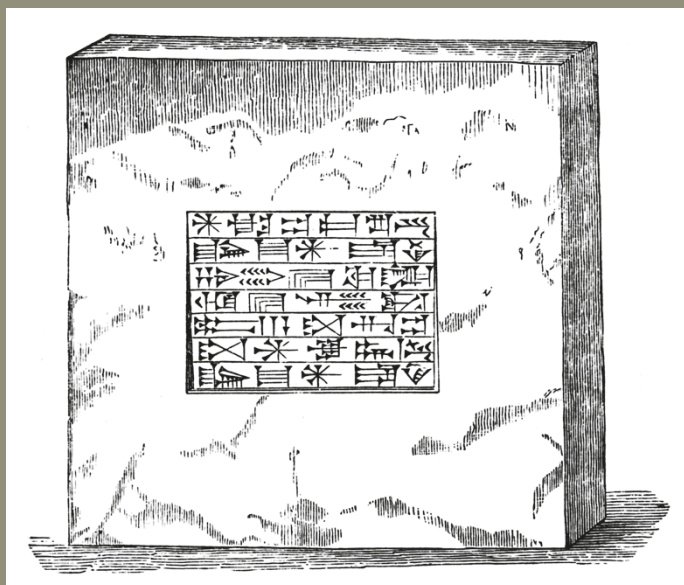




Towards a History of Assyriology

Workshop Organized at the 64th
Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale,
Innsbruck 2018

Edited by Sebastian Fink
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Investigatio Orientis

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Herausgegeben von
Thomas L. Gertzen,
Peter Heine,
Ludger Hiepél und
Hans Neumann

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Woldemar Georg Schileico

His Life and Contribution to Knowledge

Vladimir Emelianov¹

It is only recently that the Russian Assyriologists' contribution to the historical and cultural studies of ancient Mesopotamia has received the first description and assessment. Mario Liverani gave a very lapidary definition of the Soviet scholars' work in the area of social history in his book *Imagining Babylon. The Modern Story of an Ancient City*. According to him, Igor Diakonoff's main achievement was the division of the land into the communal and palace-temple lots. Besides, Liverani believes that I.M. Diakonoff focused his attention on the Asian mode of production, whereas V.V. Struve's preference was the theory of slavery, which is why the latter is called "the champion of the formal solution of the problem of social structures" in *Imagining Babylon*.²

However, Woldemar Schileico's scholarly contribution is not considered in Liverani's book, as the former was the first Russian who had written articles on the Sumerians' social history. Meanwhile, it was Schileico who taught Alexander Riftin, Igor Diakonoff's teacher; and Diakonoff relied on Schileico's hypotheses and conclusions in his main monograph on the history of Sumer.³ This article is going to fill the mentioned gap of Liverani's book.

W.G. Schileico, a prominent orientalist (Assyriologist, Semitologist) and translator, is known to Russian culture primarily as the second husband of Anna Akhmatova, one of the greatest poets of the Silver Age.⁴ In the academic field, however, he proposed several productive ideas regarding the chronology and history of the ancient Mesopotamian religion, so the fellow scholars have been using his editions of cuneiform texts from both N.P. Likhachev's and W.S. Golenischeff's private collections, as well as from the Hermitage state collection, for over a century. Besides, he is known for Russia's scholarship as both the first Sumerian language teacher and the first Sumerologist in the Petrograd University who separated the Cuneiform and Semitic studies in Russia.⁵

Vladimir (Woldemar-Georg-Anna-Maria) Kazimirovich Schileico (02[14].02. 1891, Peterhof – 05.10. 1930, Moscow) belonged to an old Lithuanian noble family under the Biberstein crest. On the father's side, his ancestors were granted

¹ The study was supported by grant no. 16–18–10083 (Russian Science Foundation) "The study of religion in the social and cultural context of the epoch: the history of the religious and intellectual history of Russia in XIX – early XX centuries."

² Liverani 2016, 144–148.

³ Diakonoff 1959, 17, 112, 121, 124, 172, 180, 192, 238, 241, 242.

⁴ Toporov 1979; Ivanov 2003.

⁵ Gribov 1968.

nobility in the 17th century. His father, State Councilor Kazimir Donatovich Schileico (1860–1911), ended his career as a county police officer in Peterhof. His mother, Anna Fominichna Schileico (née Velyaminova-Rutskaya, 1863–1936), originated from the noble family of State Councilor Foma Velyaminov-Rutsky (1821–1902).

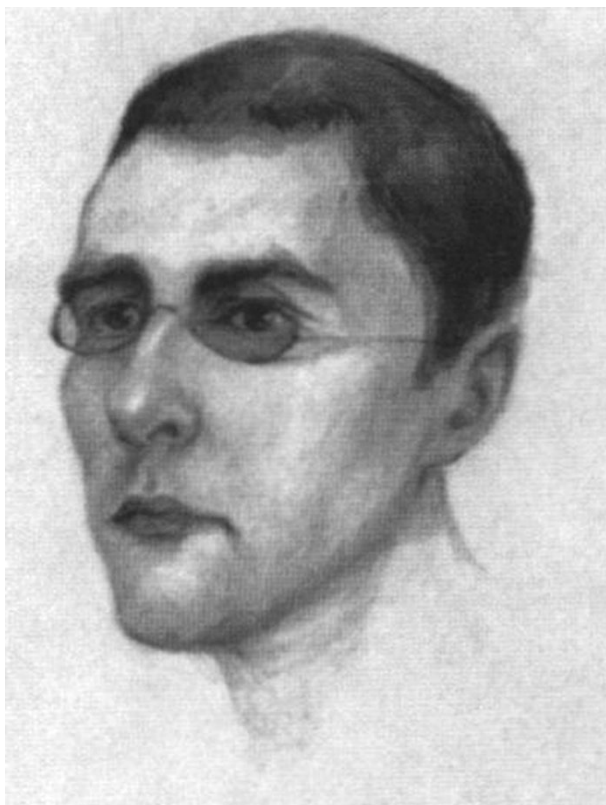


Fig. 1.: W.G.Schileico. Portrait by Sophya Kraevskaya. 1917.

Woldemar-Georg Schileico received his primary education in the Evangelical School of St. Peter's Parish in Peterhof. In 1909, he graduated from the Alexander II Classical Gymnasium in Peterhof as a gold medalist. From 26 August 1909 to 15 July 1914, he was registered as a student at the Oriental Languages Faculty of the Imperial St. Petersburg University, called "Jewish-Arabic-Syrian *razryad* (category)" at the time. The ancient languages that Schileico studied were: Akkadian and Hebrew (under Acad. Pavel Kokovtsov), Egyptian (under Acad. Boris Turayev), and Sumerian (independently); in addition, he attended lectures on the Ancient Near East History. Very unfortunately, it was during his student years that he contracted pulmonary tuberculosis: as a result, he was left at the university to repeat his second year. In July 1914, Schileico was dismissed because he could

not afford two academic years. During the same period, he became a close friend of M. L. Lozinsky and a group of the ‘Acmeist’ poets, which consisted of Nikolai Gumilev, Anna Akhmatova and Osip Mandelstam.

During 1913–1918, Schileico worked as a freelance assistant at the Hermitage state museum and was then the husband of Sofia Alexandrovna Krayevskaya, an artist who painted wonderful watercolor portraits of Schileico (1917). In 1916, he became a corresponding member of the Moscow Archaeological Society and was awarded the Russian Archaeological Society’s Silver Medal for his monograph *Sumerian Rulers’ Votive Inscriptions* (1915). In 1917 (from 13 January to 1 August), Schileico was called up for military service as an ordinary of the 172nd and 3rd Infantry Reserve Regiments. From December 1918 to 8 June 1926 (actually, until the spring of 1921), he was Anna Andreyevna Akhmatova’s husband. During the 1920s, Schileico used to occupy various positions at such newly founded Soviet institutions as Russia’s Academy of the Material Culture History and Russia’s State Commission for Archaeology.

During 1919–1929, he was a lecturer at the Institute of Archaeology (1919–1922), then a professor of the Archaeology Department of the Leningrad State University’s Faculty of Social Sciences (1922–1929), where he taught Akkadian, Sumerian and Hittite (Schileico knew over fifteen ancient and new languages altogether). During 1924–1930, he headed the Assyrian Section of the Classical Oriental Department of the Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow (now Alexander Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts). During 1926–1930, Schileico was the husband of Vera Konstantinovna Andreyeva (1888–1974), an employee at the Museum of Fine Arts (specializing in the early Renaissance period). On 30 September 1927, their son, Alexei Schileico, was born (died in 2005). In November 1927, following Bruno Meissner’s recommendation, Schileico was elected a member of the Society for the Ancient East Studies (*Altorientalische Gesellschaft*).⁶ On 1 July 1929, Schileico was dismissed from his service at the Leningrad University with the severance payment. At the beginning of December 1929, he moved to Moscow. On 5 October 1930, Schileico died there of pulmonary tuberculosis⁷ and then was buried at the Lefortovo Cemetery.⁸

⁶ This fact is known from Meissner’s postcard sent to Schileico on 28 November 1927: “Ihre Mitgliedschaft für die Altoriental[ische] Gesellschaft habe ich angemeldet. Der Mitgliedsbeitrag ist 10 M[ark], den Sie an Herrn Ed. Pfeiffer, Leipzig, Nordstr[asse] 30, einschicken müssen. Dafür erhalten Sie die Mitteilung und 5 Vorträge im Winter, falls Sie einmal hier sein sollten” (Emelianov 2017a, 81).

⁷ Brief information about his death was provided by E.F. Weidner: “Woldemar G. Schileico, der ausgezeichnete Russische Assyriologe, Leiter der Abteilung für Orientalische Kunst und Altertümer des Museums der Schönen Künste in Moskau, ist am 5. Oktober 1930 im Alter von 39 Jahren gestorben. Wir verlieren in ihm einen hochgeschätzten, verehrten Mitarbeiter” (AfO 7 [1931–1932], 73).

⁸ Emelianov 2007, 468–555; Emelianov 2017a.

Schileico's student years were filled with the search for both historical truth and his own pathway in the chosen branch of scholarship. He used to study the Akkadian language basics under P.K. Kokovtsov's guidance; however, he realized very soon that no one could become an Assyriologist with so few academic hours scheduled for the cuneiform studies. Moreover, Kokovtsov did not believe in the existence of Sumerians, nor did he recognize Sumerian as a separate language. Thus, Schileico began to study Sumerian very early on his own, especially thanks to Likhachev, who allowed him to use his personal collection of clay tablets. Having had zero Sumerologists in Russia, Schileico, even though a student, entered into correspondence with the known French scholars François Thureau-Dangin (1872–1944) and François-Maurice Allotte de la Fûye (1844–1939); their kind mediation helped him to start publishing both the very tablets and his observations in European academic journals. This led to both his conflict with Kokovtsov and tensions with Mikhail Nikolsky, the father of Russian Assyriology. Numerous aspects of Schileico's student life are revealed by the archival materials.⁹ No doubt, he became the first cuneiform writing expert in Russia who initiated his personal Sumerian and Akkadian studies from the clay originals.

From 1910 to 1918, Schileico devoted himself in proving the fact that both Sumerians and the Sumerian language really existed, so his monograph and all his articles were subject to this super-task. Having published a number of royal inscriptions and administrative texts in Sumerian from Russia's collections, Schileico made a significant contribution to the solving of many problems related to chronology and political history of the early societies in ancient Mesopotamia.¹⁰ As to the issue of Sumerians' language and biological race, the scholar's answers given in the early 20th century coincide exactly with those we would give today. Sumerians were outwardly dissimilar to their neighboring peoples, and the relationship of their language cannot be figured out. However, the very presence of the dialects allows to affirm that the language was alive and had developed from some unknown mutual ancestor.¹¹

Based on the knowledge of a huge number of scattered text publications, Schileico determined the time periods of each king's reign in his [book] *Sumerian Rulers' Votive Inscriptions*. Also, the scholar figured out the exact sequence of the kings' reigns within the dynasty of one city, related that to the dynasties of other cities (having actually provided a synchronic table for each stage of early Sumerian history), and put forward several ambitious hypotheses of political history,

⁹ Emelianov 2019b.

¹⁰ Schileico 1914b.

¹¹ Schileico described the Sumerian language as “agglutinative but with rudiments of further flexive development,” and revealed two dialects in it: *eme-KU* and *eme-sal*. It is interesting, however, that he compared the relation of these dialects to the main Sumerian language, on the one hand, with the relations of Church Latin and Italian to classical Latin, on the other hand (Schileico 1915, VI–VII).

which had been proved later on. As to the issue of the Sumer state structure, Schileico noted that a ruler titled either *lugal* or *ensi* had headed each Sumerian city-state. Nominally, those titles were dynastic and hereditary, having had a theocratic foundation. In the scholar's opinion, the title of *lugal* was usually attributed to the hegemonic king of a certain area who ruled the city and enjoyed the dominant position there; whereas the title of *ensi* used to be attributed to the rulers of separate and dependent cities.

Thus, irrespective of his French colleagues (though simultaneously with them), Schileico concluded that Lugalanda, the ruler of Lagash, had not been killed as a result of a conspiracy after his displacement. On the contrary, he had retained the title of a great ruler (*ensigal*), been granted an estate and died there a year later. The second important hypothesis of the Russian scholar was that the Dynasty of Akkad had been destroyed by an invasion of Gutians, who subsequently subjugated an entire country, rather than by the kings of the Second Dynasty of Uruk (as Eduard Meyer believed). Interestingly, though, Schileico arrived at such a conclusion based on several economic texts referring to the delivery of large loads to a certain king at Gudea's time. The scholar correlated this message with Gudea's inscriptions, where his authority was announced over the territory formerly owned by Akkad, and with the date of the destruction of Uruk found in a tablet with purely economic content. Having performed a paleographic analysis of all the considered texts, Schileico made his final conclusion: Gudea ruled after the destruction of Akkad, while the Second Dynasty of Uruk was of secondary importance in that era and was often attacked from the outside. The cargoes that were supplied to the king at Gudea's time were a mere tribute to the Gutian conquerors of Sumer who had addressed themselves by their title as kings (*lugals*).¹²

Having compared the inscriptions of the rulers of the Second Dynasty of Lagash, the first Sumerologists noticed that the name of Nammahani had been thoroughly erased from many of them. This fact could mean that someone had wanted to delete from memory both Nammahani himself and the official chronology of the very reign of his. However, Schileico made a remark that the name of Ninhedu, Ur-Bau's daughter and Namhani's wife, had been erased, too. The question is: who needed that? The researcher proposed the following answer in his *Notes on Assyriology* (1921):

Three *patesis*, who followed Ur-Gar <...>, ruled for as short a period as one year. Then, with no gap (judging by the data of paleography), the power passed to Ur-Abba, a *patesi* at the time of the king Ur-Engur [today's reading is Ur-Nammu. – *V.E.*]. One inscription is dedicated to the king Dungi [today's reading is Shulgi. – *V.E.*], Ur-Nammu's son, by a certain Ur-Ningirsu, who, according to his high-priestly titles, was a deep elder. As Thureau-Dangin believed, that elder had been identical with the *patesi*

¹² Schileico 1915, V–XXXIV.

Ur-Ningirsu, Gudea's son. To me, such an assumption is reinforced by an exceptional cult of the memory of Gudea at the time of the kings of the Dynasty of Ur. If such an identification is correct, [then] an extermination of the name of Nammahni can be easily explained. Gudea held his throne as Ur-Bau's son-in-law; his first wife, Ur-Bau's daughter, had died before her husband. Ur-Ningirsu, who succeeded his father, was the son of Gudea's second wife: therefore, he did not enjoy his unconditional right to the throne. [Besides,] there was a more legitimate heir, named Nammahni; he was also a *patesi* and another son-in-law of Ur-Bau (married to his daughter Nin-gandu [the correct reading is Ninhedu. – *V.E.*], as it was him who had overthrown Ur-Ningirsu. The power then passed from Ninhedu to Ka-azag [the correct reading is Ka-kug], a *patesi* and Nammahni's son, and later, after his death, to Ur-Gar, a *patesi* and his daughter Nin-kagina's husband. After [another] three ephemeral *patesis*, who unlikely belonged to the House of Ur-Bau, the supreme power over the country passed to the Dynasty of Ur, [whose representatives,] according to their own reasons, found it necessary to restore the former honor of Gudea's son, still surviving by then. The latter used his restored influence mainly for a posthumous revenge to the man who had once irrevocably taken away his throne.¹³

Beyond all dispute, the Dynasty of Lagash was subjected to a kind of discrimination at the end of the 3rd millennium BC: this city was not mentioned in the royal lists at all, so it had to create a separate chronology at the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC. Obviously, both names of Nammahani and his wife Ninhedu were erased in some of the inscriptions deliberately. However, Schileico's reasoning has some problems. First, the fact that two wives were mentioned in Gudea's inscriptions does not mean that the second wife had appeared after the death of the first one: it is now well known that both Sumerian and Akkadian rulers may have had many wives. Second, nothing tells us that Ur-Ningirsu was the son of Gudea's second wife, as the royal inscriptions tell nothing about the rulers' mothers. Third, Ur-Ningirsu's inscription found in Ur contains no mentioning of its dedication to the king Shulgi, as the king's name in it is the god Ningirsu¹⁴. Fourth, it is unknown whether or not Kakug, Ninkagina's father, was identical to his namesake ruler.

It has now been proved that Nammahani had been the last representative of the Second Dynasty of Lagash, so it was the kings of Ur who had been ruling after him. In particular, it is said in the foreword to Ur-Nammu's Laws that he defeated Namhani. It was certain Ur-Abba who had occupied the post of *ensi* during the last years of Ur-Nammu's reign, and we know nothing about his origin¹⁵. Most

¹³ Schileico 1921a, 141–142.

¹⁴ RIME 3/1, 182.

¹⁵ RIME 3/1, 192.

likely, both the first king of Ur and his *ensi* can have been the very reason that the names of both Nammahani and his wife had often been erased from their monuments. We don't know whether or not the rise of Ur-Ningirsu was possible at Ur-Nammu's time; nor do we even know whether or not Ur-Ningirsu had then been alive; yet, it is well known that the deceased Gudea had enjoyed his permanent cult during the era of the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur, and his texts had become prototypes of the Sumerian royal hymns. The other *ensis* of Gudea's dynasty used to bring memorial sacrifices together with him. The text stored in the Pushkin Museum (I 2 b 38) mentions the rulers of the Second Dynasty of Lagash to whom sacrifices were made in the order of those rulers' importance for Ur: it was only Gudea who used to receive the best cow oil; then Ur-Ningirsu, Pirigme, Ur-Bau and Nammahani, together with their wives, followed him as the recipients of sheep butter.¹⁶ This certainly implies that the cults of all the other rulers used to depend on Gudea's cult, and all the remaining information remains hypothetical.

The publication of texts from the Hattusa and Kanish archives was Schileico's another significant achievement of the time. In January 1917, he wrote an article about one fragment of the Akkadian text of a treaty between the Hittite king Hattusilis III and the Egyptian pharaoh Ramses II, which had been found shortly before that. His article deals with an analysis of the linguistic features of the corresponding Egyptian text, which he considered as the first known Egyptian-Babylonian bilingual.¹⁷ The topic related to Hittitology was continued in Schileico's article of 1925, where fragments from the Likhachev collection were examined. The scholar managed to recognize, among the pieces of different texts, the rituals of watering various gods with the participation of a singer from Kanish (including the ritual of watering the sun god), as well as the lamb's liver fortune-telling ritual for predicting the weather. However, the fragment of a letter about the broken marriage of Suppiluliuma's son with an Egyptian pharaoh's widow (known from some other sources) deserves special attention, as this is a historical event. It is in as few as just several lines that Schileico managed to recognize the king's request of whether his son reached Egypt in safety: "Sent as an Egyptian pharaoh by his father, the prince had been killed on his way by some Egyptian court nobles. [So,] an anxious waiting for the 'news' of 'this son' may illustrate the anxiety about the departed prince's fate."¹⁸

In 1918, Schileico began studying the Cappadocian tablets from Golenischeff's collection. Before publishing them, he wrote a short essay on the language of those tablets written by Kanish merchants.¹⁹ Yet, it was only N.B. Janowska who had managed to fully understand and evaluate the data of the tablets from Kültepe. She read out an entire corpus of those texts, dated from as early as

¹⁶ Perlov 1980, 80–81.

¹⁷ Schileico 1921c, 81–82.

¹⁸ Schileico 1925a, 318–324.

¹⁹ Schileico 1921d, 356–357.

the end of the 3rd millennium to as late as the 19th century BC, and revealed some unique features of Assyrian traders' remote self-governed community. Freeman, merchants and smugglers gathered in Kanish, where they used to trade metals from Asia Minor and to import the fabrics the area had needed. Even though iron ore was forbidden for export, all bans were neglected. The Kanish community was governed by its council of merchants; however, it is all the members, from young to old, who took part in its public life.²⁰

During 1918–1924, Schileico created an excellent anthology of literary translations from Akkadian and Sumerian languages, having studied the calendar rites underlying the literary texts. He was first translating cuneiform literary texts from their original languages into Russian and then setting the rules for such a translation.²¹ Also, Schileico published several inscriptions in Semitic languages during that time period.²²

During 1924–1930, Schileico published several small tablets from Russia's collections, among which astronomical and fortune-telling texts are of particular importance. At the same time, he made a significant contribution to the study of the Mesopotamian religion. In particular:

1. In 1914, he published the translation of Akkadian inscriptions made on a demon's head from the Hermitage collection.²³

2. In 1922, Schileico published the article "*Rodnaya starina*" ('Our Home Past'²⁴), where he referred to A. S. Pushkin's short poem "A Little Bird" (1823): it describes the Russian Orthodox rite of releasing birds before the Feast of the Annunciation. The scholar compared Pushkin's text to a Babylonian spell that mentions a bird being released by its catcher. Then he dated the death and resurrection of Dumuzi and connected the latter's rituals with the ritual of releasing birds. Schileico speculated that the idea of both rites was identical: the bird being released from captivity as the ransom for its liberator's life gets back its life and freedom. Then he associated the released birds with souls as follows:

Birds' mythical nature is well known: this is a soul that left the land of the dead. The last verses of the poem on Ishtar's descent tell that, during the days of Tammuz, the winged souls were allowed to leave their dark house for sunlight and expanse. So, the question is when that holiday of the souls

²⁰ Jankowska 1968.

²¹ Schileico 2007. Among Schileico's translations, there also was the Epic of Gilgamesh, translated from the editions of P. Haupt and P. Dhorme. However, it is as few as just its several fragments have remained, as the text of the translation had disappeared from the scholar's office when it was cleaned during his absence in Leningrad.

²² Schileico 1921b.

²³ Schileico 1914a. Later it was proved that the head belonged to the demon Pazuzu, and the function of the head was to protect mothers from the monster Lamashtu, who kidnapped babies from their wombs (Heeßel 2011, 357–368).

²⁴ This title is quite hard for its accurate translation from Russian.

took place. Tammuz was born in Tebet, in December, and died in June, ‘the month of capturing Tammuz’. His underground captivity, equated to a baby’s uterine life, ended in Nisan, in March. The exact day of the god’s resurrection, namely the 25th of March, is testified in *Attis’s Mysteries*. Simultaneously, this is the day of both the conception of Tammuz, as he was born on the 25th of December, and the day of the annunciation of Ishtar: Ea, Tammuz’s father, conceived his son through the words of a notification, which had been transmitted by a messenger of the goddess Papsukkal.²⁵

So, the article’s main idea deals with the following three points: (1) the birds that had been released in Babylon and have been released in the Christian world on the 25th of March are the souls of the dead; (2) the souls of the dead usually leave their dark realm during Tammuz’s days; (3) the cult of Tammuz had three calendar periods, namely: Nisan (the conception), Tebētu (the birth), and Du’ūzu (the capture and the death).²⁶

3. In his article of 1927 about the comments on Babylonian astrology, Schileico offered the genesis of an apodosis of the astrological prediction from the text of the Babylonian epic *Enuma Elish*, having thus supposed that the latter had been the starting point of an entire Babylonian hermeneutics.²⁷

4. In his second article of the same year, which was dedicated to a fragment of the Old Babylonian astral foretelling, Schileico showed a hierarchy of the ideas about the moon and the sun in the ancient Middle East. The moon used to enjoy a god’s status there, whereas the sun used to be just a king.²⁸

5. In his paper *Gilgamesh’s Pilgrimage* (1919–1920), which I published in 2007 as part of Schileico’s archive, the author proposed that the epic of Gilgamesh (and especially Gilgamesh’s journey to Utanapishti) was the oldest literary prototype for medieval pilgrimages to the holy places.²⁹

6. Now it is time to mention Schileico’s unpublished paper, *An Amulet against the Demon Lamashtu* (the late 1920s), which I was lucky to discover in his archive.³⁰ It was initially stored in Golenischeff’s collection and then in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts. Here is Schileico’s text on fol. 26:

In the collective volume *Babylonian and Oriental Record* (December 1888), [Archibald Henry] Sayce published a brief essay about an amulet made from yellow stone, which belonged to U[rbain] Bouriant. It has an image on its front side and an inscription on the rear. Acquired from

²⁵ Schileico 1922, 81.

²⁶ See Emelianov 2019a for the verification of this concept.

²⁷ Schileico 1927a. Recently, this hypothesis has been supported by W. Horowitz on the Astrolabe materials (Horowitz 2013).

²⁸ Schileico 1927b.

²⁹ Schileico 2007, 368–373.

³⁰ SPbARAS. F. 1059, inv. 1, f. 12 (see Emelianov 2017b, 91–100).

Bouriant by Golenischeff, this amulet has now been stored in the Moscow Museum.

Another description is contained on Fols. 95–96: “An amulet depicting Lab-artu.”³¹

Thirteen years later, Leopold Messerschmidt published a brief essay where he compared this amulet, which had been considered lost, to the one stored in Layard, *Culte de Venus* pl. XVII. Further analogies were discovered in the works of Frank, Ebeling, Zimmern and, finally, in Thureau-Dangin’s thorough memoir.

Fol. 96

The following is an inscription on Golenischeff’s amulet:

[šiptu ša mal-di^{giš}ir]-ši-ja₃ it-ti-[qu]
 u₂-pal-li-ha-ni u₂-ša-ga-ri-ra-ni
 šunâti bar-da-ti u₂-kal-lim-an-ni
 a-na *NE.GAB alî rabî erše-tim
 i-pa-ki-du-šu
 ina qibîtu *Inurta aplu ašaridu mâru ra-mu
 ina qibîtu *Marduk a-šib E₂-sag-gil
 u bâb-ili
 gišdaltu^{giš} sikkûru lu ti-da-a
 a-na ki-ti-ni ša ilê belê^{meš}
 an-da-na-qa šiptu

Закливание

Того, кто пробрался к моей постели,
 Кто меня испугал, обратил меня в бегство,
 Кто мне показал ужасные сны, -
 Великому вратарю ада, Негабу его предадут.
 По слову Инурты, старшего сына, любимого чада,
 По слову Мардука, жильца Эсагили и Вавилона,

Fol. 97

Дверь и засов да изведаеть ты:
 Под защиту богов-государей я припадаю .
 Закливание

Spell. He, who made his way to my bed,
 Who frightened me, drew me into the flight,
 Someone showed me the terrible dreams –
 Let to the great gatekeeper of hell Negabu betray him.

³¹ Golenischeff, no. 5149.

By the word of Inurta, the eldest son, beloved child,
 By the word of Marduk, the inhabitant of Esagila and Babylon,

F. 97

May the door and the bolt be acquainted with you:
 Under the protection of the gods, my rulers, I fall.
 Spell.

“The force against which this spell was pronounced can be determined from Lines 1–3: it is the one who gets the bed which frightens and chases the man in his terrifying (variant: languorous) sleep. As we may think, Namtar did not have his own iconography; thus the spell turned against him was inaccurately illustrated by an image of Labartu, in whose army he may have been a soldier”.

The sheets’ edges contain some astrological symbols, of which the article’s author compiles an arithmetic fraction. Schileico believed that the zodiacal constellations of Virgo, Taurus, Scorpio and Pisces were depicted on the amulet.³²

Judging by numerous archival materials of the late 1920s, the researcher conceived an extensive study on the history of the art of the ancient East, and his idea included both Elamite vessels and Sumerian seals. However, this plan was never destined to come true.

Schileico has become the only Russian Assyriologist who managed to familiarize the poets and playwrights of the time with the topic of his research, which resulted in the appearance of a trans-historical reception of the Sumerian and Akkadian cultures in the great literary men’s images and fables. Schileico’s translations, together with his recommendations on various issues of the ancient history of the East, affected the oeuvre of Anna Akhmatova, Nikolai Gumilev and Osip Mandelstam, as well as the dramatist Anatoly Glebov (born Kotelnikov, 1899–1964), the author of the play *Zagmuk, A Tragedy of the Early Rebellion* (1925).

Schileico is much less known as a poet. A total of his 77 poems were written from 1913 to the end of the 1920s (his last poem is dated 1926). The poems were published in the *Apollo*, *Hyperborea*, *Mermaid* and *Northern Star* literary magazines, as well as in the *Thirteen Poets* collective volume, during 1913–1919. The subjects of Schileico’s poetry can be found either in the books he read or within the narrow circle of his acquaintances. Having compared his own life circumstances with biblical and ancient heroes’ destinies, playing with famous names and facts with ease, as well as responding forthwith to friendly messages addressed to the poetically gifted scholar, he used to experiment with the styles and

³² Later works with the amulet copies (particularly, Gernot Wilhelm’s studies) let one see the images of monsters, of non-astral nature, that need to be exorcized (Wilhelm 1979, 34–40; Wiggermann 2000, 220–223).

meters of the past.³³

Schileico's oeuvre turned out to become relevant both in scholarship and literature. His poems have been repeatedly published and studied in Russia; his publications of cuneiform texts and Semitic alphabetic inscriptions have long been known abroad. Nevertheless, his contribution to Assyriology as a researcher is very little known to Western colleagues, who were able to learn some of the scholar's hypotheses thanks to Igor Diakonoff's works only.

Appendices

I. French Sumerologists' letters to Woldemar Schileico

There are eleven letters from French Sumerologists to W.G. Schileico that have been known as of today: five of them were written by François Thureau-Dangin and six ones by François-Maurice Allotte de La Fuÿe. The addressee received the letters during the years 1911–1914, when some Sumerian documents from N.P. Likhachev's collection, which were then stored in the Hermitage, were being prepared for publication. Some of the letters were kept in envelopes with the addresses, others were without envelopes but had the addresses and the dates indicated on their first pages; all the letters were written on thick paper sheets with a badly faded black ink. Some pages of the letters contain hand-written Sumerian cuneiforms and pictograms, which make their reading even more complex.

Nevertheless, it is safe to conclude from the letters' contents that they say about: (a) the publishing of some artifacts from the Hermitage in European journals; (b) some hypotheses on philology and chronology; (c) an opportunity to obtain certain editions of Sumerian administrative documents. Excerpts from the Western colleagues' letters to Schileico were translated into Russian and published for the first time by the author of this article in his book.³⁴ All these letters have now been published in their original languages.³⁵

Schileico's correspondence with Thureau-Dangin dealt primarily with the publishing of the artifacts and with some hypotheses concerning grammar. Thureau-Dangin's responses are not wordy: he didn't go into a detailed discussion of the matter, as he might have then been quite busy with his current editorial and publishing work. Yet, he highly appreciated the beginning Assyriologist's knowledge of Sumerology; the only comments he made concerned the Russian scholar's French language skills.

The answers of Colonel Allotte de La Fuÿe, one of the famous publishers of Old Sumerian texts on economy, are more fundamental, as he discussed the issues of Sumerian chronology and the use of certain verbs in royal inscriptions and economic texts in more detail. He seems to be much more sympathetic to Schileico,

³³ Schileico 1999.

³⁴ Emelianov 2007, 480–486; Emelianov 2019.

³⁵ OR RNB. F. 1467. Op. I. D. 55, 57.

recognizing the latter's point about a number of historical hypotheses and even quoting an observation of the Russian student in one of his articles. The colonel's letters give us a key to the understanding of how Schileico's concept of the early Dynastic Sumer's history, presented in his book *Sumerian Rulers' Votive Inscriptions*, evolved.³⁶

In particular, it has become clear that the evidence of the fact that Lugalanda preceded Urukagina had already been revealed in de La Fuÿe's and Schileico's works at the same time; thus it occurred that they both disputed Henry de Genouillac's version that Urukagina and Lugalanda had ruled simultaneously. Yet, having been absolutely frank, de La Fuÿe did not intend to conceal from Schileico that the general sequence of the Sumerian kings from Lugalzaggesi to Sharkalisharri, noted by the Russian student, had been earlier discovered and set out by Thureau-Dangin. Besides, the French colleague's responses contain a controversy over the Sumerian grammar. Nevertheless, it is de La Fuÿe's letters that became Schileico's training in the historical and philological analysis of Sumerian sources, which he had lacked so greatly at the university.

31 Juillet 1911.



(1896) IV JII 2038 R.I
VI JIII 674 Ras.
1902 XXIII JII 4867 A.O.I.

Monsieur,

Voici les quelques renseignements que vous voulez bien me demander:

La tablette AO 2753 est maintenant publiée et traduite Revue d'Assyriologie vol. VI pages 143 et suivantes.

La tablette que je désignais par le letter y et que je n'ai connue que par un estampage, est entrée dans la collection Hoffmann et a été publiée par Ellen Seton Ogden et George A. Barton dans The Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol XXIII (1902) p.p. 19 à 28.

Les monuments Blau dont je ne connaissais également qu'un assez médiocre estampage sont maintenant au British Museum où sans l'ombre de raison ils sont exposés comme faux. George A. Barton en a donné une collation dans The Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. XXIV (1903) p.p. 388–389.

Je pense que vous connaissez le texte publié par Scheil Recueil de travaux XXII p. 149 et Textes Elamites-Sémitiques I p. 130.

En ce qui concerne le signe  du Monument Blau, je crois qu'il est

³⁶ Schileico 1915 (Petrograd).

identique à  qu'on trouve par exemple dans mon Recueil de tablettes n° 32. Le signe de la tablette de Likhatscheff ne peut être que .

Je ne sais si  est bien . En tout cas je ne croi pas une identification avec .

Veuille, monsieur, croire à mes sentiments bien sinceres.

F. Thureau-Dangin

7 Novembre 1913.

102 Rue de Grenelle (VII)

Cher Monsieur.

Excusez moi d'avoir autant tardé à répondre à votre aimable letter du 5/18 Octobre. La raison de ce retard est que j'attendais pour vous écrire de savoir exactement dans quell numéro je pourrais faire paraître votre article. Malheureusement la place manqué dans le n° de Janvier; mais il paraîtra sûrement dans le n° d'Avril. Naturellement vous recevrez des épreuves. Je pourrai faire sur le Ms. La correction que vous me communiquez. Permettez-moi à ce propos de vous faire remarquer qu'on ne peut dire: "parler quelque choze", parler est un verbe intransitif. Ll faudrait: dire, mauder etc.

Je voys mis bien reconnaissant pour le textes que vous voules bien me communiquer aussi liberalement. Le sceau de la SAL-ME "chérie de roi" est intéressant. Ceci serait en faveur de l'interpretation de Jensen (ZDMG 1913 p.508; à cette place corriges ti-IS-tum d'après Rev. d'Assyr. IX p.21 note). Cette SAL-ME serait la favorite royale.

L'inscription de la tête demon est aussi fort interessante. Voulez vous m'envoyer le texte, la traduction et une photo de la tête? Je publierai le tout dans la Revue. Si la note est courte, je vous promets de ne pas trop vous faire attendre (la photo serait reproduite en simili dans le texte).

De nouveau merci cher monsieur. Croyez, je vous prie, à me meilleurs sentiments.

F. Thureau-Dangin

14 Déc. 1913

Cher Monsieur.

Excusez-moi d'avoir tardé à répondre à votre aimable lettre du 4 déc. J'ai été fort occupé ces temps derniers.

J'ai lu avec intérêt votre article pour ZA. Veuillez, je vous prie me dire si je dois envoyer ce Ms. Bezold ou vous le retourner. En ce qui concerne la répétition du col. II à V, elle s'explique, je crois, très naturellement par le fait que ce texte est un exercice. Il existe à nombreuse documents de ce genre.

Merci pour la copie de l'empreinte de sceau et pour la photo de la tablette archaïque de Ms. Likhatscheff pourraient, si vous le desirez, faire l'objet d'une "note présargonique" supplémentaire. J'ai l'intention de publier votre article sur la tête du mon et vos "notes présargoniques" dans le n° de Paques. Peut-être pourrait-on joindre aussi le sceau – mais dans ce cas il faudrait changer le titre et mettre p. ex. "Notes sumerologiques". Si vous acceptez cette combinaison, priez de m'emporter les notes additionnelles, pas trop longues, si possible, car notre place est limitée. Est-ce que sur le nom propre du sceau  ne devait pas pour

Tout à vous



Le "diplôme" est un simple list de pierres. Voyez pour les deux premiers noms de pierres Brünnow 11809 et 11810.

27 Février 1914

102 RUE DE GRENELLE (VII ?)

Cher Monsieur

J'ai appris avec peine votre maladie mais ai été heureux d'apprendre en même temps votre rétablissement.

Vos corrections sont malheureusement arrivées trop tard. Mais vous pourrez les faire sur les épreuves que vous recevrez, je pense, à peu près en même temps que ce mot.

Je vous prierais seulement de ne pas ajouter le § V (la valeur DUL du signe), car votre article fera exactement huit pages et en ajoutant ce § nous aurions une page et demie en blanc.

Comme vous le verrez, j'ai usé de la tablette que vous aviez bien voulu me donner de faire des corrections. Ces corrections sont de pure forme sauf sur un point (le passage relatif à – j'ai cru pouvoir supprimer ce passage, car la contradiction que vous signalez n'existe pas si signifie non pas beau-père, mais gendre, voyez Rev. d'Ass. XI p. 54; je n'entends pas d'ailleurs vous imposer ma manière de voir, et vous ferez tout changement que vous jugerez bon).

Je vous serais bien obligé de me retourner vos épreuves corrigées. Je m'occuperai de la mise en place des clichés que je compte recevoir prochainement. Vous receviez des épreuves, tn page.

Veuillez croire cher Monsieur à mes sentiments dévoués.

F. Thureau-Gobert

Etes vous bien certain de ~~ri~~ = ? Pour ma part j'en doute fort. **U-du** est pour moi une écriture phonétique du terme **udul** dont le **l** (comme si souvent les lettres finales en sumérien) ne se prononçait pas. Comparez p. ex. **e-ri** (pour **erid**), d'où il ne faut pas conclure que **ri** avait la lecture **rid**. On pourrait multiplier ces exemples. –

Versailles 1 juillet 1912.

Monsieur,

Je vois par votre lettre du 19 juin que vous avez fait une étude attentive des Documents presargoniques que vous avez pu consulter et est regrettable que les Bibliothèques Russes ne vous permettent pas de consulter mon ouvrage, qui donnera 600 textes de cette époque, grâce auxquelles les questions enlevées douteuses seront élucidées.

Voici les observations auxquelles donne lieu la lecture de votre lettre.

Je doute beaucoup que l'hypothèse de Genouillac qui suppose que sous le règne d'Urukagina, En-li-tar-zi et Lugal-an-da sont encore vivants et soient Sangu et patesi, soit exacte et je ne trouve pas que les textes qu'il cite, soient absolument concluants.

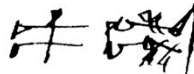
La question est d'ailleurs fort difficile et l'hypothèse très différente que j'ai proposé est également discutable.

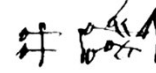
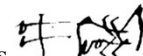
La voici:

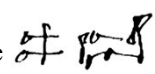
Lorsque dans un texte de Lugal-an-da on trouve la mention d'offrandes faites à ou au Ki-a-nag d'En-li-tar-zi, il s'agit suivant moi d'offrandes funéraires faites par Lugalanda à son père et prédécesseur défunt. De même lorsque dans un texte d'Urukagina on mentionne En-li-tar-zi et Lugalanda, il s'agit également d'offrandes funéraires faites aux pateris les prédécesseurs – le texte DP 66 que vous citez, daté de Urukagina 4, me semble concluant à cet égard, ce sont des offrandes faites à différents Dieux et à la statue de Lugal-an-da, c'est cette même statue, qui comme vous l'avez très bien vu est mentionnée avec son nom complet. Nina est la mère de Lugalanda elle est érigée du vivant de Lugalanda, elle reçoit du vivant de celui-ci des offrandes qui seront continuées après sa mort par ses successeurs.

Les offrandes faites du temps de Lugalanda pateris au Ki-a-nag lugal šir-bur-la, ne prouvent par qu'il y eut du temps de Lugal-an-da, un roi de šir-bur-la; l'expression lugal šir-bur-la à cette époque dénotait (?) le Dieu Nin-gir-su et nullement Urukagina.

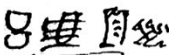
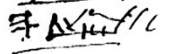
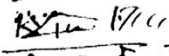
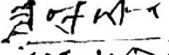
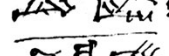
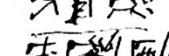
Le nom de fonctionnaire que vous lisez pa-im-bi doit être décomposé, il s'agit

de l'emploi fréquemment nommé  suivi du pronom 

bi vous remarquez que  n'est pas précisément un emploi spécial puisque nous trouvons des ga-su-gab (proposé au boissons) et des **mu** – boulanger ou cuisinier qui sont dits .

Les documents šu-še qu'il faut lire **zid-še**=farine d'orge pailent de différentes quantités de farine d'orge livrées pour divers usages – le  est un contrôleur, qui constate que la novation est exactement faite.

ci-dessous Niskol. 131

	72+30(qa) de farine d'orge
	Lugal-
	a reçu
	Šeš-lu-oug.
	préparé aux boissons
	Vérificateur (de cela
	de cette livrée)

Quant à la simultanéité du règne d'Urukagina et du patésiat de Lugal-an-da, un grand nombre de documents prouvent qu'elle est impossible.

Il ne faut pas oublier qu'Urukagina avant d'être roi, a été patesi pendant un an. Pendant cette année du patésiat de Urukagina, quelle fonction remplait Lugalanda. D'autres sont faciles à trouver.

Si l'on compare la catégorie très nombreuses des états mensuels de paiement des employés de Bar-nam-tarsa femme de Lugal-an-da ou de Sag-Sag femme d'Urukagina, on constate que c'est en grande partie le même personnel, les mêmes noms s'y retrouvent ce qui serait impossible, s'il était question d'une part des employés de la reine et d'autre part des employés de la femme du patesi, pour les mêmes années.

Il me paraît inutile d'ajouter d'autres preuves qui montrent que Urukagina a vécu après Lugal-an-da; en supposant même, que Lugal-an-da ait vécu quelques années après la cessation de ses fonctions de patesi, comme souverain, il n'en est pas moins absolument certain que les 8 années pendant lesquelles lui et sa femme ont exercé la souveraineté, ou précèdent la première année pendant laquelle Urukagina est patesi.

La passage du patèsiat à la royauté au temps d'Urukagina n'a pas été une révolution violente, et le nouveau roi, tout en parlant, dans les Cônes A et B, des abus de ses prédécesseurs, n'en continue pas procès à rendre un culte funéraire aux statues d'Ur-nina cont aussi bien qu'à celle de Lugal-an-da.

En ce qui concerne les successeurs d'Urukagina et la position chronologique du patesi Engilsa mentionné dans l'obélisque de Manistusu, je l'ai traité avec développement dans un travail special intitulé "En-gil-sa patesi de Lagach" publié dans un volume intitulé "Florilegium Melcheor de Vogüé" qui je le crains doit etre peu repandu en Russie.

Receves, monsieur, l'assurance de ma consideration, je recevrai avec plaisir le travail que vous devez publies prochainement.

Alfred de Saxe

2 rue d'Anjou
Versailles.

Versailles 13 juillet 1912.

Monsieur.

J'ai lu avec beaucoup d'intérêt les observations continues dans votre letter du 3 juillet. Vos recherches relatives à la date de Nik 7 sont particulièrement intéressantes: votre traduction de cette tablette est exacte.

Vous avez constaté avec raison que le nom de **Lugal dingir mu** cite dans 7 connue employé d'**Amat^dbau (Gim^dbau)**, se retrouve dans les grandes tablettes qui énumèrent le personel des enfants d'Urukagina jusqu'à l'année 5 et vous en conclue que la tablette 7 a été ecrite posterieurement à cette date.

Votre conclusion que vous n'appuyez que sur un seul nom (**Lugal dingir mu**) pourrait paraitre hâtive, mais le puis la confirmer, en vous indiquant que presque tout les autres noms de 7 se retrouvent dans les grandes tablets de placement d'Nikolski ou de ma collection vous les réfèreense.

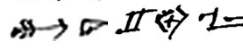
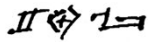
	SUL	SUL	SUL--?	SUL	
$\text{gim}^d \text{b}am \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Lugal da nu mea} \\ \text{A duru mu} \\ \text{lugal on mu} \\ \text{An Kal. da} \end{array} \right.$	DP116,I,14	DP117,I,2	DP118,1,2	DP119-?	-----
	id I,16	id I,5	id I,5	manque	N.16,I,6
	id II,5	id I,18	id II,6	id I,8	N.16 N.20
	id I,4	id I,11	?	----	N.16,I,9

gim tar sir sir	{ mu ni Kalam ma id V.13 et 14 id V,10 et 11 id V, 14 et 15 ----- ----- N.20				
	V,10				

Il faut remarquer que le nom de **Mu-ni- Kalam-ma** se retrouve sous la forme

abrégé **mu-ni** dans les tablettes ^(DP,116,117,118)
^(de l'année 𒀭𒀭𒀭) où il est répété deux fois,

 porté par deux individus différents,

 sur la tabl. Nik 20, V, 10 le nom de **Mu-ni** 

ne retrouve plus de l'année, ~~𒀭𒀭𒀭~~ il faut en conclure, qu'un des individus qui le porte, celui qui est cité dans Nikolski, est mort en l'année 4 ou 6 d'Urukagina.

En résumé cette tablette 7 indique probablement en l'année 5 ou 6 les changements survenus, cette année même et les années précédentes, dans le personnel des enfants d'Urukagina soit par suite de décès soit autrement (peut-être ?) par le patési).

Votre conclusion, que ce patési est un patesi contemporain du roi Ouroukagina, ou Ouroukagina lui-même devenu patesi après la prise de Lagach est exacte.

Je ne puis admettre la dernière hypothèse toutes les tablettes qui faisaient partie de la grande trouvaille qui est entrée en grande partie dans ma collection, sont antérieures à la destruction de Lagach, et c'est précisément cette destruction qui fut complète qui explique que les archives de la ville, enfouies sous les décombres se sont conservées intactes jusqu'à nous. La tablette du Musée de Louvre qui raconte la destruction de Lagach, était isolée, [...] a été trouvée probablement dans un autre endroit: vous remarquerez qu'Urukagina y porte le nom de roi de Girsu et non le titre de patesi.

Vous remarquerez aussi que toutes les tablettes au nom de Urukagina patesi portent la date I, ce qui s'explique si Urukagina a été patesi pendant un temps très court avant d'être roi. Si au contraire ces tablettes, étaient postérieures à la prise de Lagach, il faudrait supposer, que l'enfouissement de toutes les tablettes a eu lieu une année après la destruction de Lagach, et on s'explique fait plus difficilement, dans ce cas, l'enfouissement de ces tablettes.

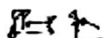
Une autre considération me conduit à conclure d'une façon certaine que toutes les tablettes qui sont datées de l'année d'Urukagina patesi ont précédé celles d'Urukagina-roi, je possède plusieurs grandes tablettes d'Urukagina patesi; toutes elles font connaître la même personnel, homes et animaux que les tablettes des premières années d'Urukagina roi, ce qui n'aurait certainement pas lieu après la destruction de Lagach.

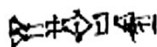
On est donc amené en clair tout l'hypothèse d'Urukagina patesi après la destruction, à examiner celle de l'existence d'un patesi du vivant du roi Urukagina.

Je n'ai jamais nié d'une façon absolue que cela pût être, mais s'il y a eu du temps du roi, un patesi; les fonctions de celui ci et de sa femme, sont absolument différentes de celles d'un patesi souverain de Lagach et d'une façon certaine toutes les tablettes qui porteront la mention: **lugal an da patesi de Lagach** ou **Bar nam tar femme de Lugal an da patesi de Lagach** sont-elles signées par un patesi souverains, qui a précédé Urukagina patesi puis roi.

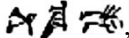
Que **Lugal-an-da** et **Bar-nam-tar** soient vivants cela est fort possible, et j'en suis même certains pour **Bar-nam-tar**; mais il n'est nullement certains que **lugal-an-da ait** conservé les fonctions de patesi, il peut n'en avoir conservé le titre de M^r Loubet s'appelle encore Le Président Loubet, tandis que son successeur est M^r Fallière Président de la république.

J'ai une tablette DP59 qui me semble confirmer que **Lugal-an-da** vivant sous Urukagina peut avoir été désigné sous le nom de le patesi, même s'il n'en remplissait plus les fonctions. La tablette DP59 est datée de **Lugal-an-da** on y mentionne

 **Ur-tar**

 fils de patesi

or **Ur-tar** est fils d'**En-li-tar-zi**, père de **Lugal-an-da** et ancien patesi, ou n'en concerne pas moins à **Ur-tar**, du temps de **Lugal an-da** patesi, la désignation fils du patesi (**En-li-tar-zi**).

Aussi dans Nik 7, le patesi sans nom peut être **Lugal-an-da** mais cela peut être tout autre, **En-gil-sa** par exemple, qui sous **lugal-an-da**, remplit la très importante fonction de , et dans ma tablette DP 69 se trouve associé à **Šag-Šag** pour offrir des offrandes (**nig-gis-tag-ga**) à certaine divinité.

Pour en revenir encore une fois à l'impossibilité de considérer les tablettes datées de **Lugal-an-da** patesi, comme émanées d'un patesi subordonné au roi Urukagina, il faut remarquer qu'il y a entre ces tablettes et celles qui sont signées d'Urukagina une différence ou entre celles, qui est la conséquence immédiate de la réforme d'Urukagina d'après laquelle (Cônes)

é e sal dans la maison de l'**é-Sal**

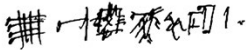
dingir bau mu-ba- il installa la déesse Ban

ni-gub leur maîtresse.

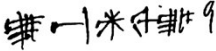
Dans mon article "Etat des décès survenus dans le personnel de la Déesse Bau" (Rev. d'ass. VII,3) que je vous envoie, j'ai indiqué que **é-sal** devait se traduire – maison de la femme, c'est à dire de la femme de patesi ou de la femme de roi et d'une manière générale, son qu'elle on trouve dans les textes de cette époque le mot **sal**  isolé, il a souvent la signification de la femme de patesi ou du roi; cette observation très importante m'a permis de traduire des textes que personne n'avait compris.

Il résulte de la réforme d'Urukagina que l'**é-sal** dans il est parlé dans les textes de Lugal-an-da, ne figure plus dans ceux d'Urukagina, et si on compare les

grandes tablettes de paiement signées de **Bar-nam-tar** et de **Šag-Šag**, le même personnel qui est mentionné comme la propriété de **Bar-nam-tar**



des ceut sous Urukagina la propriété de **Ban**.



C'est ainsi que votre tablette NIK 86, ne peut être d'Urukagina  elle est de Lugalanda , le **Gal dam Kar** du patesi (lugalanda) acheté au **Gal dam Kar** de la maison de la femme de la laine qui est payée en orge.

Je ne vois pas la difficulté que vous trouvez à voir au datet dans la tablette de Lichatcheff

nig šu  a|patesi **Ka Kam** | Ofrandes du redevance au patesi
à **En-li** |tar-zi, p. de Lagach
pour le **Ki a nag**
on les a apportées

Quant à  **zir ba bur Ki Šú** |gin-ni|gù bi Sag | j'eu donne une interprétation toute différente de la vôtre et je traduis Nik23 revert  la femme (du patesi) étant allée à **Lagach**, elle a offert la tablette est signée de **Bar nam tar**  elle termine par **giš bi-tag** elle a offert.

En ce qui concerne la succession de **Lugal zag gi si**, **Sarrukin**, **Manistusu** il résulte des découvertes de Scheil et des travaux de Thureau Dangin que **Manistusu** et **Urunini** qui portent le titre de **Lugal Kiš** non suivi de **Ki** – sont l'un et l'autre des rois d'Agadé, et finalement Thureau Dangin (RA IX, 2) marque la succession

Lugal zag gi si – roi de Sumer 25 ans

Sarrukin
Manistusu
Uru nini
Naramsin
Sargoni sar u
roi d'Akkade

Recevez Monsieur l'assurance de ma considération distinguée



J'espère que la brochure que je vous envoie par la poste vous parviendra, et je vous prie de vouloir bien me le faire savoir.

Nantes 21 Septembre 1912.

Mon cher Monsieur,

Je recois seulement le 19 Septembre votre letter recommandée dateé du 1^{er} Septembre, dans laquelle vous exprimes le desir de faire paraître un petit travail dans la Revue d'Assyriologie.

C'est Monsieur Thureau Dangin qui est le Directeur de cette revue et les articles qui lui ont déjà été invoisés et qui attendent la publication sont tellement nombreux que je crains bien qu'il ne puisse vous donner satisfaction; dans tout les cas, le tome IX; III est déjà paru et vous y trouverait des travaux absolument remarquables, le tome IX; IV est-tu en preparation et paraîtra prochainement et il peut plus recevoir aucun article: ainsi donc, en supposant que M^r Thureau Dangin accepte votre travail il ne pourra le publier que l'année prochaine.

Je me conformerai à votre désir de ne communiquer à personne votre inter-

tation de **na-ca** e vos conjectures sur  ; mais si vous presentes autre travail, par mon intermédiaire, à la Revue d'Assyriologie, M^r Thureau Dangin, devra avant de l'accepter, l'examiner, pour en apprecier la valeur.

Mais je le repète, c'est lui seul, et non pas moi, qui décidera de la publication et de l'époque.

Etant ici à la campagne, loin de ma bibliothèque, je n'ai ni Nikolsky ni Langdon et je ne puis avoir une opinion bien arrêtée sur vos interprétations. En ce qui concerne Uru-Ka, j'ai moi même insisté dans mon article En-li-tar-zi patesi sur la fréquence des nom abrégé de cette époque ce qui m'a permis de reconnaître que **nig lú nu túm** et **nig lú** était un même personnage.

Si vous êtes toujours dans l'intention de m'envoyer votre travail, attendez jusqu'au 1^{er} Octobre et adressez-le à Versailles 2 rue d'Anjou.

Je publie dans la Revue d'Assyriologie tome IX, IV un article intitulé Notes Sumériennes, où vous trouverez quelques indications utiles j'y ai fait allusion, en citant votre nom, à la première communication que vous m'avez faite au sujet de la tablette de Nikolsky, qui semble prouver l'existence d'un patesi à l'époque du roi Urukagina.³⁷

J'ai orthographié votre nom W.Chileico, est-ce bien exacte.

Recevez, cher Monsieur, l'assurance de ma considération distinguée



³⁷ Indeed, the first mention of "M. Chileico, étudiant des langues sémitiques à l'Université de Sankt-Petersbourg" in the academic literature was a note in the article Allotte de La Fuë 1912, 149.

A Versailles 2 rue d'Anjou à partir du 28 Septembre; écrive seulement apre le 1^{re} Octobre.

As one can see from these letters, Schileico was sharing the information on every of his steps with the French colonel on the way to decipher the tablets from Likhachev's collection. It was even the Russian student's most cherished hypothesis about the sequence of the rulers from the First Dynasty of Lagash to the Dynasty of Akkad that he had entrusted to his correspondent. The main point of the hypothesis was the idea that Lugalanda had retained the title of a king until his death and that Urukagina had risen to power after Lugalanda's death, having been titled just an *ensi* beforehand. Schileico noted that, before Urukagina appended that name, it can have been abbreviated as *Uru-KA*. The wide variety of Schileico's interests – the tablets from Likhachev's collection and de La Fuÿe's publications, on the one hand, as well as the ancient Sumerian grammar in Lu-Ena's and Enentarzi's texts (with a 'na-e-a' construction), on the other hand, – has become known from the French colonel's answers to the Russian student's questions.³⁸ The reader of all the letters forwarded to Schileico by de La Fuÿe cannot help noticing the latter's attention and desire to discuss the special issues with the beginning scholar from Russia in thorough detail.

II. Schileico's unknown articles written in Russian

Professor Schileico's articles and manuscripts in which the unknown cuneiform texts were edited are published here in their translations from Russian. The articles of 1916 were written in Russian and published in several little-known books that hadn't reached the Russian scholar's colleagues in Europe because of World War One. His article about some neo-Assyrian letter addressed to Shamashshumukin's supporters was written in the late 1920s and intended for publishing in *The Museum's Life* magazine of the Moscow State Museum of Fine Arts, though it didn't happen. The German translation of that article of Schileico, prepared for *Der Archiv für Orientforschung*, has been preserved in the personal archive of Schileico's friend Pyotr Jernstedt (1890–1966) but remained unpublished as well. All the cuneiform texts are published here in their today's transliteration; special attention is paid to Schileico's misreadings.

“Two Presargonic Tablets in the Moscow Museum of Fine Arts”

“Five Presargonic cuneiform documents on clay tablets from the former Golenischeff's collection have been stored in the Emperor Alexander III Museum of Fine Arts. Three of them are labeled with *patesis*' names: these are Nos. 5248 and

³⁸ Emelianov 2017b, 105–108.

5247, dated [respectively] by the fourth and fifth years of Enentarzi's rule, as well as No. 5246, containing the name of Lugalanda, a *patesi*, and the third year [of his rule]. The other two tablets, Nos. 5249 and 5250, are labeled with the second and sixth years [respectively] and with the name Eniggal, a *nubanda*, who had occupied his post during Lugalanda's and Urukagina's time. Thorough reasons force me to insist that the second of these [two] tablets is dated by Urukagina's reign, [whereas] the state of preservation of the first tablet does not allow to date it with certainty.

The transcription and translation are offered only for two Enentarzi's tablets. It is impossible to interpret Plate No. 5246, which contains a record of various fish species delivered in five baskets by a certain Galabanda, because of the unclear meanings of the ideograms denoting various fish species. Plate No. 5249, apparently containing [a text of] the record of either delivered or allotted grain, does not even allow to make a copy in its present form. Schileico's translation of No. 5248 has been corrected by the author.

N 5248

Obv.

I	1	6 nita ŠUL.GI mu 2	6 male two-year-old horses,
	2	3 nita kunga ₂ mu 2	3 male two-year-old mules,
	3	3 nita kunga ₂	3 male mules
	4	Šubur	to Shubur,
	5	4 nita ŠUL.GI	4 male horses
II	1	Nam-mah-ni	to Nammahni,
	2	4 nita ŠUL.GI	4 male horses,
	3	1 munus kunga ₂	1 female mule
	4	broken	to X,
	5	1 nita ŠUL.GI	1 male horse,
III	1	1 nita kunga ₂	1 male mule
	2	Amar- ^d Suen (EN.ZU)	to Amar-Suen.
	3	šu-niĝin ₂ 15 nita ŠUL.GI mu 2	Total: 15 male two-year-old horses,

Rev.

I	1	4 nita kunga ₂ mu 2	4 male two-year-old mules,
	2	4 munus kunga ₂ mu 2	4 female two-year-old mules.
II	1	gu ₂ -an-še ₃ 23 anše amar-ku ₅ dab ₅ -ba	Result: 23 castrated donkeys taken.
	2	anše u ₂ -rum	Donkeys are property
	3	En-en ₃ -tar-zi	of Enentarzi,
	4	ensi ₂	ensi ₂
	5	Lagaša ^{ki}	of Lagash.
III	1	e ₂ -anše-ensi ₂ -ka-ka	In the stables of the ruler
	2	gurun ₂ -bi e-ak 4	Checkup was conducted. 4(-th year of Enentarzi)

Except for an incomprehensible *amar-tar-KU-ba* (Rev. II 1),³⁹ the document does not seem to need any special explanations. Shubur, mentioned in [the text on] Obv. I 4, in all likelihood, is identical with the well-known *nubanda* of Enentarzi's time. The name Amar-Zuen (Obv. III 2) seems curious for that era.⁴⁰

N 5247

Obverse

I	1	$\frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{18}$ GAN ₂ še-mu ₂ -a	$\frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{18}$ of the field of growing barley,
	2	GAN ₂ ki-ti(l)	the field of Kitil,
	3	1 $\frac{2}{3}$ GAN ₂ še	1 $\frac{2}{3}$ of the barley field,
	4	$\frac{2}{3}$ GAN ₂ ziz ₂ -babbar	$\frac{2}{3}$ of the field of the white emmer
II	1–2	broken	
	3	GAN ₂ ... An-ta-sur-ra	the field of Antasura,
	4	1– $\frac{1}{18}$ GAN ₂ še-...	1– $\frac{1}{18}$ of the barley-field

III covered with gypsum.

Reverse

I	1	šu-niġin ₂ 7+ $\frac{1}{18} + \frac{1}{79}$ GAN ₂ še-mu ₂ -a	Total: 7+ $\frac{1}{18} + \frac{1}{79}$ of the field of growing barley
	2	Dim ₃ -tur	for Dimtur,
	3	dam En-en ₃ -tar-zi	the wife of Enentarzi,
II	1	ensi ₂ -	ruler
	2	Lagaša ^{ki} -ka	of Lagash,
	3	Šubur	Shubur,
	4	dub-sar-re ₂	the scribe,
	5	mu-gid ₂ 5	has measured. 5(-th year of Enentarzi)

Those were the fields assigned to the maintenance of the *patesi*'s house. The tablet [marked] Nik no. 42 in N.P. Likhachev's collection [and] dated with the fourth year of the *patesi* Enentarzi's [rule], [whose text is] saying that 11 *ganas* [and] 1200 *sars* of the sowed field yielding 582 *gurs* [and] 120 *kas* had been allotted to the *patesi*'s wife (pad X banda),⁴¹ is a completely identical document. Kitil, mentioned in [the text on] Obv. I 2, is also named in [the text of] the only surviving tablet of the *patesi* Enentarzi (Enentarzi's predecessor),⁴² [whose text is] saying that the named Kitil had supplied 609 *gurs* of various [sorts of] grain for the *patesi*'s maintenance. I shall also present a document [marked] Nik no. 34 in

³⁹ amar-ku₅ dab₅-ba 'taken for castration'. See also DP 93 (CDLI P220743) Rev. I 4, II 6 (Enentarzi 5).

⁴⁰ See also DP 582 (CDLI P221232) Rev. I 7 (Urukagina 2).

⁴¹ Dim₃-tur.

⁴² 'En-e-tar-zi' is an orthographic variant of the same name, Enentarzi: see DP 39 Obv. II 4 (CDLI P220689; also with the mentioning of GAN₂ ki-ti).

Likhachev's collection, [whose text is] saying that the fields assigned to the maintenance of the *patesi* (Lugalanda) had belonged to the crown. Whether we deal with sequestration under any conditions or with an assignment of the fields to processing, as it was posited by Professor M.V. Nikolsky for [Tablet] no. 34, remains unknown in the first three cases.

Moscow, 5 January 1916"⁴³

"From N.P. Likhachev's Collection"

I Barter Contract

See Nik 1, 300 = Selz 1989, 300 = CDLI P222069

II Slave Purchase Document

See Nik 1, 17 = Selz 1989, 17 = CDLI P221724

III. Oracular Questioning.

Nik. 174 = Selz 1989, 174 = CDLI P221943

Translation by W.G. Schileico

Obverse

I¹12 male [rams], ²6 kids, ³1 goats ⁴Urdu, ⁵shepherd, ⁶has slaughtered. ⁷5 sheep for food. II¹1 young mule, ²1 mare, ³1 stallion, ⁴2 ...-two-years-old (?), ⁵3 gur $\frac{1}{4}$ gursaggal of barley,

Reverse

II 5 gur of emmer, ²barley (and) emmer ..., ³8 male beasts, ⁴2 female beasts, ⁵[Gim]tar[sir]sira, III ¹⁻⁴having asked the oracle of god Mesandu concerning the life that continues the days, brought for the oracle. 3(-th year of Urukagina)".

Gimtarsirsira,⁽⁷⁾ mentioned here, is known from a number of documents as the daughter of the king Urukagina, to whose reign this tablet belongs.⁴⁴ An entire fragment [contained on] Obv. I 7 – Rev. II 4 deserves serious attention. It says about Gimtarsirsira's sacrifices she made to the oracle Mesandu on the occasion of a question he had asked about "the longevity of the days of life." The third year [of the reign], of which the document says, was fatal for both Lagash and the House of Urukagina. A confusion showing the deep economic collapse that had ended so soon and so tragically by Lugalzagesi's attack can be felt in [the texts of] the reporting tablets [starting] from the first months of the fourth year of the king[']s reign]. Strange lists of deaths,⁽⁸⁾ [together with] lists of the remaining heirs,

⁴³ Schileico 1917.

⁴⁴ This is a literal translation word by word. Little doubt is that Schileico meant to say: "... as the daughter of the king Urukagina, and this tablet is dated by the time of his reign."

orphans and widows,⁽⁹⁾ apparently containing the glosses to the above-mentioned tablet, were being included into the archive starting with the fourth year [of the reign]. Having coincided in time and place, these phenomena seem to have coincided in their cause as well: some social disaster, perhaps an unsuccessful war⁽¹⁰⁾ or, rather, an epidemic, made Urukagina's daughter think about [her] near end.

Numbers 7 (as a mistaken result, 8) and 3 for male and female animals obviously used to have a sacred meaning in the rite of questioning the oracle: both numbers in this conclusion are emphasized with two partial results.

W. Schileico

Moscow, 8 January 1916"

⁽⁵⁾ Rams for food, in contrast to fine-woolen ones and others.⁴⁵

⁽⁶⁾ Construction: **Gim-tar-sir-sir-ra** (main subject) **pad-da-a** (indirect sentence predicate, with 'a' meaning time dependence) **maš-e** (direct object of indirect sentence, with 'e' meaning direct case) **Mes-an-du-ka** (attributive to 'maš-e', with 'a' meaning double indirect case) **ti-u₄-su₃-še₃** ('-še₃' meaning adverbial; 'ti-u₄-su₃' meaning 'life-prolonging days', cf. e₂-me-lam₂-su₃ meaning 'the temple that spread [its] rays') **mu-na-ri-a** (main sentence predicate, with 'na' meaning indirect object and 'a' meaning temporary dependent clause) **maš-še₃** (indirect object with '-še₃' meaning goal) – 'Gimtarsirsira, having asked the oracle of the god Mesandu about the life that prolongs one's days, brought [something] to the oracle.'

⁽⁷⁾ Concerning the tendency in this title, see my [book] *Sumerian Rulers' Votive Inscriptions*, p. XXI, fn. 4.

⁽⁸⁾ See the main plate [numbered] DP 138 [and] dated back to the fourth year of Urukagina[']s rule]. The curious document [numbered] Nik. 14, containing the list of both the deceased (8) and the survivors (26), ends with the result '26 in stock' rather than with the date; however, the same dead [people] are mentioned in it as in DP 138: therefore, it should be dated with the same fourth year. There is a document [numbered] Nik. 7 [and] dated with Urukagina's fifth year, containing a list of the deceased among the staff of Gim-Bau and Gimtarsirsira, the king's daughters.⁴⁶

⁽⁹⁾ Nik. 19 (the fifth year of the king[']s reign]), cf. DP 138.

⁽¹⁰⁾ See the vague hint of the so-called Oval Plaque.⁴⁷ Needless to say, it says about Ur-Khumma defeated by the *patesi* Enmetena, who had appointed the priest Ili as Umma's *patesi*⁴⁸; however, it is usual that such historical journeys tend to

⁴⁵ All three cuneiform texts cited in this article are numbered consecutively. Comments to Text III begin with Note (5).

⁴⁶ About this tablet see *Revue d'assyriologie* IX p. 149 fn. 1.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Déc. ép.* L, column 4, 1–28.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Déc. ép.* XLVII, III 28 – IV 35.

introduce narrations about analogous situations which used to happen [in the past].”⁴⁹ (Schileico 1916)

The author’s commentary

It is known from DP, 173 Obv. II 6 (Lagash, Enentarzi 3) that [a certain] male [named] Tiusushe (“for-the-sake-of-extending-the-days-of-life”) had been the property (*urum*) of Urtarsirsira, Enentarzi’s son, receiving his allowances as an employee of his household. The offerings to the oracle were associated with Tiusushe’s devotion to the god Mesandu in the third year of Enentarzi’s reign.⁵⁰ The name of Tiusushe disappeared from the temple staff list in the text [dated] the next year⁵¹. Here I understand ^dMes-an-DU-ka as DN + Gen + Loc in the meaning of “in the status (Loc) of belonging (Gen) to Mesandu.” Chances are the man had been sacrificed to the god Mesandu, who used to be connected with the Nether World,⁵² in order to prolong the prince’s life; so, it was due to this [particular] function that he had received such an unusual name. Alas, the sacrifice was of no avail, and the prince Urtarsirsira’s name is not found in the texts [dated] after the fourth year of Enentarzi[’s reign]. In addition to Tiusushe, ten male and female slaves had been presented to the god Mesandu.⁵³

The Archive of the Russian Academy of Science, Saint Petersburg Branch. Fund 877, inventory 1, file 230, fol. 3–8. Translated by Pyotr Jernstedt (1930). First publication:⁵⁴

“Die assyrische Antwort an die Anhänger des Šamaššumukin”

Zu Beginn des Sommers 652 proklamierte Šamaššumukin, im Bündnis mit dem Hofe von Elam und unterstützt von einer Koalition vorderasiatischer Reiche, die Selbstständigkeit von Akkad. An die Mitglieder der assyrischen Regierung erging eine Denkschrift, worin der Abfall vom assyrischen Protektorat durch Hinweise auf die einstige Unabhängigkeit akkadischer Herrscher historisch begründet wurde.

Fragment N 5321 der Sammlungen des Museums der Schönen Künste in Moskau – das untere Drittel eines gebrannten Tontäfelchens – enthält die von Asurbanipal diktierte Antwort der assyrischen Würdenträger auf die Deklaration der aufständischen Babylonier. Wie bei den Beziehungen mit Akkad herkömmlich, war das Dokument babylonisch, in assyrischer Keilschrift, abgefasst. Es richtet sich

⁴⁹ Cf. Déc. ép. XLVII. All these texts prove nothing in the case of Nik 1, 174.

⁵⁰ According to Toshiko Kobayashi, it is only in Enentarzi’s texts that the shepherd Urdu was mentioned as well (Kobayashi 1989, 31–32).

⁵¹ VS 14, 86.

⁵² Selz 1995, 176–180.

⁵³ Genoulliac 1909, 111; Deimel 1927.

⁵⁴ Emelianov 2017b, 100–105.

an die Verfasser der babylonischen Denkschrift, “die Leute, welche den feindlichen Bruder, Šamaššumukin, angestiftet haben, dieses böse Werk zu verrichten”. Folgendes ist der erhaltene Text:

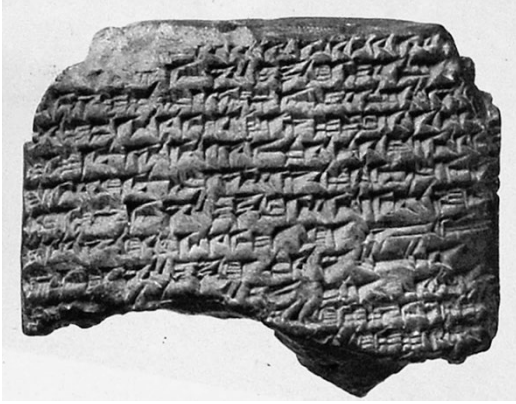


Fig. 2. The letter of the Assyrians to the supporters of Shamash-shum-ukin. St. Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences. F. 1059. Inv. 1. F. 4. P. 43 (Reverse) – 44 (Obverse). Published (Emelianov, 2017b, 100).

Recto

.....
 lû ibn[im]a [.....]
 u ittât šamê eršetim lušta[mmir]
 bêlkunu ina muḫḫi menī irḫuṣ
 u ittakilma annītu ipuṣ
 5. u šanītu amat niqbakkunuši ultu immat
 bêlkunu ana bêlini u attune a(na) nāši
 [kirrân]i⁵⁵ u meḫranatte⁵⁶ tašapparannaši
 [.....]...^mAššur-aḫ-iddina abišu
 [.....m]uḫḫikunu
 (4 Zeilen abgebrochen)

Verso

[.....ar]dutte qalīti ^mBel-ib[ni.....]
 [.....]šarrâni ša ^{mât}Akkadī^{ki} maḫrûṭ[e...]
 ammenī taqbâ šarrâni maḫrûṭe ša ^{mât}Ak[kadī^{ki}]
 ul idûnašima kirrâni išapparûnaši

⁵⁵ Unknown word. Perhaps, version of *girru* A “military campaign” (CAD G, 90) with Plural.

⁵⁶ Broken spelling *me-eḫ-ra-na-at-te*. Possible correspondence to *meḫertu* “copy, opposition” (CAD M 2, 50–53).

5. attune ana nâši ul tidânašî
 ša bêlkunu ardu ša bêlini u attune ardânini
 u šarrâni ša ^{mât}Akkadî enna menû zakûssunu⁵⁷
 ittini qibannašima lû nîdi
 šarrânima ša ^{mât}Akkadî^{ki} ul šapuš
 10. š[épšu]nu [...]nu ina mâti [...] iškun
 [.....].. u kî mârê ša ^mNabû-našir
 [.....]kî ja'nû

Rekto

...²und möge er acht geben auf die Zeichen des Himmels und der Erde. ³Euer Herrscher, worauf gründete er seine Hoffnung und worauf verliess er sich, da er dies tat? ⁵Und die zweite Rede, die wir an euch richten wollen: seit welcher Zeit erklärt ⁶euer Herrscher dem unsern und ihr uns ⁷Auflehnung und Widersetzung ⁸[.....] des Ašurahiddin, seines Vaters, [⁹.....ü]ber euch”.

Verso

“.....des vollendeten Sklaventums des Bêlib[ni...]²[.....] die früheren Könige von Akkad [...] ³Wozu sagt ihr also, die früheren Könige von Akkad” hatten uns nicht anerkannt, indem sie gegen uns Auflehnung erklärten? ⁶Gesteht ihr es uns denn nicht, dass ihr unser seid, dass euer Herrscher ein Sklave des unsern und ihr unsere Sklaven seid? ⁷Und was die Könige von Akkad betrifft, siehe, was ist es mit deren Freiheit? ⁸Setzt euch auseinander mit uns, damit wir es erfahren. ⁹Und die Könige von Akkad, nicht ist ¹⁰[ihre] Fu[sspur] fest gewesen [.....] ¹¹[.....] als ob sie Nachkommen des Nabonas,ir ¹²[.....] dass dies unwahr sei.”

Der Ratschlag, mit welchem das Fragment beginnt, wird illustriert durch zahlreiche uns erhaltene Orakel des göttlichen Willens, die Assurbanipal bestimmten, den Krieg auf sich zu nehmen. Die historische Notiz in verso 1 betrifft jenen Belibni, welcher “wie ein kleines Hündchen” im Palast des Sinaherib aufgewachsen und i.7.703 auf den babylonischen Tron erhoben war. Die Erwähnung von falschen “Kindern des Nabonasir” hat, wie ich annehme, die Dynastie des Marduk-apal-iddin im Auge, speziell den König des Meerlandes, Nâbu-bêl-šumâte, den Verbündeten des Šamaššumukin.

⁵⁷ Here *zakûtu* “cleanliness” used in meaning “cleaning from dependence, privilege” (CAD Z, 32–33).

Bruno Meissner to W.G. Schileico, 21.5. 1928 (The Archive of the Russian Academy of Science, Saint Petersburg Branch. Fund 1059, inventory 1, file 19, fol. 8):

Lieber Herr Kollege!

Das Fragment des assyrischen Briefes, das Sie mir geschickt haben, habe ich allein und mit befreundeten Gelehrten durchstudiert; aber wir haben kein dazupassendes Stück gefunden, auch das Wort *miḫranatte* nicht anderweitig nachweisen können. Der Brief stammt augenscheinlich aus der Zeit kurz vor dem Ausbruch der Feindlichkeiten zwischen Assurbanipal und Šamaš-šum-ukin; Absender und Empfänger müssen mehrere Personen sein, wie die Pluralformen beweisen. Z. 3ff. möchte ich auffassen: Worauf hat euer Herr vertraut? Und im Vertrauen worauf hat er dieses getan? Und ein zweites Wort sagen wir euch:

Seit wann schreibt euer Herr an unsern Herrn und ihr an uns Unverschämtheiten(?) und Frechheiten(?) ... Warum sagt ihr: die früheren Könige von Akkad kennen uns nicht und schreiben uns Unverschämtheiten(?)? Ihr solltet uns nicht kennen? Euer Herr ist der Knecht unseres Herrn, und ihr seid unsere Knechte. Und was die Könige von Akkad anlangt, was ist es denn jetzt mit ihrer Freiheit? Sprecht mit uns, wir wissen es. Die Könige von Akkad haben keine Macht (*šapuš* für *šapšu*?).

Die neue Abhandlung aus Ihrer Akademie ist glücklich bei mir angelangt; leider macht mir die Lektüre des Russischen Schwierigkeiten. Soeben erhalte ich auch Ihre Karte mit dem Labarturelief. Haben Sie vielen Dank dafür. Hoffentlich finden Sie bald einmal Gelegenheit, dasselbe zu publizieren. Das Reallexikon der Assyriologie, nach dem Sie sich erkundigen, wird in dem Verlage von de Gruyter, Berlin erscheinen. Die erste Lieferung, 5 Bogen umfassend, ist soeben fertig gestellt und wird in Bälde erscheinen. Am 25. April habe ich meinen 60. Geburtstag gefeiert, zu dem ich eine Festschrift erhalten habe, an der 34 Gelehrte aus Deutschland und Österreich mitgearbeitet haben. Der erste Band ist soeben als Band IV, 1 der Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft erschienen und wird Ihnen vom Verlag in Bälde zugehen.

Mit den besten Grüßen

Ihr sehr ergeb[ener]

Bruno Meissner

(Emelianov 2017a, 84)

List of abbreviations

AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung.
CAD	I.J. Gelb et al.: The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Chicago 1956–2010.
CDLI	Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative. URL: http://cdli.ucla.edu (date of access: 08.05. 2019).

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- Nik 1 Nikolskij, M.V., Dokumenty hozyajstvennoj otchetnosti drevnejšej epohi Haldei iz sobraniya N.P. Lihacheva, Moscow 1908.
- OLZ Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
- RIME 3/1 Edzard, D.O., Gudea and His Dynasty (Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods 3/1), Toronto 1997.
- VS Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.

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