibid.*, p. 27) as pointed out by Dossin, *loc. cit.*

²⁴ Read thus with *UET* 5 256 against Dossin’s *iq’-ba-am* (above, note 8). For the construction (*burrum* + infinitive in the accusative) cf. Jussi Aro, *Die akkadischen Infinitivkonstruktionen* (= *Studia Orientalia* 26, 1961), §§ 3.58, 3.118.

²⁵ *RA* 42 120; *AHDO* 3 149.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 150, *ad* line 3.

Let us look at the charges against Enlil-issu. He is convicted (*burrum*)²⁷ by the testimony of the alderwomen of slandering and abusing his bride. The word translated "slandering" here is partly destroyed in the original. Dossin restored *nu-e'-zu-(ša-ma)* and, connecting it with Hebrew *nî-ēš*, "spurn, scorn," translated it by *outrages*, "violent insults."²⁸ The word translated by "abusing" is *buzzuḫu* (*buzzu'u*) which, like the proposed English equivalent, seems to imply either physical or verbal maltreatment and sometimes even unjust accusation.²⁹ It seems clear that we are dealing here with charge and counter-charge. One issue would appear to fit the description best, namely, that the bride had accused the man of wrongly calling her honor in question or, to be more explicit, of casting doubt on her virginity. A panel of women could best establish the truth or falsehood of the man's claim, and therewith whether a case of false accusation (on the part of the woman) or rather slander (on the part of the man) was involved.

The second technical phrase which we encounter is contained in Enlil-issu's statement after his conviction: *ul aḫḫazzi*, "I will not marry her." This translation will hardly do here, however, as Dossin³⁰ and Falkenstein³¹ have seen, for, as we know, the marriage had already been contracted some ten years previously. But that does not entitle us to translate, with Dossin, "I no longer wish to have her as a wife," or "I no longer wish to embrace her."³² The plain meaning of the expression is rather "I will not take possession of her," i.e., "I will not consummate my marriage with her," as demonstrated for the contemporary legal codes and documents.³³ Evidently

²⁷ Cf. Walther, *op. cit.*, pp. 225 f. The fact that, in this text, *ubirrā-šu* is said with reference to the man, *ubirrā-ši* with reference to the woman, and *tubarrā-ninni* with reference to himself by the speaker shows that the pronominal suffix of this verb refers to the person accused of, not to the thing of which he is accused. The latter is expressed by an accusative noun, infinitive (here *qabām*, etc.), or clause, as in a very similar passage from CH § 126 (rev. v 15 ff.): *kīma mimmūšu la ḫalqu bābtašu ina maḥar ilim ubaršu*, "his quarter shall convict him (not: 'declares' or 'proves it' " with Driver and Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* 1, p. 241) before God of the fact that none of his effects were lost." The translation "to convict (a person) of (a thing)" attempts to do justice to this—occasionally—doubly transitive nature of the Akkadian verb.

²⁸ Figulla's copy does not favor this restoration, but it is hard to see what else would fit, unless it be *nu-ḫun'-zu* which might bear comparison with Assyrian *manzu'u*, Babylonian *muzzu'u*, "violate, rape," etc.; cf. § 54 of the Assyrian Laws.

²⁹ Cf. Landsberger, *ZDMG* 69 (1915) 523; *OLZ* 26 (1923) c. 73; von Soden, *AHw* 145b; Goetze, *Language* 36 (1960) 469. The synonymous and virtually homonymous *mussuḫu*, "disregard, insult (a person)," probably belongs to the stem *masāku*; cf. Julius Lewy, *Or* NS 26 (1957) 29, note 1.

³⁰ *AHDO* 3 153.

³¹ *NG* 1 (1956), p. 101, note 5.

³² In this case we would rather expect the normal formula for initiation of a divorce: "you are not my wife (any longer)" (*ul aššatī atti*) or, to quote the marriage contract itself, *d a m - m u n u - m e - e n*.

³³ This is the technical meaning of *aḫāzu* in CH and related documents, as seen by G. R. Driver and John C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* 1 (1952), pp. 246, 322-4.

we are dealing with a long interval between the time of the contracting of the marriage and its consummation, an interval in which the bride remained in her father's house as § 130 of the Code of Hammurapi provides. She was considered married in the meantime, and it was her father's duty to protect the bridegroom's rights to her. In this case, moreover, the groom received all the promised dowry at once, thus binding himself in advance for the sake of immediate financial advantage.

We are now ready to reconstruct the actual course of the lawsuit. When the time came to consummate the marriage, Enlil-issu—it is submitted—tried to evade his obligation by impugning his bride's chastity during the preceding years. Had he succeeded in his attempt, he would have been able to break the contract without financial loss: he would have retained the twenty-four or more shekels of silver which he had already received, and avoided the divorce payment of thirty shekels which the marriage contract provided for. Custom, however, protected the bride against just such an attempt, insisting that the marriage be consummated if the groom's charge proved false. This, though it is not explicitly stated, was the consequence of the alderwomen's findings. In his statement, therefore, Enlil-issu sought to persuade the quarter that his unwillingness to "have" Ama-sukkal was genuine, and that he could not be forced to overcome it, but that he would be willing to suffer the financial and other³⁴ penalties of his ill-starred attempt instead.

It may be no more than a coincidence that the case, as reconstructed here, is not precisely covered in the detailed matrimonial provisions of the Code of Hammurapi (CH), for this code treats of almost every other contingency that might arise to prevent the consummation of a marriage after it had been contracted.³⁵ Thus in § 159 we have the case of the groom's reneging, the bride's father reneging in § 160, and even the slandering of the groom in § 161.³⁶ In § 127 we have the slander of a woman by a third party.³⁷ But by far the closest parallel to our case is provided by

³⁴ Akkadian *li-ih-lu-lu-ni-in-ni*, which Walther, *op. cit.*, p. 206 rendered "man binde mich . . . = durch Urkunde verpflichten"; von Soden, *Ar Or* 17/2 (= *Symbolae Hrozný* 2, 1949) 362: "man mag mich einsperren"; *CAD* H 34b: "let them detain me." In spite of the spelling with *-ih-* (von Soden, note 6), it seems uncertain whether we are dealing with *ḫalālu*, "detain," or *alālu*, "bind, hang (a person)," which also occurs as *ḫalālu*; cf. Landsberger *apud* von Soden, *ZA* 43 (1936) 262, note 2; *id.*, *AHW* 34c. Note also Lewy's rendering of the passage cited *CAD* H 230b (*sub ḫullulu*): "I am locked in like slaves" (AOS meeting, 1963).

³⁵ In fact, however, it is not a coincidence but in the very nature of CH, which may be described as a "codification of extremes," for it repeatedly multiplies the criteria of both culpability and innocence as if with the intention of leaving a large discretionary area in the middle, where neither all the criteria of guilt nor all those of innocence may be satisfied, leaving it, perhaps, to the discretion of whatever legal process the "code" addressed itself to.

³⁶ All these cases, it is true, involve the so-called *Kaufehe*, in which the groom pays for the privilege of marrying the bride; cf. below, note 64.

³⁷ For the death of one of the two parties before consummation of the marriage, cf. Codex Eshnunna §§ 17(+ 18) in the interpretation of Reuven Yaron, *JSS* 8 (1963) 1-7, who compares also CH §§ 163 + 164.

§§ 142–143, as these were elucidated in 1924 by Koschaker.³⁸ Starting from the bride's desire not to consummate the marriage (she says, in fact, *ul taḥḥazanni*), these paragraphs in Koschaker's reading provide precisely for the possibility that the newlyweds prove what we might call incompatible. In such a case, as in ours, it was in the quarter that the case was to be examined. What was involved was, to quote Koschaker, "in all probability a physical examination of the virginity of the woman."³⁹ If her chastity was confirmed, she might take back her dowry and return to her father's house, if not, she suffered the penalty of an adulteress.

Koschaker failed to cite our text in support of this enlightening interpretation of CH §§ 142 f. only because he misinterpreted two of its key terms, *bābtum* (which he translated as 'loss') and *magirtam* (which he translated as 'agreement').⁴⁰ Van Praag, oddly enough, used precisely the marriage contract of Enlil-issu and Ama-sukkal to refute Koschaker's interpretation of these paragraphs,⁴¹ overlooking the fact that, as they stand, they exactly contradict the contract in the matter of the dowry, allowing the wife to take it back if blameless while the contract provides that she must forfeit it. Dossin was the first to point out the intimate connection of the lawsuit with §§ 142 f., but he refused to follow Koschaker's interpretation of these paragraphs. Instead of reading their key term as *našrat*, "chaste" (or the like), he proposed to read *nazrat* and to translate 'mistreated,' thus referring the entire law to the category of a long-consummated marriage. This is also his interpretation of our lawsuit.⁴²

Dossin's reading may, it is true, be retained without drawing these conclusions from it, and CH rev. vii 66 ff. rendered: "If she has been slandered though she was blameless, her husband, moreover, would 'go out' and greatly humiliate her," etc. For *nažāru* is a synonym of *buzzu-u* and *magriātum dabābu*⁴³ and may be rendered "to curse, insult,"⁴⁴ or, in short, "slander." For the idiomatic expression "going out to humiliate her" the charge of Deuteronomy 22:14, 19 (see below), literally, "he caused a bad name to go out about (a woman)" provides an instructive parallel. Finally the somewhat obscure "humiliate" (*ušamṭa*, literally "diminish") has been cited repeatedly in connection with *ITT 2* (1910) 3547, which, with its duplicate, is the only neo-Sumerian example of an annulment initiated by the wife.⁴⁵ While the

³⁸ ZA 35 (1924) 199–212.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 206, note 1 (my translation).

⁴⁰ *Rechtsvergleichende Studien* pp. 44 f., note 37.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 198 f.

⁴² Cf. above, note 16. See also Goetze, "The Sibilant in Old Babylonian *nažārum*," *Orientalia* 6 (1937) 12–18.

⁴³ Landsberger, *ZDMG* 69 523.

⁴⁴ *Id.*, *MAOG* 4 (1928–9) 319.

⁴⁵ See now Falkenstein, *NG* 2 No. 169 with references to previous literature, and below, *Excursus* 3.

crucial passage here is beset with difficulties,⁴⁶ I would venture to render it "because (the bride), while she was living in the house of her father, was slandered in public by the groom, she withdrew from her status as wife."⁴⁷

However, the interpretation of our republished lawsuit does not depend solely on that of CH §§ 142 f. Even closer parallels to it exist in modern Near Eastern custom law on the one hand, and in Pentateuchal case law on the other. When such a case arises among the fellahin, we are told, "The man puts his bride away; if her relatives repay him the bride-price, he must be silent; if he speaks and the bride has really been guilty, they kill her; if she is innocent he is killed. *A jury of matrons decides. . .*."⁴⁸

In Deuteronomy 22:13-21 we read: "If a man marries a wife, and has intercourse with her, and then turns against her, and frames wanton charges against her, and slanders her by saying, 'I married this woman; but when I had intercourse with her, I did not find the existence of virginity in her,' (then) the girl's father and mother shall take the evidence of the girl's virginity and bring it to the elders of the city at the gate, and the girl's father shall say to the elders, 'I gave my daughter to this man in marriage, but he turned against her, and here he is framing wanton charges against her, saying, "I did not find the evidence of virginity in your daughter." Here is the evidence of my daughter's virginity!' Whereupon they shall spread out the cloth before the elders of the city. Then the elders of that city shall take the man and punish⁴⁹ him, fining him one hundred shekels of silver, and giving it to the girl's father, because he slandered a virgin of Israel. She shall be his wife as long as he lives, without his being able to divorce her. If, however, the charge proves true, that the evidence of virginity was not to be found in the girl, the girl shall be brought out to the door of her father's house, and the men of her city shall stone her to death, because she committed a shameless act in Israel by playing the harlot in her father's house."⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Cf. Kraus, *BiOr* 15 (1959) 78 *ad loc.*

⁴⁷ Admittedly, this rendering fails to account for the troublesome GA in *n a m - l ú - l a G A b a - a - ḥ u l*.

⁴⁸ G. A. Smith after A. Musil in *The Cambridge Bible: Deuteronomy*, p. 263 (italics mine). For bibliography of Arab customs generally in this matter, cf. S. R. Driver, *International Critical Commentary: Deuteronomy*, p. 255, notes.

⁴⁹ The revised JPS translation renders: "flog."

⁵⁰ *The Old Testament: An American Translation* (1927), p. 310. According to an interesting hypothesis of Julian Morgenstern, another application of the same kind of judicial investigation may be preserved in Leviticus 19:20, which can be taken to mean: "If a man has sexual intercourse with a woman who is a bondsmaid hateful (*neḥ*repet*) to (her) 'husband' and (in spite of this; cf. Exodus 21:8) she has not been redeemed nor her freedom given to her, there shall be an investigation (*biqqōret*) (of her allegation of virginity; if she is vindicated) they shall not be put to death since she was not freed." Cf. *HUCA* 7 (1930) 45, note 37 (b).

The points of resemblance between the Israelite law and the Babylonian practice as reconstructed are numerous. First there is the slander of the girl by her bridegroom. The Bible makes it abundantly clear just what was the content of the slanderous accusation. While the Babylonian document leaves this unsaid, the meaning of *nu-eṣu* and *buzzu-u* may have been quite as clear in that context. Secondly the question is settled in the gate of the city, by and in the presence of the elders, in the Biblical law, while the Babylonian suit was tried in the "quarter." For judicial purposes, these are equivalent institutions, both providing a local court of first resort, where a man could be judged by his peers, or at least by the elders of his own community, without the intervention of any higher political authority.⁵¹ Thirdly, if the girl is vindicated, the husband must go through with the marriage, in addition to paying the fine. In the Biblical law, this is expressed by the perpetual interdict of divorce; in the Babylonian text it is implied by the groom's protest and his offer to "settle out of court." Finally, if the groom is proved correct, it is a sign—in the Bible—that the girl "has played the harlot (in) her father's house," that is, that her father did not watch over her as he should have done between the contracting of the marriage and its consummation.⁵² Both Deuteronomy and CH § 143 provide the death penalty in this case.

The only significant difference between the Biblical formulation and Babylonian practice lies in the mechanics of the judicial process. Instead of investigating the bridegroom's allegations before consummation of the marriage, the Bible provides for it afterwards. Accordingly aldermen, not alderwomen, decide the case. Commentators have pointed to the fallibility, not to say crudity, of this method, the Talmud wrestled at length with it,⁵³ and indeed the tribal Arabs of today have "gone back" to the Babylonian usage with female elders, as pointed out above. Here as elsewhere, then, Biblical case law preserves a more archaic stage of legal development than the corresponding provisions of Babylonian codes and contracts.

It has sometimes been remarked that Babylonian legal practice as attested in the numerous contemporary records of litigation had little immediate relation to the famous law codes of cuneiform tradition.⁵⁴ While we may deplore this lack of correlation, we may have to extend the horizon of our comparisons and to reckon with the possibility that the practice of one age and place within the Ancient Near East may be reflected in the codification of another.

⁵¹ Akkadian *bābtum*, "quarter," is of course derived from *bābum*, "gate."

⁵² Evidently, then, the bride could live in her father's house during the interval in the Biblical legal system as well as in the Babylonian case.

⁵³ Especially *Tractate Ketubot* pp. 1 ff.

⁵⁴ Cf. especially Landsberger, *Symbolae . . . Koschaker* (= *Studia et Documenta* 2, 1939) 219-234.

EXCURSUS 1

The three texts of our case-history include from nine to fourteen witnesses each, of whom seven or more are identical on two of the three tablets. They involve, then, up to eighteen different witnesses, and these deserve more than passing notice, though they are not essential to the arguments advanced above.

The witnesses to the marriage contract are: (1) Aiattaia, son of Naram-Sin, (2) and (3) two *pašišu*-priests of Ninlil, (4) a brewer of Ninlil, (5) Ea-malik, son of Šilli-Ninurta, (6) a scribe, (7) and (8) the son and wife of a *nišakku*-priest, (9) the wife of Lugal-azida, another *nišakku*-priest, presumably identical with the father of Enlil-issu, (10) the son of a Ninurta-mansum, who is presumably identical with the father of Ama-Sukkal, (11) Ninurta-muballiṭ, son of Ṭab-ki-Ishtar, and (12) a seal-cutter. This group, then, includes two witnesses *ex officiis*, the scribe and the seal-cutter, who figure frequently in Old Babylonian contracts,⁵⁵ three functionaries of the temple of Ninlil (who may have represented the party of the bride), at least two of whom recur in the supplemental dowry, three relatives of the groom or of his fellow-*nišakku*, and the brother of the bride. Only three witnesses cannot be identified by name or title as "interested parties" to the contract; the first, who heads the list of witnesses, also witnessed the supplemental dowry, the other two are listed just before the scribe and the seal-cutter, respectively.

The witnesses to the lawsuit are: (1)–(3) three brewers of Enlil, (4) Enlil-mudammiq, son of Rim-Ishtar, (5) Nabi-Enlil, son of Idatum, (6) Awil-Ninurta, son of Aplum, (7) a baker, (8) a soldier (*redū*), and (9) a scribe. The last two again acted *ex officiis*,⁵⁶ while two of the brewers and at least two of the "disinterested witnesses" had previously witnessed the supplemental dowry.

In the supplemental dowry, the list of witnesses is partly destroyed, but at least seven of them can be identified, as we have seen, with witnesses from the earlier and later documents. These include one or both of the *pašišu*-priests and the brewer of Ninlil, perhaps representing Ama-sukkal's interests, and two of the brewers of Enlil, perhaps representing those of Enlil-issu. The "disinterested" witnesses include at least three names from the marriage contract or the lawsuit. The list of witnesses is concluded by a court deputy (*rabiš dajjāni*).⁵⁷

Our dossier, then, helps to show that the choice and role of witnesses in Old Babylonian judicial procedure were not wholly arbitrary. While some witnesses were no doubt selected at random from the proverbial idlers in the city-gate for each occasion, others must have been chosen for their previous acquaintance with the contracting or contending parties or with the case at issue, and some of these were

⁵⁵ Walther, *op. cit.*, pp. 179 f.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 173–177.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 169–173.

themselves interested parties whose "signature" bound them, as well as the principals, to abide by the contract or legal judgment.

EXCURSUS 2

The marriage of Enlil-issu and Ama-sukkal has been debated in the literature almost as much as their divorce, and indeed it does contain some unusual features. Though none of these has helped to explain the presence of the *šibātu* in the divorce proceedings, they may be briefly considered here.

In effect, Ama-sukkal seems to act on her own behalf: she "gives herself away" in marriage, brings her own dowry to (the house of) Enlil-issu, and like him seals the contract with her own seal.⁵⁸ On these grounds, it has been supposed that she was perhaps either a widow⁵⁹ or a priestess, whose greater parity with men and freedom from patriarchal authority have been often noted.⁶⁰ Van Praag, however, objects that in this and similar cases⁶¹ we simply have illustrations of the considerable freedom enjoyed by Old Babylonian women generally.⁶² The parity treatment of women may already be in evidence also in some isolated neo-Sumerian examples.⁶³

It is true that most Old Babylonian marriage contracts reserve the privilege of initiating divorce proceedings—upon payment of specified monetary penalties—to the husband, and in effect prohibit it to the wife under threat of much direr penalties. But these contracts reflect the so-called *Kaufehe*,⁶⁴ in which the groom "purchased" the bride with the bridal gift (*terhatum*), conspicuous by its absence here. That even CH provided for other forms of marriage is clear from §§ 139–140,⁶⁵ and there is no evidence that such other forms were restricted to women marrying in their own right.

As a matter of fact, Ama-sukkal may have been given away by her brother, if the list of witnesses to the contract is interpreted correctly above.⁶⁶ In that case we may be dealing with an orphan who had passed into the power of the oldest son of the deceased father; the fact that she may also have been a minor would not necessarily prevent her using a seal which may have been cut for the occasion by the seal-cutter who likewise attested the contract. Alternatively the contract could have been drawn up in the temporary disability or absence of the father, if Dossin is correct in restoring *BE* 6/2 47 to the effect that Ninurta-mansum paid the supplemental dowry.⁶⁷ In any case one may well hesitate to regard Ama-sukkal as a priestess (in

⁵⁸ Koschaker, *Rechtsvergleichende Studien*, p. 163, note 42.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ E.g., *id.*, ZA 35 209.

⁶¹ He cites also Schorr, *op. cit.*, Nos. 2 and 6.

⁶² *Op. cit.*, 78 *et passim*.

⁶³ Cf. Falkenstein, *NG* 2, No. 1.

⁶⁴ Cf. especially Koschaker, *Ar Or* 18/3 (= *Symbolae Hrozný* 4, 1950) 210–296.

⁶⁵ Cf. van Praag, *op. cit.*, 139, note 18.

⁶⁶ See above, Excursus 1.

⁶⁷ *AHDO* 3 157 f.

the absence of any such title after her name) or as a widow (in which case she would have been designated as the wife of her former husband in the contemporary usage).

EXCURSUS 3

A further example of a neo-Sumerian divorce in favor of the wife⁶⁸ has recently been republished and edited by J. J. A. van Dijk.⁶⁹ In his interpretation of this interesting court case, a husband convicted of homosexual activity sought to exonerate himself by disclaiming legal marriage to his wife. But his defense, like Enlil-issu's, collapsed and, like Enlil-issu, he was forced to pay the divorce money and to suffer corporal punishment besides. Though the case is worded wholly in the neo-Sumerian of the Ur III court judgments, it cannot, on prosopographic grounds, antedate the Early Old Babylonian period. In fact, though so far no duplicates have turned up, its most obvious stylistic affinities are with the literary collection of legal decisions by the kings of Isin represented by *PBS* 8 173,⁷⁰ and it probably belongs to this genre.

⁶⁸ Cf. above, note 45.

⁶⁹ *ZA* 55 (1963) 70-78.

⁷⁰ Thorkild Jacobsen, "An Ancient Mesopotamian Trial for Homicide," *Analecta Biblica* 12 (1959) 130-150.

THE *NADĪTU* WOMAN*

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I. THE MEANING OF THE TERM *Naditu*

The *naditu* women have long been of interest to Assyriologists mainly because of their mention in the Code of Hammurabi. In the early days of Assyriology, Jensen¹ had proposed the meaning of "brothel" for the term *gagû*, the residence of the *naditu* women, on the basis of a Syriac etymology and, therefore, had suggested that these women were sacred prostitutes. This view was held by Assyriologists for a long time afterwards.² But B. Landsberger³ first showed that this judgment of the *naditu*'s and the *gagû* was untenable, for there was no evidence to back this assertion. Quite the contrary, he affirmed, chastity was required of these women. Our study of the extant *naditu* material confirms Landsberger's view.

The best way perhaps to begin the description of the class of *naditu* women is to examine the meaning of the term itself. The ancient vocabulary lists, the source of much valuable information, contain some interesting data.

It was Landsberger who first proved conclusively that the signs SAL and ME are a ligature to be read *lu k u r* in Sumerian.⁴ The use of the signs SAL and ME may in itself be of significance in the meaning "the chaste woman."⁵ The term *lu k u r* is perhaps a variant of the Sumerian *la ga r*, a neutral term meaning "temple servant."⁶ If this is so, it would buttress our view of the *lu k u r* of the pre-Old-Babylonian period as functioning primarily in an administrative capacity.⁷

* The observations made in this paper are based on the *naditu* texts from Sippar. But we are of the opinion that they would apply equally to the *naditu*'s of other cities in the Old Babylonian period.

¹ In ZDMG 67 508, Jensen connected the Syriac term *gagûjaû* meaning "prostitute" with the Akkadian *gagû* and hence the reason for his view.

² See, e.g., Meissner in BuA 2 69, Ebeling in MAOG 1 5, and Feigin in AJSL 50 217 f. The latest translation (Pritchard ANET 170:110) of the term *naditu* as "hierodule" (temple slave) is also incorrect, for she was in no way a slave. Although the most accurate translation for *naditu* is "the fallow (woman)," the oddness of this term made the use of the Akkadian word more advisable.

³ Landsberger has discussed this question in several articles: ZDMG 69 506 ff., ZA 30 67 ff., and AfO 10 145 ff.

⁴ See ZDMG 69 506 ff.

⁵ There seems to be no relationship between the signs and the Sumerian reading.

⁶ This was suggested to me in a private conversation with Professor Th. Jacobsen.

⁷ See the writer in JESHO 6/2 122 note 2.

There seems to be no relationship between the Akkadian word *nadītu* and the Sumerian *lukur*.

Several lines are devoted to the term *lukur* in the Old Babylonian precursor to the Lu series (ll. 254–65):

lukur ^dInanna
lukur ^dInanna
lukur nar
lukur gal
lukur ^dNinurta
ama lukur.ra
sal
nu.nunuz
na-di-lum_{SAL+ME}
qa-di-iš-lum_{SAL+ME}
ba-lu-ul-lum_{SAL+ME}

If this passage is at all reliable—and there is reason to assume that old traditions were preserved in the vocabularies—certain important data emerge. We learn that there was at some time a *lukur* of the goddess Inanna of whom no trace is found in the extant published material. There was at one time, too, a *lukur* who served as a singer, and here it should be noted that the *lukur* of the kings of the Ur III period may have indeed served as such in the court.⁸

Although no occurrence of a “senior” *lukur* is found in the extant texts, a “junior” *lukur* does appear in the Early Dynastic period.⁹ The *lukur* of Ninurta is well known in the documents of Nippur. But there remains no trace of an “abbess of the *lukur* women.”¹⁰

After giving the two terms for “woman,” the vocabulary list goes on to give three Akkadian equivalents for the term *lukur*: *nadītum*, *qadišum* and young woman. At this point it would seem that little credence can be given to these equations and they are perhaps indicative of the lateness of the list, reflecting a period in which the term *lukur* was no longer understood technically.

Another late and unreliable series, Malku, gives as synonyms for the term *nadītu* the words *šamuktum* “the voluptuous one,” a euphemistic term for prostitute, and *uppušum* “the spellbound one.”¹¹ These synonyms indicate that the role of the *nadītu* was completely forgotten in the late period, and a fallacious view, far from flattering, was expressed of these women, a view long maintained by the present-day Assyriologist.¹²

⁸ This is suggested by Falkenstein in *Die Welt des Orients* 1 46.

⁹ See LUKUR TUR DUMU DUN “the junior *lukur*, the daughter of Dun,” in *RA* 5 31, fig. 27.

¹⁰ For more on this title, see *JESHO* 6/2 141 f.

¹¹ Malku I 131–32.

¹² There was alongside this distortion of the role of the *nadītu* another curious view of the *nadītu* as a kind of nurse or midwife. For this see the end of this article.

We now turn to the question of the etymology of the term *nadītu*. It was long ago proposed by Landsberger¹³ in a brief note that the term *nadītu* used of these women was the same term used of land which was left fallow and uncultivated. The term, a past participle, was derived from the root *nadû* meaning "to leave fallow." The *nadītu* was a woman who was not permitted to have sexual relations nor bear children. She was, to coin a term, the "fallow" woman. That this was the basic characteristic of the *nadītu* is borne out by the fact that many of them lived to be old, escaping as they did the perils of childbirth. And although certain *nadītu*'s (we know this specifically of the *nadītu* of Marduk)¹⁴ might marry, they were all prohibited from bearing children.

The *nadītu* of the god Šamaš in the city of Sippar was a cloistered woman, shut off from the world, from the outside (*kīdu*), as they termed it, until she died. But as will be shown later, she did have a measure of freedom. The term *gagû* itself, which may be a loanword from the Sumerian *g á . g i 4 . a*, "locked house," suggests the confinement of the *nadītu*. In the A series¹⁵ the term *gagû* is equated with *é nakmītu*, "prison," and *é kilātu*, also meaning "prison," terms suggesting the seclusion and isolation of the ancient cloister.

II. REASONS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CLOISTER

The question of whether or not the *nadītu* was a priestess having sacerdotal functions must first be examined. After studying the *nadītu* texts, we cannot accept the validity of the view that she was a priestess. There is no evidence that the *nadītu* women observed specific religious prescriptions; there seem to be no rites or rituals which they and they alone were qualified to perform. Although the *nadītu* did have a special attachment to the god Šamaš and to his consort Aja, they cannot be described as their priestesses, for the relationship between them was viewed in a different light.

The *nadītu* women belonged to a special class;¹⁶ they were women who were ranked together possessing certain common features and having the same status and function in society. It was a class not limited to one city, but was found in many cities during the Old Babylonian period.

¹³ In *OLZ* 29 763 n. 3 and later in *ZA NF* 7 229. The comparison of a woman with land and the unmarried woman with an uncultivated field is common in the literature of the ancient Near East. For references to such occurrences, see J. Pedersen, *Israel* III-IV 713, note to page 47.

¹⁴ Just why the *nadītu* of the god Marduk was not included in this rule is not known. But it would appear that she was not to have marital relations with her husband for he might take a second wife, referred to as *šugītu*, who would be the one to bear children. In other ways, too, the *nadītu* of Marduk differed from the *nadītu* of Šamaš in that she might also be a member of another class as well as a *nadītu* of Marduk. For example, Liwwir-Esagila, a *nadītu* of Marduk, was also a *kulmašītu* (*BE* 6/1 84:34).

¹⁵ A IV/4 208.

¹⁶ The term "class" is used for want of a better word. But it, too, in our opinion does not convey precisely the character of this group of women.

Although evidence was found of the existence of a cloister institution in the Ur III period, it is not known to have the purpose it served in the Old Babylonian period. It was not, insofar as the extant data show, connected with the *lukur* of this period. However, at the very onset of the Old Babylonian period, in which we include the Isin-Larsa period, the cloister emerges to provide an alternative to the girl who for various reasons did not marry.

Why did a woman choose, or more correctly (for a girl entered the cloister on reaching nubility), why did the parents of a girl choose to have their daughter enter the cloister to live a childless life until her death? The answer hinted at indirectly in the *nadītu* texts is twofold. More apparent are the legal and economic factors which might influence the decision. Many of the *nadītu*'s came from the upper classes of their society; some were even members of the royal family. That many of them were wealthy is amply attested by their numerous contracts. By having their daughter or, in some cases, daughters enter the cloister the family would preserve the paternal estate and properties intact within the family. The girl who married took her dowry *away* from her family; the dowry of a *nadītu*, though it belonged to her during her lifetime, returned to her brothers on her death. Moreover, the parents of the prospective *nadītu*, just like the parents of the bride-to-be, received a betrothal gift (*biblu*) or a bridal present (*terḫatu*) from the cloister administration.

That legal and economic considerations were most important is further seen from the fact that successive generations of women in certain families became *nadītu*'s. And, significantly, in all the examples of aunts and nieces who became *nadītu*'s the relationship of the aunt is patrilinear, that is, she is always the sister of her niece's father, thus pointing up the concern with maintaining the integrity of the paternal estate.

The other, less apparent, reason for a girl entering the cloister is the religious one. This consideration is the most difficult one to assess for the sources are silent about it. But that there was a special relationship between the *nadītu* and the gods Šamaš and Aja may be inferred from the texts. Therefore, the religious motivation may well have served as a stimulus for the establishment of the cloister.

But why did such an institution emerge at this particular time? The following is a tentative and partial answer. Perhaps for the first time in Mesopotamian history, business and wealth are in the hands of private individuals. (Balmunamḫe of Larsa is a good example of one such person.) It would of course be in the best interests of these persons to keep this wealth concentrated and attempt in any way possible to prevent its diffusion. By providing a most respectable alternative to marriage for their daughters they also found the means to conserve their wealth. It was perhaps at the instigation of these affluent individuals that the transformation of the already existing cloister was effected and a new form and character given to it to meet the new social and economic conditions.

III. THE *Nadītu* AS THE "DAUGHTER-IN-LAW" OF THE GOD ŠAMAŠ

We turn now to the role and status of the *nadītu* within her society. The institutions of every society are based on the frame of reference within which the specific society operates. How did the Babylonians of the Old Babylonian period regard this class, what was their view of the cloister? Fortunately, two "key" texts are of help in answering this question.

One, PBS 8/2 183, is an administrative text of the cloister¹⁷ which deals with the

¹⁷ This text was wrongly interpreted as a record of the division of property in PBS 8/2 p. 218. The Akkadian goes as follows:

1. 3 DUG *ka-ab-tu-ku-ú*
2. 2 ĜA.ĜI.A
3. 1 DUG *ġu-bu-un-nu* ša 1 SĪLA
4. 1/2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR-*šu-nu*
5. UD-um *ġu-ġa-ar-tum i-ru-ba-am*
6. 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR *ni-bi-ġu-um*
7. *a-na* DUMU-*er-se-tum* DUMU ĪR-^dĪr-ra *a-bi-ša*
8. 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ša 2 un-*qá-tim*
9. *a-na* KA-^dA-a DUMU.SAL ĪR-^dĪr-ra
10. 1 (BÁN) ZÍD SAG 5 SĪLA ZÍD.ŠE 4 DUG *ka-al-lu*
11. '3' (?) DUG *ka-ab-tu-ku-ú*
12. [x] GÚN *ni-ik-su-um* ša GIŠIMMAR
13. ša *a-na ga-gi-im i-ru-bu*
14. IGI (?) 4.GÁL KÙ.BABBAR-*šu-nu*
15. ša *a-na* KA-^dA-a DUMU.SAL ĪR-^dĪr-ra *i-ru-bu*
16. 1 (BÁN) ZÍD SAG 5 SĪLA ZÍD.ŠE 4 DUG *ka-al-lu*
17. 1 DUG *ka-ab-tu-ku-ú* ša *a-na* DUMU.KI DUMU ĪR-^dĪr-ra
- Edge 18. 20 ŠE KÙ.BABBAR-*šu-nu*
19. 1 SĪLA ŠU.ÚR.MAN *i-na e-ri-ib gi-ri-šu*
20. IGI.5.GÁL KÙ.BABBAR-*šu-nu*
21. ŠU.NIGIN 4 3/5 GÍN 25 ŠE KÙ.BABBAR
- Rev. 22. *bi-ib-lu* ša *a-na* KA-^dA-a
23. ú DUMU.KI DUMU.MEŠ ĪR-^dĪr-ra *il-li-qi*

-
24. *a-na* UD.3.KAM *si-bu-ut* ša-at-*tim*
 25. 1 UZU.ÚR ú 1 *ka-ab-tu-ku-ú*
 26. 20 ŠE KÙ.BABBAR-*šu-nu*
 27. UD-um *si-bu-ut* ša-at-*tim*
 28. 2 DUG *ka-ab-tu-ku-ú* 1 UZU ša-ša-al-*lu* ša GUD
 29. 1 UZU *i-mi-it-tum* ša UDU.NITÁ
 30. 1/3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR-*šu-nu*
 31. 1 DUG *ġu-bu-un-nu* ša 1/3 SĪLA 5 ŠE KÙ.BABBAR-*šu-nu*
 32. *iš-tu i-na li-ib-bu ma-tim a-tu-ra-am*
 33. 10 ĜA.ĜI.A 3 DUG *ka-ab-tu-ku-ú*
 34. 1 (BÁN) ZÍD SAG 1/3 GÍN 27 ŠE KÙ.BABBAR-*šu-nu*
 35. UD-um *ši-im-tim* ša na-di-a-*tim*
 36. IGI.4.GÁL KÙ.BABBAR ša-ša-al-*lu* ša GUD
 37. ú *ni-si-iḫ i-mi-tim* ša GUD

[Footnote 17 continued on p. 111]

expenses incurred by the cloister on the entrance of a girl as a *nadītu*. It goes as follows:

1. 3 *kabtuku* vessels,
2. 2 fish,
3. 1 *hubunnu* bowl of 1 sila capacity,
4. 1/2 shekel of silver is their (equivalent),
5. when the young girl entered (the cloister).
6. 1 shekel of silver, a belt,
7. to Mār-eršetim, the son of Warad-Irra, her father.
8. 1 shekel of silver for two rings
9. to Awāt-Aja, the daughter of Warad-Irra.
10. 1 BĀN of first-rate fine flour, 5 silas of fine barley flour, 4 *kallu* vessels,
11. '3(?)' *kabtuku* vessels,
12. [x] talents of cut twigs of the date palm
13. which entered the cloister.
14. 1/4 (of a shekel) of silver is their (equivalent)
15. which was brought in for Awāt-Aja, the daughter of Warad-Irra.
16. 1 BĀN of first-rate fine flour, 5 silas of fine barley,
17. 1 *kabtuku* vessel, which is for Mār-eršetim, the son of Warad-Irra,
18. 20 grains of silver is their (equivalent).
19. 1 sila of cypress oil upon the arrival of his (Mār-eršetim's) caravan,
20. 1/5 (shekel) of silver is its (equivalent).
21. Altogether 4 3/5 shekels, 25 grains of silver,
22. the betrothal gift which for Awāt-Aja
23. and Mār-eršetim, the children of Warad-Irra, was taken.

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24. For the three days (of the festival) *sebūt šattim*,
 25. 1 (piece of) back meat, and 1 *kabtuku* vessel,
 26. 20 grains of silver is their (equivalent).
 27. The (first) day (of the festival) *sebūt šattim*,
 28. 2 *kabtuku* vessels, 1 piece of meat from the neck tendons of an ox,
 29. a shoulder of a sheep,
 30. 1/3 shekel is their (equivalent).
 31. 1 *hubunnu* bowl of 1 sila capacity, 5 grains of silver its (equivalent).
 32. After I returned from the hinterland,
 33. 10 fish, 3 *kabtuku* vessels,
 34. 1 BĀN of first-rate fine flour, 1/3 shekel of silver is their (equivalent).
 35. The memorial day of the *nadītu*'s,

[Continuation of n. 17]

38. 3 ŠE.DIB.BA.SAR
39. 1/3 GÍN 8 ŠE KÙ.BABBAR-šu-nu
40. UD-um [x].AB.È.A ša na(!)-di(!)-a-tim
- Edge 41. 1/3 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR a-na ši-ka-ri
42. ša ši-ḥa-ra-tu-ša iš-ti-a
43. ITI si-bu-ut ša-at-[tim] MU GIŠ.TUKUL

36. 1/4 (shekel) of silver for the neck tendons of an ox,
37. and a fine shoulder cut of an ox,
38. 3 . . . ¹⁸
39. 1/3 shekel, 8 grains of silver is their (equivalent).
40. the day of the . . . (festival)¹⁹ of the *nadītu*'s.
41. 1/3 shekel of silver for beer
42. which her young girls drank.
43. The Month (of) *sebūt šattim*: The Year: The Weapon.

The above text, dating from the seventh year of Samsuiluna, despite its laconism, typical of administrative texts, provides us with considerable information about the *nadītu* and the cloister. First we will deal briefly with the various entries.

The first item (lines 1–5) lists the expenditures incurred by the cloister “when the young girl entered (the cloister).” The *kabtuku* vessels, perhaps filled with flour or fish, and the *hubunnu* bowl, perhaps filled with oil, may have been some kind of offering presented on behalf of Awāt-Aja, the girl who is the main subject of this account.

The second item (lines 6–9) tells of the belt and rings given by the cloister to Mār-eršetim and his sister Awāt-Aja.

Next (lines 10–13) is listed the income of the cloister, consisting of four *kallu* containers, perhaps containing beer, *kabtuku* vessels with flour, and cut twigs of the date palm. It is not stated from where and for what purpose these things were brought into the cloister. However, if lines 14 and 15 are part of this entry, as seems possible, then these different items were brought in for Awāt-Aja.

The text then goes on to mention the various expenditures (lines 16–19) spent by the caravan of Mār-eršetim, the brother of the prospective *nadītu*, on its way to the cloister. All the entries enumerated thus far are described as the betrothal gift (*bīblu*) given to Awāt-Aja and her brother by the cloister.

The other entries, with the exception of the very last one, are not concerned with Awāt-Aja, but rather with the expenditures paid out by the cloister for the three days of the festival, *sebūt šattim*. This is the festival for Šamaš in Sippar which took place in the month of AB.È.A, roughly corresponding to our December–January.²⁰

The first day of the festival was called “the first day of *sebūt šattim*. On this day an offering of meat and perhaps oil (in the *kabtuku* vessel) was made (lines 25–26). Next follows an item which is difficult to understand. Here (lines 28–32) after a number of things, perhaps also given as an offering, it is stated that this was given “after I returned from the hinterland.” It is not known to whom the “I” refers. We can only suggest that reference is made to some high official of the cloister. Perhaps his return was hailed by an offering.

¹⁸ The word ŠE.DIB.BA.SAR seems to refer to some kind of tree or plant.

¹⁹ This may refer to some kind of ceremony of the *nadītu*'s. Or perhaps it is to be construed as the third day of the festival with the AB.È.A month festival.

²⁰ For this, see Landsberger *JNES* 8 274 note 72 and *Kult. Kalender* 84 f.

Then follows the offering made on the memorial day of the deceased *nadītu*'s, the second day of the festival (lines 33–35).

The last day of the festival was also celebrated with an offering (lines 36–40). Its name is uncertain. But it, too, was observed as a festive day.

The final item of this cloister text deals with the money expended on beer for the refreshment of the slave girls of the prospective *nadītu*, Awāt-Aja.

A number of important facts are learned from this text. First, we learn that the girl and her father, in our text the oldest brother (for this see below), receive a betrothal gift from the cloister. This gift is made up of jewelry, vessels with comestibles, and various cuts of meats; the last perhaps for the purpose of the feast which took place in the cloister.

In the Old Babylonian period it was the prospective father-in-law who gave his future daughter-in-law and her parents the betrothal gift. Transferring this to our text, it would mean that the prospective father-in-law can only be the god Šamaš! In this text the cloister administration acts on behalf of the father-in-law. And herein lies the clue to understanding the view held by the Babylonians of the cloister and the *nadītu*. The *nadītu* was the daughter-in-law of the god Šamaš and the cloister was the home of the many daughters-in-law of Šamaš. Within this framework, one which stems from a Sumerian pattern, the *nadītu* had a clearly defined position in her society. The term *kallatu* in the meaning of "daughter-in-law" represented an important institution in the Old Babylonian period.²¹ A young girl might enter the home of her future father-in-law "as daughter and daughter-in-law" before the actual marriage to the son was consummated. In this way the young girl became an integrated part of her future family in a gradual and wise fashion.

The *nadītu* in a sense entered the household of her father-in-law, the god Šamaš, in the cloister. But here the simile ends; there was no later marriage to a son. But just as the relationship between the future daughter-in-law and mother-in-law was of great importance to the young girl, perhaps even taking precedence over her relationship to her father-in-law, so too, the *nadītu* appears to have a more intimate relationship with Aja, the consort of Šamaš and thus her "mother-in-law," than she has to Šamaš. In this connection it is perhaps significant that the Sumerian term É.GI₄.A "daughter-in-law" is so similar to the term GÁ.GI₄.A "cloister."

Our "key" text tells us more. A girl was initiated into the cloister on a religious festival, the festival of *sebūt šattim*. This would suggest that the initiation was indeed bound up with religious attitudes of which so little is known. But it is also noteworthy that the initiation is phrased in terms of expenditures incurred by the cloister.

It should be noted that the second day of the festival of *sebūt šattim* was the

²¹ For the most recent discussion of this institution, see Driver and Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* I 250 ff. and 318 f.

"memorial day of the *nadītu* women (*ūm šimāti*)."²² This was the day when the living *nadītu*'s remembered the dead *nadītu*'s. It must have been a matter of great importance to these women, having no children of their own to observe the duties owed to the dead, that their sister *nadītu*'s did so.

Before proceeding to the second "key" text, mention must be made of a problem presented by this very same Awāt-Aja, the daughter of Warad-Irra, sister of Mār-eršetim. She appears in other extant texts which date from an earlier period than does the cloister administrative text. In VAS 9 144/145, dating from the fortieth year of Hammurabi, Mār-eršetim is mentioned along with his sister Awāt-Aja in the division of the estate left by their father, Warad-Irra. The estate is divided between Mār-eršetim and his two brothers. Accordingly, their father must have died before the fortieth year of Hammurabi, and the phrasing of the document indicates that Mār-eršetim is the eldest of the brothers. This explains then why it is Mār-eršetim who is mentioned in the cloister text; the father was dead and as eldest brother he is head of the family. The Hammurabi text states that "the inheritance of Awāt-Aja, *nadītu* of Šamaš, and the inheritance of Bēlessunu, their mother, which Awāt-Aja holds, belongs to them (the brothers) in common."²²

In another text, VAS 9 70/71, dating from the forty-third year of Hammurabi, this same Awāt-Aja, a *nadītu* of Šamaš, hires out her slave. The problem then is the following: in the fortieth and forty-third year of Hammurabi, ten and seven years, respectively, before her initiation as a *nadītu* of Šamaš is recorded in a document, Awāt-Aja is already referred to as a *nadītu* of Šamaš!

There are only two possible solutions to this problem. First, one may say that Awāt-Aja became a *nadītu* at a very early age but that she did not actually enter the cloister until ten years later when she was of a suitable age. Or one may assume that there was a period of noviceship before a woman was finally permitted to enter the cloister permanently. We incline to the former solution, for the latter view presupposes a much more highly organized institution than the data would indicate.

The same analogy of daughter-in-law and father-in-law appears in the second "key" text: CT 4 18b.²³ The text goes as follows:

²² *ap-lu-ut* KA-^dA-a LUKUR ^dUTU *ù ap-lu-ut Be-le-sù-nu um-mi-[šu-nu]* ša KA-^dA-a *ša-ab-la-at* ša *bi-ri-šu-nu-ma*.

²³ The Akkadian goes as follows:

1. UD-um qá-am ša ^dUTU
2. a-na qá-ti-ša aš-ku-nu
3. 2 (BÁN) KAŠ i-na 6 zi-bi-im
4. 1 UZU.ÚR 20 ŠE KÙ.BI UD.20.KAM
5. i-na ki-ir-ri-im ša-pa-ki-im
6. 5 (BÁN) KAŠ 2 (BÁN) ZÍD.DA 10 ŠE KÙ.BABBAR
7. 1 SÍLA 1.GÍŠ 20 ŠE KÙ.BABBAR
8. UD-um ta-ri-ša
9. 2 (BÁN) KAŠ 20 ŠE KÙ.BI

[Footnote 23 continued on p. 115]

- 1-2. On the day when I put the "rope" of Šamaš on her hand,
3. 2 BÁN of beer in the *zibu* house,
4. 1 hindleg (worth) 20 grains for the 20th (festival),
5. . . .
6. 5 BÁN of beer, 2 BÁN of flour (worth) 10 grains of silver,
7. 1 sila of oil (worth) 20 grains,
8. the day of leading her away.
9. 2 BÁN of beer (worth) 20 grains,
10. 1 sila of oil (worth) 20 grains,
11. 4 silas of bread (worth) 10 grains,
12. 1 2/3 (shekel) 15 grains of silver
13. for her bridal gift.
14. 1 BÁN of beer (worth) 10 grains of silver,
15. the day we brought her here.
16. (Altogether) 3 shekels 10 grains of silver.

There is much in this text which remains unclear. It has been interpreted as an account of the travelling expenses of a woman on her way to the cloister.²⁴ This view was based on the interpretation of the word *kirru* in line 5 as a variant of *girru* "travel provisions." We disagree with this interpretation. Just what *kirru* means is difficult to say. However, the other items in the account would suggest that the account has something to do with the actual initiation of the girl as a *nadītu*.

The text begins with a reference to a ritual which the entering *nadītu* underwent. The "rope of Šamaš" was placed on her arm, presumably by some official of the cloister who is referred to as "I." Although nowhere else in the contemporary sources is there mention of a "rope of Šamaš," curiously enough this tradition of "the women with the ropes" lived on many centuries later, albeit from a distorted perspective.²⁵

The first expenditure is a small amount of beer in the *zibu* house. It is not known what kind of house or building this was. Perhaps it was a place where libations were offered.²⁶ The next item is an offering of meat given perhaps to the temple Ebabbar

[Continuation of n. 29]

10. 1 SĪLA Ì.GIŠ 20 ŠE KÙ.BI
- Edge 11. 4 SĪLA NINDA 10 ŠE KÙ.BI
12. 1 2/3 15 ŠE KÙ.BABBAR
- Rev. 13. *ša te-er-ḫa-ti-ša*
14. 1 (BÁN) KAŠ 10 ŠE KÙ.BABBAR
15. UD-um ni-ù-ra-a-ši
16. 3 GÍN 10 ŠE KÙ.BABBAR

²⁴ In CAD 5 92.

²⁵ References to women with wreathes of string or cord about their heads appear in Herodotus, *The Persian Wars* 1:199, Strabo XVI:1, 20 and in the apocryphal *Book of Baruch* 6:43. In all of these passages the women are considered to be prostitutes. But we may have here a late tradition which harks back to the Old Babylonian woman.

²⁶ We would connect this with *zibu* "food offering," a word which is rare in the Old Babylonian period. Cf. CAD 21 105 under *zibu* A.

in Sippar on the occasion of the celebration of the Šamaš festival, held on the twentieth day of the month.²⁷ Line 5 is part of the second entry, but at the present time we can offer no translation for it.

The next expenditure is for amounts of beer, flour, and oil disbursed on the day the girl was fetched from her home. The question that arises is what was done with the food and drink mentioned in the various items. We can only suggest that these comestibles were offered at the temple of Ebabbar by the cloister on behalf of the girl who was about to become a *nadītu*, for these were the very things which made up the *piqittu* offering required of every *nadītu* for the festivals of Šamaš.²⁸

In lines 9–12 are listed the items which were given to the girl by the cloister as her “bridal gift (*terḫatu*).” Again we have the analogy of father-in-law and daughter-in-law. The *terḫatu* was the gift usually given by the father-in-law to the bride, the prospective daughter-in-law, and her parents.

The final entry consists of a small amount of beer expended on the day that the *nadītu* is brought to the cloister. Significantly, the term *tarū* used here is one found in marriage contracts as well.²⁹ There is thus a clear similarity between the customary marriage and the initiation of a girl as a *nadītu*. But, in the case of the latter, the significant relationship is the one existing between the father-in-law, Šamaš, and the daughter-in-law, the *nadītu*.

IV. THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE *Nadītu* TO ŠAMAŠ AND AJA

As has already been stated above, there were certainly religious grounds for the establishment of the cloister and the class of *nadītu*'s. There was a very special and, in the case of Aja, a very personal connection between the *nadītu* and her Lord and Lady, as she referred to Šamaš and Aja. The *nadītu* was their daughter-in-law and lived in their household, so to speak. The special attachment the *nadītu* felt to her “father-in-law” and her “mother-in-law” was expressed in various ways.

A good indication of this intimate relationship is found in the names borne by many of the *nadītu* women. The goddess Aja appears most often as the theophoric element in more than twenty different names:

Aja-bēlet-mātim
Aja-bēlet-niši
Aja-damqat
Aja-ellet
Aja-inib-mātim
Aja-inib-rēšetim
Aja-ka-gina
Aja-kuzub-mātim

²⁷ On this festival see Landsberger, *Kult. Kalender* 137 f.

²⁸ For more on the *piqittu* oblation, see *JESHO* 6/2 149 f.

²⁹ See for example the Ur marriage contract *UET* 5 636:46.

Aja-rimtum
 Aja-rēšat
 Aja-simat-mātim
 Aja-šarrat
 Aja-šitti
 Aja-tallik
 Aja-tarība
 Aja-tillati
 Awāt-Aja
 Bēlti-Aja
 Erišti-Aja
 Šāt-Aja
 Šerikti-Aja

Aja is also referred to indirectly in such names as Amat-Bēltim, Amat-kallatim. The goddess Šenirda of Amat-Šenirda is simply another name for Aja.³⁰ Šamaš appears in four names borne by *nadītu*'s: Amat-Šamaš, Erišti-Šamaš, Ibbi-Šamaš, and Šāt-Šamaš. But it must be noted that the name Amat-Šamaš is by far the most popular name among the *nadītu*'s. Ištar appears in only two names: Lamassat-Ištar and Tabni-Ištar. Inanna only in Inanna-a m a . m u . Names of other gods also occur, but these only once: Amat-Adad, Amat-Lugalbanda, and Erišti-Irra. The goddess Mamu appears in the names Amat-Mamu and Inbu-Mamu.

Among the names referring indirectly to Aja was Amat-kallatim, "Servant girl of the Bride." The epithet "bride" (*kallatu*) given to Aja appears in the Old Babylonian period only in the *nadītu* texts of Sippar.³¹ The phrase "may Šamaš and Aja, the Bride, keep you well" appears in the salutation of letters written by these women (CT 29 11a:4,³² CT 29 11b:3,³² CT 6 27a:4, and YOS 2 64:4). This phrase, along with certain alternate salutations, proves to be one of the main criteria for determining which letters should be assigned to *nadītu*'s.³³

The epithet "Bride" is used of Aja in a legal text (VAS 8 55), too, which records

³⁰ For this see Tallquist *Götterepitheta* 245.

³¹ It also reappears in the Neo-Babylonian literary texts. See, e.g., CT 34 28:58. The use of this epithet in the Maništusu Cruciform serves as an important clue to its being a forgery not only perpetrated by the officials of the temple of Ebabbar but also aided and abetted by the officials of the cloister.

³² Assigning these letters to a *nadītu* despite the salutation is problematic. The writer of the letter, Tatūr-mātum, who appears only here, addresses the letter to *bēlija* "my lord," a form of address which a wife might use to her husband. But she refers to herself as *amatka* "your servant girl," which is not in keeping with the language of a wife. The content of the letter, too, is somewhat unusual. She writes about a roof which requires plastering and about the fence of an old house which needs repair. Perhaps it is simply ignorance of the background of the letter which accounts for our difficulties.

³³ The word *kallatu* when applies to Aja means "bride" and not "daughter-in-law" as it usually does.

that at the same time that the *nadītu* Aḥātum had freed and adopted two of her slaves she also presented a third slave girl "to Aja, the Bride, to serve as sweeper."³⁴

Thus a *nadītu* might present Aja with a gift to show her devotion. The term *kallatu* when applied to Aja meant "Bride" and was a favorite designation of the women who were each the "daughter-in-law" of this goddess.

The more personal relationship between the *nadītu* and Aja is hinted at in letters. In two of the letters written by the *nadītu* Awāt-Aja to her brother Gimillija, a person of some importance to judge from other letters written to him, she uses the phrase "by my goddess" (*aššum bēltija*). In one letter (Fish, *Letters* 2:7 ff.) she writes: "By my goddess, I have not known until now that you were troubled and in Babylon."³⁵ Elsewhere, she says (Fish, *Letters* 6:15 ff.): "By my goddess, because of my tied hands I have not heard until recently the contents of the tablet which involve me."³⁶ She here refers to her tablet of inheritance. The phrase "by my goddess" appears to be an expletory phrase. And the invoking of Aja rather than Šamaš would seem to reflect a closer attachment to the former than to the latter.

In still another letter of this same Awāt-Aja (Fish, *Letters* 4:6 ff.), she writes the following effusive lines: "When I last saw you, I rejoiced as much as I did when I (first) entered the cloister and saw the face of my Lady."³⁷ We learn from this that a *nadītu* might have visitors or perhaps even leave the cloister in order to visit relatives. But once again the goddess is mentioned. Awāt-Aja is probably referring here to the time when she was first brought into the presence of the statue of Aja, an occasion which must have been both awe-inspiring and formidable to the newly initiated young girl.

Aja is also mentioned in a somewhat mysterious situation in a letter which one Šamaš-putram writes to a woman concerning another woman (CT 6 21b:5 ff.), saying: "I would have sent Aḥātum to her with pleasure but she (Aḥātum) said 'The fear of my Lady is upon me, let me go and grasp the feet of my Lady and get well.'"³⁸ It seems that Aḥātum, a *nadītu*, was overwhelmed by some kind of panic which she believes was caused by Aja and she pleads with Šamaš-putram that she remain in the cloister until she is cured by the goddess. It is not known why Šamaš-putram would have had the authority to have her leave the cloister. Perhaps Aḥātum was overcome by panic because she did not wish to leave. In any case the relevant point is that it is Aja who is mentioned.

³⁴ Lines 12 ff.: *a-na* ^d*A-a ka-la-tim a-na ki-sa-lu-ru-tim i-di-in.*

³⁵ *aš-šum be-el-ti-ia ki-ma na-as-qd-ta ù i-na KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{k1} at-la a-di i-na-an-na ú-ul i-de-e.*

³⁶ *aš-šum be-el-ti-ia i-na qd-ti ti-iš-bu-la-tim pi-i šup-pi-ia a-di e-iš-ši-tim ú-ul e-iš-me-e.*

³⁷ *i-nu-ma a-mu-ru-ka ki-ma ša a-na ga-gi-im e-ru-bu-ma pa-ni be-el-ti-ia a-mu-ru . . . a-na pa-ni-ka aḥ-du-ú.*

³⁸ ^m*A-ḥa-ta-am ki-ša-ma a-na-ku i-na řú-bi-ia at-ru-da-aš-šu um-ma ři-i-ma ḥa-at-tum ša be-el-ti-ia e-li-ia na-di-a-at lu-ul-li-lik še-ep be-el-ti-ia lu-uš-ba-at-ma lu-ub-lu-uř.*

On occasion in lawsuits involving *nadītu* women, the oath might be taken by the name of Aja as well as by the name of Šamaš. This is certainly true of the early part of the Old Babylonian period when the judges sit in judgment in the temple of Ebabbar (*CT* 8 28a and *CT* 6 33b).

Of interest, too, are the two records of an adoption in which a *nadītu* is concerned. In one text a slave is presented as a gift by the *nadītu* to the goddess Ištar (*TCL* 1 66/67); in the second (*TCL* 1 68/69) the same girl is given to Šamaš and Aja. Many of the same people appear as witnesses to the two transactions. An important difference is the addition of a second donor in the latter text, one Muḥadditum, who must also be a *nadītu*, along with the *nadītu* Kunutum. We would suggest that the first text, *TCL* 1 66/67, is the earlier of the two (it is dated to the ninth year of Sin-muballit), which for some reason was discarded in favor of the later document (*TCL* 1 68/69). Only the latter bears the seal inscriptions of the witnesses, thus showing that it was the final and valid document. What is difficult to understand is why a *nadītu* would give her slave girl to the goddess Ištar in the first place.³⁹ This only serves to demonstrate how complex the situation must have been, much more complicated than would appear on the surface.

Although the *nadītu* had a more personal relationship with her "mother-in-law," Aja, the god Šamaš was also of vast importance to her. Over and over again the stereotyped salutation "may my Lord and Lady keep you well" appears in their letters (*PBS* 7 39:5, 55:4, 60:4; *TCL* 1 23:4, 26:4, 48:4; *CT* 29 19:4; *CT* 43 24:3, 30:4, 78:4; *CT* 44 62:4). On occasion the gods are mentioned by name (*TCL* 1 14:5, 46:4; *CT* 43 31:4).⁴⁰ In letters written to a *nadītu*, the writer might wish the addressee that "your Lord may keep you well" (*CT* 29 25:4; *CT* 43 26:3, 27:3, 28:3 f., 55:3).

In one text (*PBS* 8/2 215) a sick *nadītu* named Lamassi vows to give Šamaš an ornament of gold when she is well again.

The symbols of the gods, especially those of the god Šamaš, are often employed to attest to the truth of the testimony of the litigants, frequently when they are *nadītu*'s. The saw of Šamaš (*šaššaru*) in particular was used and, to our knowledge, all the occurrences of this symbol are confined to the *nadītu* texts in the Old Babylonian period. In *CT* 2 47:17 ff. the relatives of a deceased *nadītu* bring a claim against her adopted daughter, also a *nadītu*, demanding that she return to them a cloister house and slave girl which the latter says she has inherited from her adoptive

³⁹ A similar situation occurs with Iltani, the daughter of Sin-muballit, whose seal is affixed to a text which gives an account of dates destined for the temple of the god LUGAL.GÚ.DUŠ.A (*VAS* 13 16).

⁴⁰ Outside of the *nadītu* letters we have found only one other example, *UCP* 9 341 No. 7:3, where both Šamaš and Aja appear in the salutation. Although there is no way of telling from the context whether or not this letter in any way concerns the cloister in Sippar, perhaps it does concern people in some way connected with it.

mother. The text states that "for (the testimony of) the witnesses (male and female) the *šurinnu* emblem of Šamaš, the saw of Šamaš, and the snake of Ešhara were brought into the cloister."⁴¹ It would thus appear that these objects were not kept in the cloister itself but probably in the temple of Ebabbar, the temple of Šamaš in Sippar.

In another legal text, *VAS* 9 130:6 ff., recording the division of the property of a deceased *nadītu* between her brothers, the contents of the estate are declared before the *šurinnu* of Sin and the saw of Šamaš and then divided. The saw of Šamaš is also utilized in a lawsuit brought against a *nadītu* by the man who had sold her a house (*CT* 2 45).

However, the *šurinnu* emblem of Šamaš is not confined to the litigations of the *nadītu*'s. It was also employed in other lawsuits presented to the judges of the Ebabbar temple (*VAS* 8 71; *CT* 4 47a; *BE* 6/1 103).

Finally, there is a reference to "the weapon of Šamaš" being taken from the cloister and used to insure the honest measuring out of barley in an unusual letter (*PBS* 7 85), for neither the name of the writer of the letter nor that of the addressee is mentioned.

The special relationship existing between the *nadītu* and her gods Šamaš and Aja is also evidenced by a clause which appears almost exclusively⁴² in the *nadītu* texts: "after her gods have invited her." This clause refers euphemistically to the death of the *nadītu* (*BE* 6/1 96:13; *CT* 8 5a r. 17; *VAS* 9 145:17 f.; *TCL* 1 68/69:11 f. and Szlechter *Tablettes* 10 MAH 15913:34). The use of the verb *qerû* is revealing. It is the term which might be used in the sense of inviting one to a feast. In this case, the *nadītu* is invited to join her gods on her death. This, too, points up the intimacy between the *nadītu* and her "father-in-law" and "mother-in-law."

We have already stated our reasons for thinking that the view hitherto held of the *nadītu* as acting as a priestess is not a valid one. The relationship between her and her gods was considered in familial terms and hence there were special ties between the *nadītu* and Šamaš and Aja which did not exist for ordinary people. But even though this erroneous view is dismissed, we must not discount the fact that the *nadītu* did live in a religious atmosphere, an atmosphere revealed by letters with their pious phrases and thoughts. The "father-in-law" of the *nadītu*, it must not be forgotten, was a god!

A *nadītu* writing to her father (*PBS* 7 60) trying to persuade him to free a slave who had insulted her brother and in turn have him given to her says: "I will cleanse

⁴¹ *a-na ši-bi-ša ù ši-ba-ti-ša ŠU.NIR ša 4UTU ša-ša-rum ša 4UTU ba-aš-mu-um ša Eš-ḫar-ra a-na ga-gi-im i-ru-bu-ma.*

⁴² *iš-tu (wa-ar-ki) PN i-lu-ša iq-te-ru-ši.* This phrase is in one instance used of a woman who is not a *nadītu* (*BE* 6/1 101) and also of a man in an Old Babylonian text from Alalakh (Wiseman *Alalakh* 57:6).

my hands before my Lord and Lady and pray for you always.”⁴³ The *nadītu* in order to show her gratitude to her father (assuming he grants her wish) promises to offer prayers on his behalf to Šamaš and Aja after first performing the ritual ablution. It would seem from this passage and others to be cited shortly that the prayers of the *nadītu*, the “daughter-in-law” of the gods were thought to possess a certain efficacy denied to other people.

In two letters written by the *nadītu* Lamassani to her father mention is made again and again of her Lord and Lady. The two letters (*PBS* 7 105 and 106) vary only slightly in content. In the first part of her letters Lamassani shows respectful concern for her father’s poor health. She writes in her first letter: “May your well-being last forever before my Lord and Lady. May the guardian of your welfare and life never depart from you. (I make) morning and evening offerings before my Lord and Lady, I constantly pray for your well-being.”⁴⁴ In the second letter in similar words she says:⁴⁵ “May my Lord and Lady at your right and left (sides) not neglect watching over you. Daily at noon I pray for you before the Queen of Sippar.⁴⁶ Apart from you, whom am I concerned about? Like my Lord and Lady I am mindful of you.”

In these letters of Lamassani, too, we find the *nadītu* speaking of praying to Šamaš and Aja. But since so little is known about the religious life of ordinary people of this time, we cannot say that special prayers were recited by the *nadītu* women. Perhaps the ordinary pious person also prayed regularly. Landsberger⁴⁷ has shown that the morning and evening offerings referred to in Lamassani’s letters might be offered by any private person. But perhaps, as in the case of prayers, so, too, the offerings of the *nadītu* may have been considered more acceptable to the gods.

Another reference to an offering being given by a *nadītu* is found in the letter which an unnamed *nadītu* writes to someone who from the context appears to have been her business agent. She writes: “Let them place my offering in the chapel of my Lady and the chapel of the god of the house. He has sent me 3 BÂN of flour [. . .] so that they might feed (the personnel of) the chapel of my Lady and the chapel of the god of the house⁴⁸ (*CT* 6 39b:8 ff.).” This *nadītu* is speaking of offerings to

⁴³ Lines 25 ff.: *ma-ḥa-ar be-li-ia ù be-el-ti-ia gá-ta-ia ma-si-a-ma ak-ta-na-ra-ba-ku.*

⁴⁴ Lines 9 ff.: *š[u-l]um-ka ma-ḥar be-li-ia ù be-el-ti-ia lu da-ri ma-aš-ša-ar šu-ul-mi-im ù ba-la-ti-im i-na ri-ši-ka a-a ip-pa-ar-ku SUKU ka-ša-tim ù li-li-a-tim ma-ḥar be-li-ia ù be-el-ti-ia a-na ba-la-ti-ka ak-ta-na-ra-ab.*

⁴⁵ Lines 12 ff.: *i-mi-il-lam ù šu-me-lam be-li ù be-el-ti a-na na-ša-ri-ka a-a i-gu-ú UD-mi-ša-am i-na nu-ri ma-ḥar šar-ra-at UD.KIB.NUN⁴¹ ak-ta-na-ra-ba-ak-kum e-li-nu-uk-ka a-na ma-an-ni-ia uz-na-ia i-ba-aš-ši-a ki-ma be-li-ia ù be-el-ti-ia uz-na-ia i-ba-aš-ši-a-ni-kum.*

⁴⁶ This probably refers to the goddess Annunītum.

⁴⁷ In *MAOG* 4 303.

⁴⁸ *i-na é be-el-ti-ia ù é i-li é SUKU-ti li-iš-ku-nu 3 (BÂN) ZÍD.DA [...] uš-ta-bi-lam é be-el-ti-ia ù é DINGIR é li-ša-ki-lu.*

Aja and her family god. The reference to Aja is again an index of her special relationship to the goddess.

Of interest, too, are the few lines written by the *nadītu* Nīš-īnišu to her father on an otherwise blank case tablet. In the inner tablet she complains to him and accuses him of ignoring her misery. Perhaps because she had overlooked the matter in the inner tablet, she adds on the case: "To Ili-[imguranni], my father, 'send me a jar for the offerings for the dead, for your father.'"⁴⁹ These lines may be without any real significance and may have been added by Nīš-īnišu simply to reinforce her pleas. Or they may imply that the *nadītu* in her position as *nadītu* may actually have offered the offering to the dead, an act normally performed by the son of the deceased.

These various examples showing that the *nadītu* enjoyed a very special role in relationship to Šamaš and Aja clearly indicate that, apart from legal and economic considerations, the religious factor must also have operated in the decision of some parents to have their daughter enter the cloister of Sippar as a *nadītu* of Šamaš.

V. THE DURATION OF THE *Nadītu*-SHIP

There is no evidence that a *nadītu* retired at a certain age, a suggestion made by one Assyriologist.⁵⁰ On the contrary, all evidence points to her remaining in the cloister until her death. In spite of the accidental and limited nature of our material, there is ample data on *nadītu*'s living in the cloister for over a period of twenty-five years. There are even examples of some women living in this institution for more than fifty years, an unusually long life span for this period. Moreover, the very fact that the *nadītu* lived shut-off in the cloister for many years would have made it impossible for her to return to her family.

The following are the *nadītu*'s whose documents attest to their activities for a period of over twenty-five years:

Iltani, the daughter of Apil-ilīšu	54 years
Ina-libbim-eršet, the daughter of Ipiq-ilīšu	52 years
Iltani, the princess	50+ years
Aja-rēšat, the daughter of Ilšu-ibni	48 years
Mannatum, the daughter of Jassi-el	44 years
Amat-Mamu, the daughter of Akšaja	43 years
Lamassi, the daughter of Šerum-ili	42+ years
Huššutum, the daughter of Sin-puṭram	39+ years
Lamassi, the daughter of Puzur-Akšak	39 years
Lamassi, the daughter of Nakkaram	35 years
Salimatum, the daughter of Nēmelum	31+ years
Erišti-Šamaš, the daughter of Šamaš-tajjār	28+ years
Lamassi, the daughter of Bunene	27 years
Amat-Šamaš, the daughter of Ibbi-Šaḥan	25 years

⁴⁹ VAS 16 5a: 3 f.: a-na I-lī-[im-gur-ra-an-ni] a-bi-ia DUG pur-ši-im-tam a-na ki-is-pi ša a-bi-ka [š]u-bi-lam.

⁵⁰ See Driver and Miles, *The Babylonian Laws*, I 365.

Certainly many of the *nadītu*'s owed their longevity to their childlessness. Undoubtedly, too, their being isolated and cut off from other people protected them from the hazards of periodic epidemics which afflicted most Babylonians. But when the *nadītu* grew old and perhaps enfeebled, the cloister surprisingly enough did not provide for her care. It was the *nadītu* herself who, if not cared for by her brothers, had to make arrangements for her own support in later years. The many extant adoption texts clearly attest to the common practice of a *nadītu*'s adopting a younger *nadītu*, who might be related to her but not necessarily so, other relatives, or her slave, who was first manumitted, as a form of old age pension and social security.

VI. THE BACKGROUND OF THE WOMEN WHO BECAME *Nadītu*'s

By and large the *nadītu* came from the upper strata of society. But, although one finds princesses among them, this class, unlike the earlier *entu*-priestesses, did not stem exclusively from royal families.

Of the princesses, Iltani is the most famous and indeed the best known of all the *nadītu*'s of Sippar. However, two different princesses with the same name must be distinguished. The earlier Iltani was the daughter of Sin-muballiṭ and her documents date from the reign of her brother Hammurabi. The later Iltani, whose documents cover the lengthy period from the reign of Abi-ešuḫ to Ammi-šaduqa, may have been the daughter of either Samsuiluna or Abi-ešuḫ.⁵¹

A still earlier princess is known, Ajalatum, the daughter of Sumu-la-ila, the second ruler of the First Dynasty of Babylon. But little information remains of her in the extant material. In one text, *CT* 8 29b:22, she appears as a witness to the adoption of a slave by a sister *nadītu*. In an inheritance text dating from Apil-Sin (*CT* 8 49b:5), her canal is mentioned as one of the boundaries of a field. It is interesting to note that these princesses bear rather commonplace names. The fact that princesses did enter the cloister in Sippar demonstrates that to be a *nadītu* was an honored and respected position.

Other *nadītu*'s came from highly regarded families, from the class of officialdom. The father of Lamassani, Ili-damiq (*BE* 6/1 119:42), was the head of the assembly (*GAL UNKIN.NA*). The brother or father of another *nadītu*, also named Lamassani, also held this position.⁵² Several of the *nadītu*'s, as might be expected, were the daughters of cloister officials. In some instances the father held the office of "steward of the *nadītu*'s," probably the most important position in the cloister administration.⁵³ Among these one finds Aja-rēšat, the daughter of Ninšubur-mansum (seal inscription on *TCL* 1 68/69), Bēltani, the daughter of Abba (*CT* 8 9b:2), Duššup-tum, the daughter of Marduk-lamassašu (*TCL* 1 77:7), and Amat-Mamu, the daughter of Nannatum (*VAS* 13 31:7).

⁵¹ On these princesses, see *JCS* 16/1 6 ff.

⁵² She is referred to as the sister of Sin-iqīšam in a letter which the latter writes (*TCL* 1 54) but in the legal texts as his daughter. For more on this *nadītu*, see *JCS* 16/1 9.

⁵³ For more on this position, see *JESHO* 6/2 131 ff.

Some *nadītu* women were the daughters of military officials. Amat-Šamaš (*BE* 6/1 89:2) was the daughter of Marduk-mušallim (Meissner *BAP* 74:19), who had the title of “father of the troops” (*abi šābi*). So too, did Marduk-lamassašu, the father of the *nadītu* Narubtum (*CT* 33 27:4). The brother of Lamassani, the daughter of Ili-damiq, mentioned above, was a captain (*ša haṭṭātim*).⁵⁴

Tappûm, the father of Iltani, held the important position of *rabiānu* (Waterman *Bus. Doc.* 54 r. 2). The fathers of two *nadītu*'s were overseers of the merchants in Sippar: Iisu-ibni, father of Aja-tallik (Waterman *Bus. Doc.* 18:3) and Awāt-Šamaš (*CT* 6 47b:25), father of Iltani (*BE* 6/1 61:18). Aja-tallik's sister, Aja-rēšat, was also a *nadītu* of Šamaš (*CT* 6 6:12).⁵⁵

A . a . b . b a - ṭābum, the father of the *nadītu*'s Inanna-a m a . m u and Abaja, was a scribe (*VAS* 8 1:25).⁵⁶ So too, was Sin-iqīšam, the father of Amat-Šamaš, the last known *nadītu* who lived in the time of Samsu-ditāna (*JCS* 11 30 19:7). From *CT* 8 18c:2, an inheritance text, we learn that an unnamed *nadītu* was the “daughter of the chief doctor (A.ZU GAL).”⁵⁷ Apparently her father was so well known that her name need not be mentioned.

The father of the *nadītu* Mannašu was a GUDÚ official in the Šamaš temple (*CT* 2 24:11, 25) and the relative of one *nadītu* a diviner (MÁŠ.ŠU.GÍD.GÍD) in *BE* 6/1 95:9.⁵⁸ The title of judge was held by the father of Aja-tallik (*RSO* 2 539:12) and by the uncle of another *nadītu* (*PBS* 7 106:31 f.).

The relatives of a *nadītu* might on occasion be artisans. The brother of Erišti-Aja, Awāt-Nanna, was a goldsmith (*CT* 8 22a:17). Both brother and sister are mentioned in a cloister administrative text: *VAS* 9 45:2, 6.

Although it is possible that some of the *nadītu* women came from the more humble ranks of society, the data would indicate that for the most part they were affluent and the owners of real estate and slaves. As a group they were without doubt the most significant entrepreneurs in Sippar.

VII. FAMILY TRADITION AND THE *Nadītu* CLASS

It has already been mentioned in passing that in certain families successive generations of women entered the cloister. These occurrences were not exceptions to the rule. There are many examples where both the aunt and her niece belonged to this class of women and in all examples the aunt is always the sister of her niece's father. To mention just a few cases: in *CT* 4 47b:21, Aja-rēšat, the daughter of Sin-ennam is witness to a gift which Nūr-ilišu gave to his daughter Bēla; the father of Nūr-ilišu is also named Sin-ennam. It can, therefore, be safely assumed that

⁵⁴ For this reading, see R. Sweet, *Afo* 18 360.

⁵⁵ On this *nadītu*, see *JCS* 16/1 1.

⁵⁶ On Inanna-a m a . m u, see *ibid.*, 8.

⁵⁷ This is a little-known title. A seal inscription of a man with this position is found on *VAS* 9 48/49: “Būr-Nunu, son of Mašum, the chief doctor.”

⁵⁸ Because of a broken passage the exact nature of this relationship is not known.

Nūr-ilišu and Aja-rēšat are brother and sister. The *nadītu* Tabni-Ištar adopts her niece Bēlessunu, "the daughter of Nūr-ilišu, her brother (*CT* 2 35:5). A similar phrase is used in describing Lamassani, the daughter of Warad-Sin, the niece of Amat-Šamaš, the daughter of Sin-māgir in *CT* 4 10:37.

The following is the list of aunts and their nieces appearing in the extant *nadītu* texts:

Text	Aunt's Name	Niece's Name
<i>CT</i> 2 35	Tabni-Ištar d. Nabi-Sin	Bēlessunu d. Nūr-ilišu
<i>CT</i> 4 47b	Aja-rēšat d. Sin-ennam	Bēla d. Nūr-ilišu
<i>CT</i> 4 10	Amat-Šamaš d. Sin-māgir	Lamassani d. Warad-Sin
Waterman <i>Bus. Doc.</i> 34	Damiqtum d. Kikinum	Munawwirtum d. Šamaš-tappišu
Waterman <i>Bus. Doc.</i> 70	Salīmatum d. Nēmelum ⁵⁹	Erimmatum d. Bēlsunu
<i>RA</i> 9 22	Niš-Inišu d. Ubarrija	Narāmtani d. Sin-rēmenni
<i>YOS</i> 12 469	Amat-Šamaš d. Ibbi-Šaḥan	Ina-libbim-eršet d. Luštamar-Sin
<i>CT</i> 2 24	Mārat-eršetim d. Ubarrum	Mannašu d. Šamaš-nāšir
Waterman <i>Bus. Doc.</i> 18	Aja-rēšat d. Ilšu-ibni	Amat-Šamaš d. Sin-inguranni
<i>BE</i> 6/1 119	Amat-bēltim d. Išar-Lim	Šāt-Aja d. Marduk-muballit

The examples of aunts and nieces both entering the cloister are found throughout the Old Babylonian period. There is even an instance in an unpublished text in the British Museum of an aunt, niece, and two great-nieces all becoming *nadītu*'s of Šamaš.

But even more common an occurrence, to judge from the texts, was that of two sisters entering the cloister:

Text	Names of Sisters	Father's Name
Waterman <i>Bus. Doc.</i> 14	Abaja, Inanna - a m a . m u	A . a b . b a - ṭābum
<i>CT</i> 2 3	Ullum-eršet, Nutuptum	Dada-waqar
<i>VAS</i> 8 77	Iltani, Niš-Inišu	Ša-Amurrim
<i>CT</i> 8 20a	Lamassi, Iltani	Sin-rēmenni
<i>CT</i> 8 18b	Lamassi, Iltani	Puzur-Akšak
<i>VAS</i> 9 45	Šāt-Aja, Bēlessunu	Rim-Adad
<i>TCL</i> 1 104	Šamuḥtum, Bēletum	Ipqu-Ningal
<i>VAS</i> 9 48/49	Iltani,	GAZ-Ištar ⁶⁰
<i>VAS</i> 9 155/156	Amat-Šamaš	Apil-ilišu ⁶⁰
<i>CT</i> 4 40a	Ina-libbim-eršet	Apil-ilišu
<i>CT</i> 2 5	Iltani	Sijatū ⁶⁰
<i>CT</i> 8 32a	Bēltani	Sijatū
<i>CT</i> 8 43c	Arnabatū	Sin-rā'im-Ūrim
<i>CT</i> 8 42b	Erišti-Šamaš	Sin-rā'im-Ūrim
<i>BE</i> 6/2 70	Dan-imissa	Nannatū
<i>BE</i> 6/1 61	Masiktū, Niš-Inišu	Nannatū
Waterman <i>Bus. Doc.</i> 18	Aja-tallik	Ilšu-ibni
<i>CT</i> 6 6	Aja-rēšat	Ilšu-ibni

⁵⁹ How this relationship is arrived at is discussed in *JCS* 16/1 11.

⁶⁰ It cannot be definitely proved in all these instances that the two *nadītu*'s are sisters. But this assumption is made on the basis of their fathers' names when they are not common names and on the basis of their texts dating from about the same period.

In the above list all the sisters, with but one exception, are *nađitu*'s of the god Šamaš. However, Bēletum, the sister of Šamuḫtum, daughter of Ipqu-Ningal, is a *nađitu* of the god Marduk. If the names of the sisters are mentioned in order of their birth, Šamuḫtum, the *nađitu* of Šamaš, is older than Bēletum, the *nađitu* of Marduk. We shall come back to this point later.

At times sisters might belong to different classes.

Text	Name of Sister	Class	Father's Name
Meissner BAP 111	Aja-rēšat	<i>nađitu</i> of Šamaš	Awēlija
	Erištum	<i>qadištu</i>	Awēlija
RSO 2 539	Bēltani	<i>nađitu</i> of Šamaš	Sin-nāšir
	Taram-ili	<i>kulmašitu</i>	Sin-nāšir
CT 6 42b	Amat-Šamaš	<i>nađitu</i> of Šamaš	Rībam-ili
	Erištum	<i>qadištu</i>	Rībam-ili
Waterman Bus. Doc. 34	Damiqtum	<i>nađitu</i> of Šamaš	Kikinum
	Sippirītum	<i>ugbabbu</i>	Kikinum
CT 2 45	Bēltija	<i>nađitu</i> of Šamaš	Šamaš-bēl-ili
	Taddin-Nunu	<i>qadištu</i>	Šamaš-bēl-ili

In almost all the above examples the sister who is the *nađitu* of Šamaš is mentioned first. If this is indicative of her birth order (and this is a reasonable assumption), then it would mean that it was the eldest daughter who became a *nađitu* of Šamaš, suggesting then that this was the preferred class. Bolstering this assertion is the fact that the niece of Damiqtum and Sippirītum (see above) became a *nađitu* of Šamaš and not an *ugbabbu*. However, an investigation of these other special classes is required before conclusive generalizations can be drawn.

It is thus clear that in certain families there was the tradition of having their young women enter the Sippar cloister as *nađitu*'s of Šamaš. This tradition was even more extensive than outlined above, for we have shown elsewhere⁶¹ that even patrilineal cousins followed this same practice.

VIII. THE NAMES OF THE *Nađitu*'s OF ŠAMAŠ

A study of the names of the *nađitu* women of Šamaš reveals a number of interesting facts. It has already been pointed out by J. Stamm⁶² that the *Priesterinnen*, as he terms the *nađitu*'s, had both theophoric and secular names. He states, too, that the theophoric names far outnumber the secular names and that the former, moreover, in contrast to the usual theophoric names given to women, have special meanings. These names, he continues, stress the preference of a god for the dedication of the woman. Thus names with the element *erištu* "request," such as Erišti-Šamaš ("Request from Šamaš") and Erišti-Aja ("Request from Aja"), though not

⁶¹ This is discussed at length in JCS 16/1 1 f. under Amat-Šamaš, daughter of Mād-dummuq-ili.

⁶² In *Namengebung* 124 ff.

always the names of *nadītu*'s, usually are. Other names with the element *erēšu*, "to request," are almost always the names of "priestesses" according to Stamm. Names such as Niš-īnišu ("His Favorite") and Šerikti-Aja ("Gift of Aja") are names borne only by these women, he asserts.

How valid is Stamm's view of the *nadītu* names? First, it must be emphasized that the following observations are limited to the names of the *nadītu*'s of Sippar. A study of the names of women belonging to other classes would, we think, necessitate a modification of these observations. Even a cursory glance at the names of the *nadītu*'s of the god Ninurta in the city of Nippur, for example, shows that certain names were more popular among them than among the *nadītu*'s of Šamaš.⁶³ The choice of names was influenced, it would seem, not only by the class of which a woman was a member but also by the locality in which she lived.

It is true, as Stamm has said, that both theophoric and non-theophoric names are to be found among the *nadītu*'s in Sippar. However, all together, there are more non-theophoric names than theophoric names, as must have been the case with ordinary women of this period. Nevertheless, certain theophoric names were much more popular among the *nadītu*'s. The most common name was Amat-Šamaš, "Servant girl of Šamaš" (70).⁶⁴ Next in order of popularity are the following names: Niš-īnišu, "His Favorite" (35), Lamassi, "My Angel" (31), Bēlessunu, "Their Mistress" (25), Bēltani, "Our Mistress" (23), Iltani, "Our Goddess" (22), Erišti-Aja, "Request from Aja" (21), Awāt-Aja, "Word of Aja" (19),⁶⁵ Lamassani, "Our Angel" (15), Rībatum, "Compensation" (12), Eli-erēssa, "Exalted is her Request" (11), Aja-tallik "Aja Walks" (10),⁶⁶ and Narāmtani, "Our Beloved" (10). The other attested names occur with less frequency.

With the exception of Eli-erēssa (Ha, Si), Erišti-Aja (Ha, Si, Amš) and Rībatum (Sm, Ha, Si), all the above-mentioned names remained popular throughout the Old Babylonian period.

Then as now there were vogues in names. Some names seem to be limited to the early part of the Old Babylonian period. For example, with the exception of the names Erištum (AS) and Erišsumatum (AS, Sm, Ha, Si), names with the elements *erištu* and *erēšu* occur primarily in the latter half of the Old Babylonian period. Names with the element *aḫātum* such as Aḫāssunu and Aḫātani and Aḫātum itself were current in the earlier part of this time, as were names such as Rubātum,

⁶³ One would not expect, of course, to find such names as Amat-Šamaš or Erišti-Aja. But, curiously enough, the name of Ninurta does not appear as the theophoric element among the names of the *nadītu*'s of Ninurta. They, too, bear names appearing among ordinary women, such as Bēltani, Damiqtum, and Lamassani.

⁶⁴ Not included in the tally are those instances in which the father's name is not known.

⁶⁵ The reading of KA as *awātu* is established by the writing *A-wa-at-KI* in *VAS* 8 19:4 and *TCL* 1 p. 16b.

⁶⁶ This is an unusual name and is perhaps an abbreviated form of a longer name.

Rībatum, and Rabātum. Other names which seem to disappear from use after the early part of the Old Babylonian period are Innabatum and Salatum. Limited in currency were also such names as Kalumtum, Narāmtum, Narāmtani, Šī-lamassi, and Tarībatum.

Certain names always remained popular. Iltani, though of greater frequency in the first half of the Old Babylonian period, remained in use in the latter part, too. Names composed with some form of *bēltum* such as Bēlessunu, Bēletum, and Bēltani, continued to be used.

Returning to the conclusions drawn by Stamm, the following can be said. Certain names do indeed appear to be restricted to this class.⁶⁷ Accordingly, all women in the Sippar texts bearing the names Amat-Šamaš, Niš-īnišu, Awāt-Aja, Erišti-Aja, Erišti-Šamaš, and Eli-erēssa are *nadītu*'s of Šamaš even though they may not be described as such.⁶⁸ This would suggest that at least some of the girls on entering the cloister might change their names and assume what might be termed a "*nadītu* name." Receiving a new name signified that they were entering into a new and different phase in their lives and accorded with a well-known custom of the ancient Near Eastern world.⁶⁹ But a change of names was not mandatory.

IX. THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE *Nadītu* WOMEN

When a woman became a *nadītu* of Šamaš, she became a member of a special class. The cloister had its own administrative staff which conducted the affairs of the institution and which looked after the interests of the *nadītu*'s as a collective unit. This would imply that the *nadītu*'s in turn had certain obligations toward the cloister. Yet the extant data give little information as to what these obligations were. It is not known, for example, whether or not part of the dowry of the *nadītu* was given to the cloister and yet it is reasonable to assume that such might have been the case. There is one item in the account of a *nadītu* which suggests that she may have been required to pay a tax to the cloister.⁷⁰

However, it is known that the *nadītu*'s were obligated to bring an offering called the *piqittu* to the temple of Šamaš, Ebabbar, in Sippar for the festivals of Šamaš.⁷¹ The comestibles which made up the oblation might consist of various foods, but usually they consisted of meat and flour (see, e.g., Waterman *Bus. Doc.* 4, 6, 10; *CT*

⁶⁷ However, this statement may have to be broadened to include women belonging to other special classes. For example, the name Amat-Šamaš is borne by a woman described in a Kish text (M. Stuneck, *Hammurabi Letters from the Haskell Collections*, A 3533:7) as an *ugbaltu* of Šamaš; Dan-erēssa is the name of an *ugbaltu* of Zababa in another Kish text (Fish, *MCS* 8 Supplement 4).

⁶⁸ In some cases, therefore, the names of the women serve as the only criterion for considering certain texts as *nadītu* texts.

⁶⁹ For the changing of names in the Bible see Pedersen, *Israel*, I-II, 253.

⁷⁰ On this tax see *JESHO* 6/2 154 f.

⁷¹ For more on the *piqittu* see *ibid.*, 149 f.

4 44c; *CT* 6 44a and *passim*). At times, bread might be added (Waterman *Bus. Doc.* 2; *CT* 8 40d), as well as beer (Waterman *Bus. Doc.* 2; *CT* 8 40d; *CT* 8 41c). In most texts it is simply stated that meat (UZU) is to be brought as a *piqittu* offering. But in some instances the cut of meat is specified: back meat (UZU.ÚR in Waterman *Bus. Doc.* 6, 52, 58), and rib (TĪ in *TCL* 1 121). In a cloister administrative text, discussed elsewhere,⁷² we find that a great variety of cuts might be brought. From this text, too, we learn that the *piqittu* offering was incumbent not only on the *nadītu* women but also on the officials of the cloister administration, suggesting that this oblation was imposed by the Šamaš temple on the cloister and its inhabitants and that the cloister was in some way subservient to it.

There were also ways for the *nadītu* to exact the *piqittu* from other people in her stead. In almost all the lease contracts of these women, the lessee in addition to the rent, in the case of a house, and in addition to a share of the harvest, in the case of a field, had also to pay the *nadītu* lessor the *piqittu* for a specified number of Šamaš festivals.⁷³ The lessee might be responsible for supplying the *piqittu* for as few as three festivals and for as many as six festivals.⁷⁴ Usually three festivals were specified in the contracts. On occasion the lessee himself might have to bring the *piqittu* to the temple of Ebabbar as is seen in the *piqittu* clause in Riftin 39: 10 ff.: "In the temple of Šamaš (for) six festivals, 20 silas of barley flour (and) one (piece of) meat he (the lessee) will hand over for her."

But it is also clear that the oblation was not related only to the ownership of real estate but was required of all. The *nadītu* who owned real estate simply had a source for obtaining her *piqittu*. We read, for example, in *CT* 2 31:4 f., that one Ḫalijatūm abrogates the heirship of her adopted daughter, a sister *nadītu*, because the latter "had not given her clothing, ointment, and her *piqittu* offering."⁷⁵ Similarly, in *CT* 8 20a:31 ff., it is stated that if the adopted brother of a *nadītu* "does not give her clothing, ointment, and the *piqittu* offering, she may remove him from his heirship."⁷⁶ This oblation was, therefore, an obligation imposed upon every *nadītu*, which she might receive from the lessees of her properties or from relatives who were responsible for her welfare, or from her adopted children, who were to look after her needs.

There are certain variations in the stereotyped *piqittu* clause: "he (the lessee) will hand over certain food portions." In *CT* 33 42, the lessee is "to hand over to her

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ In leases of fields see *CT* 33 42; *CT* 6 41c; Waterman *Bus. Doc.* 15, 16, and *passim*; in leases of houses see *BE* 6/1 30; *TCL* 1 121; Waterman *Bus. Doc.* 9; *VAS* 16 62, and *passim*.

⁷⁴ For three festivals see, e.g., Waterman *Bus. Doc.* 9, 10, 15; for four festivals: *VAS* 9 23/24; Waterman *Bus. Doc.* 4, 11; for five festivals: Waterman *Bus. Doc.* 12, 77; *BE* 6/2 72; *CT* 6 41c; and for six festivals see Waterman *Bus. Doc.* 6 and *CT* 4 44c.

⁷⁵ *lu-bu-ša-am pi-ša-tam pi(!)-qi-ti-ša ú-ul id-di-im-ma.*

⁷⁶ *lu-bu-ša-am pi-ša-tam ú pi-qi-tam ú-ul i-di-iš-ši-im i-na ap-lu-ti-ša i-na-sd-aḫ-šu.*

(the *nadītu*) a basket and piglet at the festival of *Elūnu*, at the monthly festival, and the *nabrū* ceremony.⁷⁷ A very abbreviated form of this clause occurs in another lease contract in which the same *nadītu* is lessor. Here (CT 33 43:20) it is phrased as "at the *Elūnu* festival and the *nabrū* ceremony."⁷⁸ A somewhat parallel passage occurs in Çig-Kizilyay-Kraus, *Nippur* 161 r. 3: "he will hand over a basket to her at the *Elūnu* festival, the *nabrū* ceremony, and the *ajjaru* festival."⁷⁹ From these passages we learn that the *nadītu* celebrated festivals which occurred in the months of *Elūnu* and *Ajjaru*. But it is not known just what the *nabrū* ceremony was.⁸⁰ In the month of *Ab*, too, the *nadītu*'s celebrated a festival for, in two loan contracts, it is specified that "in the month of the festival *Ab*" the debtor will return the loan (VAS 8 28/29, 47/48). These variations in the usual *piḡittu* clause differ in that the festivals which took place on the first day of each month are referred to explicitly.

X. THE LIFE OF THE *Nadītu* WITHIN THE CLOISTER COMPOUND

To what extent was the *nadītu* shut off from the world? Was she permitted any degree of freedom? An attempt will now be made to answer these questions. It would seem from our limited data that at times she might have been granted more freedom than at other times, the degree of freedom perhaps fluctuating with the general political and social situation. She might on occasion be permitted to leave the cloister and visit relatives, but this permission may have hinged on special circumstances. We do know that many of them carried on a wide correspondence with relatives, friends, and business agents. They might be permitted visitors. All this is inferred from their letters.

Until recently, the phrase "at the opening of the lattice" (*ina pī aptim*), which is found almost exclusively in the *nadītu* loan contracts from Sippar, was taken as evidence of their completely cloistered life. It was assumed that this phrase implied that since the debtor was to pay at the lattice, the *nadītu* was not to be seen by anyone from the outside, and that only through the lattice was she permitted to communicate with the outside world.⁸¹

Landsberger⁸² has shown that such significance cannot be attributed to this phrase. A close study of the occurrences of this phrase in the *nadītu* contracts themselves also clearly shows that it was limited in currency, and its use was probably only a scribal fad without any real significance.

The phrase "at the opening of the lattice" occurs in our texts merely as a variant

⁷⁷ Lines 12 ff.: *i-na e-lu-nim pī-ša-nam ù šaḡ.TUR i-na EZEN ù na-ab-ri-i i-pa-qī-sī.*

⁷⁸ *EZEN e-lu-nam ù na-ab-(ri-i).*

⁷⁹ *e-lu-nam na-ab-ri-i ù a-ia-ra-am pī-ša-nam i-pa-qī-sī.*

⁸⁰ This is perhaps to be connected with *barā* "to divine."

⁸¹ This view was expressed by Koschaker in *HG* 6 104.

⁸² In *MSL* 1 141.

of the usual “at the gate of the cloister (the debtor will repay his debt).” The use of the less common phrase is limited to the loan contracts dating from Hammurabi and, after the first year of Samsuiluna, disappears completely from use. The following are the extant references:

Ha	Waterman <i>Bus. Doc.</i> 58 r. 12, 77:10
Ha 13	Waterman <i>Bus. Doc.</i> 12 r. 1
Ha 15	Waterman <i>Bus. Doc.</i> 5:10
Ha 17	Waterman <i>Bus. Doc.</i> 52 r. 1
Ha 21	<i>BE</i> 6/2 72:11; <i>PBS</i> 8/2 262:10
Ha 32	<i>CT</i> 33 48b:10; <i>PBS</i> 8/2 253:14
Si 1	<i>CT</i> 6 48b:13
undated	Waterman <i>Bus. Doc.</i> 57:9

It is important to note that this phrase appears six times in the loan contracts which concern the *nadītu*, Mannatum, daughter of Jassi-el (Waterman *Bus. Doc.* 52, 58, 77; *BE* 6/2 72; *PBS* 8/2 253 and 262).⁸³ This supports our contention that the “lattice” clause owed its use to a scribal vogue. Furthermore, the fact that the latest reference, *CT* 6 48b, occurs in a loan transaction between two *nadītu*’s can only mean that it did not contain for the ancient Babylonian the connotation attributed to it by modern Assyriologists.

Nevertheless, the *nadītu* was in many respects cut off from the rest of the world. The synonyms of the word *gagû* as listed in the vocabulary lists (see above) implied that the cloister was isolated and sequestered. The *nadītu* even had a special term for the outside world, she called it the *kīdu*.⁸⁴ For her, houses were located within the cloister compound and houses were located in the *kīdu*.

In a text (*BE* 6/2 70:1 ff.) recording the gift which a father gave to his *nadītu* daughter, mention is made among other things of “a house in full repair of 1 SAR and 10 GÍN (located within) the cloister (compound) and a house in full repair of 1 SAR (located) in the *kīdu*.” This same contrast in houses is also used in *CT* 8 25a:5. In another case (*CT* 8 24b:1), the object of a lawsuit between *nadītu*’s is a house located in the *kīdu*. The contrast between *gagû* and *kīdu* appears, furthermore, in an all too laconic account belonging to the cloister archive which goes as follows: “13 sealed (documents) (belonging to) the administration building of the cloister and the administration building of the outside (*BE* 6/1 1091 f.).”⁸⁵

Not all the *nadītu* women in the cloister at Sippar were natives of Sippar. Gimil-ija, the brother of Awāt-Aja, mentioned above, appears to have lived in Babylon. And it is reasonable to assume that in a society of limited mobility his sister, too, must have come from Babylon. There are sufficient data to show that the *nadītu*

⁸³ For more on Mannatum see *JCS* 16/1 10.

⁸⁴ Ordinarily the word *kīdu* means “flatland” but is used in this special way only by the *nadītu*’s.

⁸⁵ For more on this text see *JESHO* 6/2 129.

Eli-erēssa, daughter of Nāḥ-ili, came from Dilbat.⁸⁶ The question then arises as to whether or not a *nadītu* might visit her relatives or whether they might visit her. Both seem to have been permitted, though it is not known with what regularity, if any, this might be done.

In a letter which a *nadītu* writes to people who may be no more than friends she says: "And write me the (name of the) city in which you live and I will [come] to (visit) you (*PBS* 7 39:25 ff.)."⁸⁷ If the restoration of the last line is correct, and it seems to be the only one possible, then a *nadītu* might leave the cloister for visits.

That she might be permitted visitors was seen from a letter already quoted which Awāt-Aja wrote to her brother saying, "When I last saw you, I rejoiced as much as I did when I (first) entered the cloister and saw the face of my Lady."

It is not known how a *nadītu* spent her day. Many must have been occupied with their various business enterprises which entailed frequent correspondence with business agents and relatives. Many wrote to their families, to their fathers (*PBS* 7 60, 105, 106; *VAS* 16 5a; *CT* 43 24, 61) and their brothers (*CT* 29 9a; *Fish Letters* 2, 4, and 6). Extant, too, are the letters written by a brother to his *nadītu* sister (*VAS* 16 1 and 63), letters marked by an unusual degree of intimacy and frankness.

Some *nadītu*'s spent their time in spinning with profit. One text (*TCL* 1 90) speaks of the slave girl which a *nadītu* had bought with her spinning (money).

In the very early part of the Old Babylonian period some of the *nadītu*'s held administrative positions.⁸⁸ But with the growth in the complexity of the administration, or perhaps for other reasons, these positions were later retained only by men. The female scribe alone (and there was only one of these at any given time) continued to serve throughout the existence of the cloister.

XI. THE HOUSEHOLD OF A *Nadītu*

The household of the individual *nadītu* varied in size, according to the means of the *nadītu*. The households of the very wealthy women functioned on two levels. There was an administrative staff, made up of the people who were responsible for handling her investments and properties, and there were the menials, her slaves and servants, who performed the lowly tasks of a household. We shall first describe the administrative staff.

A. THE *Iššakku* FARMER

There are only three examples in the published texts of a *nadītu* having an *iššakku* farmer to manage her fields. In each instance the *nadītu* is extremely wealthy. Two of them are the princesses named Iltani; the third is Lamassani, the sister or daughter of Sin-iqīšam, the head of the assembly.

⁸⁶ For our reasons for arriving at this conclusion, see *JCS* 16/1 4.

⁸⁷ *ù a-la-am wa-aš-ba-ti i-na ṭup-pi šu-uṭ-ri-ma a-qī-ir-r[u-ba-ak-kum]*.

⁸⁸ For this see *JESHO* 6/2 131 ff.

Something is known of the farmer of Lamassani.⁸⁹ His name was Bēlijatum and to judge from a letter which her brother (thus in the letter) writes (*TCL* 1 54), somewhat of a scoundrel. Bēlijatum is responsible for collecting the harvest of the fields and for paying the hire of the oxen and the workers. In *TCL* 1 167 mention is made of large amounts of barley taken from a field in Kar-Šamaš "which is under the supervision of Bēlijatum, the *iššakku* farmer of Lamassani, the *nadītu* of Šamaš, the daughter of Sin-iqišam (thus in administrative texts), the head of the assembly." In another economic text (*TCL* 1 168) Bēlijatum and Lamassani, along with several other people, are partners in a field in the region of Pakmat. The text lists the shares received by each of the partners. It is noteworthy that Bēlijatum receives a larger share than does Lamassani. Bēlijatum also acted as an *iššakku* farmer for several other people (*TCL* 1 230), receiving part of the harvest as his wages. In *TCL* 1 174 he is in charge of hiring help for the many tasks of a field. He has 117 men in all under his supervision! These texts picture Bēlijatum as a man of means and of considerable importance.

An *iššakku* farmer named Tarībatum is described as being the *iššakku* of the princess in *VAS* 9 202 (= Meissner *BAP* 22). This text insofar as we can tell is not a *nadītu* text, nor in any way connected with the cloister.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, we would suggest that this Tarībatum was the farmer of the earlier Iltani, daughter of Sin-muballit. We assign it to the earlier of the two princesses because the lessee in this text also appears in another text dating from Hammurabi (*VAS* 9 62:6).

The later Iltani, as befitted her great wealth, had several *iššakku* farmers in charge of her many fields (*JCS* 2 110 2 and *JCS* 5 90 MAH 15983). Though the duties of these men are never stated, these were undoubtedly similar to those performed by Bēlijatum. It may be assumed that only the most affluent of the *nadītu* women had their fields managed by farmers. The other landowning women would more practicably lease out their fields to tenant farmers.

B. THE ŠABRA OFFICIAL

Only the later Iltani had her own ŠABRA official. In *JCS* 2 112 178 the harvesters hired to work in the fields of Iltani are under the supervision of this person. Just what his duties were we do not know. But the fact that there was only one ŠABRA and more than one *iššakku* (and more than one AGRIG) would suggest that his was the more important position in the household of the princess.

C. THE AGRIG OFFICIAL

Again it is only the household of the famous Iltani, who lived to a ripe old age, which contained an AGRIG official. In *JCS* 2 112 178 Sin-erībam and Marduk-mubal-

⁸⁹ For more on this *nadītu*, see *JCS* 16/1 9.

⁹⁰ It is especially difficult in the case of economic texts to decide whether or not they belong to the cloister archives.

liṭ, AGRIG officials along with the ŠABRA are responsible for the harvesters. Later in this same lengthy account two other AGRIG officials are mentioned, Marduk-ellassu and Etel-pi-Ištar. There were then at least four men with this title. But we are uninformed as to the nature of their duties. But only the great household of a princess would include so many supervisory persons.

D. THE Šatammu OFFICIAL OF THE HOUSE OF THE *Nadītu*

There is to date no occurrence of a *šatammu* official belonging to the household of a *nadītu*. This office appears only in the precursor to the Lu series (line 8), along with many other officials. But he would be found only in the house of the very few who had need of a person in charge of the stored harvest.

E. THE STEWARD OF THE HOUSE (*Ugula é*)

In a document belonging to the later Iltani, mention is made of one Marduk-muballiṭ, who is "steward of the house" (*JCS* 2 100:172). He, too, must have held a supervisory position in the vast household of the princess.

F. SHEPHERDS AND HERDSMEN

There are several references to shepherds and herdsmen in the *nadītu* texts. Of course only those *nadītu*'s who owned sheep and cattle would employ such people. But few of these women were cattle owners. In one text (*VAS* 9 59/60) a man hires himself out to care for the sheep of the princess. He is hired by an agent of the princess. The princess here is Iltani, daughter of Sin-muballiṭ, for the text dates from her brother's reign.

In a much later text, mention is made of an amount of silver being given to a shepherd to buy fodder for the cattle of Narubtum, a *nadītu* of Šamaš (*CT* 33 27). But once again it is the later Iltani whom we find with many shepherds and herdsmen in her employ. She is known to have had six shepherds to care for her 1,085 head of cattle (*TCL* 1 177)! Other texts belonging to her archive mention more men with this same function (*JCS* 2 106:9 and *VAS* 16 13).

G. THE BUSINESS AGENTS OF THE *Nadītu*'s

Finally a word must be said of the people who acted on behalf of the *nadītu* women. These people, strictly speaking, do not make up part of the household of the *nadītu*. Many of them probably had other occupations and many were probably the relatives of these women. We mention them despite the intangibility of their relationship because some of them may have been in the employ of the *nadītu*. The correspondence between them and their clients will be discussed elsewhere.

H. THE SLAVES OF THE *Nadītu*'s

Probably every *nadītu* owned at least one slave and many had several. These slaves took care of the many menial tasks required in the household. Frequently the *nadītu* would be given slaves by her father (*Waterman Bus. Doc.* 25), perhaps when

she first entered the cloister. Or she might inherit slaves on the death of her father (e.g., *CT* 8 28c). At times she might inherit slaves from an older *nadītu* who had adopted her (e.g., *CT* 8 46; *CT* 6 33a).

At times these slaves had specific duties. For example, the slave which a girl was given by her father (Waterman *Bus. Doc.* 25) is to be her wood carrier (*naši išiša*). Another father gives his daughter a slave who is a fuller (*ašlaku*) as a gift (*CT* 8 49a). In a text which may be assigned to the later Iltani (*JCS* 2 109 156) mention is made of two women who, to judge from their names, were slaves. One, Aja-tukulti, has some unknown function (*SAL×A*), the other, Šamaš-libūr, is a singer (*SAL.NAR*). In an economic account (*CT* 8 30a), there is a reference to one Awēl-Adad who is a farmer, a house-born slave (line 3) and to one female ox-driver, a house-born slave girl. They may be the slaves of the *nadītu* Amat-Šamaš, the daughter of Marduk-mušallim, who were apparently trained to work in her fields.⁹¹

Frequently, the *nadītu* hired out her slave or slaves as harvest workers. On many occasions she manumitted her slave and adopted him or her as her child to assure her care in old age. At times she might be a harsh mistress and the slave would attempt flight (*CT* 29 26:17) from the cloister. But she was often a thoughtful mistress, too. In one of the letters the *nadītu* Awāt-Aja wrote her brother she mentioned among other things that she needed "barley for the slave girls" (*Fish Letters* 6 r. 42).

With the fall of the First Dynasty of Babylon, the cloister and the class of *nadītu* women disappear from the scene never to be resurrected or revitalized. The function they had served did not meet the needs of the coming generations. Most curious, however, was the memory retained of the *nadītu* by the later Babylonians. In a Neo-Babylonian text, once erroneously considered to be part of the *Irra* epic but in reality a paean to the greatness of Marduk and his city Babylon, we read of "the *nadītu*'s who with skill heal the foetus."⁹² In a description of the fine women of Babylon the *nadītu*'s of this city are praised for their great proficiency, perhaps even magical powers, in saving the foetus who might otherwise have died. The *nadītu* then who was not permitted to bear children was later associated with the saving of infants!

⁹¹ It is also possible that these slaves were in the employ of her father; for Gimillum, who is to pay her a certain amount of grain, is employed by her father. For this see *BE* 6/1 103:28 where Gimillum is described as the retainer of Marduk-mušallim (*gū-ḫa-rum ša dAMAR.UD-mu-ša-lim*).

⁹² *KAR* 321:7; *LUKUR.MEŠ* (gloss on left edge *na-da-te*) *šá ina ni-me-qi ú-ba-la-ṭa ri-e-mu*. I am grateful to Professor B. Landsberger for this reference.

EANNATUM VON LAGAŠ UND SARGON VON AGADE

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Geschichte des dritten Jahrtausends in Mesopotamien zu denken, ist ein Beginnen, dessen Anreiz und Gefahren in dem hier mehr als sonst angerufenen subjektiven Fragen und Antworten, Werten und Deuten liegen. Herkunft und Art der Quellen verquicken ihrem Wesen nach rein-historische—wie weit immer denkbar—und religions-historische Fragestellung. Der letztgenannte Aspekt soll es sein, auf den hin diese Erwägungen gerichtet sind, die als wahrlich geringe Gabe ich dem Mentor biete: zu billigen und zu verstehen nur als—leider—in “gesetzten” Worten fortgesetztes Gespräch, bei dem nichts zu gering war, angehört zu werden, nichts zu fern, nichts ab vom Wege.—In mannigfacher Weise brechen sich in den hier relevanten Inschriften die “religiösen” Vorstellungen jener Zeit auf der Folie des Königtums oder besser der “Herrschaft” in ihren verschiedenen Schattierungen: der “Stadtherr,”¹ von Geburt an mit den Göttern in besonderer Beziehung, weiss sich berufen und eingesetzt von göttlichen Mächten: das wird direkt ausgesprochen, findet aber auch indirekt seinen Niederschlag in den sogenannten “religiösen Titeln”² der einzelnen Herrscher. Um zunächst auf das letztere einzugehen, so kann die Frage nach dem Verhältnis Titel: politisches Ereignis³ ausser acht gelassen werden, wollen wir doch hier eher von der “religiösen Bedeutung der Titel als solcher” ausgehen, auch dies freilich nur in sehr weit gestecktem Rahmen. Eine abstrahierende Zusammenstellung⁴ scheint ein starkes Fluktuieren in der Nennung bestimmter Götternamen in Verbindung mit dem diesen zugeschriebenen Herrschaftsanspruch zu ergeben;⁵ einen Schlüssel zur Deutung mag man in kürzeren Inschriften erblicken wie En. I 10,⁶ in der das genannte Epitheton (hier m u - p à d - d a GN) klar

¹ Das ist nicht gemeint als Übersetzung eines sumerischen Titels, sondern als allgemeine Umschreibung einer Herrschaft über ein gegebenes Territorium.

² Gegenstand einer wertvollen Studie von W. W. Hallo, *Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles*, AOS 43 (1957).

³ Jacobsen hat in ZA 52, pp. 130 ff., Anm. 90, auf Grund der verschiedenen “religiösen Titel” eine Chronologie der von Eannatum berichteten Ereignisse aufgestellt.—“Politisch” verwenden wir hier trotz aller Hintergründigkeit dieses terminus etymologisch eng gefasst als “zur polis gehörig, das Leben der Menschen in ihrer Beziehung zur polis, und somit auch in der Beziehung der polis, die aus den sie bewohnenden “Bürgern” als dem formenden Teil besteht, zur Umwelt, betreffend.”

⁴ S. etwa Hallo, *a.a.O.* (Anm. 2), pp. 132 ff. (mit weiterer Literatur).

⁵ Das betont Sollberger mit Recht in seiner Zusammenstellung ZA 50, pp. 14 ff.

⁶ Zitiert nach Sollberger, *Corpus des Inscriptions “Royales” Présargoniques de Lagaš* (Genf, 1956).

gekoppelt ist mit der Erwähnung von Bautätigkeit für die genannte Gottheit, in diesem Falle INNIN.⁷ Wir gehen aber hier der Frage nicht nach, in welchem Zusammenhang das Epitheton vom Anruf der Gottheit und die Folgeleistung stehen: nimmt man—was naheliegt⁸—an, dass jede Arbeit an "heiligen" Bauwerken nur im Auftrage der Götter geschehen konnte, so beeinträchtigt diese Feststellung—weil ja zumindest manche Herrscher für verschiedene Götter gebaut haben—die reale Aussagekraft der Titel, zumindest wie wir sie in einigen "grossen" Inschriften in den "Titel-Anhäufungen" finden, weil wir dort dann einen und denselben Titel verbunden mit verschiedenen Götternamen erwarten würden, während eben das, in verschiedenen Einzelinschriften beobachtet, durchaus sinnvoll erscheint. Eine ähnliche Frage kann man aufwerfen für Motiv-Inschriften, in welchem Verhältnis nämlich zueinander Eulogie des Gottes und Weihung als Motivgabe einerseits und beide zu einem realen religiösen und politischen Hintergrund stehen; das betrifft etwa die "grosse Lugalzagesi-Inschrift,"⁹ für die Edzard¹⁰ auf Grund hübscher Einzelbeobachtungen rechtens feststellt, dass sie den Agade-Inschriften näher stehe als denen der Herrscher von Lagaš, schon von "kosmopolitischem Geist" durchweht.

Die Feststellung der "Auswechselbarkeit" scheint zunächst auch für jene Stellen zuzutreffen, die direkt von einer Herrschaftsverleihung sprechen, vielleicht sogar auf einen Akt der Investitur anspielen: so Ent. 20:13 ff.,¹¹ wo das *n a m - l u g a l* über Lagaš von Nanše gegeben wird, während Ean. 2 (Feldstein A) v 23 ff. das *n a m - e n s i* von Lagaš doch—wenn auch nur in einem Atemzug mit der Verleihung des *n a m - l u g a l* über Kiš—als von INNIN verliehen gedacht ist. Gerade die letztgenannte Stelle aber, an der auch keine äusserlichen Verknüpfungen von genannter Gottheit: Anlass der Abfassung der Inschrift nach dem oben Dargelegten erkennbar sind, lässt doch zunächst die Feststellung zu, dass die Funktion der Göttin INNIN hier nicht (lediglich?) als die einer "Stadtgöttin"¹² gedacht ist. In dieser Meinung bestärkt uns noch anderes aus den Inschriften des Eannatum: so die häufig zitierte Stelle aus der Geierstele Vs. v 20 ff., in welcher der Name Eannatum ausdrücklich als von der Göttin verliehen und in deutlicher Beziehung zu dieser stehend ausgewiesen wird,¹³ und die eben zitierte Stelle aus Ean. 2, in der die Verleihung des Königtums durch INNIN in vi 1 mit "(weil) sie ihn 'liebt'" begründet wird.¹⁴ Gewiss,

⁷ Schreibung nach Gelb, *JNES* 19, pp. 72 ff., ohne dass damit etwas über die Bedeutung des Namens ausgesagt wäre, trotz der berechtigten Einwände von Sollberger, *JCS* 16, p. 40, Anm. 2.

⁸ Es sei nur etwa an die Tempelbauhymnen Gudeas von Lagaš erinnert.

⁹ Hilprecht, *BE* 1 Nr. 87 (Thureau-Dangin, *SAK*, pp. 152 ff.).

¹⁰ In: "Aspects du Contact Suméro-Akkadien," *Genava*, n.s., tome 8, pp. 250 f.

¹¹ Bearbeitet von Sollberger, *ZA* 50, pp. 4 ff.

¹² So Poebel, *PBS* 4/1, p. 165.

¹³ S. zur Stelle Sollberger, *RA* 45, pp. 110 f.; zur Bedeutung des Namens Poebel, *OLZ* 14 (1911), 198 ff.; dazu und zu den folgenden Ausführungen Jacobsen, *ZA* 52, p. 131, Forts. der Anm. 90.

¹⁴ *k i - a n - n a - á ġ - ġ á - d a*, s. zur Stelle Sollberger, *Système Verbal*, p. 65 (13).

wir sind uns bewusst, dass Eannatum sich nicht allein als "von einer Gottheit geliebt" bezeichnet, sind aber doch geneigt, dieser Stelle nicht nur eine historische Priorität zuzuerkennen, sondern sie als im Sinne des oben Gesagten annehmbar zu halten. Ist das richtig als Phänomen konstatiert, so lässt es sich auf zweierlei Weise beschreiben: von der Person des Eannatum aus gesehen nämlich, dass er in "besonderer," d.h. zunächst nur gegenüber der Verbindung zu anderen Götternamen abhebbarer, Weise mit dieser Gottheit in Verbindung gebracht wird, von dieser aus gesehen, wenn man es so formulieren darf, dass sie gegenüber den "anderen" Gottheiten betont hervorgehoben wird, also eine "bevorzugte" Stellung innehatte.

Wenden wir uns Sargon zu, so ist zunächst festzustellen, dass (Abschriften seiner) Inschriften ihn mit INNIN nur mittels eines nicht recht verständlichen, doch wohl religiösen, Titels (*x* der INNIN)¹⁵ in Verbindung bringen. Um so mehr ist dies der Fall in späteren Quellen, in denen die historische Tradition in bezug auf Sargon ihren Niederschlag gefunden hat. Sondern wir die Nennung Marduks also anachronistisch und späterer Umdeutung entsprungen aus, so können wir—wenn wir die zweifellos heterogene spätere Sargon-Überlieferung also hypothetische Arbeitseinheit betrachten—in dieser ein deutliches Hervortreten der Göttin INNIN-Ištar¹⁶ feststellen: so vor allem in der sogenannten Geburtslegende,¹⁷ die den jungen Sargon nicht nur mit Kiš,¹⁸ sondern deutlich mit INNIN-Ištar in Verbindung bringt, die ihn "lieb gewinnt" (und ihm das Königtum verleiht, wie wir aus dem folgenden ergänzen dürfen), den Omina und einer epischen Komposition, dem Agade-Fluch.¹⁹ Diesen in der Überlieferung als deutlich hervortretenden Zug könnte man als nur dieser eigen und ohne historische Relevanz—in welcher Beziehung immer—ansehen. Da es aber unwahrscheinlich ist anzunehmen, diese "Bevorzugung" sei zufällig, so müssten wir sie einer besonderen "Redaktion" der betreffenden Überlieferung zuschreiben—eine Annahme von übergrosser Künstlichkeit, gegen die gerade auch die Verschiedenartigkeit eben dieser Überlieferung spricht. Wir sind also zunächst geneigt, darin echtes Traditionsgut zu sehen, und stellen zumindest fest, dass in der Überlieferung²⁰ Sargon wie Eannatum in "besonderer" Weise mit INNIN-Ištar verbunden ist, und zwar so, dass man diese Überlieferung in diesem Punkt als selbst historische Glaubwürdigkeit voraussetzend verstehen darf.

Nichts Näheres wissen wir über die Namensgebung Sargons, zweifelsfrei dürfte aber sein, dass dieser Name ("Der König 'ist legitim' ") nur verstanden werden kann

¹⁵ *Afo* 20, p. 41: 44 f.; ich zitiere der Einfachheit halber auch im folgenden nach dieser Zusammenstellung.

¹⁶ Wir kommen auf diese "Gleichsetzung" unten noch kurz zurück.

¹⁷ S. *Afo* 20, p. 7 b) 7.

¹⁸ S. dazu allgemein Edzard, *a.a.O.* (Anm. 10), p. 249 mit Anm. 60.

¹⁹ S. *Afo* 20, p. 8 bzw. p. 6.

²⁰ Wir fassen diesen terminus hier unkompliziert also "überliefertes Gut" und gehen auf seine weitere Problematik, nicht ein.

als bestätigender Ausspruch einer Gottheit; wir halten es aber für unerlaubt, aus der späteren Überlieferung eine Bestätigung dafür herauslesen zu wollen, dass wir auch bei Sargon dabei an *INNIN-Ištar* zu denken haben. Die Tatsache an sich aber bestärkt uns in der Meinung, dass, vage ausgedrückt, zwischen Eannatum von Lagaš und Sargon von Agade nach den betrachteten Aspekten mehr als zufällige Ähnlichkeit besteht.

Diese Ähnlichkeit—wie hier nur angedeutet werden soll—findet sich auch im rein historischen Bereich; die Intentionen Eannatums waren zweifellos auf die Schaffung eines "Reiches" gerichtet—Bestrebungen, die wir nicht überschätzen, die von den meisten der ehrgeizigen Stadtfürsten geteilt wurden, so unter Entemena von Lugal-kinišedudu²¹ und etwa gleichzeitig mit Sargon von Lugalzagesi; darauf aber kommt es nicht an: Nach dem Erhaltenen scheint auch hierin—soweit sich das beurteilen lässt—Sargon, bei all dem Neuen, das er schuf, Eannatum ähnlicher zu sein, als Lugalzagesi es ist, freilich nicht so deutlich, dass wir dies als weiteren "Beweis" annehmen könnten, sondern eher so, dass diese Vermutung nur dann Gewicht hat, wenn sie durch äussere Kriterien gestützt wird.

Nimmt man also die vorhin festgestellte "Ähnlichkeit" an, so scheinen sich mir zu ihrer Deutung zwei Wege zu zeigen: in die Sargon-Überlieferung ist eine Überlieferung von Eannatum mit eingeflossen. Dazu lässt sich kaum Entscheidendes vorbringen, auch das sich anbietende Argument des Fehlens der Herrscher von Lagaš in der Sumerischen Königsliste kann dafür und dagegen sprechen—als wie beweiskräftig immer angesehen; oder—was uns wahrscheinlicher erscheinen möchte—es handelt sich tatsächlich um eine historische Realität. Ist dem so, dann treten mancherlei Zusammenhänge hervor: dann hat Sargon, wenn man will, das Erbe Eannatums nicht nur angetreten, sondern bewusst übernommen,²² von Eannatum um etwas mehr als ein halbes Jahrhundert getrennt;²³ dann aber—und das kann nur als Problem formuliert werden—erhebt sich die Frage nach dem Hintergrund der "bevorzugten" Verehrung der Gottheit *INNIN-Ištar*—so dürfen wir jetzt fraglos schreiben—"losgelöst" von einem Aspekt als Stadtgöttin einer bestimmten Stadt, wobei wir es ebenfalls offen lassen müssen, welchen der beiden Namensformen wir als *ersten* zu schreiben hätten.

²¹ Sollberger hat seinen *cursus honorum* zusammengestellt in *Iraq* 22, p. 84.

²² Wir versagen es uns, Schlüsse ziehen zu wollen aus der Frage des *didnu*-Namens des Eannatum (s. dazu zuletzt die Diskussion bei Edzard, *a.a.O.* (Anm. 10), pp. 249 f.) und etwa der Herkunft Sargons.

²³ S. dazu zuletzt Rowton in *The Cambridge Ancient History* vol. I/VI pp. 50 ff., der für die Zeit von Entemena bis Lugalzagesi einen Zeitraum von achtzig Jahren annimmt.

THE USE OF AKKADIAN *DKŠ* IN OLD BABYLONIAN GEOMETRY TEXTS

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The clearest context from which to establish the meaning of *dakāšu* (and its derivatives) as a mathematical term is provided by a problem text in *UET* 5, no. 864 (pl. 139):

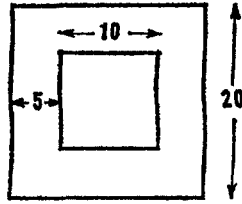
Obv.	A.ŠÀ GIŠ.KÁR	A task-field:
	A.ŠÀ.BI 4 GÁN	its area is (ca.) 4 acres.
	EN.NAM <i>ta-ad-ku-*uš</i> ¹	What did you indent?
	6,40 A.ŠÀ EN.NA BA. ² SÁ.É	400 (SAR sq.) is the area; what is the square root?
5.	20 BA.SÁ.É	The square root is 20.
	IGI.4.GÁL.BI SAG.4.BI	(Now) its reciprocal of 4 (for) its 4 sides
	AB.TE.DU ₈ 15	you take (lit. "free"); (namely) 1/4.
	15 A.RÁ 20 Û.UB.RÁ	When 1/4 times 20 is multiplied,
	5 Ì.PÀD.DÈ ³	5 appears.
10.	5.TA.ÀM <i>ad-ku-uš</i>	(Thus) I indented 5 (from) each (side).
Rev.	20 UŠ A.RÁ 5	When 20, the length (of a side), times 5
	<i>di-ki-iš-ti-im</i>	the indentation
	Û.UB.RÁ	is multiplied,
	1,40 Ì.PÀD.DÈ	100 appears.
15.	1,40 A.RÁ 4 Û.UB.RÁ	When 100 times 4 is multiplied,
	6,40 A.ŠÀ <i>Gu-la</i>	400 (SAR sq., the area of) the field of Gula
	Ì.PÀD.DÈ	appears.
	(end of inscription)	

¹ Copy shows *-um*.

² We would expect here and in the following line *ÍB.SÁ.É* which is the usual term for "square root" (see indices of *MCT* and *MKT*), whereas *BA.SÁ.É* is elsewhere used for "cube root." There can be no doubt as to the meaning here, however.

³ In the mathematical texts, the equivalent of *PÀD* when the passages are rendered in Akkadian is *tāmar* "you see" (for "arrive at an answer").

The simple figure involved in the text above would be:



(1 GÁN = 100 [sq.] SAR = ca. 1 acre)

Accordingly, *dakāšu* may then be rendered “indent” (the closest word at hand to its basic meaning “pierce,” or here rather “dent”) when it is used of inscribing a square within a square, and it is seen that *dikištu* denotes the “indentation” or the “amount indented,” or even “the ‘dented’ square” (see below).⁴

The very same use of the verb is to be found in the illustrated geometry tablet most recently treated by H. W. F. Saggs in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*.⁵ In that tablet, example texts B, C (p. 134), VI (p. 139), XII and J (p. 140) used *dakāšu* to express the inscribing of various secondary figures within uniformly drawn squares, in the following manner:

1 UŠ <i>mi-it-ḫa-ar-tum</i>	A square, the length (of the side) is 1:
PAD.TA.(AM) <i>ad-ku-uš-ma</i>	I indented a piece (from) each (side) and
.....	(drew another square, circle, etc.)

It is tempting, on the analogy of the *UET* 5 text, to emend PAD into the number “;15,” thereby gaining “I indented 1/4 [i.e., of the length of the side of the square] (from) each (side),” but unfortunately this happens to be true in actuality (easily discernible from the drawings on the tablet) for only four out of the five examples (the actual indentation is only 1/8 in example no. VI),⁶ and such an emendation would be necessary in all cases where the PAD sign is preserved. Consequently, we must take the text as it stands and accept PAD either as *kusāpu* “(a broken-off) piece,”⁷ or something very close to it,⁸ and not, with Saggs, render the phrase

⁴ Note that von Soden, *AHw*, p. 169, considers this passage “unklar,” and translates *dikištu* as “Ausweitung” (in accordance with his *dakāšu* “ausbeulen,” p. 151). The *UET* 5 passages, in lines 3 and 10, are not included in *CAD* D sub *dakāšu*, p. 34 (and *dikištu* is omitted in that volume).

⁵ H. W. F. Saggs, “A Babylonian Geometrical Text,” *RA* 54 (1960), 131–146. Mr. Saggs quotes the earlier publications. See his remarks, p. 142, on *dakāšu*.

⁶ In addition, in example text J the geometer has indented from two sides only, though we cannot be sure whether this drawing was complete.

⁷ Cf. Saggs’ remarks, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

⁸ E.g., PAD = *qarāšum* “to split off,” *Nabn.* J 292 (from Landsberger’s unpub. manuscript).

PAD.TA.ĀM *dakāšu* as “to make a border” since such an idiomatic rendering is not now necessary to the understanding of the phrase.

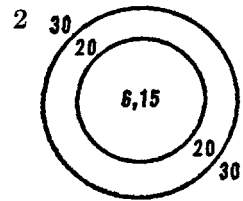
Also connected with our problem are those geometry texts that concern the circumscribing of a circle around a circle; the term for “going out” (to draw the second circle) is *nesû*.⁹ The following two texts are given here as illustrations:

Böhl Collection, no. 1821¹⁰

Obv. (drawing and numbers on tablet)

1,15 A.ŠĀ
33,20 A.ŠĀ

1,15 the area (*sic'*)
33,20 the area (*sic'*)



(left margin, under drawing:)

5 IGI.GUB.BA GŪR
5¹¹

(Text begins:)

URU.KI GŪR *ak-pu-up-ma*
ma-la ak-pu-pu ú-ul i-di
*šú-ub-tum i-ša-ad-ma*¹²

A city: I encircled (it with) a circle but
I know not how much I encircled.

A residential-area¹³ is ringing (the old enclosure) so

URU.KI *ú-ri-id-di*

I add on a city.

5. *iš-te-nu-um* URU.KI *bi-ri-im*

First, (from) the city. . .¹⁴

⁹ Though it is also possible, from the spellings in lines 5 and 11 of the Böhl text and from line 38 of BM 85194, that the verb is *wašû*, *nesû* seems the better choice by reason of the term *me-si-tum* (*mi-is-si₂₀-ta/i*) used in similar Susa texts to denote the space or distance between inner and outer inscribed squares, see *MDP* 34, texts no. 5 and no. 21 (lines 4 and 12). This term, derived from *nesû*, is known from *Nabn.* X 39: *ḫar.ra.an* = *me-si-e-tum* (*CT* 12 40) and *Nabn.* O 155: *ḫar.ra.an sud* = *me-es-[se-e-tum]* (from unpub. ms. of Landsberger).

¹⁰ This text (written on a round tablet) has been published in transliteration and translation (with photo) by W. F. Leemans: “Un Texte vieux-babylonien concernant des cercles concentriques,” *Compte rendu de la Seconde Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Paris, 1951, pp. 31–35.

¹¹ This number 5 (= 1/12) is the coefficient for working problems involving the circle or circumference; it is used in the formula for Area of a circle: $A = c^2/12$ (see *MCT* p. 44). For lists of coefficients (IGI.GUB.BA), see the writer's article in *Or* n.s. 29 (1960) 273–308.



¹² I.e., *šādu* in the sense of *lawā*, see *CAD* S, p. 57, *sub šādu* A. The meaning here is that dwellings spring up on the outskirts of the old city.

¹³ Not meant here, of course, is “residential area” in the modern sense (as opposed to, e.g., “industrial area”).

¹⁴ If we take this as *āl bīrim* “city of the between,” our text would be ambiguous in that “between” is reserved for the area of the band between the two parameters, as in line 6. If, on the other hand, we understand *ālim* (*la*) *bīrim*, we cannot explain a genitive without restoring (*ištu*) (“old city”).

5.TA.ĀM <i>et-te-si-ū-ma</i>	I went away 5 all around and
URU.KI <i>ša-ni-a-am GÚR ak-pu-up</i>	a second city I encircled (with) a circle.
6,15 ¹⁵ A.ŠÀ DAL.BA.AN.NA	6,15 is the area (of the space) between.
GÚR URU BIL ù GÚR URU LIBIR.RA	The circumference of the new city and the
EN.NAM ZA.[E <i>i-na e-pe-ši-ka</i>]	circumference of the
5 <i>da-ki-iš-ta-ka</i> ¹⁶ <i>a-di 3 a-lik</i>	old city, what (are they)? You, [in your
15 <i>t[a-mar]</i>	procedure,]
IGI.15 DU ₈ .A <i>a-na 6,15 A.ŠÀ</i>	5, your "dented-circle," multiply (lit. "go
DAL.BA.AN.N[A <i>i-ši-ma</i>]	up to") by 3;
	you [see] 15.
	Free the reciprocal of 15, [multiply] it by
	(lit. "carry it to") 6,15 the area (of the
	space) between and
10. 25 <i>ta-mar 25 ta-ta-mu-ru</i>	you see 25. The 25 that you have seen,
<i>a-di 2 GAR.RA</i>	set it up twice:
Rev. 5 <i>ša te-te-es-su-ù a-na 1 DAḤ</i>	the 5 which you had gone away, add it to
<i>i-na 2 BA.ZI 30 URU BIL 20</i>	one (of the 25's),
	subtract it from the other (25). (Thus,) 30
URU LIBIR.RA	(for) the new city
<i>a-mu-ur 30 šu-tam-ḫi-ir 15 ta-</i>	(and) 20 (for) the old city
<i>mar 15 a-na 5 IGI.GUB.BA GÚR</i>	do (you) see! Square 30, you
<i>i-ši 33,20 URU LIBIR.RA ta-mar</i> ¹⁷	see 15; 15 by 5, the coefficient of the
[<i>k</i>] <i>i-a-am ne-pé-šum</i>	circle,
	multiply. You see 33,20 (for) the old city.
	Thus the procedure.

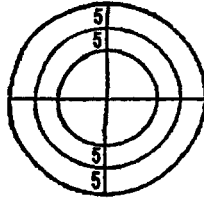
¹⁵ This area is obtained by subtracting the area of the "old city" from the area of the "new city," see footnote 17.

¹⁶ Mr. Leemans reads here: 5 *id-di-iš-ta-ka*; he translates "les 5 de ton agrandissement," and has the following footnote (1) to this passage: "Le quatrième signe du mot *id-di-iš-ta-ka* n'est pas clair. Le professeur von Soden nous a suggéré la lecture *ta. Iddištum*, un mot pas connu d'autres textes signifierait les renouvellement, cf. 'Neustadt' dans l'allemand." The present writer suggests that the reading *dakištaka* is preferable not only on the basis of comparison with the other texts discussed in this article, but on paleographic grounds as well: the photo shows for this line  *-iš-ta-ka*; the *id* sign, moreover, in lines 4 and 5 is written . (The assumed *hapax legomenon*, *eddeš-tum*, is included in *AHu*, p. 185.)

¹⁷ Here our geometer has slipped up in his procedure: (a) instead of first utilizing the diameters of the new and old cities (which he found in line 12) to discover their circumferences (using the formula $C = 3D$), from which he should then have proceeded to find the areas (using the formula mentioned in footnote 11), he telescoped his procedure by using the diameter to find the area (line 13); (b) once that error was made, he further confused his problem by giving the wrong "area" (33,20) for the numbers used! Here his "answer" should have been 1,15 (for the new city), as given at the top of the tablet. The problem, using the same numbers, is worked correctly in BM 85194, and explains the 6,15 of line 6 of this text.

BM 85194 i 37-50 (= *TMB* 48; *MKT* 1 p. 144, II pl. 5)

(drawing on tablet)



- URU.KI 1-*šu* GÚR *ak-pu-up* A city: I encircled (it with) a circle (whose circumference is) 60.
- 5.TA.ÀM *et-te-si-ma* I went away 5 all around and
hi-ri-tam ab-ni 6 GAM constructed a ditch; 6 was the depth.
40. 1,7,30 SAĦAR.ĦI.A BA.ZI 1,7,30 (volume of) earth was extracted.
 5.TA.ÀM U.GÙ *hi-ri-tim* 5 all around beyond the ditch (I went).
E ab-ni E šu-ú I constructed a dike. That dike
i-na 1 KÙŠ 1 KÙŠ ŠÀ.GAL (has) an incline of 1 cubit by 1 cubit.
sà-súm mu-ĥu-um ù SUKUD EN.NAM The base, the top and the height what
 (are they), and
 ù GÚR E EN.NAM what is the circumference of the dike?
45. ZA.E *i-nu-ma* 1-*šu* GÚR DAL You: since 60 is the circumference (of the original circle),
 EN.NAM IGI.3.GÁL 1-*šu* GÚR what is the diameter (of the original circle)? Extract
 BA.ZI 1/3 of 60 the circumference;
 20 *ta-mar* 20 DAL 5 *di-ik-ša-am* you see 20; (thus) 20 is the diameter.
 Double 5 the “dented-circle”; you see 10.
- TAB.BA 10 *ta-mar* Add 10 to 20 the diameter; you see 30.
 10 *a-na* 20 DAL DAĦ.ĦA 30 *ta-mar* Triple the diameter;
 DAL *šu-li-iš* you see 1,30; (thus) 1,30 is the
 1,30 *ta-mar* 1,30 GÚR *ša* circumference of the ditch.
hi-ri-tim Go back; square 1,30; you see
 NIGIN₂.NA 1,30 NIGIN 2,15 2,15. 2,15 by 5 (the coefficient of the)
ta-mar 2,15 *a-na* 5 GÚR circle
 multiply; you see 11,15 (which is) the
 land-area.
50. *i-ši* 11,15 *ta-mar* KI 11,15 Multiply 11,15 by 6 the depth (to find
 the volume removed from the ditch).
a-na 6 GAM *i-ši*

We can see from the above that *nesû* “to go out, away” when said of circumscribing circles, is a parallel term to (and opposite of) the mathematically used *dakāšu*

"to indent" (or "to go in") said of inscribing figures in a square. However, the resulting concentric circular ring \odot is referred to as *dikšu* or *dakištu*, just as the resulting parallel square figure in *UET* 5 864 was referred to as *dikištu*. Though it is not clear why two separate terms would be used for the rings, and still another for the square band, we can nevertheless observe their relation to "piercing"; namely \odot may be considered a "pierced" or "indented" circle, and \square a "pierced" or "indented" square, thus harmonizing¹⁸ these terms within the root's sphere of meaning.¹⁹ What apparently started out as indentation, the result of "going in," came to stand for "an indented, cut-out space," whether it came into being from an "in" or "out" move. It is interesting to note that in Susa, the term *messētu* was used to denote indented squares, in just the same way as *dikištu* is used in Babylonia.²⁰

To sum up: *dakāšu* "to pierce" was used in geometry to express the inscribing of a figure within a figure, which operation resulted in a "pierced" figure. Such figures could be referred to as *dikšu*, *dakištu* or *dikištu*, no matter whether they were formed by going "out" or "in" from the original figure. [But note that the terms always denote the width of the figure, not its area for which A.ŠÀ DAL.BA.(AN).NA (= *birītu*) is used; see line 6 of the Böhl tablet given above, and cf. *MDP* 34 texts no. 5 (see pp. 45–48) and no. 21.]

As a possible fringe benefit to be gained from the above discussed realm of meaning of *dkš*, it may here be suggested that *dikšu* as \odot could be the implication of the *dikšu*-marks on observed animal livers (see *CAD* D sub *dikšu*, p. 137, and *dakāšu*, p. 34), inasmuch as circular puncture-holes on the surface of the liver do commonly

¹⁸ *CAD* D, p. 35 adduces Heb. (from Aram.) *dāgēš* in support of its translation "pierce." In corroboration of this choice (as opposed to *AHw*, p. 151; note that *AHw* separates *dakāšu* from *daqāšu*, adducing Arab. *dqs* for the latter, p. 162), the following may be added: Classical Ethiopic *dqs*/q "to dig/cut out" (listed in glossary to A. Grohmann, *Aethiopische Marienhymnen*, Leipzig, 1919, p. 455); *dqs* "pupugit, fudit" (listed in A. Dillmann, *Chrestomathia Aethiopica*, Lipsiae, 1866, p. 267a); cf. Amharic *dqʷs* "to brand, impress," and the substantive *dqʷas* "impression, figure or design made with a hot iron on leather" (J. Baetman, *Dictionnaire Amarnig-Français*, Dire-Daoua, 1929, p. 927). I owe these references to Prof. G. Schramm of the Department of Near Eastern Languages in Berkeley.

¹⁹ It is hoped that this discussion will erase at least one of the "exceptions," i.e., *dikšu* "ring," to the meaning of *dkš* "pierce" mentioned in *CAD* D, p. 35. As to the remaining exception, namely the Izbu commentary equation *da-kiš* = *ra-bi* (cited in lexical section p. 34) which is the only passage that would support *AHw*'s "ausbeulen" for *dkš* (*AHw*, p. 151), this commentary explanation must remain obscure, inasmuch as the entry refers to the text passage: *šumma izbu kišassu da-kiš* (Izbu VII 77'), and is placed between omens in which the neck is described as *ḥarir* "grooved" and *nakis* "cut," both neighboring in meaning our *dakiš* "indented, pierced." I owe this information to E. Leichty, whose edition of the Izbu series is forthcoming. A new text, not known to *CAD* at the time, places correctly the commentary item.

²⁰ See footnote 9.

occur with the ubiquitous (including the Near East) liver-fluke diseases;²¹ these “indentations” made by the parasite on the liver and gall bladder may be filled with blood (which may be what the Akk. texts refer to as *tarku* or *šarpu*) or may be clear-looking when filled with “degenerated hepatic lobules.”²² But such “indentations” would have to be distinct from the *šilu* “hole” also observed on livers (which holes may or may not go all the way through the organ);²³ perhaps the *dikšu* is a shallower indentation, or one having a “ridge” around the lesion, therefore appearing as ☉, rather than ○ as a depiction of a *šilu*. Further, the finite and stative forms of *dkš* with reference to the same features on these organs may therefore mean “indented,” “punctured” or the like, rather than “separated” or “severed” as *CAD* (D, pp. 34 f. and 138) translates. But, again, it would have to be a description different from *pališ* “perforated” said of the *šilu*.²⁴

²¹ For a description and picture of liver-fluke disease (*Hepatitis distomatosa*) on ruminant livers see Hutyra, Marek and Manninger, *Special Pathology and Therapeutics of the Diseases of Domestic Animals*, vol. 2 (5th English edition), London, 1949, pp. 403–26. The “punctiform foci” occur on the liver, the gall bladder, the bile ducts and the intestines.

²² Hutyra *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 411 with fig. 107.

²³ The common expression (see, e.g., Nougayrol, *RA* 40 88) with regard to “holes” in the liver omens is: *šumma šilu . . . nadi* “if there is a hole (on or instead of some part of the organ)”; *šumma . . . pališma šutebru* “if (some part of the organ) is perforated and it goes all the way through.”

²⁴ See footnote 23.

THE COLOPHON

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The ancient Mesopotamian scribe, when copying literary, scientific, or historical texts frequently appended a colophon to his copy. This practice occurred in all periods, but was much more common in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods. In the early periods, the colophon tended to be very simple and contained only a date, the number of lines in the composition, or the scribe's name. In the later periods the colophon tended to be longer, and usually contained a great deal more information. It is the late colophons which we wish to treat here.

In this paper we do not intend to furnish an exhaustive study of the colophon in all periods. Instead, we propose to describe the general content of the colophon and attempt to point out and explain some of the idiosyncrasies of the writing.

The late colophons are relatively free of formulas,¹ and seem to be, for the most part, free compositions of the individual scribes. Left to their own devices in the composition of the colophon, the scribes gave free play to their imagination and sense of creativity. This resulted in the use of extremely rare and varied sign values, logograms, and vocabulary, and occasionally cryptography and number writing. Examples of some of the unusual writings are given below.

It is hoped that a paper such as this, giving a general description of colophons and some selected peculiarities, will facilitate the reading of colophons for other Assyriologists.

Maximally, a colophon might contain all of the following information:

1. The catch-line
2. The name of the series and number of the tablet
3. The number of lines on the tablet
4. The source of the copy
5. The name of the owner of the tablet
6. The name of the scribe making the copy
7. The reason for making the copy
8. The curse or blessing
9. The date
10. Disposition of the copy

¹ Colophons on the tablets from the library of Aššurbanipal are written in one of 23 standard patterns, and offer little in the way of deviation. These colophons have been collected in Streck *Asb.* 2 354-75, and will not be treated here. The Uruk colophons from Seleucid times have a general similarity of style to one another, but there is enough individual variance so that they cannot be absolutely typed.

Minimally, a colophon might contain only one of the above categories. The order of the categories as listed above is only for convenience of discussion. This order varies with each individual colophon.

THE CATCH-LINE

Often the tablet with a colophon is part of a series. That is, it is one tablet from a multi-tablet composition. When this is the case, the colophon usually begins with the first line of the following tablet. This 'catch-line' is usually quoted in full, but occasionally, when the line is relatively long, only part of it is quoted. The scribe ordinarily writes the catch-line with exactly the same signs as occur on the next tablet. The catch-line is usually, but not always, separated from both the main part of the tablet and the colophon by empty spaces or horizontal lines transversing the full width of the tablet. In a few instances the scribe adds the phrase EGIR-šú "after it" after the catch-line in order to identify it as a catch-line.²

THE NAME OF THE SERIES AND NUMBER OF THE TABLET

Tablets which are part of a series are numbered consecutively like chapters in a book in order to denote their sequence in the composition. When a tablet is part of a series, the colophon almost always includes the number of that tablet within the series and the name of the series itself. The normal means of expressing this is "tablet *n* of series *x*."³ For example: DUB.15.KAM DIŠ URU *ina me-li-e* GAR "tablet 15 of: 'If a city is situated on a hill'" CT 38 21 r. 87, or DUB.3.KÁM.MA LUGAL.E "tablet 3 of: 'Lugale'" KAR 17 r. 8.

A few series have dual names.⁴ In these cases either one name ("tablet *n* of series *x*," or "tablet *n* of series *y*"), or both names ("tablet *n* of series *x*; series *y*") appear in the colophon. For example: [tup]-pi 3 KÁM.MI BE *iz-bu* "tablet 3 of: 'If an anomaly'" CT 27 16 r. 11; DUB.3.KAM.MA SAL PEŠ₄-ma šà šà-šà IR "tablet 3 of: 'If a woman is pregnant and her foetus cries'" BM.68608 r. 44, or DUB.6.KÁM šà *naq-bi e-mu-ru* ÉŠ.GÀR ḡGIŠ.GFN.MAŠ "tablet 6 of: 'He who saw the *naqbû*; series *Gilgameš*'" KAR 115 r. 6.

Some other series are divided into sub-series.⁵ When this is the case the individual

² E.g., KAR 71 r. 27, or BM.41548 r. 15 (unpub.).

³ Note the alternate expression for indicating the first tablet of a series: DUB *e-nu-ma e-lis ri-eš* CT 13 3 r. 13.

⁴ The name of a series is ordinarily taken from the first line of the first tablet of the series. A few series, however, have more than one name. In the case of the Epic of Gilgameš, the series is called '*ša naqbû imuru*' after its first line, but it is also called '*Gilgameš*' after the hero of the epic. In another case the series dealing with birth omens is called '*šumma sinništu arātma ša libbiša ibakkî*' after its first line, but it is also called '*šumma izbu*.' In this case, the dual name is the result of a later combination of what were originally two independent series.

⁵ For a discussion of a sub-series within a main series, see Labat TDP 1 xv ff. Note also that the series dealing with liver omens is divided into sub-series.

tablet is numbered differently in the sub-series than it is in the main series. The colophon will either give the number of the tablet in the sub-series and the names of both the sub-series and the main series ("tablet *n* of series *x*; series *y*"), or it will give the number of the tablet in each series and the name of each series ("tablet *n* of series *x*; tablet *n* of series *y*"). For example: IM.4.KÁM.MA BE ŠI ÉŠ.GÀR BE LÚ.ĦAL-ú-tú "tablet 4 of: 'If the gall-bladder'; series: 'If the divination'" *TCL* 6 2 r. 27, and IM.3.KÁM.MA BE ŠÀ.NIGIN IM.7.KÁM.MA ÉŠ.GÀR *ba-ru-tú* "tablet 3 of: 'If the intestines'; tablet 7 of the series 'divination'" *BRM* 4 13 r. 78.

In some series, especially lexical, individual tablets are divided into sections (*pīrsu*). These sections are numbered. The colophon will ordinarily indicate the number of the section, the catch-line of the tablet from which the section is taken, and the name of the series and number of the tablet from which the section is taken. On occasion the colophon might omit the catch-line or the number of the sectioned tablet. For example: 4-ú *pīr-su šá ga-ad GADA* = *ki-tu*-[*u DUB*]. 18.KÁM á A = *na-a-qa* "Fourth section from 'GADA = *kitú*,' tablet 18 of 'A = *nāqu*'" *CT* 12 9 r. 20; 4-ú *pīr-su ga-du GADA* = *ki-tu-ú ÉŠ.GÀR á A* = *na-a-qu CT* 12 15 r. 31 f.; 5-šú *pīr-su á A* = *na-a-qu CT* 12 17 r. 34.

Individual tablets within a series are sometimes excerpted, and the excerpts are recorded on a single tablet (*nīšhu*). Tablets containing such excerpts are sometimes numbered and the colophon contains the number of the excerpt, and occasionally the catch-line of the tablet from which the excerpts were taken. For example: 2-*u nīš-ḫi NIR.GÁL.LÚ.È.NI BALAG* ^d50 "Second excerpt from: 'sublime lord, dirge to Enlil'" *TCL* 6 57 r. 16, *nīš-ḫu ki-ta-a-a-ú KAR* 63 r. 22, or simply 32-ú *nīš-ḫu RA* 15 76 r. 10.

Very often the number of the tablet and name of the series are followed by AL.TIL "finished," or NU AL.TIL "not finished" in order to indicate whether the tablet is the final tablet in the series.

The contents of tablets which do not belong to a series are often described in the colophon by a short phrase. For example: *ša-a-tú ú šu-ut KA šá DIŠ ŠAĦ.MEŠ it-ta-na-ad-da-ru DIŠ URU <ina> SUKUD-e GAR-in* "Word-list and commentary on: 'If sows are constantly fighting'; 'If a city is situated on a hill'" *CT* 41 31 r. 36.⁶

THE NUMBER OF LINES ON THE TABLET

Often the scribe will total the number of lines or, in the case of omens and similar texts, the number of entries, and indicate this total in the colophon. For this purpose he will use a phrase like ŠU.NIGIN.*n*.MU.BI.IM, PAP.*n*.MU.ŠID.BI.IM, *n*.MU.DIDLI, or something similar.

⁶ A *šātu*-commentary is a commentary which excerpts a single word and comments on it. This is in contrast to a *mukallimtu*-commentary which excerpts a complete line of text, and then comments on one or more words in it. The term *šūt pī* refers to the comments themselves.

THE SOURCE OF THE COPY

In most cases, when the scribe has copied a text, he will indicate that fact in the colophon, and sometimes he will also indicate the source of the copy. The most common phrase used is: *kīma labīrišu šaṭirma bari u uppuš* "according to its original, written, checked, and copied."⁷ This information can also be conveyed by a very large variety of other phraseology. It is not our purpose here to list all the phrases which occur in colophons that refer to this point. Instead, we will discuss a few of the variants in phraseology and some of the unusual writings which occur.

In place of *kīma labīrišu* the scribe might use any number of similar phrases such as: *ki-ma* GABA.RI LIBIR.RA SBH p. 144 r. 13, *GIM KA IM.GÍD* CT 15 31 r. 18, *ki pi-i la-bir-šu* CT 24 50 r. 8, *ki-i KA tup-pi* CT 39 27 r. 24, *ki-i MURUB tup-pi* KAR 168 r. 33, *a-na pi-i tup-pi* KAR 16 r. 29, *ina pu-ut tup-pi* KAR 144 r. 17, TA muḫ-ḫi GIŠ.DA TCL 6 16 r. 54, *ša UGU NA₄ na-rú-a* LIBIR.RA CT 9 3 BM.35389 r. 4, or GABA.RI GIŠ *li-i* RA 15 77 r. 10.

The verb *šaṭāru* occurs in most colophons. It is normally written in the stative, or in the preterite, but also occurs occasionally in the causative, III/1 stem. The scribes seemed to delight in using unusual sign values when writing this verb. In the stative we find the use of *ša-* Gössmann *Era* 38 IB.212:3 (rare), *šá-* TCL 6 15 r. 3, *šà-* KAR 58 r. 37 (common), *ša₅-* CT 17 18 r. 20 (rare), *-ṭir* CT 38 9 r. 50 (common), *-ṭir* KAR 58 r. 37 (rare), and *-ṭi-ir* Gössmann *Era* 38 IB.212:3 (rare). In the preterite we find the use of *iš-* CT 12 3 r. 48, *éš-* CT 12 7 r. 43 (rare), *-tur* CT 21 14 r. 12, *-ṭur* CT 12 7 r. 43 (rare), *-ṭù-ur* CT 12 3 r. 48 (rare), and *-tur₅* CT 12 17 r. 36 (rare). In addition, the verb *šaṭāru* is variously written with the logograms GUB CT 18 28 r. 12 (rare), SAR CT 17 33 r. 42 (common), and GIŠ STT 33 r. 122 (common in Assur and Sultantepe). In rare cases, the causative, III/1 stem, *ušašṭir*, is used (CT 12 15 r. iv 36).

The verb *barû* also occurs frequently in colophons. This verb, like *šaṭāru*, is used in the stative and preterite, and is written in a large variety of ways. In syllabic writings we find the use of *ba-* LKA 70 r. iv 19 (rare), *bà-* KAR 385 r. 46 (common), *ib-* CT 12 9 r. 23, *ib-* Craig AAT 3 r. 30, *-ri* CT 34 9 r. 43 (common), *-ri* STT 33 r. 122 (common), *-ri₅* CT 38 31 r. 26 (rare), *-ri₁₃* CT 12 17 r. iv 36 (rare), *-ru* Knudtzon *Gebete* p. 59 r. iv 39 (rare), and *-rù* TCL 6 47 r. b (rare). Note also the unusual writings *ba-a-ar* Gössmann *Era* 38 IB.212:3, *ba-ar* Labat TDP 2 47:33, *ba-a-ri* CT 12 15 r. 36; STT 21 r. 151, and *ba-rù-u* TCL 6 44 r. iv 38.

In addition to the many syllabic writings, several logograms are also used for the verb *barû*: IGI TCL 6 37 r. iv 45, IGI.TAB CT 41 32 r. 8, IGI.LAL CT 14 50 r. 76, IGI.BAR CT 24 50 r. 8, IGI.KÁR CT 17 33 r. 42, *è* KAR 168 r. 33, and MÁŠ CT 12 11 r. 30.

A third verb, *uppušu*, occurs infrequently in colophons. It is normally written

⁷ E.g., GIM SUMUN-ŠU SAR-ma ba-rù u up-puš₂(ṭU) BRM 4 8 r. 35.

syllabically: *up-pu-uš* CT 17 33 r. 42 (rare), or *up-puš_x(TU)* TCL 6 44 r. iv 38 (common), but occasionally is also written logographically: GI CT 14 50 r. 76, and AG.A SBH p. 68 r. 20.

When a tablet has been excerpted instead of copied in full, the colophon will usually state that fact by using the verb *nasāhu*. The phrase most commonly used is “quickly excerpted.” No fewer than four words with the meaning “quickly” are used in this context: *dulluḫiš* KAR 111 r. 10 (rare), *ḫanṭiš* KAR 187 r. 15 (common), *surriš* BRM 4 18 r. 28 (rare), and *zamar* KAR 63 r. 23 (common). The verb *nasāhu* is usually written syllabically or with the logogram ZI.

The sources of inscriptions copied include clay tablets (*tuppu*,⁸ *šaṭāru*,⁹ *u^oiltu*,¹⁰ and *giṭtu*¹¹), wooden tablets (*li^ou*¹² and *gišṭu*¹³), leather scrolls (*magallatu*¹⁴), steles (*narū*,¹⁵ and *asuminētu*¹⁶), and baked bricks (SIG₄.AL.ÜR.RA¹⁷).

Often the colophon will designate the geographical source of the original from which the tablet is copied. Usually this is simply done with the phrase: *gabarê* GN “copy of GN” (CT 4 6 r. 16), but sometimes the scribe is much more specific. For example: *kīma pī li^oi la^obīri ša bīt* PN “according to an original wooden tablet from the house of PN” Langdon BL 158 r. 6 f.

Three adjectives describing the condition of the tablets occur in colophons. For references to the terms *šarpu* “fired,” *širpu* “fired,” and *šullupu* “crossed out (?)” see CAD 16 s.v.

THE NAME OF THE OWNER OF THE TABLET

In a few instances the colophon will give the name of the owner of the tablet in addition to the scribe’s name. For example: IM *gi-ṭa* PN ŠUⁿ PN₂ “tablet belonging to PN, (from) the hands of PN₂” CT 41 32 r. 9 f.

THE NAME OF THE SCRIBE MAKING THE COPY

The colophon will almost always include the name of the scribe making the copy together with his title and his genealogy.

⁸ Written syllabically as *tup-pi* LKA 76 r. 15, and logographically as DUB BAM 1 r. iv 27, IM LKA 70 r. iv 20, and IM.DUB CT 16 50 r. e.

⁹ Written syllabically (STT 73 r. 139) and GIŠ STT 2 r. 131.

¹⁰ Written syllabically (KAR 150 r. 17).

¹¹ Written IM.GFD.DA LKA 137 r. 1, IM *gi-ṭi* CT 41 42 r. 39, and IM *gi-ṭa* CT 41 31 r. 37.

¹² Written GIŠ *li^o-i* RA 15 77 r. 10, GIŠ.LI.U₅ KAR 395 r. 26, GIŠ.LI.U₅.UM CT 13 15 r. 149, GIŠ *li_x* (BIL)-u₅ LKA 113 r. 3, and GIŠ.ZU LKA 162 r. 27.

¹³ Written GIŠ.DA TCL 6 4 r. 18 and *giš-ṭu-u* KAR 307 r. 28. For a discussion of wooden and ivory writing boards, see D. J. Wiseman, “Assyrian Writing Boards,” *Iraq* 17 3–13.

¹⁴ Written KUŠ *ma-gal-lat* BM.41548 r. 15. For the identification of this term, see Wiseman, *op. cit.*, 12 n. 118.

¹⁵ E.g., NA₄ *na-rū-a* CT 9 3 BM.35389 r. 4.

¹⁶ E.g., NA₄ *a-su-mi-ni-e-tū ša ga-la-la* CT 34 37 r. 80.

¹⁷ E.g., CT 9 3 BM.22457 r. 4.

The scribal names themselves are written with a large variety of logographic and syllabic spellings. It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss all the unusual writings of names in the colophons, but one type of writing is of particular interest, and we can treat that here.

In the Uruk colophon *TCL* 6 51 r. 45 the scribe's name and that of his father are written completely in numbers.¹⁸ This cryptographic writing with numbers occurs in three other Uruk colophons, and at least a tentative solution of these cryptograms can be offered here. The four cryptograms are as follows:

IM ^m 21 35 35 26 44 A ^m 21 11 20 42	<i>TCL</i> 6 51 r. 45.
<i>pāliḥ</i> 21 50 10 40	<i>TCL</i> 6 26 r. 12.
<i>qa-āt</i> ^m 21-PAP- <i>ut-tir-ri</i>	<i>TCL</i> 6 28 + <i>ACT</i> 3 219 r. 24.
NU MUD 21 33 20 LID 30 NAGAR	<i>TCL</i> 6 48 r. 14

Following O. Neugebauer¹⁹ who first noted the partial solution, we can see that *TCL* 6 28+ gives us the value of 21 as *Anu*. This is based on the attestation of the name *Anu-aba-uttirri* elsewhere.²⁰ Using this value of 21, we can proceed to the *TCL* 6 26 passage where we find the phrase *pāliḥ* 21 50 10 40. Following Neugebauer we can compare the common phrase *pāliḥ Anu u An-tum* and establish the reading of 50 as *u*, 10 as *an*, and 40 as *tum*. The evidence for further reading is slim and inconclusive. However, we would like to offer a possible solution to the cryptograms based on a subjective analysis.

In *TCL* 6 51 we find the cryptogram "tablet of Mr. 21 35 35 26 44, son of Mr. 21 11 20 42." Since the same people are involved in all the Uruk colophons with numbers, we would suggest a reading of *Anu-aba-uttirri* for the first name, with 21 standing for *Anu*, 35 35 for A.A, a logogram for *abu*, 26 for *GUR*, a logogram for *tāru*, and 44 for *ri*, a phonetic complement. The most obvious argument against this is the fact that the writing A.A is not attested in the name of *Anu-aba-uttirri* in other colophons. However, if this solution is correct, then the second name must be read *Anu-bēl-šu-nu* with 21 standing for *Anu*, 11 standing for *bēl*, 20 for *šu*, and 42 for *nu*. The father-son relationship of *Anu-aba-uttirri* and *Anu-bēl-šu-nu* is well attested.

On the assumption that the above solution is correct, we can now offer a possible solution for the fourth cryptogram: NU MUD 21 33 20 LID 30 NAGAR *TCL* 6 48 r. 14. We are certain of the reading 21 as *Anu*. On the basis of *TCL* 6 51, 20 stands for *šu*.

¹⁸ Writing with numbers is, of course, not restricted to colophons, nor to this Seleucid period. The most famous cryptogram in numbers still defies solution. This is the well-known Sargon II passage where Sargon says he made the circumference of the city 16, 263 *qānu* 2 *ammātu* the *nibīt šumija* "the number of my name." Besides this, there is the signature 9 19 12 in *PBS* 2/2 104:12, and the cryptogram 10 20 30 in Smith *Idrimi* 98. Cryptograms also occur in regular cuneiform signs such as EN EN EN EN-*šu* *LKA* 145 r. 9.

¹⁹ *JCS* 1 218.

²⁰ *E.g.*, *TCL* 6 25 r. 1.

With these two signs we can suggest an interpretation. NU would simply be read *la*. MUD is attested in ACT 20:7 as *pāliḥ*. Thus we have *la pāliḥ Anu* 33-šu LID 30 NAGAR. We would suggested reading 33 as *zēru* and LID 30 NAGAR as some syllabic writing of *liḥliq* thus giving *la pāliḥ Anu zēršu liḥliq* "May Anu destroy the seed of the irreverent."

The source of the system of equation of signs with numbers is unknown. A check of the various lexical series shows that the numbers are not based on a counting of signs either forward from the beginning of the series, nor backward from the end. It is of course possible that a tablet of equations between numbers and signs existed. The text MDP 27:233-4 seems to be such a text, but it is too fragmentary to be certain.

In addition to his name, the scribe usually gives us his title and his genealogy.²¹ The titles of the scribe are varied and range from simple *tupšarru* "scribe" KAR 377 r. 43, to *mašmaššu* "exorcist" KAR 62 r. 18. Many of the scribes are apprentices (*šamallû*).²²

When listing his genealogy, the scribe uses no fewer than seven logographic writings for the word "son" or "descendant": A CT 41 32 r. 9, DUMU KAR 63 r. 25, ŠÀ.BAL. BAL KAR 174 r. iv 31, GIR LKA 70 r. iv 21, GAL TCL 6 25 r. 2, GIR.GAL KAR 111 r. 6, and X.NUMUN LKA 11 r. iv 21. Where the scribe writes syllabically, we have six different words attested: *bu-kûr* CT 38 43 r. 84, *ma-rum* TCL 6 54 r. 27, *lûd* BRM 4 20 r. 79, *gi-nu-û* CT 17 18:22, *da-du* CT 17 18:21, and *li-gi-mu-u* STT 40 r. 46.

THE REASON FOR MAKING THE COPY

On occasion, the scribe will state the reason for making the copy in the colophon. This is particularly common on tablets containing rituals or songs. On tablets containing rituals we often find *ana šabāt epēši* "for performance of the ritual" KAR 187 r. 44. On songs we often see *ana šîr SBH* p. 33:31, or *ana DU₁₂-ru SBH* p. 40 r. 11 "to be sung." On other tablets the scribe tells us that he has copied it *ana šitassîšu* "for his reading" CT 12 7 r. 43, *ana balāt napšātišu* "for the prolongation of his life" CT 12 17 r. 36, or *ana ṭubbišu* "for his health" BRM 4 18 r. 28. Two unusual texts have *ana šamê ša nîšê arkûti* "for the listening of future people" CT 34 25 r. vi 3 f., and 37:81.

THE CURSE OR BLESSING

Many colophons contain a curse against the person who removes or destroys the tablet, or a blessing for the person who preserves the tablet. These curses and blessings have been well treated by G. Offner²³ and will not be discussed here.

²¹ For a recent study of the genealogy of some of the more important scribal families, see W. G. Lambert, "Ancestors, Authors, and Canonicity," JCS 11 1-14, 112.

²² E.g., TCL 6 48 r. 13.

²³ G. Offner, "A propos de la sauvegarde des tablettes en Assyro-Babylonie," RA 44 135 ff.

THE DATE

Some of the colophons contain a date. Dated colophons are most frequent in the Seleucid era, but a few texts with dated colophons occur in other periods. As expected, the Assur colophons are dated by *limmu*, and the others by regnal year.

DISPOSITION OF THE COPY

In a few instances we are told of the final disposition of the copy. For instance: *ina É.AN.NA ú-kin* "he placed it in the Eanna-temple" *TCL* 6 37 r. iv 49, or *a-na qí-rib UNUG.KI ú-bi-il* "he carried it to Uruk" *TCL* 6 38 r. 50. The designation of the ultimate disposition of a copy is most frequent in the Uruk colophons.

It can be seen from the above that a great deal of information can be gleaned from colophons. Since colophons are often more difficult to read than the tablets to which they are appended, this information is often lost. It was once even the practice to delete the colophon when publishing a tablet. It is hoped that this short paper will enable the Assyriologist to read colophons with greater ease. If this is the case, then we believe that the colophon will become a source valuable not only to literary history, but also to lexicography.

DAS HEBRÄISCHE VERBUM *LPT*OSWALD LORETZ
Universität Münster

Das Verbum *LPT* findet sich in der biblischen Literatur nur dreimal: Ri 16,29; Rt 3,8 und Jb 6,18.

In Ri 16,29 lässt sich dem Kontext entnehmen, dass *LPT* mit "berühren, betasten, anfassen, bzw. umarmen"¹ zu übersetzen ist. Simson fasst (*LPT*) die beiden Mittelsäulen, auf denen das Haus ruht, an und stemmt sich mit aller Kraft gegen sie, so dass er sie und das Haus zum Einsturz bringt.

Während das Verbum *LPT* in Ri 16,29 keine Schwierigkeiten bereitet, so verhält es sich bei Rt 3,8 anders. Rt 3,8 wird das Verbum *LPT* (Niph) allgemein mit "sich vorbeugen; sich umdrehen, um zu sehen" übersetzt. W. Rudolph argumentiert in seinem Kommentar zu dieser Stelle folgendermassen: "Der Vergleich mit dem Arabischen (*talaffata* 'das Gesicht nach jemand's Seite drehen'; vgl. das Subst. *lafta* 'Körperwendung' und 'Seitenblick') führt vielmehr auf 'sich herumdrehen' oder 'zur Seite blicken'; die gewöhnliche Übersetzung 'sich vorbeugen,' ist zwar nicht dem Wortlaut nach, aber der Situation entsprechend richtig."²

Die von Rudolph als gewöhnlich bezeichnete Übersetzung von Rt 3,8 ist jedenfalls gezwungen, nach einer recht lockeren Ableitung vom Arabischen noch mit der Situation zu argumentieren. Diese Erklärung geht von der fragwürdigen Voraussetzung aus, dass *mrgl(w)t* in Rt die Gegend des Fussendes oder den untersten Teil der Füße bezeichne. Da nach dieser Erklärung Rut ganz unten liegt, muss sich Boaz erst ganz nach vorne beugen, um zu merken, dass eine Frau dort liegt.³ Da

¹ Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*,¹⁷ 389a: (m.d.Armen) umschlingen; König, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch*, 201a, umfassen; Köhler, *LVTL*, 484b: umfassen; Zorell, *Lexicon hebraicum*, 400b: prob. *teligit*, *apprehendit columnas manibus*. Ehe Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen dem Wortgebrauch des hebräischen *LPT* und dem akkadischen Verbum *lapātu* festgestellt werden können, ist eine umfassende Bearbeitung oder Zusammenfassung der wichtigsten Bedeutungen in dem entsprechenden Teil des *CAD* oder *AHW* abzuwarten. Hier sei nur darauf hingewiesen, dass auch das akkadische *lapātu* "berühren" und (im D-Stamm) "ein Instrument spielen // mit Händen schlagen" bedeutet, s. Schott-Schaumberger, *ZA* 47 (1942) 105 Anm. 1; A. Sjöberg, *ZA* 54 (1961) 61 Anm. 22.

² Rudolph, *Ruth* (Neukirchen, 1962), S. 54. Im einzelnen bemerken die Lexica zu Rt 3,8: Gesenius, 389a: viell.: sich vorbeugen od. umdrehen, um zu sehen; König, 201: sich unwenden; Köhler, *LVTL*, 484: sich vorbeugen; Zorell, 400: *se vertit, alqd vivendi causa*.

³ Abweichend von dieser Erklärung schlägt M. Dahood, *Bib* 43 (1962) 224, folgende Übersetzung vor: "... and she came softly and reached the place of his feet and lay down." Dahood will das bisher mit "entblößen" übersetzte *glh* mit dem ugaritischen *glj*—"sich begeben nach" (s. J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache* [Berlin, 1963] Nr. 652), das er mit "to reach"

aber nach Dn 10,6 *mrghwt* die Beine bezeichnet und nicht bloss deren Ende und ferner kein Grund vorliegt, für Rt 3,4.7.8.14 eine andere Bedeutung anzunehmen,⁴ ist die vom Erzähler geschilderte Situation vielmehr diese: Rut nähert sich dem schlafenden Boaz, deckt seine Beine auf und legt sich dort zu ihm hin. Als in der Mitte der Nacht der vor Kälte zitternde⁵ Boaz erwacht und mit seinen Händen sich abtastet (*LPT* Niph), um sich wieder zuzudecken, stösst er mit seinen Händen unwillkürlich an die bei ihm liegende Rut. Alle gezwungenen Wege zu einer Bedeutung "sich vorbeugen" für *LPT* sind somit unnötig und können auch von der Situation her nicht gefordert werden. Das Verbum *LPT* bezeichnet hier wie in Ri 16,29 eine Bewegung mit den Händen, die etwas anfassen, abtasten bzw. nach etwas greifen.

Nachdem sich gezeigt hat, dass wir für Rt 3,8 keine besondere Bedeutung des Verbums *LPT* anzunehmen haben, verbleibt noch zu untersuchen, ob wir in Jb 6,18 mit der für Ri 16,19 und Rt 3,8 angesetzten Bedeutung auskommen.

K. Budde hat zu seiner Übersetzung von Jb 6,18: "Es krümmen sich ihres Laufes Pfade, sie gehn auf ins Leere und verschwinden," folgende Erklärung gegeben: "Es sind die Pfade des Bachlaufes, die sich verschlingen und krümmen, weil der dünn gewordene Wasserfaden jedem Stein, jeder Unebenheit, ausweichen muss. Endlich gehn sie in die Leere, in das Nichts auf, d.h. ihr Wasser verdunstet (vgl. 36,27). Denn *thw* ist hier nicht 'Wüste' wie 12,24 u.s.w., da die Bäche natürlich nicht aufwärts fließen, sondern die (vermeintliche) Leere zwischen Himmel und Erde, der Luftraum, wie 26,7."⁶

Da aber bereits in Jb 6,17 gesagt wird, dass die Bäche ausgetrocknet und verschwunden sind, ist die von Budde vorgeschlagene Bedeutung ohne Sinn,⁷ so dass Jb 6,18 auf die Karawanen zu beziehen ist, von denen im folgenden noch mehr die

übersetzt, zusammenbringen. Dieser Vorschlag ist zwar der radikalste Versuch, jede Anstössigkeit vom Text zu entfernen, dürfte aber kaum Nachfolge finden.

⁴ Wahrscheinlich ist (vgl. E. Robertson, "The Plot of the Book of Ruth," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 32 [1949-50] 217), dass *mrgh(w)t* hier wie *rgl* (s. Ex 4,25; Is 7,20) ein euphemistischer Ausdruck für die Geschlechtsteile oder die Schamgegend ist. H. W. Hertzberg, *Das Buch Ruth* (Göttingen, 1959) S. 275, legt mit Recht dar, dass die gewöhnliche Übersetzung von *mrghwt* mit "Platz der Füße" unsicher ist.

⁵ Gesenius, 257, *h*rd 1. Übertragen wird dann zittern auch vom Herzen ausgesagt, s. 1 Sm 4,13; Jb 37,1; Joh. Hempel, "Heilung als Symbol und Wirklichkeit im biblischen Schrifttum," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*. I. Phil. Hist. Kl. Jhg. 1958, Nr. 3, S. 254 Anm. 1.

⁶ K. Budde, *Das Buch Hiob* (Göttingen, 1913) S. 29. Ähnliche Gedanken verfolgt u.a. A. Weiser, *Das Buch Hiob* (Göttingen, 1951) S. 59, wenn er zu Jb 6,18 kommentiert: "Wie die gewaltigen Wassermassen der vielen Wadis, die . . . zur Sommerszeit, wenn die Sonne brennt, verwandelt sind in träg sich dahinschlängelnde Rinnale, um schliesslich ganz zur wasserleeren 'Wüste' zu werden."

⁷ E. König, *Das Buch Hiob* (Gütersloh, 1929) S. 95, gibt zu, dass die Übersetzung von *j'lw* in Jb 6,18 mit "steigen als Dunst auf" die Fortsetzung "und verschwinden" zu einem naiven Pleonasmus macht.

Rede ist. Aber auch die Interpretationsrichtung, die in Jb 6,18 bereits das Bild von der Karawane ansetzt, versteht das Verbum *LPT* hier nicht einheitlich. So gibt z.B. Hölscher die Übersetzung: "‘Es ziehen Karawanen *gewundenen* Weges,’ geraten ins Irre und gehen zugrund."⁸ Bei Fr. Horst lautet die deutsche Übertragung des Verses: "Dann ‘wenden Karawanen’ ihren Weg, ins Leere steigen sie und kommen um." In seinem Kommentar sagt er dann zu diesem Text: "Karawanen sind es . . . , die den geraden Wanderweg verlassen und seitwärts abbiegen . . . , weil sie eine Wasserstelle suchen. Doch werden sie das Opfer einer Täuschung. Das Bachtal ist vollkommen ausgetrocknet, und indem sie ihm aufwärts nachgehen, geraten sie in die Leere (26,7) und weglose Öde (12,14), wo sie ‘sich verlaufen’ (Ps 119,176), umherirren (Dt 26,5 Hi 31,19) und umkommen."⁹

Gegen dieses von Horst und früher schon von anderen vorgetragene Verständnis von Jb 6,18 wendet E. König mit Recht ein, dass das Abbiegen vom Wege hier unmotiviert ist.¹⁰ Es ist in der Tat auch nicht einzusehen, warum die Karawanen sich bei Wassernot auf eine höchst gefährliche Suche nach unbekannten Wasserstellen einlassen sollten. Ebenso wenig ist einsichtig, welchen Sinn der "gewundene Weg" (Hölscher) der Karawanen haben sollte. Was Job in seiner Rede voraussetzt ist dies vielmehr: die Karawanen gehen auf den Weg und rechnen damit, an den ihnen bekannten Stellen Wasser zu finden, werden aber enttäuscht. Sie haben sich verrechnet. Ebenso erging es Job mit seinen Freunden: in der Not wollte er zu seinen Freunden gehen und siehe, sie haben für sein Leid kein Verständnis, sie enttäuschen bitter.¹¹

Wenn die bisher vorgeschlagenen Übersetzungen der Stelle Jb 6,18 nicht befriedigen können, dann liegt eine andere Erklärung näher. In Jb 6,18 findet sich nämlich eine m.W. bisher unerkannte idiomatische Wendung, die m.E. im Hebräischen keine weiters belegbare Parallele hat, wohl aber im Akkadischen. Das Akkadische kennt die Redewendung *ḥarrānam ṣabātu*—"einen Weg einschlagen, beschreiten, to take the road."¹² Analog zu dieser akkadischen Wendung haben wir in Jb 6,18 *LPT drk*—"den Weg anfassen, ergreifen, auf den Weg gehen." Diese Bedeutung behebt die bisherigen Schwierigkeiten und macht die gewundenen Wege der Interpreten von Jb 6,18 gegenstandslos.

Der Teil der Rede, in die Jb 6,18 eingebettet ist, bekommt durch die vorgeschlagene Übersetzung Klarheit und es wird so deutlich, dass sie zu den Stellen über die

⁸ G. Hölscher, *Das Buch Hiob* (Tübingen, 1952) S. 22.

⁹ Fr. Horst, *Hiob* (Neukirchen, 1960 ff.) S. 92, 109.

¹⁰ König, *a.a.O.*, S. 95.

¹¹ Vgl. zu diesem Topos die entsprechenden Stellen in *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, Lambert, *BWL*, S. 34: 84–85.

¹² *CAD* S, 26b–27b. Vgl. ferner *ḥarrānam aḥāzu*, *AHW* 19, *aḥāzu* 5.

falschen Freunde gehört, die durch eine einprägsame Bildersprache zu wirken vermögen. Die Rede des über seine trügerischen Freunde klagenden Job ist diese:

Meine Freunde¹³ sind verräterisch wie ein Wadi,
wie das Bett der Wadis, die vergeh'n,
welche vom Eise schmutzigtrübe,
in die hinein sich der Schnee verbirgt;
zur gegebenen Zeit gehen sie ein,¹⁴ sind sie verschwunden,
in der Hitze werden sie ausgelöscht von ihrem Ort.
Karawanen¹⁵ nehmen¹⁶ ihren Weg,
steigen in die Wüste¹⁷ und gehen zugrunde.
Es schauten die Karawanen von Tema,
die Handelszüge Sabas hofften auf sie;
zuschanden wurden sie, weil sie¹⁸ vertrauten,
sie gelangten hin und wurden enttäuscht.

(Jb 6,15–19).

Die Struktur des von Job gebrauchten Vergleiches ist somit deutlich: von Jb 6,15–17 spricht der Dichter von den trügerischen Bächen und in den folgenden zwei Versen von den Karawanen.

Aus dem Gesagten dürfte zur Genüge hervorgehen, dass an allen drei behandelten biblischen Stellen mit einer einzigen Bedeutung des Verbums *LPT* auszukommen ist und halsbrecherische philologische Spitzfindigkeiten überflüssig sind.

¹³ Wörtl. "Brüder," vgl. *BWL*, S. 34: 84.

¹⁴ *zrb*, hap. leg.

¹⁵ *ṣṛḫwt*—"Karawanen," vgl. Jb 6,19; akkad. *ḫarrānu*, s. *AHW* 327, *ḫarrānu* 4.

¹⁶ 1 Qal.

¹⁷ Dt 32,10; Is 45,18; Ps 107,40; Jb 12,24.

¹⁸ Vgl. *BHa*.

AN EMACIATED MALE FIGURE OF BRONZE IN THE CINCINNATI ART MUSEUM

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In 1957 Leo Oppenheim viewed with interest the photographs of the arresting bronze figure here reproduced and refused to agree with the interpretation then suggested for it. As a tribute to his wise and penetrating scepticism, the following stylistic remarks and new interpretation are offered here.

The bronze figurine (figs. 1-5)* now in the Cincinnati Art Museum and published here with the kind permission of the Director, Philip R. Adams, shows a nude emaciated man seated on a base with his knees drawn up, his legs slightly apart, his elbows on his knees, and his large head resting on his hands. The head dominates the design of the figure in front- and side-view. From the side, the powerful, oval shape of the cranium appears as the only massive form, crowning an interplay of slender curves and angles created by the arched back and the bent arms and legs. The sweeping line of the cranium also serves to stress by contrast the sharply accentuated profile with its strongly curved nose. Chin and part of the neck are hidden by the hand.

If seen from the front, the figure's hands and arms appear summarily treated and serve to fix the viewer's glance on the face by forming an effective frame for the wide modeled forehead, thick brows, heavy-lidded large eyes, strong nose, and set lips. Similarly the plain, almost vertical forms of the forearms enhance the effect of the neck muscles stylized in a V-shaped band, the plastically worked clavicles, the double curve of the fold of empty skin which hangs over the chest, as well as the sharp horizontal outlines of the ribs. The man's emaciated condition is stressed by the sharp division of the legs between shinbone and meager calf as well as by the treatment of the back, in which not only the spinal column but also the single vertebrae are marked as in a skeleton. Likewise the twelve ribs are outlined and rendered by a stylized pattern of oblique bands which descends on either side of the spine. Answering this pattern of the ribs is the angle by which the hipbone is indicated. In contrast to the linear simplification of the parts just enumerated, the figure's buttocks below the hipbone are modeled more naturalistically, as are the shoulder blades and neck muscles in the upper part of the back.

* Total height of the figure on the socle	15	cm.	5 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.
Height of the figure alone	10.4	cm.	4 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.
Length of the base	9.1	cm.	3 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.
Width of the base in the middle.....	6	cm.	2 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.

The man sits on a flat cushion, the braided pattern of which contrasts effectively with the figure's legs and buttocks, especially in side-view. In this view also the angle of the bent arm points like an arrow to the circular opening of a small basin which is partly let into the socle or base on which the figure sits and partly projects from the front of that socle. The back of the socle is rounded so that the plan of the base is oval with one side cut off by a straight line (fig. 5). The base of the socle is considerably wider than the top; this tapering shape and the ledge, 5 mm. high, which runs around the base give a visual impression of great solidity to the socle, although it is really hollow and the walls are only about 5 mm. thick. The figure is fixed to the socle by means of a peg, the end of which can be seen on the underside. The apparent solidity of the base, however, which is enhanced by the plainness of the surface, underlines the effect of the diversified figure seated above.

There exist a few obvious relatives of this figure. The most important of these is a bronze statuette in the Louvre, said to come from Larsa (figs. 6, 6a).¹ It shows a man kneeling on a socle which resembles at first glance the one on which the Cincinnati figure is placed. Closer examination, however, reveals that the socle is much narrower and rectangular, the vessel in front more prominent and furnished with a thick rim, and there are figures in relief on the socle as well as panels of an inscription. Thus there does not exist the strong contrast between the plain, solid-looking base

¹ The figure was first published in an article by R. Dussaud, "Ex-voto au dieu Amourrou pour la vie de Hammourabi," *Monuments Piot* 33 (1933) 1-10. It was also discussed at some length by G. Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale*, Vol. 4 (Paris, 1947), pp. 2125-31. A good reproduction is found in H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1954), pl. 64. A colored photograph taken from the other side is reproduced in E. Strommenger, *Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien* (Munich, 1962), XXX.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGS. 1-5.—Bronze figure of an emaciated man in the Cincinnati Art Museum. Acc. No. 1956.14. (*Photographs: Cincinnati Art Museum.*)

FIGS. 6a, 6b.—Bronze figure of a kneeling worshiper in the Louvre, from the right. (*Photograph: E. Porada.*) Figure seen from the left, after *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* (Ed. TEL, vol. I), p. 261B.

FIG. 7.—Bronze group of three ibexes in the Louvre, after *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* I, p. 261C.

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FIG. 9.—Clay plaque of a goddess with babies and demons in the Louvre, after Parrot, *Sumer*, p. 301, fig. 368.

FIG. 10.—Servant figurine of a potter from the tomb of Nekauinpu. (*Photograph: Oriental Institute Museum.*)

FIG. 11.—Pendant of black steatite of an emaciated male figure. Private collection.



FIG. 1.—Emaciated male figure of bronze in the Cincinnati Art Museum, no. 1956.14. Front view.

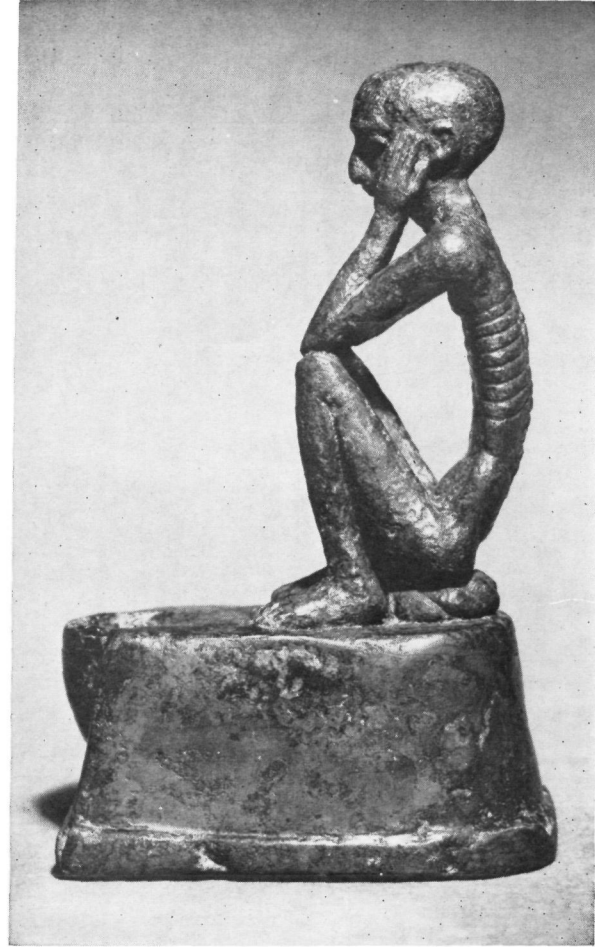


FIG. 2.—Same: side view

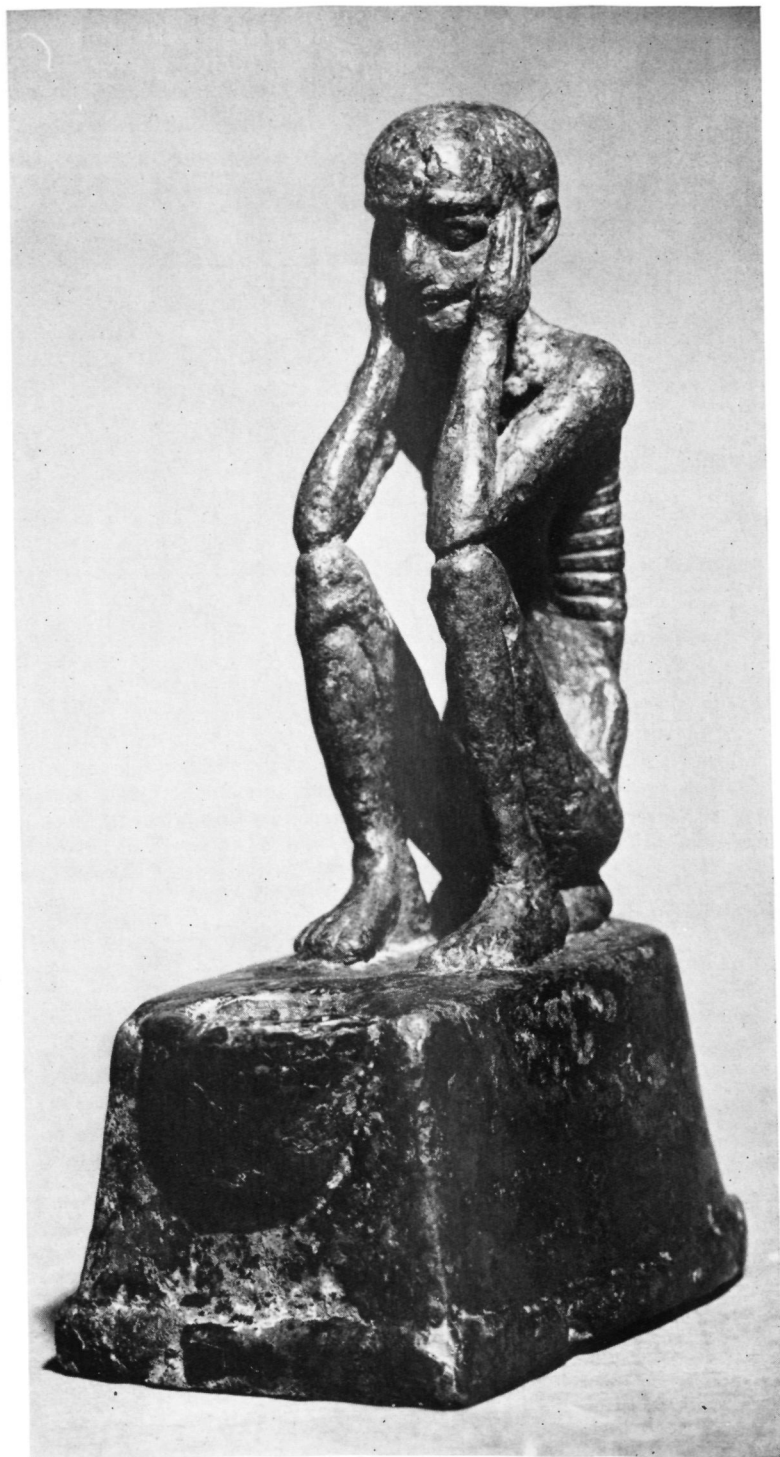


FIG. 3.—Same: three-quarter view



FIG. 4.—Same: back view



FIG. 5.—Same: view of base

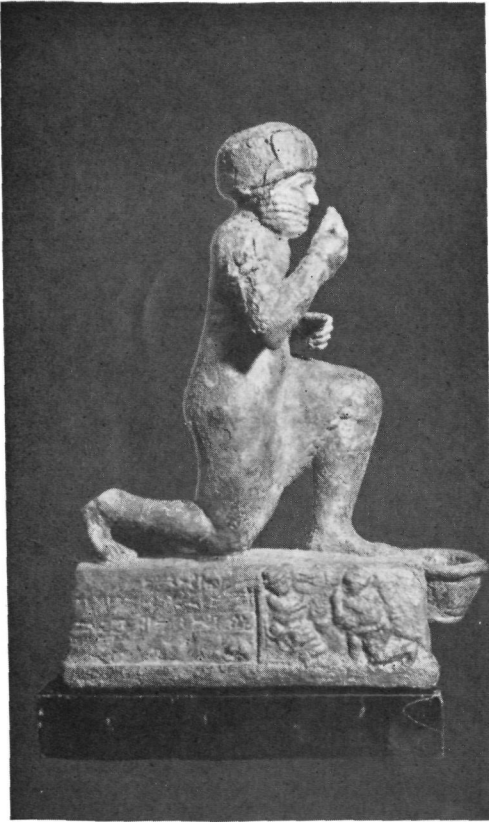


FIG. 6a.—Figure of a kneeling worshiper of bronze in the Louvre from *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* (Ed. TEL, I, 261B).



FIG. 6b.—Same



FIG. 7.—Three ibexes on a socle; bronze group in the Louvre from *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, I, 261C.



FIG. 8.—Steatite figure of a mastiff in the Louvre from *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, I, 254A.



FIG. 9.—Clay plaque of goddess with babies and demons in the Louvre from Parrot, *Sumer*, p. 301, fig. 368

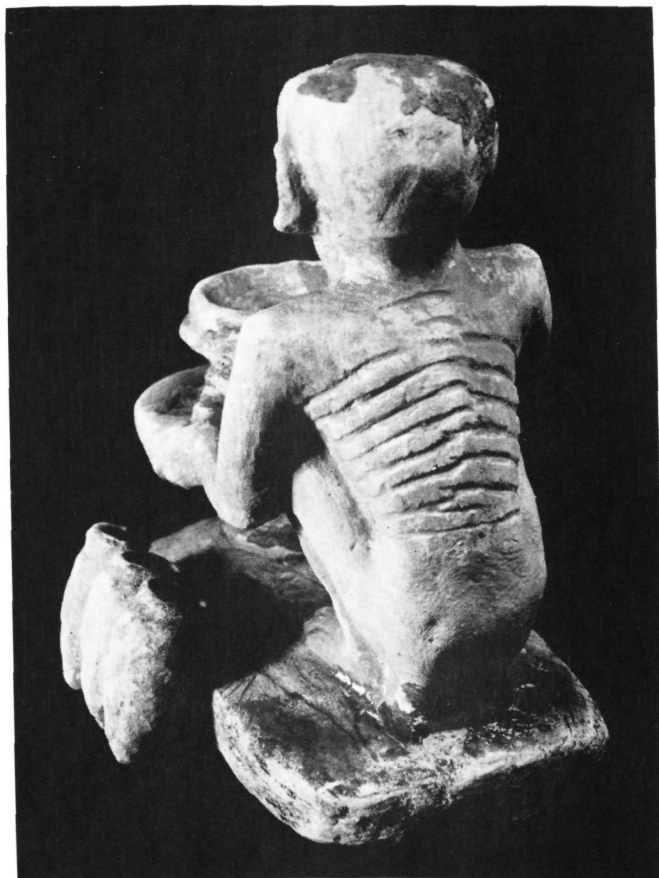


FIG. 10.—Servant figurine of a potter from the tomb of Nekau-
inpu, Oriental Institute Museum.



FIG. 11.—Pendant of black steatite of an emaciated male figure.
Private collection.

and the diversified figure above, as in the Cincinnati piece, but base and figure form more of a unit. The figure of the worshiper is more summarily treated than the emaciated man. This is true even of the gold foil which covers the kneeling man's face and hands. The curls of the short beard, for example, are represented by small squares obtained by crossing horizontal and vertical lines. Such an abbreviated treatment of the beard is comparable to the schematic rendering of beards by horizontal ridges seen in the relief on top of the stele with the law code of Hammurapi.² The summary treatment noted in the figure of the kneeling worshiper in the Louvre also seems to extend to the representation on the socle, which is badly corroded, showing on one side a ram and on the other a worshiper kneeling before an enthroned figure in a flounced garment. The inscription which begins in the middle of the left side of the socle runs to the middle of the right side. It states that Awil-Sin dedicated the praying figure for the life of Hammurapi, king of Babylon (1792-1750).³ This dates the statuette in the time of Hammurapi, after the conquest of Larsa by that king in 1763. The posture of the figure, with one knee on the ground, is found in earlier Mesopotamian works of art only rarely and then as a posture of offering.⁴ It appears more frequently in Syrian cylinder seals of the early second millennium where a small worshiper, raising a diminutive cup in his hand, occasionally kneels between the principal offerer (or a divine figure) and the enthroned god.⁵ Whether the posture of the bronze figure in the Louvre, including the gesture of the fingers—which is even more unusual than the position of the body⁶—is due to foreign

² See A. Parrot, *Sumer* (L'Univers des formes, Paris, 1960), p. 305, fig. 373, and Frankfort, *op. cit.*, pl. 65.

³ The dates here used for Hammurapi and the kings of the Larsa Dynasty conform to those listed by D. O. Edzard in *Die „zweite Zwischenzeit“ Babylonien* (Wiesbaden, 1957), pp. 185-186, and accepted by M. B. Rowton in *CAH I*, Chap. 6, "Chronology" (Cambridge, 1962), *passim*.

⁴ The tributaries on the base of the statue of Ur-Ningirsu from Tello (Parrot, *Sumer*, p. 219, fig. 269) are rendered in this posture. It is also seen in a cylinder seal of the Akkad period found at Susa [*Mémoires de la mission archéologique de Perse* 25 (1934), p. 232, Fig. 82:3], where a personage offers a child or a statuette to the enthroned sun-god. The numerous renderings of a figure kneeling on one knee to reduce its size or for some other formal reason—or to show submission of an enemy—are not considered here.

⁵ E.g., *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections* (Bollingen Series 14, 1948), pl. 136, nos. 902-905. Among the seal impressions of Syrian style from Kültepe in eastern Anatolia, published by Nimet Özgüç in *Ausgrabungen in Kültepe* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından, V Seri, no. 12, 1953), only one imprint, pl. 62:692, shows a small figure kneeling on one knee before an enthroned deity. However, this figure seems to be holding a censer or vase and therefore does not quite belong in the afore-mentioned group of kneeling figures.

⁶ Contenau, *op. cit.*, p. 2128, interprets the gesture of the right hand as the snapping of the fingers, known from Assyrian representations. In the Assyrian renderings, however, the index finger points away from the person making the gesture as seen, for example, in the altar of Tukulti-Ninurta I [Frankfort, *op. cit.*, pl. 73(B)]. The fingers of the hand of the kneeling figure in the Louvre point upward and back toward the figure itself. For this gesture we have no parallel other

influence or whether posture and gesture developed locally in Larsa cannot be decided on present evidence. Other details in the bronze, such as the high-backed throne of the ancillary scene on the socle, pose similar problems which remain unsolved.⁷

With the statuette of the kneeling worshiper were said to have been found two other bronzes,⁸ one of which is also in the Louvre (fig. 7). Like the foregoing examples, this bronze has a socle in the front of which is a small receptacle, here supported by two personages, presumably goddesses, whose faces were originally covered with a thin sheet of silver.⁹ On the socle three ibexes stand upright on their hind legs, their horns interlocked, their heads partly covered with gold foil. These effectively simplified animals with their gold masks fit in well with the style of the kneeling worshiper from Larsa. They differ, however, from the more naturalistically modeled figure in Cincinnati. Furthermore, the unadorned base of the latter figure is, as was mentioned before, at variance with the other two related bronzes. It would seem logical to place the figure of the emaciated man earlier than the others because it shows single and self-contained elements before their integration into a unified work of art, and it has careful and fairly naturalistic detail, which also may be assumed to have preceded a more immediate, simplified, and massive effect. Such a development would correspond to that of the glyptic style in the Old Babylonian period, which reached an apogee of naturalistic and coherent representation in the

than the gesture of the small kneeling figure in relief on the socle of the same bronze (see fig. 6 of the present article). The hand of the large figure on top of the socle, which had been broken off, was restored according to this rendering on the socle. It is possible, therefore, that the original angle of the hand had differed somewhat from its present position, but not enough to suggest the above-mentioned Assyrian gesture.

⁷ The high-backed throne is not found in Mesopotamian reliefs and cylinder seals as a divine or royal seat before the Assyrian period. One type of clay plaque, however, dated in the Old Babylonian period, has a goddess seated on a throne with a high back, cf. E. D. Van Buren, *Clay Figurines of Babylonia and Assyria* [Yale Oriental Series: Researches 16 (1930)], fig. 98.

It is possible that the deity represented on the socle of the Louvre bronze, identified with reasonable certainty with the god Amurru (thought to be a god of the steppes in the West), was meant to be shown with exotic paraphernalia as suggested by Kupper for the adoption by Amurru of the crown of Syrian goddesses (J.-R. Kupper, "L'Iconographie du Dieu Amurru dans la glyptique de la I^{re} dynastie babylonienne," *Académie royale de Belgique; classe des lettres. . . . Mémoires* 55/1 [1961], pp. 37-42). The headgear of the seated figure on the socle is not sufficiently well preserved to draw conclusions from its appearance.

⁸ One of the two bronzes, a recumbent ram with the head partly covered by gold foil, is in the Guennol Collection of A. B. Martin.

⁹ A description of this bronze was given by Dussaud in the article cited here in note 1 (pp. 9-10), and by Contenau in *Manuel d'archéologie* 4, p. 2131.

time of Apilsin (1830–1813 B.C.),¹⁰ and already showed signs of simplification and schematization in the time of Hammurapi.¹¹

In support of a date in the nineteenth century B.C. rather than in the time of Hammurapi for the Cincinnati bronze figure, I should like to point to the mastiff of steatite from Tello (fig. 8), inscribed with a dedication by an official of Girsu for the life of Sumuel of Larsa (1894–1866 B.C.). The mastiff manifests the same degree of observation of natural forms as noted in the modeling of the back of the emaciated man—combined in similar manner with a patternization of features which lent themselves to such a treatment. Like the ribs of the emaciated man, the folds of the dog's skin above the eyes and on the muzzle are rendered by a pattern of parallel bands.

The vessel on the back of the mastiff, which so closely resembles the small container included in the composition of each of the bronze objects here discussed, was inserted secondarily in the back of the dog, as can be deduced from the different color of the stone, the inferior polish of the vessel, and the slight damage to the upper edge of the inscription.¹² But there is no reason to assume that this insertion was made at a much later date when the workman who had damaged the edge of the inscription would perhaps not have labored so conscientiously to repair that damage. The vessel is the only one for which some indication of the contents is available. The excavator mentioned that he had noted a residue of black pulverized matter when he removed the earth which had attached itself to the figure of the dog.¹³

We may speculate whether that pulverized matter could have been incense or some other substance, but there can be little doubt that the dog, after having been furnished with a vase, as well as our bronze objects with their small containers, served some ritual purpose.

For the meaning of the bronze figure in Cincinnati a clay plaque (fig. 9), first published by Mrs. Van Buren,¹⁴ is of considerable importance. In the center of the plaque stands a goddess wearing a many-tiered, flounced robe and a crown shaped to suggest the entrance of a temple. The goddess supports with one hand a baby

¹⁰ See for this point the writer's remarks in *JCS* 4 (1950) 158.

¹¹ A seal impression illustrating this point is reproduced in *JNES* 16 (1957) 195, fig. 3 and pl. XXXI, fig. 8.

¹² This information is derived from L. Heuzey, who published the object in "Le Chien du roi Soumou-ilou," *Monuments Piot* 12 (1905) 19–28. The inscription was discussed by F. Thureau-Dangin in *RA* 6 (1907) 69–71.

¹³ Heuzey, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹⁴ E. D. Van Buren, "A Clay Relief in the Iraq Museum," *Afo* 9 (1933/4) 165–171. A fragment probably belonging to a plaque made in the same mould was published by R. Opificius, *Das alt-babylonische Terrakottareliefe* [*Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie, Ergänzungsbände zur Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, N.F., Bd. 2 (Berlin, 1961)] pl. 4, no. 226.

suckling at her breast which it grasps with one hand. This baby is seen more clearly in the plaque in Baghdad than in the present reproduction of the plaque in the Louvre, though both plaques were made from the same mould. In the other hand the goddess holds an oval object toward which one of the two babies' heads, which emerge from her shoulders, seems to strain as if it were eager to eat it. On either side of the goddess hangs a double-looped symbol of the goddess of birth.¹⁵ Under each of the symbols crouches an emaciated creature resembling in appearance and posture the bronze figure in Cincinnati.¹⁶

The enlarged photograph of the plaque in the Louvre, fig. 9, which permits the viewer to see the difference in form and expression between the round baby heads over the shoulders of the goddess and the goblin-like head of the figure crouching at the left (the head of the figure at the right, undoubtedly identical with that at the left, was damaged), suggests that the goddess of birth is here juxtaposed with a demon of death.

The fact that two of the emaciated figures, instead of only one, are rendered here was probably caused above all by reasons of symmetry. Moreover, the symbol of the goddess that hangs above each figure seems to dominate that figure. Repetition of such a rendering, which was probably thought to contribute to the control of the demon, would surely have been considered desirable.

The general conclusions which have been drawn from the pictorial material concerning the demon discussed here can be supported by textual references which also lead to a more precise identification of the demon. D. O. Edzard suggested associating it with the Kūbu, the fetus thrown out from the womb before its time, which

¹⁵ See H. Frankfort's article, "A Note on the Lady of Birth," *JNES* 3 (1944) 198-200.

¹⁶ A somewhat different interpretation of the relation of the goddess to an emaciated creature would have to be suggested for the fragmentary plaque reproduced by R. Opificius, *op. cit.*, pl. 4, no. 227. The plaque is described as showing a goddess holding in her arms an emaciated child with prominent ribs in lively (or convulsive) movement. The photograph reproduced, however, does not permit distinguishing the details noted by Miss Opificius.

The description of the garment of the standing figure, however, as having a pattern of lozenges or *scales* (the italics are mine), brings to mind the description of Nintu in F. Köcher, "Der babylonische Göttertypentext," *MIO* 1 (1953) 70-73, lines 38-51, to which B. Landsberger kindly drew my attention. Nintu is described as wearing on her head a turban and a horn (presumably the pair of horns usually represented in miters of deities). This headgear alone differentiates Nintu's attire from that of the goddess in the plaque, fig. 9. Further along in the text Nintu is said to have her breast uncovered, to be carrying with her left hand a child which drinks from her breast and to make a gesture of benediction with her right hand. Her body is described as being that of a nude woman from head to girdle but to have scales like a snake from her girdle to her tail-fin. While this part of the translation of the text is not quite certain, it surely describes a different robe from the many-tiered, flounced garment of the Old Babylonian deities worn by the goddess of our plaque, fig. 9. It seems impossible therefore to identify that goddess with Nintu who seems to have been a minor demonic creature. The identification of the plaque by Opificius, *op. cit.*, no. 227, however, with Nintu seems somewhat more likely and will have to be further investigated.

could become an evil spirit as dangerous as the ghost of the unburied dead.¹⁷ The demonic, supernatural nature of the Kūbu is indicated by the fact that its name is written with a divine determinative in incantations,¹⁸ though this is not always the case.¹⁹ The most unequivocal description of the demon in the aspect which is of interest to us here is *CT* 23 10:16: *kīma dku-bu la e-ni-qu šizib ummi-šu* "like the Kūbu which has not drunk the milk of its mother."²⁰

Edzard also suggested that the Kūbu might be found in goblin-like figures on cylinder seals. These occur especially in Elamite cylinders and also in some Luristan bronzes.²¹ However, all these figures usually have a tail, which probably indicates that their meaning differs from that of the Babylonian Kūbu. Nevertheless, these creatures seen in works of art of the late second and early first millennium B.C. may be derived from Kūbu-like goblins of earlier times.

This brings us to the origin of the pictorial form of the demon. In looking for parallels to the emaciated human figure, one is tempted to turn to Egyptian art where there existed something like a tradition for the rendering of thin herdsmen, emaciated servants, and victims of famine.²² The closest parallel for the emaciated

¹⁷ Dr. Edzard kindly sent me in 1958 a note on the Kūbu with a number of references of which the most important is the article by F. Thureau-Dangin, "Notes assyriologiques XXXV, fragment de vocabulaire: AO 7762," *RA* 19 (1922) 79-83. Edzard also added a reference to remarks about Kūbu by A. Zimmern in *ZA*, N.F. 2 (1925) 180, note 1.

¹⁸ E.g., E. Reiner, *Šurpu, a Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations*, *Afo Beiheft* 11 (Graz, 1958) 22 III 117 and 40 VIII 25.

¹⁹ Edzard noted that Kūbu was almost always written without the divine determinative in Old Babylonian personal names and omen texts. He cited some names composed with Kūbu from J. J. Stamm, "Die akkadische Namengebung," *MVAG* 44 (1939) 306 [Warad-kūbi, Apil-kūbi, Inib-kūbi, Kūbi-idi (Old Assyrian), ^dKūbi-iriš, Idi-kūbum (Old Assyrian), Aḫat-^dkūbi]. Edzard pointed out that Stamm considered these names as "Ersatznamen," names of substitutes, which refer to brothers or sisters who had prematurely left the womb. Edzard, however, believes that an apotropaic significance of such names is more likely.

From the Ur III period Edzard added the personal names *Šu-ku-bu-um* (also *Šu-ku_s-bu-um*), "he of the Kūbu" and noted that here *Kūbum* (instead of genitival *Kūbim*) is not inflected similarly to *Nabūm* in the personal name *Šu-na-bu-um*. Cf. for *Šu-kūbum*, A. L. Oppenheim in *AOS* 32 133 (S 3) and 93 (I 10). Edzard deduced from Oppenheim's transcription *Šu-Ku-bu-um* that he considered the name as translated above and not as a *quttulu* form (*šukkubum*).

²⁰ The Kūbu may have had more than one aspect as suggested by the phrase from *Enūma eliš* IV 136, cited in Edzard's communication: *v²ku-bu uzāzu ibannā niklāti* "so that he might divide the Kūbu (of Tiamat) and create accomplished things." Here Kūbu refers to "le corps monstrueux de Tiamat assimilé à un fœtus dont le démiurge s'apprête à former le monde" (Thureau-Dangin in *RA* 19 81).

²¹ The Elamite cylinders showing this figure will be published in the series of excavation reports on Tchoga Zanbil. A bronze pin of Luristan type showing a creature which one could imagine to be a Kūbu is seen in Y. and A. Godard, *Bronzes du Luristan, Collection Graeffe* (The Hague, n.d.), pl. 8, Cat. 150.

²² The subject has been treated extensively by H. Fischer in "An Example of Memphite Influence in a Theban Stela of the Eleventh Dynasty," *Artibus Asiae* 22 (1959) 240-252.

man in Cincinnati is the servant figurine of a potter from the tomb of Nekauinpu in the Museum of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (fig. 10). The similarity between the two figures, however, is limited to the crouching posture which is natural for men in the Near East and to the rendering of the ribs by parallel bands descending on either side of the spine. Here the similarity ends. There is in the Egyptian figure none of the subtlety of observation noted in the Cincinnati man, such as the muscles so prominent in the neck, which has lost its flesh, or the shoulder blades, which really give the impression of rendering the bare bones of a skeleton.

Such observation of natural appearance would seem to preclude copy of an existing foreign scheme for this figure which we may presume to have been one of popular imagination and fear. Moreover, the Egyptian examples are all found among the minor and incidental figures of stelae or tomb reliefs; some are even slightly humorous and none of them belong to the realm of the hereafter; none have the somber dignity which distinguishes our Babylonian figure.

It seems likely therefore that the artist of the figurine in Cincinnati was the first to give form to the demon. Once this expressive figure had been created, dedicated to a deity, and presumably been set up in a temple—it would have been copied in clay plaques (fig. 9), and amulets, as shown by a small pendant of black steatite (fig. 11),²³ in order to keep away the spirit of death which it so convincingly and hauntingly portrays.

²³ The pendant is reproduced approximately 2:1. Unfortunately the precise measurements are not available because the object is now inaccessible in a private collection.

THE PHONOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF A SUB-SYSTEM IN THE AKKADIAN SYLLABARY

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The subject of this paper, which deals essentially with phonological matters based on a re-examination of writing conventions in the cuneiform syllabic writing system, and with the resulting re-evaluation of certain writing conventions, suggested itself to me not through my preoccupation with problems of Akkadian grammar, but as a result of lexicographical work.

The necessity of providing dictionary entries with their dialect variants, both geographical and historical, in the course of editing volume A of the *CAD* directed my attention to the curious distribution of these variants, and this led me to test a hypothesis that the variants are not dialectal, i.e., linguistic, but graphic only.

My hypothesis is that the sign 1A in initial position stands not only for the syllable—or syllable segment—[ya] but also, and indeed in most instances, for the sound sequence [ay]. If so, such entries and cross references in the Akkadian dictionaries as *ajaru* (*juru*) and *ajābu* (*jābu*) are erroneous transcriptions for what should be correctly *ajaru* (*ajuru*) and *ajābu*, i.e., the latter entry will be *ajābu* alone, without a variant **jābu*.

In order to present this hypothesis and the supporting evidence, I shall have to deal with matters relating not only to the semi-vowel [y] but to the other semi-vowel, [w], and the third “weak consonant” of Akkadian, [ʔ], as well.

First, the signs available for writing these consonants (or semi-vowels) must be scrutinized. Following this, the use of these signs will be examined, and finally a normalization—or phonemic transcription—of the words in which they occur will be suggested.

The symbols and notations used in this article are: capital letters, for conventional, or here conventionally identified, sign values of the cuneiform syllabary; < > enclose graphic transcriptions, i.e., sign-by-sign rendering from the cuneiform text; / / enclose phonemic transcriptions, and [] phonetic approximations. Akkadian words or segments not enclosed in one of these pairs of brackets either represent the citation forms currently used by Assyriologists, or a preliminary transcription.

SECTION I

The signs available for writing the consonants /w, y, ʔ/, upon closer scrutiny, turn out to belong to a subsystem of the cuneiform syllabary. They have some

features in common which they share with no other syllabic sign of this system. The three signs which we may symbolize by wA , IA , and A , i.e., the two semi-vowel signs and the aleph sign, share the feature that they are indifferent to the quality of the vowel. Thus, the sign wA stands for the syllables¹ [wa], [wi], [we], and [wu], the sign IA for the syllables [ya], [yi], [ye], and [yu], and the sign A for the syllables [a], [i], [e], and [u]. This feature sets them apart from the rest of the CV or VC signs of the syllabic writing system, for which the indifference to the quality of the vowel is not true, e.g., the sign AB stands for the syllable [ab] but not for the syllables [ib], [eb], or [ub], etc.

A second feature which differentiates the subsystem of three signs from the rest of the syllabic signs of the system is, as will be shown, that they are "reversible." In the cuneiform writing system, not only is the quality of the vowel in a CV or VC sign distinctive, but the order of the consonant and the vowel as well. The sound sequences denoted by a particular sign are not reversible, i.e., the sign which stands for the sound sequence [ba] cannot stand for the sound sequence [ab], and conversely, and so forth for every CV and VC sign of the syllabary; rather, there are two separate and unrelated signs for the sequences [ba] and [ab], etc.²

The only sign for which a reversibility has been assumed all along, although to my knowledge never explicitly stated, is the sign which is used to write the glottal stop (aleph), symbolized above by A . This sign has been transcribed both as a (also e , i , u) and as a' (also e' , i' , u'). Similarly, the signs é and u_8 which in some dialects are likewise used to write the glottal stop, have also been considered reversible: the sign é is transliterated both à and â (in Old Akkadian texts), and, more rarely, è and ê , and the sign u_8 is transliterated both ù and û . Note, however, that the sign $\text{A}\bar{\text{u}}$, from which the sign A has been differentiated in the post-Old-Babylonian period, although it is indifferent to the quality of the vowel, is not reversible, and thus may be transcribed—whether rightly so or not is not our concern here—as a' , é' , i' , or u' , but not as *a_x , *e_x , *i_x , or *u_x . Although it may seem trivial, the obvious fact should also be stated that while this sign $\text{A}\bar{\text{u}}$ has the readings ah , eh , ih , and uh , a different set of CV signs is used for the syllables ha , hi (he), hé , and hu . The transcription of these latter CV signs occasionally as a_4 (= HA), i (= HI), and u_5 (= HU), while it bears re-examination from the point of view of structural phonology, is obviously not relevant for the problem here raised.

We may ask the question, why this particular A sign is reversible, and also, whether there might be other signs, in particular the signs that share with A the feature of being indifferent to vowel quality, that are similarly reversible. I have

¹ "Syllable," here and in the following, is short for "syllable or syllable segment."

² The Neo-Assyrian references to VC signs used for CV signs and conversely, collected by Deller, *Or. NS* 31 188 ff., along with other innovations in writing practices of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, do not affect the structure of the writing system as here outlined.

stated above my belief that this is indeed the case. The reasoning on which this belief is based will bring into the discussion the ways in which vowels in contact and vowels separated by a semi-vowel or an aleph are expressed in the syllabic writing system, and the phonological interpretation of these ways of writing. It seems to me more expedient to discuss at first the structural reasons for the reversibility of the ʔA sign.

SECTION II

A. THE SIGN "ʔA"

To the question why the cuneiform system has not evolved two different signs to express the two syllables [ʔa] and [aʔ], while there are, e.g., two different signs to express the syllables [ha] and [ah], the most obvious answer is that no need was felt to differentiate in the writing between a syllable closing with a glottal stop and another beginning with one. In fact, the place of the glottal stop in the sequence written ʔV is predictable, apart from two situations: it is not predictable when the sign ʔV occurs between a vowel and a consonant, i.e., between the signs (C)V and CV(C), and it is non-distinctive between two vowels; the latter will be taken up in detail presently.

(1) Initial position. When the ʔA sign occurs in initial position, the glottal stop is placed, in the transliteration, after the vowel, since we must assume that no Akkadian word begins with a glottal stop.³

(2) After a sign ending in a consonant, the ʔA sign is transliterated ʔV, i.e., the glottal stop is placed before the vowel, according to the normal syllabification practice of Akkadian which follows the pattern CV(C)-CV(C)-CV(C)-... This rule applies both when the sign following ʔA is of the type V(C) and when it is of the type CV. For example, we transliterate *iš-ʔa-al*, *šum-ʔu-ud* (phonologically /išʔal/, /šumʔud/), etc. In fact, this syllabification pattern is so compelling that the glottal stop need not even be written at all; the above examples, for instance, may be written <iš-al> and <šum-ud>, this syllable division indicating to the reader that he has to supply the glottal stop omitted in the writing, as if /išʔal/ were written *<iš-ʔal>, i.e., VC-CVC, like <iš-bat>, and /šumʔud/ were written *<šum-ʔud>, i.e., CVC-CVC, like <šum-ut>, notwithstanding the fact that otherwise no sign *ʔAL or *ʔUN exists in the syllabary.⁴

When the sign following ʔA is of the type CV, the sign ʔA will again be read ʔV, i.e., the glottal stop placed before the vowel, due to the same syllabification rules;

³ "Meist unbezeichnet bleibt [aleph] im Anlaut" *GAG* § 23d.

⁴ If my ambition were to increase further the already proliferating syllabary, I would seriously advocate that every vc sign be given a ʔvc reading whenever it follows a syllable ending in a consonant, and that we add to the syllabary the values *ʔab, *ʔad, etc., and even, to account for the practice described in the next paragraph above, that every v sign be given a value ʔv, e.g., the sign A the value ʔas, etc.

thus, to repeat the previous examples, *iš-²A-lu*, *šum-²A-du*, or *im-²A-du*. For the same reasons as in the previous case, the ²A sign may be omitted; it is in fact often replaced by a simple vowel sign, as in *⟨iš-a-lu⟩*, *⟨šum-u-du⟩*, *⟨im-i-du⟩*, the vowel sign being chosen in preference to the ²A sign most likely because the presence of the glottal stop may be indicated either by the ²A sign or by the vowel sign alone, but the quality of the vowel is indicated only if the appropriate vowel sign is written.

(3) When the ²A sign stands in word-final position, either after a (C)V or a (C)VC sign, the place of the glottal stop could seem to be unpredictable: for instance, conceivably a writing *⟨im-šu-²A⟩* may stand for either *im-šu-u²* (pret. sg.) or *im-šu-u* (pret. pl.). However, I find that this type of spelling is not attested, or at least not frequent, and while the pret. sg. would be written *im-šu-u²*, the pret. pl. would be written *im-šu-²A-u*, to indicate the presence of a final vowel.⁵

(4) The only type of occurrence in which the position of the glottal stop is not predictable is the occurrence of the ²A sign after a sign ending in a vowel and before a sign beginning with a consonant, i.e., between the signs (C)V and CV(C); the glottal stop may be placed, in the transliteration, either before or after the vowel, depending on whether we assume a syllabification pattern CV-VC-CV or CV-CV-CV. In such cases, only the context—i.e., the grammatical pattern required—may decide whether *⟨ba-²A-lu⟩* stands for /ba²lu/ or for /ba²ālu/ (or /ba²īlu/, /ba²ulu/), *⟨ma-²A-du⟩* for /ma²du/ or for /ma²ādu/, *⟨di-²A-ti⟩* for /di²ti/ or for /di²ati/, and so forth.

(5) When the sign ²A occurs between two syllables that end and begin with a vowel, i.e., between the signs (C)V and V(C), the place of the glottal stop is irrelevant, only the fact that the two syllables are separated, i.e., the vowel sequence VV is heterosyllabic, matters, as will be shown in detail below.

B. THE SIGNS “WA” AND “IA”

When we consider the signs WA and IA, we must again raise the question why there are no separate signs for the sequences [ya] and [ay], [yi] and [iy], etc., or [wa] and [aw], [wi] and [iw], etc. Again, the answer must be that the place of the semi-vowel is predictable; in this case, because the second sequence of each pair has no correspondence to a syllable of the language. The sequences Vw or Vy occur only before a vowel, in which case the syllabification must be V-wV- . . . and V-yV . . . , i.e., it is the values wa and ya, wi and yi, etc., that are required, and precisely these are given in the syllabary to the signs WA and IA. The sequences Vw or Vy do not occur before a consonant because they would constitute a diphthong and, according to all studies on Akkadian grammar, Akkadian has no diphthongs. Perhaps, to avoid this overly phonetically oriented terminology, we might simply state that, according to

⁵ The Neo-Babylonian occurrence of word-final ²A sign, after both cv and vc syllables, relates to different questions and is not considered here.

our knowledge of Akkadian grammar, a sequence vowel-semi-vowel-consonant is not demonstrable for Akkadian.⁶

The question of the sequence [aw] and the possibility of reading the sign *wa* as *aw* has been discussed in detail by I. J. Gelb in *JNES* 20 194–196, who comes to the conclusion that the sign *wa* in Old Babylonian, Old Assyrian, and Mari has the value *aw*, and in one instance in Old Assyrian the value *iw*; however, apart from attempts to render foreign—Anatolian and Amorite—proper names, this spelling occurs in the words *na-aw-ru-um* and—once in Old Assyrian—*ni-iw-ri*, both spellings standing “morphographically” for /namrum/ and /nimri/, since the diphthong *aw* “is unknown to Akkadian,” and *da-aw-du-ú-um*, which corresponds to /dab-dûm/. These statements by Gelb have a twofold significance for our argument: first, the reiteration of the view that there are no diphthongs in Akkadian, in other words, that no non-syllabic *i* or *u* (i.e., the semi-vowels *y* and *w*) can follow a vowel before a consonant, or, differently stated, if a ⟨y⟩ or ⟨w⟩ occurs between a vowel and a consonant, it is syllabic; and second, evidence to the value *aw* of the sign *wa*, i.e., to the reversibility of the *wa* sign in the same way the ²A sign is reversible.⁷ If we accept the theory that Akkadian has no diphthongs, we admit that a sequence [aw] and [ay] must be followed by a vowel.⁸ We have to review briefly the spellings—the syllabic signs or combinations of such signs—available to render a sequence [ayV] and attempt a sketch of the phonological interpretation of intervocalic semi-vowels, before we return to the point to be argued: the “reversibility” of the sign *ia*.

1. Spellings of [ayV].

As above indicated, a sequence [ayV] is normally divided into the syllables (C)a-yV, and for the second syllable the sign *ia*, with its values [ya], [ye], [yi], [yu], is used. Nevertheless, there are several conventions in the cuneiform system of writing for rendering a sequence [ayV]:

- a) a-vc Type: *a ik-šu-ud* = /ayikšud/; the word boundary is between /ay/ and /ikšud/, and these immediate constituents of the group /ayikšud/ are indicated in the writing by a scribal convention, to which I. J. Gelb gave the name “morphographic spelling.”
a-iš = /ayiš/.⁹

⁶ Nevertheless, von Soden in *GAG* § 8f does mention the sequence “*ai*, mostly in connection with the semi-vowel *j*” and also concludes to a late Babylonian *aw* which, according to him, is noted by the sign *am*, and admits the sequence *vvc* in the word *nawrum* in Old Babylonian.

⁷ The Old Akkadian dialect is not considered in this paper.

⁸ In this connection it may be significant that in foreign words from languages in which diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ may be assumed, there occurs a sign sequence ⟨a-u⟩ and ⟨a-i⟩, which may indeed be attempts to render the diphthong, as in, presumably Hurrian, *a-i-wa*, *a-i-gal-lu-ḫé* and *a-ú-a-la-a-mu-lu-uš-ḫe*.

⁹ The spelling with one /y/ in this transcription for the purposes of this presentation will be defended below, p. 176.

This type of spelling is rarely used for a sequence [ayu] because, in Old Babylonian at least, it could be taken for the sequence [awu], see below, and it is rarely used in word-initial for a sequence [aya], because the type of spelling v_1-v_1c (in which the vowels are of the same quality) has been specialized in other uses. The spelling $v-vc$ is conventionally used to write monosyllables of the type vc , or monosyllabic alternants of disyllabic words, such as *ú-ul*, *e-em*, *i-in*, etc. Also, the spelling $v_1-v_1c_1-c_1v(c)-\dots$ is frequently used to write the sequence $v_1c_1c_1\dots$, e.g., *i-il-la-ak*, *i-ib-bu-ú-um*, *ú-ub-ba-al*, *a-aḥ-ḥi-ia*, and the spelling $v_1-v_1c-cv(c)-\dots$ is used to write the sequence $v_1c_1c_2\dots$ e.g., *a-ap-tum*, *i-ib-ri-am*, *i-iš-tum*, etc.¹⁰

- b) *a-a-cv* Type: *a-a-bu* = /ayābu/.⁹
 c) *a-a-vc* Type: *a-a-ar-tum* = /ayartum/, *a-a-ab* = /ayāb/,
a-a-iš = /ayiš/, *a-a-ú* = /ayû/, etc.
 d) *a-ia-vc* Type: *a-ia-ar-tum* = /ayartum/.
 e) *a-ia-cv* Type: *a-ia-bu* = /ayābu/.

Non-initially, the same patterns apply, by substituting a sign Ca for the initial <a> here used as illustrations. Comparable spelling types, as, e.g., *da-in*, *da-a-nu*, *da-a-an*, *da-ia-nu*, *da-ia-an*, will be discussed in detail in a different context below (p. 178).

The above illustrations all concerned [y] in intervocalic position. In fact, the occurrences of [y] in Akkadian are, apart from initial position to be discussed in connection with the reversibility of the *ia* sign, all intervocalic; [y] does not occur before consonants, as has been stated above, because Akkadian has no diphthongs, and its occurrence in word-final position cannot be demonstrated, for lack of a special sign *AY. It is only as the final consonant of a proclitic or of the first element of a compound that [y] appears in word-final, as the type /ay/ + /ikšud/ cited above *sub* (a) exemplifies. In similar groups, the "final" [y] is always followed by a word beginning with a vowel and thus the proclitic or the first element of the compound can be taken as forming a compound or stress-unit with the following word, hence the "final" [y]'s may be included among the occurrences in intervocalic position.

Quite similar is the distribution of the semi-vowel [w], and for the same reasons.

¹⁰ For references, see the dictionaries. Note that the examples cited have been so chosen that they include words which do not have an etymological aleph as first radical. Only for such words has the mentioned type of spelling been noted, see *GAG* § 23d. An illustrative list of Old Babylonian occurrences of the second type, $v_1c_1c_2$, will attest to this scribal convention, which, to my knowledge, has not yet been stated:

<i>i-il-qú-ú</i>	/ilqû/
<i>e-eḥ-te-pi</i>	/eḥtepi/
<i>a-ap-tum</i>	/aptum/
<i>a-aš-ku-tum</i>	/aškuttum/
<i>a-ab-sà-mi-kum</i>	/absamikkum/
<i>i-ib-ri-am</i>	/ibriam/
<i>a-ak-lu</i>	/waklu(m)/
<i>i-iš-tum</i>	/wištum/

In order to arrive at the phonological interpretation of these semi-vowels here proposed, their occurrence—limited to initial and intervocalic position—will be reviewed briefly.

SECTION III

A. "[w]"

1. *Initial position.*—The sign *wa*, to indicate a sequence *wV*, occurs initially in the Old Assyrian dialect, both in Akkadian words whose etymology includes initial /w/, and in foreign words. However, in this dialect there is an alternation—perhaps phonetic, perhaps in the writing only—of initial <w> with , and an alternation of, or rather a development already sporadically attested in the writing from initial *wa-* to *u-*, as in *waqrum* ~ *baqrum*, *wabartum* ~ *ubartum*, etc.; these I shall not treat, since my concern here is with the Old Babylonian and later dialects.

In Old Babylonian, the *wa* sign is usually written in words whose etymology includes initial /w/. However, this practice seems to represent a written tradition, while in spoken Old Babylonian initial [w] must have been lost. This loss can be seen from hypercorrect writings of words which never had an initial [w], as the writing *warkātim* "future (fem. pl.)" for *arkātim* "long (fem. pl.)," *warḫiš* for *arḫiš* "quickly," *wašpuram* for *ašpuram* "I wrote," *waspum* for *aspum* "sling," etc. Such writings show that the contrast between words with or without initial [w]—in other words, the phonemic status of /w/—was lost; if *warkātim* "future" had still been pronounced /warkātim/ and contrasted with /arkātim/, "long," there would have been no possibility of writing one form for the other.

After the OB period, initial [w] disappears not only from the language, but also—or, we might say more cautiously, at least—from the writing, since the sign previously available for writing initial *wV* syllables, the sign *wa*, is not used in this value any longer, but in its value /pi/, except in peripheral, non-Akkadian language territory (Nuzi, Boghazköy, Ras Shamra, Alalakh, El Amarna), and in copies of older texts or in later archaizing texts. Instead of the *wa* sign, a *V* or *VC* sign appears in word-initial; in rare instances, an *mV(C)* sign replaces *wa*, e.g., in the word *muššuru*. These latter writings are interpreted as formed by analogy to those in which intervocalic [w] is written as <m>, e.g., <muššuru> by analogy to *uwaššar* > *umaššar*; see Gelb, *BiOr* 12 102, commenting on *GAG* § 21c.

2. *Intervocalic position.*—The complex question of the historical development of pre-Old-Babylonian /w/ and its phonetic equivalences in various dialects cannot be taken up here. For the present discussion, it suffices to state that the syllable previously written with the *wa* sign is written in the later Babylonian dialects either with a *mV(C)* sign or is not noted at all in the writing.

In foreign words, the sign *wa* represents either a syllable *wV*, a value it retained in peripheral areas even after the OB period, as mentioned above, or a specific

environment of [w] not attested in Akkadian, note, e.g., the alternate spellings of Hittite *an-tu-wa-šal-li* and *an-tu-up-šal-li*; or a phoneme of the foreign language non-existent in Akkadian, such as Hurrian [f] or [v], see Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian* (AASOR XX), pp. 41 ff.

B. "[y]"

1. *Initial position.*—The sign **IA** is a ligature of the signs **I** plus **A**, and thus it is sometimes used to write the disyllabic sequence *i-a*, as in <**ia-ab-bat**> for <**i-ab-bat**>, <**ia-ru-ru**> for <**i-ar-ru-ru**>, <**ia-as-su**> for <**i-as-su**>, <**ia-áš-šá-áš**> for <**i-áš-šá-áš**>, etc. For a phonemic transcription of these spellings see below (p. 178).

Consequently, it cannot be definitely proven that any Akkadian word has an initial consonantal [y], since the correct transcription of words beginning with initial **IA** may also be disyllabic *i + V*; this is the opinion of, e.g., Gelb, in *BiOr* 12 102. Initial [y] is thought to occur in foreign—West Semitic—names, or in words of foreign borrowing, as can be seen from the entries in *CAD* Vol. 7 *sub* J. Apart from these words, only the pronouns customarily transcribed as *jāti*, *jāši*, *ja'û* (and *jû*) and the indeclinable *jānu* are normally considered as having an initial [y].

Conversely, words with an initial syllable [ya] may also be written with the sign sequence **I** plus **A**, either as *i-a*, or as *i-i-a*, and even *i-ia*, e.g., *i-i-a-û-um*, *i-ia-ti*, *i-ia-nu*, *i-a-am*.¹¹

2. *Intervocalic position.*—In intervocalic position, the sign **IA** occurs after all vowels (*a*, *e*, *i*, and *u*), but most commonly after the vowel [i]. This seems to indicate that a writing **Ci-IA** expresses a nonsyllabic glide [j] between /i/ and /a/. In fact, a spelling **Ci-IA-a** or **Ci-IA** may be replaced by a spelling **Ci-a**. In other words, there is no contrast between the sequence [ia] (two syllables) and the sequence [iya]. Moreover, the same sequence is also written **Ci-V-a**. This shows that there is no contrast, intervocalically, between [ia], [iya], and [iPa]. The lack of contrast between [y], [ʔ] and, as will be seen, [w] in intervocalic position is most conveniently explained if we assume that these do not represent *three* phonemes, but are to be classed differently, in some fashion which would take into account their role as syllable boundary. The syllable boundary function of [y], [w], and [ʔ] will be discussed and documented in detail below; here it must be established first why we do not consider [y] a phoneme.

C. PHONOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

As just stated, the writing shows no contrast between intervocalic <**ia**> or, more generally, <**iV**>, and <**i-IA**>. It has also been demonstrated that the writing cannot show a contrast between initial [ia] and [ya], or, more generally, [iV] and [yV]. Consequently, it is unnecessary, in a list of phonemes of Akkadian, to assume a separate

¹¹ The occurrence of the sign **IA_s**—another reading given to the sign **WA**—in some dialects (Mari, El Amarna) in place of the sign **IA** does not affect the picture presented here.

semi-vowel [y], characterized as and grouped in its patterning with the consonants. It is more economical to consider [i] the vocalic allophone, and [y]—or [j]—the non-vocalic allophone, of the same phoneme. Since [y] has the more limited distribution, we set up the phoneme as /i/, which is realized as a vowel before consonant, and as a consonant (or “semi-vowel”) [y] before vowel. If this is so, then we are justified to write everywhere /i/, since its realizations are automatic, and we may dispense, in our transcriptions, with the letters [j] or [y] which at any rate owe their dual spelling to the divergent spelling habits of German-speaking and non-German-speaking Assyriologists. We would write, for instance, *ia*, *iu*, and *ii*, for [ya, yu, yi]. As a matter of fact, this type of spelling has been in use for the transcription of the sign *IA* as *ia* all along; the transcriptions of this same sign with its value “semi-vowel plus vowel /e/ or /u/” are similarly *ie* and *iu*, but, when the vowel is /i/, *ji* or *yi* (von Soden, *Syllabar*, No. 104), solely in order to avoid the strange appearance of a transcription *ii* (see von Soden, *Syllabar*, p. 8, *sub e*). Actually, nothing prevents us from using the transcription *ii* as well, because this can stand only for the syllable [yi], since there is no diphthong [iy] in Akkadian.

The same considerations are also valid concerning the phonemic status of [w]. The writing habits show that there is no contrast between <u-wa> and <u-a>, nor is there a contrast between initial [w] and [u], since [w] occurs only before vowel and [u] before consonant. For example, *a-wu-ri-qa-num* alternates with *a-û-ri-qâ-nam* (cited *AHw*, s.v. *awurriqānu*); *e-ta-û* with *e-ta-wu*. Moreover, the sequence [ua] may be written with an additional *WA* sign, e.g., *i-tu-wa-ar* for *ituar*. Hence, we may regard [w]—or [u]—as the nonsyllabic allophone of [u], and we may transcribe the sign *WA* as *ua*, *ue*, *ui*, *uu*, without being equivocal, since, again, there being no diphthong [uy] or [uw] in Akkadian, in all these syllables, in the two last cited as well as in the first two, it is the first vowel that is nonsyllabic.

Here also, as in many other instances, we can find that the previous generations of scholars were closer to the phonological structure of the language when they used in their transliterations and transcriptions, uniformly, *ïi* as well as *ïu* and *ïa*, and similarly, *ya*, *yi*, *yu*, with a crescent under the first vowel letter to indicate its nonsyllabic character.

Whether we may adopt a uniform transcription with the vowel letters *i* and *u* for their nonsyllabic allophone depends however on the possibility of distinguishing, in our transcription, between nonsyllabic semi-vowel followed by a vowel, and two vowels belonging to two different syllables. In other words, we may use the transcription *iV* and *uV* only if we can prove that these necessarily represent only one syllable. I submit that this is indeed the case, because there is no sequence *VV* in Akkadian, i.e., no sequence of two vowels, dissimilar—such as *ia*, *iu*, etc.—or identical—such as *ii*, *uu*—that would constitute two syllables; in other words,

Akkadian has no vowel clusters. To state it in the reverse, whenever two consecutive vowels belong to two syllables, we must assume that there is a syllable boundary between them.

There exists a customary notation of this syllable boundary in Assyriological transcriptions, namely the glottal stop (aleph), which appears, e.g., in the transcriptions *akkā'i*, *ašī'um*, *annī'am*, *bū'arum*, etc., in which the glottal stop does not stand for any etymological consonant. Such spellings are but an expedient to indicate that the two vowels on either side of the glottal stop belong to different syllables. I will go further and assert that this transcription is not only expedient, but that it is phonologically justified and necessary.¹²

Furthermore, I submit that, whether etymological or not, the glottal stop [ʔ] and the semi-vowels [y] and [w] have in intervocalic position this sole function of indicating syllable boundary between two vowels, and that their distribution is partly determined by the quality of the first vowel of the two, e.g., [y] is written mostly after [i], [w] after [u], and [ʔ] after [a], and is partly in free variation. Naturally, this syllable boundary exists even when the ʾA, WA, or IA sign is omitted in the spelling of words which elsewhere are written with these signs. Since the phonetic nature of this syllable boundary is irrelevant, as can be seen from the alternant spellings cited below, the three graphs may be subsumed under one transcription, which we may conveniently consider one phoneme, and symbolize by an aleph /ʔ/.¹³

If the statement that intervocalic [ʔ], [w], and [y] function merely as syllable boundary is accepted, we may dismiss as trivial the problem of whether or not any of these consonants should be transcribed as a double consonant in intervocalic position. The current view that [ʔ] must be transcribed as a double—geminate—consonant when such geminate is required by the grammatical pattern of the word, but that [y] must always be transcribed double intervocalically, and not merely when the grammatical pattern requires it¹⁴ (see von Soden, *Syllabar*, p. 110 *ad* No. 315), is held partly on grammatical grounds, partly on phonetic considerations. From a phonological point of view, none of these consonants need be written double intervocalically, although a—mainly pedagogical—point could be made for [ʔ], and possibly a phonological argument for Old Babylonian [ʔ].

I am in favor of the single writing of these consonants simply because in my own phonological interpretation I transcribe the intervocalic syllable boundary with

¹² In von Soden's *AHw* this type of transcription has been largely abandoned; see, e.g., *iutā*, *erium*, etc., although the aleph-letter still appears in a number of words, e.g., *kā'isu*, *dī'u*, etc.

¹³ A further conclusion, namely that the item to which [w], [y], and [ʔ] belong, also includes an allophone "vowel length," and that thus this item may be most expediently termed the morphophoneme "length" and uniformly transcribed /:/, is developed at length in my forthcoming grammar (§§ 4.2 ff.).

¹⁴ Von Soden transcribes the sign sequence A-A in *Syllabar* No. 315 as *aiaa*, and elsewhere *passim*, e.g., *AHw* pp. 23 ff., *ajja*.

/:/, the symbol for length, and there is no reason to write the symbol for length double in any instance.¹⁵

To sum up, I would state that the glottal stop, or a comparable syllable boundary consonant (*w*, *y*, or *:*) has to be assumed between two vowels when they belong to two syllables, even when such a consonant is not written between the two vowels, whenever the heterosyllabicity of the two vowels is shown by alternant spellings in which such a consonant does appear between the two vowels, as, e.g., to use non-sense syllables, the writing <ba-ab>, if at any time it interchanges with <ba-²ab> or <ba-ia-ab> (no writing *<ba-wa-ab> occurs, because the *wa* sign is used after, and sometimes before <u> only), has to be interpreted as disyllabic /ba²ab/.

This statement also assumes that any Akkadian word among the variant writings of which there is even one which contains the sign ²A, *WA*, or *IA* between two vowels must be postulated as containing these two vowels in different syllables, even if the vowels are of identical quality.

In every case then we have to investigate whether there is an alternation between a spelling CV₁-V₂C and CV₁-²A-V₂C, CV₁-*WA*-V₂C, or CV₁-*IA*-V₂C. Only a border case is that in which V₁ = V₂, i.e., two identical vowels follow each other. For instance, the spelling *li-ab-bit* alternates with *li-²a-ab-bit* and *li-ia-ab-bit*, and hence the word is to be transcribed /li²abbit/. These spellings are abundantly attested for many forms which heretofore, too, have been written with a glottal stop between the vowels, and so there is no reason to dwell on them. However, in those cases where the two vowels are identical, the examination of the spellings and the phonological conclusion to be drawn from them yields new forms: for these cases we have to discard the assumption previously made that, since the syllable boundary sign (²A, *WA*, *IA*) is absent in some spellings, the language includes forms in which the two vowels have contracted into a long vowel, such as *bālu* beside *ba²ālu*, and we must uniformly posit these words as containing the sequences /a²a/, /i²i/ or /u²u/. Similarly, when the writing system does not distinguish between a *Ce* and a *Ci* sign (as *de/di*, *le/li*, etc.), and the spellings show a sequence *Ce-iC* and *Ce-²A-iC*, we cannot assume that the two vowels contracted into a long vowel [ê], to be transcribed as *CêC, but must keep the sequence of two syllables /Ce²iC/. The new readings resulting from the application of this principle will be documented more fully, if not exhaustively, presently. For the case of dissimilar vowels, where a contraction has never been assumed, even though the transcription practices hesitate between notation with

¹⁵ The advantage gained by using the symbol for length /:/ in a transcription is that a long vowel may be transcribed as /v:/, and need not be transcribed vv, an equally possible spelling. Thus, the notation vv may be reserved for either of two uses: for two heterosyllabic vowels, or for semi-vowel plus vowel, and no confusion can arise between the notation of long vowel and two vowels. For the purposes of this article, long vowels are, as customary, written with superscripts, such as *ā*, *ī*, and hence the symbol /²/ is used instead of /:/ to indicate syllable boundary between two vowels.

glottal stop and notation without (see, e.g., the examples cited in note 12), it should suffice to point out the distribution of the spellings with an additional sign between the two heterosyllabic vowels:

Between /i/ and /a/, the preferred "boundary" sign is IA .

Between /u/ and /a/, in older texts, the boundary sign is WA ; later, with the obsolescence of the syllabic value $\langle \text{wa} \rangle$ of this sign, the vowel sign U or, more rarely, the vowel sign A occurs.

Between /u/ and /i/, the A sign or, more rarely, a vowel sign occurs.

Between /a/ and another vowel, the A sign or, more rarely, a vowel sign occurs.

Between identical vowels, mostly the A sign, or more rarely, the vowel sign occurs.

This may be restated in phonological terms as follows: although some free variation occurs in the choice of the sign—and the phonetic realization of the syllable boundary—which occurs between two heterosyllabic vowels, the following complementary distribution may be observed: $\langle \text{w} \rangle$ (the WA or U sign) occurs after /u/, $\langle \text{y} \rangle$ (the IA sign) occurs after /i/, and $\langle \text{v} \rangle$ (the A sign or a vowel sign) occurs after /a/. Examples:

Between /u/ and /a/:	<i>pa-nu-ú-a</i>	/panu ² a/
	<i>ku-mu-u-a ~ ku-mu-ia</i>	/kumu ² a/
Between /u/ and /i/ (or /e/):	<i>mu-ir-rum ~ mu²A-i-ru ~ mu-u-e-ru</i>	/mu ² irru/
	<i>da-bu-ú-eš</i>	/dabu ² eš/
Between /u/ and /u/:	<i>bu-ú-ra ~ bu²A-ra</i>	/bu ² ura/
	<i>zu-uz-ti ~ zu²A-uz-ti</i>	/zu ² uzti/
	<i>ru-ú-a ~ ru²ú-a</i>	/ru ² ú ² a/
	<i>du-um ~ du²A-um ~ du²A-ú-mu</i>	/du ² um(u)/
Between /i/ and /a/:	<i>i²A-dar ~ ²A-a-dar ~ IA-ad-da-ru</i>	/i ² addar(u)/
	<i>a-bi-IA-bi-ia</i>	/abi/ + /abiya/
Between /i/ and /i/:	<i>di-i²A ~ di²A</i>	/di ² i/
	<i>bi-il-ti ~ bi²A-il-ti</i>	/bi ² ilti/
Between /i/ (or /e/) and /u/:	<i>le²A-ú ~ le-e-um</i>	/le ² u/
	<i>ti-ú-tú ~ ti²A-ut ~ ti²A-ú-tu</i>	/ti ² útu/
	<i>lu-šab-bi²A-[u] ~ lu-šab-bi-IA-u</i>	/lušabb ² u/
Between /a/ and /a/:	<i>ba-a-lu ~ ba²A-a-lum ~ ba²A-lu</i>	/ba ² alu(m)/
	<i>ma-a-du ~ ma²A-du</i>	/ma ² adu/
	<i>ta-ba²A ~ i-ba²A-a</i>	/taba ² a, iba ² a/
Between /a/ and /i/:	<i>da-i-ku ~ da-a-a-i-ku ~ da²A-i-ku</i>	/dā ² iku/
	<i>a-ḥa-iš ~ a-ḥa-IA-š</i>	/aḥa ² iš/
	<i>ba²A-it ~ ba-i-it ~ ba-it</i>	/ba ² it/
Between /a/ and /u/:	<i>ba-a-u ~ ba²A-u</i>	/ba ² u/
	<i>ba²A-ú-la-a-tu ~ ba-ú-la-a-ti</i>	/ba ² ulāti/
	<i>u-ba²A-u ~ u-ba-wu₄(MU)-ú</i>	/uba ² u/

The above outlined interpretation yields the following forms that hitherto have been considered contracted: (starred forms are entries in *CAD* and *AHw*, which, in my opinion, must be rewritten):

<i>ba'ālu</i>	not	* <i>bālu</i>
<i>aḥe'iš</i>	not	* <i>aḥiš</i> , * <i>aḥēš</i>
<i>bi'iltu</i>	not	* <i>biltu</i>
<i>zi'iru</i>	not	* <i>ziru</i>
<i>beru'm</i> (var. <i>beruyum</i>)	not	* <i>berū(m)</i>

For the ways in which these considerations affect the conjugation of the "weak verbs," see my grammar, § 5.4.5.6.

SECTION IV

THE READING OF THE SIGN IA

The above proposed phonological interpretation of the spellings into which the signs IA, WA and ²A enter served to illustrate the structural similarity of these signs and the systemic unity they form within the cuneiform syllabary. We may thus come back to our initial postulate and argue that this similarity extends to the particular feature of reversibility attached to these signs. To the illustrations of the spellings of the initial sequence [ayV] cited in Section II, B, *a-e*, we may add a sixth type, namely

f) IA-V- . . .

In this type of spelling, I propose to give the value *ay* to the sign IA. Consequently, words in which the spelling alternates between a-VC, a-a-CV, a-IA-VC, a-IA-CV and IA-V(C), should not be given, on the testimony of the last cited type of spelling, a reading without initial /a/, but should always be read with initial /a/; for example, the word for "rosette," *ajaru*, should be read *ajaru* even when it is spelled IA-a-ru, on the basis of a transcription *ay-a-ru*. The Assyrian dialect forms of this word, then, are neither **juru*, genitive **jere*, accusative **jara*, nor **ja'uru*, genitive **ja'ere*, accusative **ja'ara*,¹⁶ but simply *ajuru*, *ajere*, *ajara*.

This proposed transcription *ay* for the sign IA can, however, only be applied when this sign is followed by a V(C) sign; when it is followed by a CV(C) sign, it must be read [yV], since the sequence [VyC] is not attested in Akkadian. The latter type of spelling is so rare and occurs in such a restricted number of words that in my opinion it should not prejudice the neater picture emerging by giving the value *ay* to the sign IA in the other instances.¹⁷

¹⁶ The first cited forms **juru*, etc., appear in *CAD* s.v. *ajaru* and in *AHw* s.v. *ajjaru(m)* I, compare also *ajjābu(m)*, etc., in *AHw* pp. 23 ff.; the second type of forms, **ja'uru*, etc., appear in *AHw* s.v. *ja'ele*, *ja'ere*, compare also *ja'alu*, etc., in *AHw* pp. 411 ff.

¹⁷ Initial IA before a consonant (a cv(c) syllable) occurs in some words which have no spelling variants a-a, a-ia, and for which thus an initial sequence /ya-/ may be assumed, such as the pronominal bases *yāti*, *yānu*, etc., and foreign words. In some other words, the spelling with initial IA alternates with spellings with initial (a-a) or (a-ia); since, according to our assumption, the sequence /ay/ cannot occur before a consonant, the spellings with IA should be taken as standing for the sequence /ya/, as in the forms IA-nu-um, IA-nu-um-ma, IA-nu-uk-ka, IA-nu-uš-šu, IA-nu-ū-a (see *ajānu*), IA-ni-bu besides a-a-ni-bu (see *janibu*), IA-ru-ru-tu besides a-ia-ru-ru-tu (see *jarurūtu*), IA-bi-iš besides [a]-a-bi-iš (see *ajābiš*), and IA-bi for /ayābi/ in two references. There remain a few examples of words which are considered derivatives or variants of words with initial /ay/, as IA-bi-i-[tu] considered derivative of /ajabba/, IA-ra-ḫu besides a word a-a-ra-ḫu, IA-nu-meš considered a variant of **ajānummiš*, see *ajānum(ma)*.

The following is a selected list of forms of words which are written with an initial *IA* sign, and which, on the basis of alternate spellings, must be postulated with an initial sequence /ay-/:

<i>IA</i> before V(C)	Transcription
<i>IA-a-ba</i>	/ayāba/
<i>IA-a-ba-am-ma</i>	/ayābamma/
<i>IA-a-bi</i>	/ayābi/
<i>IA-a-bu-ut</i>	/ayābūt/
<i>IA-a-ka</i>	/ayaka(m)/
<i>IA-a-ka/ku</i>	/ayakku/
<i>IA-a-lu</i>	/ayālu/
<i>IA-ū-lu</i>	/ayulu/
<i>IA-e-le</i>	/aye/
<i>IA-a-nu-um</i>	/ayānum/
<i>IA-e-re-te</i>	/ayerēte/
<i>IA-ār-tu</i>	/ayartu/
<i>IA-ār</i>	/ayar/
<i>IA-ū-ru</i>	/ayuru/
<i>IA-e-re</i>	/ayere/
<i>IA-ū</i>	/ayû/
<i>IA-um-ma</i>	/ayumma/
<i>IA-im-ma</i>	/ayimma/
<i>IA izziz</i>	/ay izziz/

If we adopt the reading *ay* (or *aj*), no index or diacritic is needed to differentiate this value; a reading **ai* does not seem desirable, first, because it needs a diacritic, since the value *ai* is assigned to the sequence A-A in von Soden's *Syllabar*, No. 315, and second, because it seems preferable to denote the nonsyllabic /i/ by the letter <y> or <j> as long as there is no general agreement always to indicate heterosyllabicity of two vowels by some consonant letter, <ʔ>, <w> or <y>. The spelling *ay*, moreover, parallels the value *aw* (and not, e.g., **au*) suggested by Gelb for the sign *wa* in *JNES* 20 194 ff.

Since we noted that the syllabification pattern is CV(C)-CV(C)- . . . , and a deviation from it such as VC-V(C)- . . . indicates the presence of a consonant before the second V(C) sign (such as the presence of a glottal stop in the examples cited in Section II, A), we may adopt, in our phonemicization, the gemination of [y] in words spelled with initial *IA*, as advocated by von Soden. However, while the reasons for von Soden's transcription are not obvious or not explicitly stated, we may now give a structural reason to this practice, which presumably has been based on phonetic considerations and on paradigmatically required forms.¹⁸

¹⁸ Note, e.g., *GAG* § 22i: "Verzudoppeltes *j* scheint nur als Sekundärlaut vorzukommen . . . in nach der Form *parrās* gebildeten Nomina . . . sowie statt ʔ nach *a* (bzw. ʔ nach *ā*) for *a*, *i*, und *u* in verschiedenen Verbalformen der hohlen Wurzeln . . . ausserdem in Substantiven wie *majjālum* < **manjālum*." See now, for the question of gemination of *j* and ʔ, Landsberger, *WO* 3 (forthcoming).

**KITRU/KITERRU: NEW DOCUMENTATION FOR
A NUZI LEGAL TERM***

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The thousands of tablets excavated from Yalghan Tepe, ancient Nuzi, and the small trove of similar material from nearby Kirkuk (Arrapha), furnish a unique source for the reconstruction of the social and economic history of a peripheral Mesopotamian community. The Nuzi tablet edited here is intended as a modest contribution to this highly interesting and important facet of Assyriological research,¹ one in which Professor Oppenheim has himself had a special interest.²

The category of the text at hand is not indicated on the tablet. Without any heading, it leads rather abruptly *in medias res*, which is unusual in Nuzi, except for court transcripts, lists and similar administrative memoranda. The tablet is here-with presented in copy, transliteration, and translation, followed by a commentary and conclusions which will deal with the category and context of the text.

TRANSLITERATION³

obverse	1 <i>uš-tu ša-ad-dá-ni ša</i>
	2 <i>ši-ik-ri ša É.GAL ša</i>
	3 <i>ḫal-wa-al-we i-na A.GÀR AN.ZA.GÀR ša al-ta</i>
	4 2 ANŠE A.ŠÀ.MEŠ <i>i-na ki-te-er-ri</i>
	5 <i>ṁú-na-ap-ta-e DUMU ta-a-a</i>
	6 <i>i-li-iq-qi mi-nu-um-mi-e</i>

* The abbreviations used in this article are those of the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary (CAD)*, except for the following:

Gadd C. J. Gadd, "Tablets from Kirkuk," *RA* 23 49-161 (cited by number)

IH E. A. Speiser, *Introduction to Hurrian* (= *AASOR* 20)

NPN I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purves, A. A. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names* (= *OIP* 57)

¹ The tablet is in the collection of Dr. H. M. Serota, Chicago, to whom thanks are due for permission to publish the tablet here.

² Cf. Oppenheim's bibliography below, Section C, nos. 7, 8, 9, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 68.

³ Strictly speaking what is given here is a transliteration of the text adapted to the system of the Aššurbanipal library. It would be preferable to present a transliteration of the signs with their normal primary values rather than somewhat artificial values based on etymological considerations and valid only for special cases in the peripheral dialects. However, consistent application of the transliteration principle, successfully used, for example, by the *CAD* for the individual word under discussion or for uncertain writings, to connected discourses in Nuzi leads to absurd and unrecognizable formations. Therefore, the established method of presenting Nuzi texts is followed here.

- 7 É.ĤI.A.MEŠ *ep-šu-tù i-na AN.ZA.GÀR al-ta-ma*
 8 ^mú-na-ap-ta-e i-na ^{ki}l-it-ri
 9 i-liq-qì-šu-nu-ti ù É.ĤI.A.MEŠ ša
 10 i-liq-qú-ú 2 i-na am-ma-ti qa-aq-qà-ru
 11 i-na li-ti-šu-nu ^mú-n[a-a]p-ta-e
 12 i-na ki-it-ri-im-ma i-[li]q-qì
 13 ù mi-nu-um-mi-e ĤA.LA-šu qa-as-sú
 14 uš-tu GIŠ.SAR ša ^mbi-la-a
 15 ú-ka-al-lu uš-tu URU ma-ti-ḥa
 16 ^mú-na-ap-ta-e a-na ^mpu-ḥi-še-en-ni
 17 DUMU e-en-na-a-a um-te-eš-ši-ir
 18 šum-ma ^mú-na-ap-ta-e KI.BAL-at
 19 ù aš-šum GIŠ.SAR ša-a-šu i-na EGIR
 20 ^mpu-ḥi-še-en-ni i-ša-as-si
 21 1 ma-na KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ 1 ma-na GUŠKIN.MEŠ
 22 a-na ^mpu-ḥi-še-en-ni ú-ma-al-la
 23 [š]um-ma ^mpu-ḥi-še-en-ni ù
 24 [^m]ḥu-ra-az-zi KI.BAL-tu₄
 lower edge 25 [aš-š]um 2 ANŠE A.ŠÀ.MEŠ ù aš-šum
 26 ^É1.ĤI.A.MEŠ i-na EGIR ^mú-nap-ta-e
 reverse 27 ⁱl-ša-as-^{su}l-ú 1 ma-na KÙ.¹BABBAR.MEŠ¹
 28 [1 m]a-na GUŠKIN.MEŠ a-na ú-na-ap-ta-e
 29 i-na-an-dì-nu šum-ma A.ŠÀ.MEŠ
 30 ù É.M[ÉŠ] ^{bi}ir^l-ga ir-ta-šu-ú
 31 ^mpu-ḥi-še-en-ni ù [^m]ḥu-ra-az-zi
 32 ú-za-ak-ku-ma a-na ^mú-na-ap-^{ta}l-e
 33 i-na-an-dì-nu šum-ma GIŠ.SAR
 34 bi-ir-ga ir-ta-ši ^mú-n[a-ap-ta-e]
 35 ú-za-ak-ka₄-ma a-na ^mpu-ḥi-še-e[n-ni]
 36 i-na-an-din tup-pu EGIR šu-du-[ti i-n]a IGI KÁ.GAL
 37 š[a] sa-ra-e i-na URU an-zu-gal-lim ša-ṭi-i[r]
 38 IG[I ^mk]a-ti-ri DUMU še-en-[n]a-a-a
 39 IGI [el/te]-ḥi-ip-LUGAL DUMU mi-na-an-ti
 40 IGI [i]k-ki-ya DUMU ḥa-ši-ya
 41 [IGI tar]-mi-[y]a DUMU ak-ku-le-en-ni
 42 I[GI ni]-iḥ-[r]i-ya DUMU a-ri-iq-qa
 43 IGI [x x (x)] x DUMU in-ta-ši-lu
 44 IGI mu-u[š-i]e-ya DUB.SAR
 45 IGI zi-gi DUMU ar-še-eḥ-li
 46 IGI ta-a-i DUMU ka₄-ti-ri
 47 ¹IGI¹ še-ḥa-la [DUMU] ^{ik}ki^l-ya

	48 [IGI] <i>ak-ku-le-e[n]-ni</i> [DUMU] <i>eh-li-ya</i>	
	NA ₄ .KIŠIB <i>ṁtar-mi-ya</i>	NA ₄ .KIŠIB <i>ṁni-iḫ-ri-ya</i> ¹
lower edge	NA ₄ <i>ṁik-ki-ya ma-šar</i> KÁ.GAL	NA ₄ .KIŠIB <i>ṁka-ti-ri</i>
left edge	[NA ₄ .KIŠIB]B <i>ṁmu-uš-te-ya</i> DUB.SAR	NA ₄ .KIŠIB <i>ṁ x [x x x]</i>
	NA ₄ .KIŠIB <i>ṁta-ai</i>	

TRANSLATION

obverse	1 2 homers of the <i>fenced field</i> east of the <i>dam</i> of the palace, in the field of the Alta district,
	5 Unaptae, son of Taya, will take as an <i>outright gift</i> . Whatever built-up building plots (there are) in the aforementioned Alta district, Unaptae will take
	10 them as an <i>outright gift</i> , the buildings which he will take being 2 land-cubits along their edge. Unaptae will take them strictly as an <i>outright gift</i> , and
	15 his share in the orchard which Bilaya holds in the city of Matiḫa, he has released to Puḫišenni, son of Ennaya. If Unaptae breaks the agreement and
	20 makes charges concerning that orchard against Puḫišenni, he will pay out 1 mina of silver, 1 mina of gold to Puḫišenni. If Puḫišenni and
lower edge	25 Hurazzi break the agreement, and make charges concerning the 2 homers of land and the buildings
reverse	against Unaptae, they will pay 1 mina of silver, 1 mina
	30 of gold to Unaptae. If the land and buildings become the object of a claim, Puḫišenni and Hurazzi will clear (them) for Unaptae. If the orchard becomes
	35 the object of a claim, Unaptae will clear (it) for Puḫišenni. The tablet was written in the city of Anzugallu after the public proclamation before the Sara gate.
	38–48 Names of eleven witnesses. Seals of six witnesses, including Ikkiya, the watchman of
upper edge	the gate.
left edge	Seal of Muštēya, the scribe.

COMMENTARY

- 1 *ša-ad-dā-ni* : i.e., *šadāni*, also written KUR-*dā-an*, HSS 9 20: 9,⁴ used synonymously with *elēnu* for 'east.' Cf. C. H. Gordon, *RA* 31 102, Saaristo, *Studia Orientalia* . . . *Fennica* 5 18.

⁴ Not AN(!).TA-*an* as in CAD E 83a.

2 *st-ik-ri* : the following Nuzi references for this word are available:

(1) *JEN* 480 (collated): Declaration of Muštēya concerning an exchange of land which he and Teḫiptilla have made. Muštēya states that he has given Teḫiptilla certain specified property,

- 10 ù ^mte-ḫi-ip-til-la 8 ANŠE [A.ŠÀ.MEŠ] la ši-qú-ú
 11 i-na KASKAL ša URU kib-ri i-na [šu-pa-a]l *st-ik-ri*
 12 ša ^mte-ḫi-ip-til-la a-na ya-ši ki-mu pu-uḫ A.ŠÀ-ya
 13 it-ta-din-mi

“and Teḫiptilla has given me 8 homers of unirrigated [land] on the road to Kibri, [below Teḫiptilla’s dam, in exchange for my land.”

(2) *HSS* 15 230:

- 1 ^mar-ša-an-ta DUMU ta-e
 2 2 ANŠE A.ŠÀ i-na *st-ik-ri*
 3 ša ^mše-en-nu-un-ni
 4 a-šar AN.ZA.GÀR ša ki-be-ya
 5 ù ša šap-še-e-a
 1 “Aršanta, son of Tae,
 2 2 homers of land at the dam
 3 of Šennunni
 4 located in the district of Kibeya
 5 and Šapšeya.”

The nature of this document is not clear to me. The text is entirely on the obverse, and from the copy the tablet appears roundish and small. One might think of an administrative docket once attached to a tablet recording the transaction in detail, or of a memorandum (*tuppi taḫsilti*).

(3) *JEN* 470 (collated):

Aḫī-illika cedes his rights to the barley and straw of certain property to Tupkišarri. The land is described as

- 6 ff. A.ŠÀ.MEŠ a-šar ḫé-eš(over AŠ)-ti-ri ša PN ša P[N₂]. . . .
 8 ša ú-ka₄-al-lu . . .

and

- 10 A.ŠÀ.MEŠ a-šar *st-ik-ri* ša PN ša P[N₂]. . . .
 12 ša ú-ka₄-al-lu

“land at the dam of PN [and] PN₂ which they hold”

In the three texts adduced above, *sikri* is obviously a topographical feature, qualified by proper names, much in the same way as *dimtu*, *iku*, *atappu*, *naḫlu*, etc., *passim* in Nuzi. Furthermore, *sekēru*, to which *sikru* is etymologically related,⁵

⁵ A Hurrian etymology is ruled out by the parallelism of *st-ik-ri* in *JEN* 470 (text no. 3) 10, with the patently Hurrian *ḫé-eš-ti-ri* in line 6, to be added to both *CAD* and *AHW*.

occurs in administrative and economic texts, and specifically those involving irrigation, with the meaning “to dam water.”⁶ It is, therefore, tempting to link *sikru* here with *sikru*, “dam” attested lexically and in Neo-Babylonian.⁷ Anzugallu was a center in the Nuzi irrigation network.⁸ The *atappu ša URU anzugallim* occurs several times,⁹ and the *gugallu* of Anzugallu is mentioned in *HSS* 9 32 4, a text dealing with the allotment of water for irrigation purposes.¹⁰

3 *hal-wa-al-we*: This hapax is related to the otherwise attested *ha(l)wu* (*CAD* H 57a, *AHw* 314) and *hawalhu* (*CAD* H 162b, *AHw* 315; with several variant forms), discussed by Koschaker, *ZA* 48 178 f.

4 *ki-te-er-ri* (8,12, *ki-it-ri-(im)*): This word occurs in nine other texts, wills or closely related documents. Koschaker in a note on *kitru/kiterru*,¹¹ based on six of these texts,¹² stated as his main conclusion, “Zugrunde liegt der Gedanke der Ausschliesslichkeit, genauer vielleicht unter Ausschluss der Erbgemeinschaft, von dem aus der Übergang zu dem Begriff des Vermächtnisses gefunden werden konnte.”¹³ This conclusion is reflected here in the translation ‘outright gift,’¹⁴ though in one case the bequest is conditioned. In *Gadd* 5, the four inheriting brothers are told to construct a building for Akapšuše, their sister, and give it to her *ina kitri*.¹⁵

⁶ Usage documented by Laessle, *JCS* 5 25 n. 31.

⁷ *mi-iḫ-rum* : *sik-rum* ša [nāri], *CT* 18 5 r.14 (cf. von Soden, *ZA* 49 162 n. 2); *gi.kun.zi.da* : *qa-an mi-iḫ-ri* : *sik-r[u* ša x x], *MSL* 7 67 8. In *VAS* 5 106 (cited by von Soden, *loc. cit.*), land is localized in relation to the *sikru*,

5. UGU *si-ik-ri* ša KÁ ID *taš-me-tum*.

The entry *sikaru*, ‘Stauwer’ in Ebeling, *Glossar zu den Neubabylonischen Briefen* 202 is based on *BIN* 1 55 16 where the likely reading is *iš(!)-kar É.AN.NA*.

⁸ A brief general statement on irrigation at Nuzi is given by Lacheman in Starr, *Nuzi* I 531–32. The map given by Oppenheim in *RA* 35 138 shows two canals running through or near Anzugallu.

⁹ E.g., *JEN* 226 19 f. This text describes a plot of land as cut in two by the Anzugallu canal (*ši-ni-šu a-tap-pi ša URU an-zu-gal-lim ik-ki-sú*) and on the banks of the Šara canal (*i-na ša-pá-at a-tap-pi ša-ra-i*).

¹⁰ A homonymous derivative from /skr/, *sikru* with the meaning “harem” is attested in two OB omen texts: *YOS* 10 46 ii 53, *Na-na-a sé-ek-re-tam i-na si-ik-ri-im [ú-ši]-gi-am*, “Naná will bring out the harem-woman from the harem,” and *YOS* 10 46 iv 49 f., *Na-na-a sé-ek-re-tam na-ra-am-ti šar-ri-im i-na si-ik-ri-im ú-ši-gi-[am]*, “Naná will bring out the harem-woman, the king’s favorite, from the harem.” Any connection with *sikru* in the text edited here is unlikely. There is, however, the interesting possibility of a relationship between *sikru* II and the sumerogram *SAL.ZI.IK.RUM*. Palace women, *esrēti*, are attested in Nuzi, cf. the references collected in *CAD* E 336b, *AHw* 249a, and H. Lewy, *Or* NS 28 125, but their domicile is the *bīt esrēti*, *HSS* 14 153 26 (left edge).

¹¹ *ZA* 48 189 ff. n. 53.

¹² *Gadd* 5, *RA* 36 119 (= *HSS* 14 108), *HSS* 5 73, *HSS* 5 74, *JEN* 352, *HSS* 9 29. Since Koschaker’s discussion the following texts have appeared: *HSS* 13 465, *HSS* 19 4, *HSS* 19 21.

¹³ *ZA* 48 191 n. 53.

¹⁴ Cf. A. E. Draffkorn, *JBL* 76 220, “exclusive grant.”

¹⁵ *Gadd* 5 24 ff.

The text continues:

- 30 1 É *an-nu-ú* ù 1 ANŠE A. [šà ša a-na]
 31 'a-kap-šu-uš-še na-ad-[nu ki-ma]
 32 ka-al-wa-aš-ši-im-ma a-na [^mha-ši-ip-til-la]
 33 DUMU.NITA.GAL na-ad-nu . . .

"this 1 building and 1 homer of la[nd which] is giv[en to] Akapšušše, is given as *kalwašše*¹⁶ to [Ḫašiptilla], the eldest son," . . .

The meaning of *kalwašše*, known from this text only, is not clear, but its similarity to another family-law term, *nuwašše*, recently discussed by Speiser, deserves notice.¹⁷ One might suggest that this gift of property represents Akapšušše's dowry, the usufruct of which Ḫašiptilla enjoys in the meantime.¹⁸

A clear case of a woman's dowry being transferred *ina kitri* is provided by HSS 5 74, supported by evidence from HSS 5 101 and HSS 5 70.¹⁹ From HSS 5 101 we learn that a slave, Miniku, was purchased by Pekušše with monies "from her father's house."²⁰ This slave is formally bequeathed to Pekušše by her husband in HSS 5 70, and in HSS 5 74, her own will, she declares that:

- 17 . . . 1 GEME-ya
 18 'mi-ni-i-ku i-na ki-it-ri
 19 a-na ^mše-el-lu-ni
 20 na-ad-nu . . .

"one of my slave-girls, Miniku, is given to Šelluni (*her son*) as an *out-right gift*."²¹

¹⁶ So, rather than as a proper name as Gadd, *RA* 23 90-91, to be added to *AHw*.

¹⁷ Speiser, *Or* NS 25 1 ff.

¹⁸ Cf., in general, *CH* 184 where brothers are enjoined to provide for the dowry, *šeriktu*, of their sister who is a *šugitu* (a low priestly rank), and unmarried at the time of their father's death, and *CH* 166 where brothers are to furnish the bride price, *terhatu*, of a younger brother who is still a bachelor when the father dies. For *zittu* as *nudunnū/šeriktu* in Neo-Babylonian documents, cf. the references in *CAD Z* 145 *sub* 2'.

¹⁹ Cf. Speiser, *AASOR* 10 19-20.

²⁰ Cf. lines 3 ff.:

3 . . . iš-tu₄
 4 KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ ša É-ù a-bi-ša
 5 a-na ši-mi il-te-qi-šu

"she has bought her(!) with the money from her father's house."

²¹ Cf. the will HSS 19 10, where a woman's inheritance from her father is likewise kept separate, cf. lines 13 ff.:

13 . . . an-nu-tu₄ ú-nu-tu₄ ša a-bi-ša
 14 ša 'ši-il-wa-te-šub a-na 'ši-i[l-wa-te-š]ub-ma
 15 na-ad-nu

"these furnishings from Šilwatešub's father are given to the aforementioned Šilwatešub."

It is thus possible that the slave girl, her children, and the land which Zigi leaves to his wife Zilip-

Similarly, two daughters are beneficiaries of assorted properties under the terms of their father's will. These daughters are the only heirs and all bequests are made *ina kitri*,²² in order, as seems likely, to facilitate inheritance by daughters in a society where the customary method was through male heirs.

A further nuance of *kitru/kiterru* is gained from the first part of *HSS* 14 108. Here the testator (whose name is broken) bequeaths to Šanḫaraḫupi, presumably the *rabû*, substantial property, both to the latter and to Šukriya, presumably the *terdennu*,²³ buildings with a common wall,²⁴ and:

- 13 2 ANŠE A.ŠÀ šī-qú ina KASKAL a-x-x GIŠ.SAR ša GIŠ i-na
URU nu-zi š[a] [z]i-ḫi-il-te-šub
14 an-nu-ti i-na ki-ti-ir-ri a-na
15 mša-an-ḫa-ra-[ḫu]-pí na-ad-nu . . .

“Two homers of irrigated land on the road to A . . . , Zihlštešub's tree plantation in Nuzi, these are given to Šanḫaraḫupi as an *outright gift* . . . ”

kiaše ana *kitri* in *HSS* 5 73 (cf. line 36), represents her dowry which, as the text goes on to specify (lines 38 ff.), she may give to her favorite son, although on the surface the circumstances are similar to *CH* 150 which deals with the settlement, *nudunnû*, which a husband bestows on his wife. However, in the case of Pekuše, *HSS* 5 101, whence we learn of her purchase of the slave (cf. n. 20), goes on to say, lines 6 ff.:

- 6 ù i-na-an-na ma-kap-še-en-ni
7 'mi-ni-i-ku a-na 'pè-ku-uš-ḫi-ma
8 i-din

“and now Akapšenni has given Miniku to the aforementioned Pekuše,”

i.e., as her *nudunnû*, later bequeathed formally by the terms of her husband's will in *HSS* 5 70. Here, then, the dowry and settlement are closely related, cf., in general, Miles in Driver-Miles, *The Babylonian Laws* 1 266 ff.

²² *HSS* 19 21, cf. lines 13 ff.:

- 13 [. . . m]ḫa-am-pi-zí a-[na] 'ma-ar-šu-uš-še
14 [ù a]-na '[u]š-ša-a-[a i-n]a [ki]-it-ri
15 [i-na-an]-din-n[a]-šu-nu-ti

“Ḫampizi gives them (i.e., the items of real estate) to Maršušše and Uššaya as an *outright gift*.”

²³ Cf. lines 17 ff.:

- 17 ù tup-pá-tum ma-la ša-aṭ-ru a-na
18 GA[L x x] ù TUR-ya ki-i ša-aṭ-ru-ma

“and the tablets, insofar as they are written, with regard to my first-rank and second-rank [sons] (lit. ‘my elder and younger [son]’) stand as written.”

The testator goes on (lines 19 ff.) to emend the terms of a previous will whereby the other sons were to divide 10+ homers of land in the city of Tušḫušše (cf. line 19: [x] + 10 AN[ŠE] A.ŠÀ ina URU(!) du(?)-uš-ḫu-uš-še). They are now to hold the land in common (cf. line 22).

²⁴ Lines 10 f. i-ga₈-ru ša bi-ri-ti.

The text then continues,

15 ù
16 *it-ti šeš.[MEŠ-šu] ki-i qa-ti-šu-ma i-līq-qī*¹

“in addition he (still) takes (a share) with [his] brother[s] according to his rightful share.”

Thus Šanbaraḥupi above and beyond his additional portion (*elātu*) receives a bequest *ina kitirri* which is clearly differentiated from the normal division of the estate and, to judge from lines 15–16, in no way affects his share in the latter.²⁵ Similarly in *HSS* 13 465, Galwa assigns property to Abiduran, his son, *i-na ki-te-er-ri* (line 5), while the latter is to divide the *rest* of the estate with Galwa’s brothers in equal shares.²⁶

In the light of the other *kitru/kiterru* texts, the text edited here is anomalous in that it is not a will or a related document.²⁷ Nor does there seem to be any familial

²⁵ The obvious analogy here is *CH* 165 which deals with a gift, *qīštu*, bestowed *inter vivos* by a father on a favorite son, to be given to this son by his brothers after their father’s death as something apart from the proportionate division of the estate. A further point of contact with *kitru/kiterru* is the stipulation that the *qīštu* is given after the death of the donor. In *HSS* 14 108, as in other cases, the verb used with *kitru/kiterru* is the rather neutral *nadnu*. *HSS* 19 4:14, however, has the more explicit *ilīqī*, also used in the present text (line 6 *i-līq-qī*, 9 *i-līq-qī-šu-nu-ti*, 10 *i-līq-qī-ú*, 12 *i-[lī]q-qī*), while in *HSS* 9 29, the objects given by Šawaya to her son Tamartae *i-na ki(!)-il-ri* (copy *ši-il-ri*, cf. Koschaker, *ZA* 48 190) are placed in the care of a third party to be given to Tamartae. In the meantime, they are deposited in Šawaya’s storehouse, cf. lines 14 ff.:

14 . . . *an-nu-tu*₄
15 *a-na šu* ^m*pa-i-te-šub* ^{LÚ} *še-el-li-ta-nu* *ša* ^m*ši-il-wa-te-šub*
16 *na-ad-nu a-na*
17 ^m*la-mar-ta-e i-na-an-din*
18 *an-nu-tu*₄ *i-na é-it na-ak-ka-am-ti*
19 [*ša*] ^š*á-wa-a-a ú-ka-lu* *GAR-nu*

“these (objects) are given over to the custody of Paitešub, Šilwatešub’s *agent*, (and) he will give them to Tamartae. These objects are deposited in the storehouse [which] Šawaya holds.”

The term *qīštu* would not be expected here or in similar contexts since in Nuzi it is pre-empted for the disguised payment in sale adoptions. Of course, it goes almost without saying that the citing of *CH* does not in any way imply a generic relationship between Nuzi family law and the Code.

²⁶ Cf. lines 7 ff. (transliteration only):

7 [*ú*] (in spite of corrigendum [*i-na*] p. 103) *ri-iḫ-ti* *A.ŠÀ.MEŠ ú É.MEŠ*
8 [*ša* ^m] *gal-wa* ^m*bi-du-ra-an*
9 [*ú*]-*ti* *šeš.MEŠ-šu* *ša* ^m*gal-wa*
10 *it-ti-ḫa-iš* *mi-it-ḫa-[ri-iš]*
11 [*iḫ-zu*]-*uz-zu-ú*

“[and] as for the rest of Galwa’s fields and buildings, Abiduran will divide (them) equally with Galwa’s brothers.”

²⁷ Of the texts listed above in n. 12, all are formal wills except *JEN* 352 and *HSS* 9 29. In *JEN* 352, the record of a court case, the dispute goes back to the terms of a will drawn up in connection with the adoption of Paklabiti by Ariḫarme. Ariḫarme’s son, Uzipu, declares that his father gave

relationship between Unaptae, on the one hand, and Puḫišenni and his brother Hurazzi, on the other. They do, however, occur together in other contexts which are discussed below.

The evidence for the etymology of *kitru/kiterru* presents both possibilities and problems. A link between *kitru/kiterru* and *kitru*, “support,” which is used in later Babylonian and Assyrian court documents from the time of Sargon on (see simply Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* 363b), seems to be provided by *BBS* no. 8 iv 26:

^a*Papsukkal . . . ālik ki-ši-ir-ri ilī aḫḫēšu*

“Papsukkal who . . . the gods, his brothers.”

where *ki-ši-ir-ri*, a hapax, is probably an engraver’s error for *ki-ti-ir-ri* (a minor emendation in the lapidary ductus of this kudurru), and where the phrase *ālik ki-ši-ir-ri* should be connected with the expressions *rēšūtam alāku*, *tillūtam alāku*, and others of this semantic class to which NA/NB *kitru* belongs.

Thus, the etymological doublet *kitru/kiterru* of the present text is matched by *kitru/ki-ši-ir-ri* (**kiterru*) of later texts, though the semantic connection still remains obscure.

10 *i-na am-ma-ti qa-aq-qā-ru*: a type of cubit otherwise attested in Neo-Babylonian, cf. *am-ma-at qā-qā-ri*, *VAB* 4 188 ii 22, also *ibid.* 74 ii 13, 194 ii 18, 224 ii 56, *YOS* 3 19:14, *TuM* 2-3 6 1.

13 *mi-nu-um-mi-e* ḪA.LA-šu: i.e., his share of the produce, cf. below p. 192.

13 ff. The clause beginning with *qa-as-su* is elliptical. One might expect an additional verb such as *uštēli* or the like, cf. ḪIR-šu *ul-te-li*, *HSS* 5 58 9, and other examples quoted by *CAD* E 134a *sub c*).

32 ff. *ú-za-ak-ku-ma . . . i-na-an-dì-nu*, 35 ff. *ú-za-ak-kà-ma . . . i-na-an-dìn* : *zukkū-nadānu* is taken here as a hendiadys, with Landsberger, *ZA* 39 288 ff.

36 ff. The *šūdātu* clause was squeezed in between the text and the list of witnesses. *šūdātu* has been discussed by Koschaker, *Neue Keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der El-Amarna-Zeit* 77 ff., H. Lewy, *Or* NS 11 26 ff., and Koschaker, *ZA* 48 187 n. 44. Any doubts that the *šūdātu* in Nuzi is a “public proclamation” are now dispelled by important new evidence which I hope to present elsewhere. The exact legal and social implications of this type of promulgation are still obscure.

For *sa-ra-e*, also written *ša-ra-e* (with the Nuzi š/s interchange, cf. Moshe

him some land *i-na ki-te-er-ri* (line 10) and ordered the remaining property to be divided with the adoptee, Paklabiti (cf. the similar disposition in *HSS* 13 465, discussed above p. 188 and n. 26). Tehiptilla (whose claim may be as Paklabiti’s grandfather, if this Paklabiti is the son of Ennamati [*NPN* 110b], who is the son of Tehiptilla [*NPN* 45b, nos. 79 and 44]), and his witnesses seem to claim that *all* the property was to be divided, i.e., there was no special grant to Uzipu. *HSS* 9 29 is a bequest, though not within the formal framework of a will.

Berkooz, *The Nuzi Dialect of Akkadian* 61 ff.), cf. *a-lap-pi sa-ra-e* HSS 5 76:7, and the almost identical *šūdātu* clause, *tuppu annū ina EGIR šūdāti ina IGI KÁ.GAL ša-ra-e ina URU anzugallim šatir* HSS 13 376:37. The *-e* is to be taken as the Hurrian genitive formative.²⁸

BACKGROUND OF THE DOCUMENT

The fact that the field to be given to Unaptae is immediately adjacent to the *sikri ša ekallim* (line 2) and hence probably state land, indicates that Unaptae, Puhišenni and Hurazzi were in a position to dispose of state property. This supposition is borne out by HSS 13 31 (a document drawn up in Matihā, cf. line 15 of the present text), in which Unaptae, Puhišenni, Hurazzi and a brother of the latter two, Šukriya, figure. Here the three brothers deliver three cows to Unaptae to pay for grain to make up for the harvest losses of the whole town of Anzugallu, for which they bear responsibility together with Unaptae, a situation intelligible only if these individuals serve in some official capacity.²⁹

²⁸ *s/ša-ra-e* follows the same pattern as other geographic names, e.g., *ti-iš-ša-e* and *zi-iz-za-e*, which are Hurrian *-a* stem genitives. The following distribution of *zizza/zizae*: *ša URU zi-iz-za(-a)*, HSS 14 601:35, HSS 16 198:66, 17 41, etc. as against *ša URU zi-iz-za-e*, HSS 16 12:4, *a-šar KÁ.GAL zi-iz-za-e ibid.*, 380:6, *i-na pa-ni KÁ.GAL zi-iz-za-a-e*, HSS 9 21 32, etc., shows that the *-e* is to be taken as the Hurrian genitive formative, for *-ue*. Goetze's statement, *Festschrift Johannes Friedrich* 201, that letter spellings of the genitive are never found with *-a* stems should be modified. Note also: 3 ANŠE 40 ŠE.MEŠ ŠE.BA *ša URU zi-iz-za-e-na* HSS 14 617:81 ff., with quasi-Hurrian suffix duplication (*IH* 201 f.).

²⁹ The relevant portion of HSS 13 31 reads (transliteration only):

5 . . . 3 GUD.MEŠ *ša*
 6 HA.LA *ša be-ri-ni ū ni-nu ki-mu*
 7 *mu-ul-le-e ša hu-lu-ug-qè-e ki-mu e-šé-dì*
 8 *ša URU an-zu-gal-lim ū ki-mu sù-up-ki ša*
 9 *ar-la-maš-ši ša mu-lu-ni an-ni-i*
 10 *ša EGIR-ki šu-du-ti eš-ši*
 11 *u-na-ap-ta-e DUM ta-a-a ni-il-ta-din*
 12 *u nap-ta-e a-dì-i i-na*
 13 *ITU še-eh-li pa-hu-ru sù-up-ki*
 14 *ša URU an-zu-gal-lim pi-ha-ta na-ši i-na*
 15 *EGIR-ki ITU-ši [še]-eh-li*
 16 *šuk-ri-ya hu-ra-az-zi*
 17 *u pu-ši-še-en-ni it-ti*
 18 *u-na-ap-ta-e pa-hu-ru*
 19 *sù-up-ku it-ti-ha-mi-iš-ma*
 20 *u-ma-al-lu u-lu ša šuk-ri-ya*
 21 *a-na eš-š-ši ina MU*
 22 *an-ni-ti-im-ma li-qí*
 (penalty clause follows)

Because of the many unknowns, I refrain from translating this text, except to note that *sù-up-ki* (lines 8, 13, 19) can hardly be taken for **šupku* which, in turn, would stand for *šipkātu*. H. Lewy,

Further evidence is forthcoming from *HSS* 14 586 (transliteration only):

- 1 4 *li-mi* GI.MEŠ
 - 2 *šu-ku-de₄ iš-tu iš-ka₄-ri*
 - 3 *ša a-na m^u-nap-ta-e aš-bu*
 - 4 *a-šar m^u-nap-ta-e*
 - 5 LÚ.KAŠ₄³⁰
 - 6 *ù m^{pu}-hi-še-en-ni*
 - 7 LÚ *ha-za-nu*
 - 8 *ša* (rest of text destroyed)
- 1 "4 thousand reeds
 - 2 for arrows, out of the delivery quotas
 - 3 deposited with Unaptae
 - 4 from Unaptae,
 - 5 the 'runner,'
 - 6 and Puḫišenni,
 - 7 the mayor,
 - 8 which" (rest of text destroyed)

These officials can hardly be separated from the individuals in the present tablet and in *HSS* 13 31. Furthermore, Unaptae as a LÚ.KAŠ₄ is probably an official of the crown in distinction to Puḫišenni who, as *ḫazannu*, is part of the local administration. This is indicated by the juxtaposition of these individuals in the present tablet and in *HSS* 13 31.

Or NS 28 127 emends to *šu(!)-up-ki. artamašši* seems to be some kind of levy or *iškaru*, cf. Hurrian *arta-*, "to give" (H. Lewy, *loc. cit.*, translates "purchase"). Also, the *eššēšu* festival which in Babylonia proper was celebrated several times each month (cf. simply *CAD* E 373a discussion), in Nuzi was a yearly affair, as can be seen from lines 21–22 above and from *AASOR* 16 12:6, and consisted in part of the people assembling (cf. *pa-ḫu-ru* lines 13, 18).

The contingency of the disaster which led to the transaction described in *HSS* 13 31 is covered by a clause in the first Nuzi text published, *CT* 2 21, a contract covering the harvesting of certain land, with terminology reminiscent of *HSS* 13 31, cf. *CT* 2 21:13 ff.:

- 13 *šum-ma m^{ur}-hi-ya ù mⁱ-ri-še-en-ni*
 - 14 3 ANŠE A.ŠĀ *la i-ḡi-id*
 - 15 *la i-na-aš-ši ù i-na ma-ag-ra-at-ti*
 - 16 *la i-na-an-dì-in-nu*
- (left margin) *ù še.MEŠ ḫa-li-iq*

"if Urḫiya and Irišenni do not harvest the 3 homers of land, do not transport and deliver (the grain) to the threshing floor, and (as a result) the grain is lost . . ." (penalty clause follows)

This is what must have occurred in Anzugallu due to the neglect or inefficiency of the officials.

³⁰ In the transliteration (only) which Lacheman gives, he writes *amēli lazimmi* (ŠUK). ŠUK is probably a slip for SUK which is easily mistaken for KAŠ₄.

CONCLUSIONS

The basic transaction in this tablet is an exchange of values, Unaptae to receive land in exchange for having ceded his share of the produce of an orchard to Puḫišenni and his brother Hurazzi. To a certain extent the text resembles that of a *tuppi zitti*, in Nuzi written *tup-pi* 𒂗.𒂗.𒂗³¹ and *tup-pi* 𒂗.𒂗.𒂗.𒂗³², where in the division of a *zittu* one party receives land whereas the other takes produce, animals or goods.³³ On the other hand, the text has phraseological similarities to a *tuppi tamgurti*, or regular contract tablet.³⁴ It is thus difficult to classify this document, especially since the essential details of the background of the transaction are not known.

³¹ HSS 5 75 1, not DUB 𒂗.𒂗.𒂗 as CAD Z 147a c).

³² HSS 19 61 1. This plural writing is unusual since *zittu*, like Hebrew *nah*lā*, usually functions as a *singulare tantum*, plural logograms being very rare, cf. CAD Z 139a. HSS 19 30 is also such a tablet although the superscription is lost.

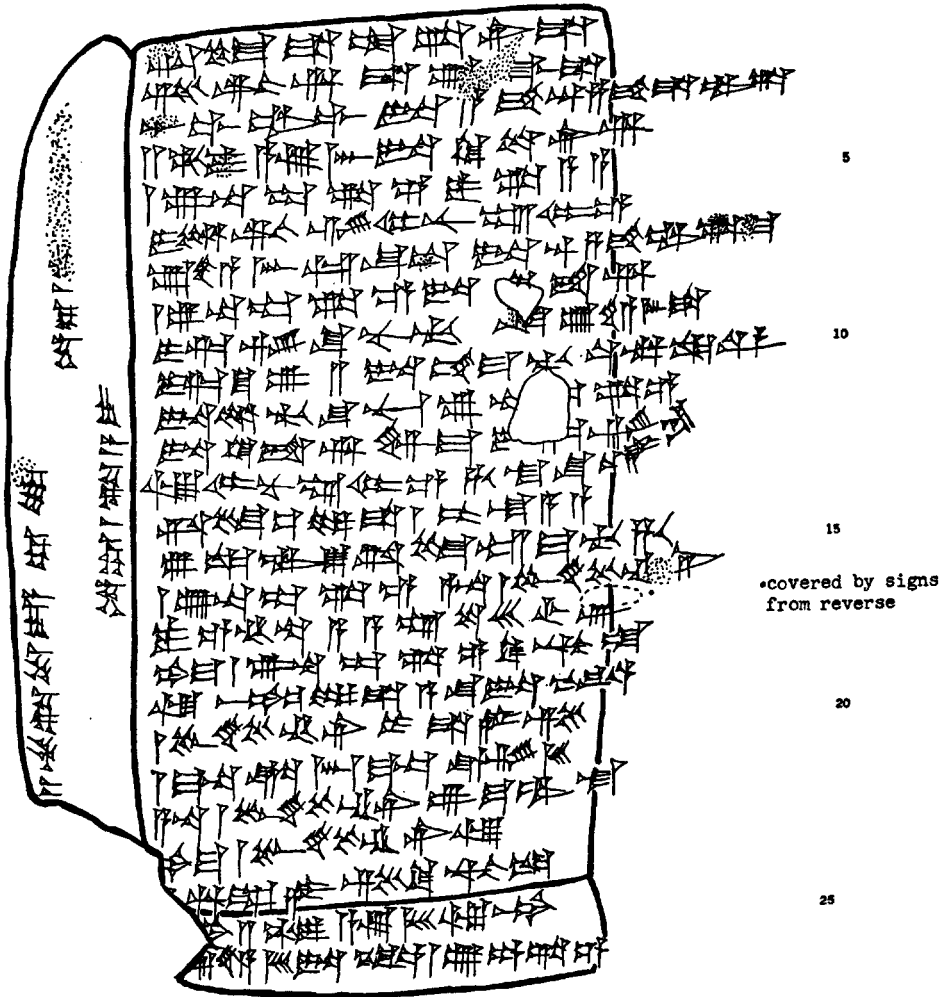
³³ In HSS 19 30 the element of exchange is clear, as in the tablet edited here, cf. lines 9 ff.:

9 ŠU.‘NIGIN’ 7 GIŠ.APIN A.ŠĀ an-nu-[tu,]
 10 [i-na AN].ZA.GĀR ša mhu-ya mte-ḫi-ip-til-la
 11 [ù m]pá-i-til-la ki-ma 𒂗.𒂗.𒂗-šu
 12 [a-n]a mtar-mi-ya it-ta-ad-nu-uš
 13 ù mtar-mi-ya 3 ANŠE 30 ŠE
 14 ‘ù’ [] UDU ki-ma 𒂗.𒂗.𒂗-šu-nu a-na
 15 [mte-ḫi]-ip-til-la ù a-[na mpa-i-til-la]
 16 [it-ta-din]

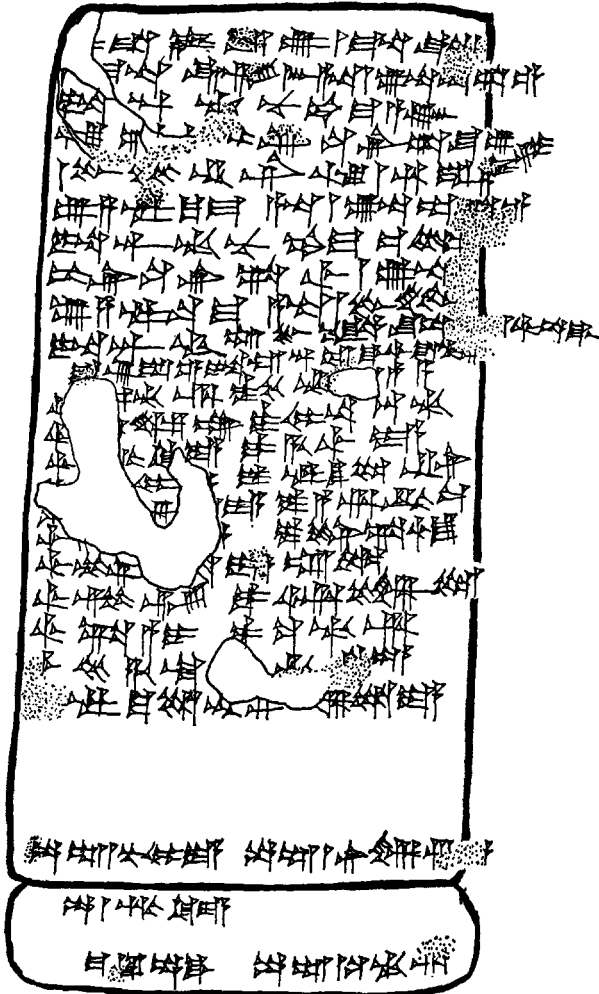
“Total: these 7 *aweḫars* [in] the Huya [di]strict Tehiptilla and Paitilla have given to Tarmiya as his share, and Tarmiya [has given Tehiptilla and Paitilla] 3 homers 30 sila of barley and [] sheep as their share.”

³⁴ Especially the use of *ukallū*, line 15, and *umteššir*, line 17, cf. Koschaker’s remarks on the *tamgurtu* tablets, ZA 48 214 ff.

OBVERSE



REVERSE



APPENDIX

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLICATIONS BY A. LEO OPPENHEIM

The following pages represent an attempt to compile a complete bibliography of publications by Professor Oppenheim that had appeared up to and including November 1963. Works scheduled to be issued shortly thereafter have been added in brackets.

The bibliography is comprised of four sections: (a) books written, (b) books edited, (c) articles, (d) book reviews. Within each section the writings are arranged in approximate chronological order. We have included neither such *obiter dicta* as informal participation in symposia¹ nor such monumental unpublished manuscripts as his *Material Culture* of the Neo-Babylonian period in this compilation.

J. A. BRINKMAN

TORONTO
December 31, 1963

A. BOOKS WRITTEN

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2. *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets of the Wilberforce Eames Babylonian Collection in The New York Public Library. Tablets of the Time of the Third Dynasty of Ur (American Oriental Series, 32)*. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1948. xv, 272 pp., 15 plates.
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4. *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East, with a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, vol. 46, part 3, pp. 179-373)*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1956.
5. *Le rêve: son interprétation dans le Proche-Orient ancien*. Traduit de l'anglais et adapté par Jeanne-Marie Aynard. Paris: Horizons de France, 1959. 208 pp., 16 plates. [Translation of A.4.]

¹ E.g., the short statements published in the *American Anthropologist* 55 (1953) 524-525 or in *City Invincible* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), *passim*.

6. [*Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964. In press.]
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