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DISTRIBUTION OF MEAT IN EANNA

By GILBERT J. P. McEWAN

In view of the fact that so many of the texts from Mesopotamia are concerned with offerings for the various feasts of the Mesopotamian temples it is surprising that we know so little about the actual mechanisms of offering and distribution of the sacrificial remains. For the earlier periods of Mesopotamian history we have virtually no information about offering procedures. We do not know whether the Sumerian priests destroyed the offering animals totally in the manner of a holocaust, whether they were consumed by the priests during the temple feasts or whether only certain pieces were offered to the gods during the sacrificial meal with the remainder being distributed among the temple personnel as a form of income—which we know to have been the practice in the later periods.¹

For the Old Babylonian period we are almost as ill-informed. We know, however, that certain cuts of meat were received from the temple by *naditu* priestesses as “ betrothal gifts ”² and we have lists of recipients of meat cuts,³ but in neither case do we know if offering animals were the source of the meat.

The earliest texts expressly concerned with the distribution of offering remains date to the Middle Assyrian and early Neo-Babylonian periods.⁴ These take the form of royal rescripts or temple ordinances regulating which temple officials are to receive what remains. The most complete and explicit of these is a temple ordinance for the Eanna in Uruk, composed originally during or shortly after the reign of Nabu-apla-iddin, which we possess in the form of a later copy.

This text was first published by Langdon in *OECT* 1, Plates 20 f. Despite its importance, however, it has hitherto received little attention.⁵ The text is admittedly difficult, and as Brinkman⁶ has noted Langdon’s copy contains several errors of commission and omission which have further added to our difficulty in understanding the text. In view of the importance of the text for our understanding of the workings of the offering and distribution system of the Babylonian temples and in accordance with Brinkman’s opinion that “ a new edition of this text is badly needed ”⁷ a new copy and edition of the text are presented here.⁸

The tablet in question is now housed in the Ashmolean Museum as Ash. 1922.256 and measures 162 × 86 mm. It is written in a clear NB hand and bears the notation “ Senkereh M^r H. Weld-Blundell ” on the upper edge. Internal evidence, however, makes it clear that the tablet came from nearby Warka rather than from Senkereh.

¹ The only possible reference to offering procedure in Sumerian texts would seem to be the qualification UZU.A.BAL given to various offering animals, but we are not certain what this qualification means, cf. Oppenheim, *Eames*, 45.

² See Harris, *Festschrift Oppenheim*, 110 ff.

³ E.g. Edzard, *Tell ed-Dēr*, Nos. 104 and 105.

⁴ The MA text is *SVAT* IV, which is to be dated to the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I if Postgate’s understanding of the last line is correct, cf. *NRGD*, 120 f. Early NB regulations are found in *BBSI* 36, col. IV f.

(Nabu-apla-iddin) and *RA* 16 (1919), 117 f. (Marduk-zakir-šumi).

⁵ Partial studies of the text were made by Langdon, *op. cit.*, 25–7; and Holma, *OrNS* 13 (1944), 223–33, who had the benefit of collations made by A. Salonen.

⁶ *PHPKB*, 348 f. and notes 2141 and 2142.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 349.

⁸ The text is republished here courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum.

The document is divided internally into eight sections :

I. Distribution of <i>ginû</i> offerings (1)	lines 1-24
II. Distribution of <i>ginû</i> offerings (2)	lines 25-49
III. Distribution of <i>ginû</i> offerings (3)	lines 50-74
IV. Distribution of <i>guqqû</i> offerings (beef)	lines 75-81
V. Distribution of <i>guqqû</i> offerings (mutton)	lines 82-84
VI. Listing of animals for <i>harû</i> offerings	lines 85 f.
VII. Distribution of male lambs and kids	lines 87-92
VIII. Distribution of female lambs and kids	lines 93-97

With the exception of the sixth section which does not deal with distribution all sections except for the last one begin with the cuts received by the king, *kurummat šarri*. In the last section the *šatammu* is found in place of the king at the head of the list.

There is a further subdivision in the first three sections. This is based partly on anatomical criteria and partly on hierarchical criteria. Using the first section as an example we see that the first four lines after the heading are all concerned with shoulder cuts, *imittu* and *nisiḥ imitti*, together with various other cuts associated with them. The next eleven lines list the remaining major cuts of meat headed by the leg, *pēmu*. There follow two lines concerned with the hide and six lines concerned with the innards and various miscellaneous cuts. Each of these subdivisions is headed by the portion allotted to the king. Inside the various subsections, however, the order seems to have been based on the hierarchy of the offices involved rather than on any principle of anatomical arrangement, although this is by no means unequivocal.

Text (See Figs. 1-2)

1. [tuppi?] <i>gi-ni-e</i> ^d <i>Ištar-Uruk</i> ^{k1} u ^d <i>Na-na-a</i>	<i>šá u₄-mu</i> MU.NI
2. [uz]u <i>imittu</i> (ZAG.UDU) uzurapaštu(GIŠ.KUN) ù uzuşēlu(TI)	<i>kurummat</i> ^{h4} <i>šarri</i>
3. [uz]u <i>lib-bi</i> uzukalitu(ELLAG) uzuna-aš-ra-pu uzunisiḥ <i>imitti</i> (ZAG.UDU.A.RI.A)	<i>lúšešgallu</i> ^u
4. [uz]u <i>imittu</i> uzuşēlu uzurirtu(GABA) ù uzuhar-mil	<i>lúērib bitimeš</i>
5. [uz]u <i>nisiḥ imitti</i> uzukalitu u uzušagiqqu(ŠÀ.GIG)	<i>lúērib bitimeš</i>
6. [uz]u <i>pēmu</i> (ÚR) re-mut ^{md} <i>Nabú-apla-iddin</i> šar <i>Bāb-ili</i> ₆ ^{k1} ^{md} <i>Nabú-kuzub-ilāni</i> ^{meš} <i>apil</i> ^{md} <i>Ištar-šullimšu</i> ?(GI-BI) ^{lú} <i>āšipa i-ri-mu</i> uzurkātu(EGIR)	<i>šarru</i>
7. [ina 2]- ^r <i>i</i> ⁷ uzupēmi	<i>lúšatammu</i>
8. [ina 2]- ^r <i>i</i> ⁷ uzupēmi	<i>lúērib bitimeš</i>
9. [uz]u <i>qatatti</i> (GIŠ.KUN.TUR) ^{ti}	<i>lúmu-ba[n]-nimēš</i>
10. [uz]u <i>abullu</i> (KÁ.GAL)	<i>lúšangú narkabti</i> (É.BAR GIŠ.GIGIR)
11. [uz]u <i>ha</i>]š-hu-ri-e	<i>bīt hi-il-šu</i>
12. [uz]u <i>ti</i>]kku ⁹ (GÚ)	<i>lúkalú</i>
13. [uz]u <i>gan</i> ?] <i>šēli</i> ¹⁰	<i>lúzabardabbu</i>
14. [uz]u <i>pi</i>]-i <i>kar-šú</i>	<i>lúsirāšú</i>

⁹ For a discussion of this reading and other anatomical questions see the appendix to this article.

¹⁰ The placement of the sign TI makes it probable

that it was preceded by another sign, and since the *gan šēli* is known from other NB texts this restoration seems not unlikely.

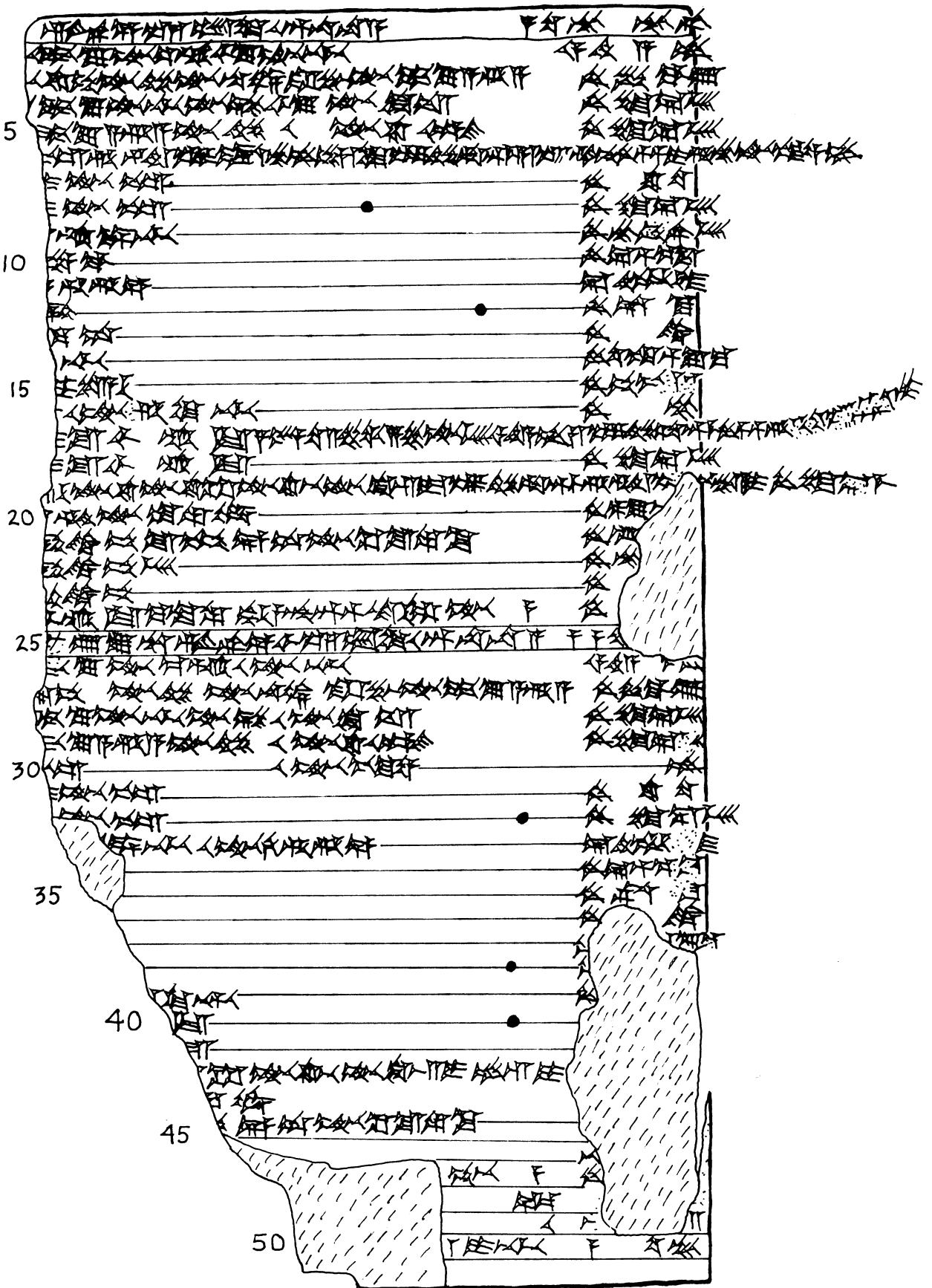


Fig. 1.

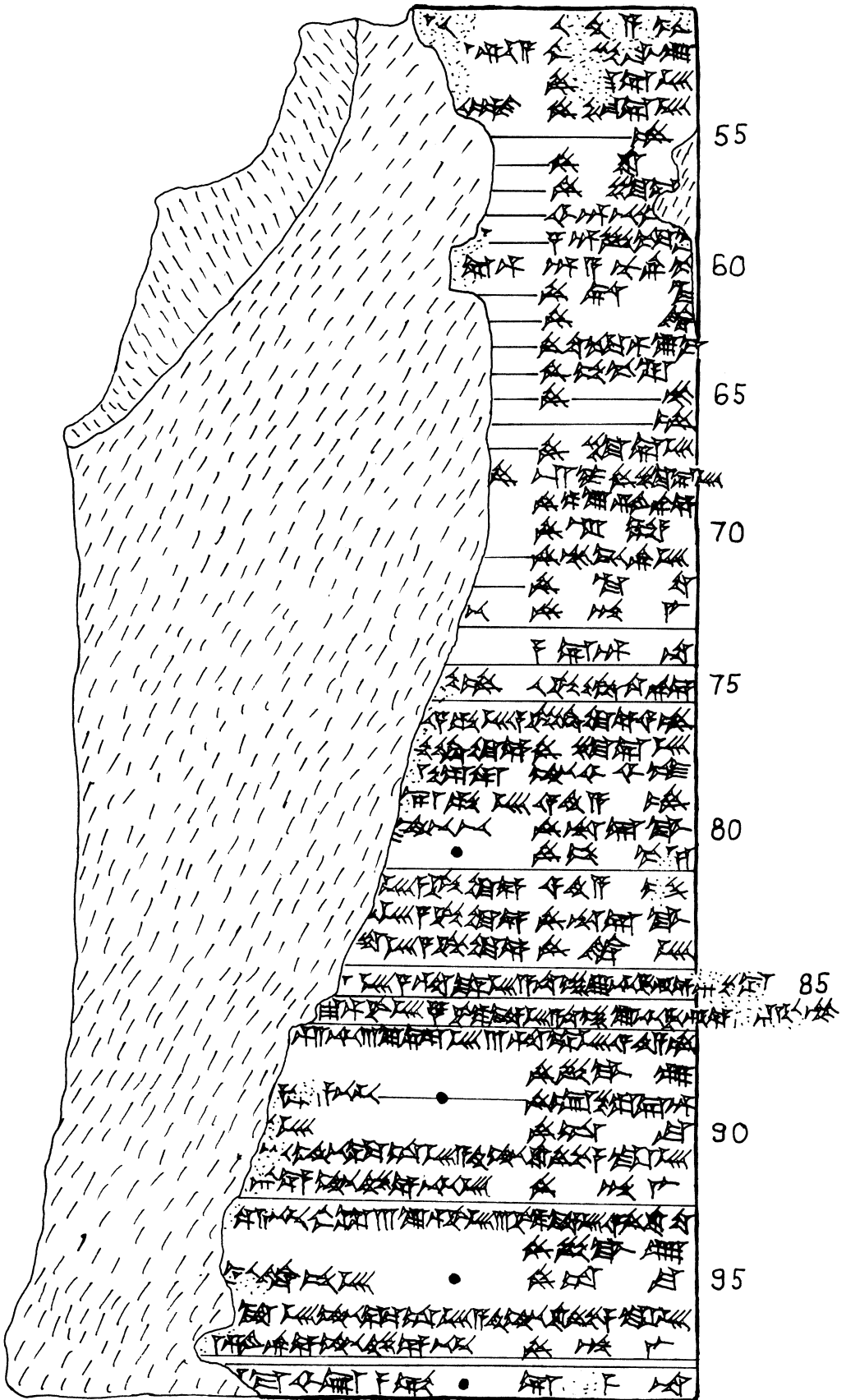


Fig. 2.

15. [uzuqa]qqadu	lúnāru
16. [uzu . . .] u uzuri-qi-ti	lúnuḫatimmu
17. [ina 2] ^{-r i⁷} kušši-ih-tu šá arḫi ūm 2 ^{kam} ūm 15 ^{kam} širūmeš kurummat ^{hā} šarri šá m ^d Nabú-kuzub-ilāni ^{meš} lúāšipi ri-[m]ut m ^d Na[bú-a]pla-iddin	
18. [ina 2] ^{-r i⁷} kušši-ih-tu	lúērib bīti ^{meš}
19. [uzuka]r-šú uzuqerbu(šā) uzuṭirānu(šā.NIGIN) uzuirru dami(šā.MÚD) uzuḫašú(ḪAR) ina 2-i m ^d Nabú-kuzub-ilāni ^{meš} re-mut m ^d Na[bú-ap]la-iddin ina 2-i lúērib bīti ^{meš}	
20. []-mut širi at-ru-UG	lúre'ú [giné]
21. [uzuG]ú?.LUB.BI kušqu-lep-du uzuḫab-su-ru-ku	lúma[lāḫu]
22. [uzuG]ú?.LUB.BI ^{meš}	lúmu-[ban-ni ^{meš}]
23. [uzuG]ú?.LUB.BI	lú[ašlaku]
24. [kušš]i-ih-tu ma-la ru-up-šu šá patar parzilli te-el širu šá lú[tābiḫi]	
25. [šá-n]u-ú immer gi-ni-e pān ^d Ištar-Uruk ^{ki} u ^d Na-na-a šaknat(GAR) šá u ₄ [-mu]	
26. [uzu]mittu uzurapaštu uzušēlu	kurummat ^{hā} š[ar]ri
27. [uzu]ib-bi uzukalitu uzuna-aš-ra-pu uzunisiḫ imitti	lúšešgallu ^u
28. [uzu]mittu uzušēlu uzuirtu u uzuḫar-mil	lúērib bīti ^{meš}
29. [uzuni]siḫ imitti uzukalitu u uzušagiqqu	lúērib bīti ^{meš}
30. [uzupē]mu u zuurkātu	šarru
31. [ina 2-i] uzupēmi	lúšatammu
32. [ina 2-i] uzupēmi	lúērib bīti ^{meš}
33. [uzuqat]atti ^{ti} u uzuḫaš-ḫu-ri-e	bīt ḫi-il-[š]u
34. [uzuabullu]	lúšangū narkabti
35. [uzutikku]	lúkalū
36. [uzuqqqadu]	lúnāru
37. [uzugan? šēli]	lú[zabar]dab[bu]
38. [uzupi-i kar-šú]	lú[sirāšú]
39. [uzu . . . u uzuri]-qi-ti	lú[nuḫatimmu]
40. [ina 2-i kušši-ih]-tu	[šarru]
41. [ina 2-i kušši-ih-t]u	[lúērib bīti ^{meš}]
42. [uzukar-šú uzuqerbu uzuṭi]rānu uzuirru dami uzuḫašú ina 2-i šarru ina 2-i [lúērib bīti ^{meš}] ^{meš}	
43. [. . .-mut širi at-r]u-UG	[lúre'ú giné]
44. [uzuG]ú?.LUB.BI kušq]u-lep-du uzuḫab-su-ru-ku	[lúmalāḫu]
45. [uzuG]ú?.LUB.BI ^{meš}	lúmu-ban-ni]
46. [uzuG]ú?.LUB.BI	lúašlaku]
47. [. . . kušši-ih-tu ma-la ru-up-šú šá patar parzilli te-el] širu šá lú[tābiḫi]	
48. [. . .] SAG [. . .]	
49. [. . .] u x [. . .] x	
50. [. . .] x-i-ti	šá u ₄ -mu
51. [uzu]mittu uzurapaštu uzušē]lu	kurummat ^{hā} ša[rri]
52. [uzu]ib-bi uzukalitu uzuna-aš-ra-pu uzunisiḫ imitti	lúš[ešg]allu ^u
53. [uzu]mittu uzušēlu uzuirtu u uzuḫar-mil]	lúērib bīti ^{meš}
54. [uzunisiḫ imitti uzukalitu u uzuša]giqqu	lúērib bīti ^{meš}
55. [uzupēmu u zuurkātu]	šarru
56. [ina 2-i uzupēmi]	lúša[tammu]
57. [ina 2-i uzupēmi]	lúērib bīti ^[meš]

58. [uzuqatatti ^{ti} ?	<i>pān</i> ^d <i>Be-let</i> -. . .]
59. [uzuḥaš-ḥu-ri-e?	lúšangú ^u (É.BAR) šá ^d <i>Ušur-amat-s</i> [u]
60. [uzubullu?	lú]šangú ^d <i>A-nu-ni-t</i> [u ₄]
61. [uzutikku]	lúkalú
62. [uzuqaqqadu]	lúnāru
63. [uzugan? šēli]	lúzabardabbu
64. [uzupi-i kar-šú]	lúsirāšú ¹ (KAŠ.NAG)
65. [uzu . . . u uzuri-qi-ti]	lúnuḥatimmu
66. [ina 2-i kuššī-ih-tu]	šarru
67. [ina 2-i kuššī-ih-tu]	lúērib bīti ^{meš}
68. [uzukar-šú uzuqerbu uzutirānu uzuirru dami uzuḥašú ina 2-i ša]rru ina 2-i lúērib bīti ^{meš}	
69. [. . .-mut širi at-ru-UG]	lúre ^u giné
70. [uzugú?.LUB.BI kušqu-lep-du uzuḥab-su-ru-ku]	lúmalāhu
71. [uzugú?.LUB.BI ^{meš}]	lúmu-ban-ni ^{meš}
72. [uzugú?.LUB.BI]	lúāšlaku
73. [. . . kuššī-ih-tu ma-la ru-up-šú šá patar parzilli te-el šī]ru šá lúṭābīḥi	
74. [. . .]	šá é-an-na
75. [. . .] x šarri u gu-uq-qa-ni-e	
76. [. . .] x šá alpē ^{meš} šá gu-uq-qé-e kurummat šarri	
77. [. . . šá alpē ^{meš} šá g]u-uq-qé-e	lúērib bīti ^{meš}
78. [. . .] x gur-ru uzušī-šī-ti	
79. [. . . b]it [?] alpē ^{meš}	kurummat ^{há} šarri
80. [. . .] x UZU BAD	lúarad ekalli
81. [. . .]	lúsirašú
82. [. . . qa-a-ti šá immerāti ^{meš} šá gu-qé-e	kurummat ^{há} šarri
83. [. . . qa-a-ti šá immer]āti ^{meš} šá gu-qé-e	lúarad ekalli
84. [. . . qa-a-ti šá imme]rāti ^{meš} šá gu-qé-e	lúnārū ^{meš}
85. [. . . 4 puhadū ^{meš} 4 ¹ lalū(MÁŠ.TUR) ^{meš} a-na taḥ-tip-ti ḥa-re-e šalām bīti(G[I] É)	
86. [. . . 7] parrātu(UDU.BAR.SAL) ^{meš} 7 unīqu(SAL + ÁŠ + KÀR) ^{meš} a-na taḥ-tip-ti ḥa-re-e x-x-mu	
87. [. . . q]a-a-ti 3 puhadū ^{meš} 3 lalū ^{meš}	kurummat ^{há} šarri
88. [. . .]	lúšešgallū ^u
89. [. . .] šá q[a] [?] -a-ti	lúṭupšar bīt ili
90. [. . .] ^{meš}	lúmahḥū
91. [. . .] uzuqaqqadāti ^{meš} a-ḥi uzuqerbi	lúkurgarrū ^{meš}
92. [. . . gi]-ni-e uzukalēti ^{e-ti} ^{meš}	lúṭābīḥu
93. [. . .] qa-a-ti ÁB.NIGIN 3 parrātu ^{meš} 3 unīqu ^{meš}	kurummat ^{há} lúšatammi
94. [. . .]	
94. [. . .]	lúšešgallū ^u
95. [. . . uzug]ú?.LUB.BI ^{meš}	lúmahḥū
96. [. . .] Á [?] ^{meš} uzuqaqqadāti ^{meš} a-ḥi uzuqerbi	lúkurgarrū ^{meš}
97. [. . .] gi-ni-e uzukalēti ^{e-ti} ^{meš}	lúṭābīḥu
98. [kī pí ṭuppi labiri šaṭir]-ma bari makkūr é-[a]n-na	

Translation

1. (Tablet?)¹¹ of the regular offering of Ištar of Uruk and Nana, which (are slaughtered) daily— his name.¹²
2. A shoulder, the rump¹³ and a rib roast— rations of the king
3. The heart, a kidney, the *našrapu* and a choice shoulder cut— the chief priest¹⁴
4. A shoulder, a rib roast, the breast and the *ħarmil*— the priests
5. A choice shoulder cut, a kidney and the spleen— the priests
6. A leg—a gift which Nabu-apla-iddin, king of Babylon, gave to the exorcist, Nabu-kuzub-ilani, son of Ištar-šullimšu; the back— the king¹⁵
7. (One half) of the other¹⁶ leg— the chief administrator
8. (One half) of the other leg— the priests
9. The penis(?)— the cooks
10. “The gate”— the chariot priest¹⁷
11. The testicles(?)— the *bīt ħilšu*¹⁸
12. The neck— the *kalû*-priest¹⁹
13. The head— the singer²⁰
14. The . . . of the ribs— the *zabardabbu*
15. The reticulum— the brewer²¹
16. . . . and the omasum— the baker²²
17. (One half of) the hide monthly from days 2 and 15, (which is) a body portion of the rations of the king, belongs to the incantation priest, Nabu-kuzub-ilani— a gift of (the king) Nabu-apla-iddin
18. (One half of) the hide— the priests
19. The rumen, the small intestines, the colon(?) and the “blood intestines” and the lungs—one half (to) Nabu-kuzub-ilani, a gift of Nabu-apla-iddin—one half—the priests.

¹¹ It is not certain if anything is actually wanting at the beginning of the line, but if so it is certainly not Langdon's [*aš-šum*] which is unparalleled in this sense and certainly too long for the space available.

¹² Or better perhaps “his title”. This refers to the officials listed on the right side of the tablet.

¹³ Cf. *GC* I, 238 ff. where five sides (^{uz}UDA^{mes}) 2 shoulders, 2 rumps and 1 . . . are listed for the *šukhâ* LUGAL.

¹⁴ The remaining titles could either be understood as nominative absolutes or as genitives with *kurummat* as the unexpressed regens.

¹⁵ Both cuts would normally belong to the king as we can see from line 30, but he had given one leg as a boon to Nabu-kuzub-ilani.

¹⁶ Cf. line 19 for the restoration. In line 19 and in the restored line 17 f. and their parallels the phrase would seem to be used simply for “one half”, probably on incorrect analogy with this line. The phrase is otherwise unparalleled with the simple meaning “one half”, for which we should expect *aĥu* as in line 96.

¹⁷ This was the priest who was in charge of the ceremonial chariot. This office is otherwise unat-

tested, but cf. *SWU*, 46 r.7'; 160, 5'; 161, 9'; 162, 10', for the ceremonial chariot at Uruk in the NB period. This line seems to be intrusive in this section, occurring as it does between *qatattu ħašurê*, cf. line 33 where these two occur in the same line.

¹⁸ The function of the *bīt ħilšu* in the temple is not well understood. In Uruk during the Chaldean period it was under the control of a ¹⁴É.BAR priest, *AnOr* 8, 36, 5, cf. *TCL* XIII, 232, 26, and in the Seleucid period of a ¹⁴GAL, cf. Oelsner, *WZJ* 19 (1970), 909. Note that in *SWU*, 160 r.6', the *bīt ħilšu* occurs in a series after ^dGIGIR and that in *SWU*, 150 r.5', it is connected with ^dUNUG^{ki}-i-ti.

¹⁹ The neck was the usual cut for the *kalû* priests, cf. *SVAT*, p. 19 i 16; and *BagM* Beiheft 2, 115, 1.

²⁰ Cf. *SVAT* 13, 33 where the head is given as the requisite of the ¹⁴NAR.GAL; and Dar. 463,2 where it forms part of the requisites of the *isiq* ¹⁴nāru-ū-tu.

²¹ Cf. *Nbk.* 247, 5, although there it forms part of the butcher's prebend.

²² The omasum is also found associated with the baker's prebend in *VS* V, 83, 5; and Ash. 1930. 563b, 10—for the latter see McEwan, *Texts from Hellenistic Babylonia* (*OECT* IX, 62).

20. . . . rest of the internal meat(?)— the *ginû* shepherd ²³
21. A hock(?), the hooves(?), the *ħabsuruku* the boatman
22. (Two) hocks(?)— the temple cook
23. A hock(?)— the fuller
24. The hide, as much as . . .(?), which the iron knife . . .(?) is the body portion of the butcher.
-
25. (The second) regular offering sheep before Ištar of Uruk and Nana, which (is butchered) daily:
26. A shoulder, the rump and a rib roast— rations of the king
27. The heart, a kidney, the *našrapu* and a choice shoulder cut— the chief priest
28. A shoulder, a rib roast, the breast and the *ħarmil*— the priests
29. A choice shoulder cut, a kidney and the spleen— the priests
30. A leg and the back— the king
31. (One half of the other) leg— the chief administrator
32. (One half of the other) leg— the priests
33. The penis(?) and testicles(?)— the *bīt ħiḷṣu*
34. (“The gate”)— the chariot priest
35. (The neck)— the *kalû*-priest
36. (The head)— the singer
37. (The . . . of the ribs)— the *zabardabbu*
38. (The reticulum)— (the brewer)
39. (The . . . and the) omasum— (the baker)
40. (One half of the) hide— (the king)
41. (One half of the) hide— (the priests)
42. (The rumen, the small intestines, the) colon(?), the “blood intestines” and the lungs: one half—the king one half—(the priests)
43. (. . . rest of the internal) meat(?)— (the *ginû* shepherd)
44. (A hock, the) hooves and the *ħabsuruku*— (the boatman)
45. (Two hocks)— (the temple cooks)
46. (A hock)— (the fuller)
47. (The hide, as much as . . ., which the iron knife . . ., is the body portion) of the butcher.
-
48. (. . .) head (. . .)
-
49. (. . .) and (. . .)
-
50. (. . .) daily (. . .)
-
51. (A shoulder, the rump and a rib) roast— the rations of the king
52. (The heart, a kidney, the *našrapu* and a choice) shoulder cut— the chief priest
53. (A shoulder, a rib roast, the breast and the *ħarmil*)— the priests
54. (A choice shoulder cut, a kidney and the spleen)— the priests
55. (A leg and the back)— the king
56. (One half of the other leg)— the chief administrator
57. (One half of the other leg)— the priests

²³ For the restorations of the professions in lines 20–4 see lines 69–73.

58. (The penis?)—	in front of the Mistress of . . . ²⁴
59. (The testicles?)—	the priest of Ušur-amassu
60. (“The gate”)—	the priest of Anunitu
61. (The neck)—	the <i>kalû</i>
62. (The head)—	the singer
63. (The . . . of the ribs)—	the <i>zabardabbu</i>
64. (The reticulum)—	the brewer
65. (The . . . and the omasum)—	the baker
66. (One half of the hide)—	the king
67. (One half of the hide)	the priests
68. (The rumen, the small intestines, the colon(?), the “blood intestines” and the lungs: one half)—the king; one half—the priests	
69. (. . . rest of the internal meat?)—	the <i>ginû</i> shepherd
70. (A hock(?), the hooves(?), the <i>ħabsuruku</i>)—	the boatman
71. (Two hocks?)—	the temple cooks
72. (A hock?)—	the fuller
73. (The hide, as much as . . . (?), which the iron knife . . . (?),) is the body portion of the butcher	
<hr/>	
74. (. . .) of Eanna	
<hr/>	
75. (. . .) of the king and the <i>guqqû</i> offerings	
<hr/>	
76. (. . .) of the oxen of the <i>guqqû</i> offering is the ration of the king	
77. (. . . of the oxen) of the <i>guqqû</i> offering—	the priests
78. (. . .) the shank	
79. (. . .) the oxen stable(?)—	rations of the king
80. (. . .) the . . . (?)—	the builder
81. (. . .)—	the brewer
<hr/>	
82. (. . . one third(?) ²⁵ of the) <i>guqqû</i> sheep is the ration of the king	
83. (. . . one third of the) <i>guqqû</i> sheep—	the builder
84. (. . . one third of the) <i>guqqû</i> sheep—	the singers
<hr/>	
85. (. . . lambs) and kids for slaughtering for the <i>šalām bitī</i> ceremony ²⁶	
<hr/>	
86. (. . . seven) female lambs and seven female kids for slaughtering for the . . . ceremony	
<hr/>	
87. (. . . one) third of three lambs and three kids—the rations of the king	
88. (. . .)	the chief priest
89. (. . .) of one third	the temple scribe
90. (. . .)—	the prophet
91. (. . .) the heads (and) one half of the small intestines—	the <i>kurgarrû</i>

²⁴ Lines 58–60 correspond to lines 9–11 with the priests of the three goddesses replacing the temple cook, chariot priest and *bīt ħišu*.

²⁵ The restoration is suggested by the fact that the section contains three lines and that *qātāti* occurs in

lines 87 and 89. Another possibility would be one half for the king and one quarter for the other two, cf. lines 4–6.

²⁶ Cf. *VS VI*, 268,5.8.12, where lambs are offered in the *šalām bitī* ceremony.

92. (. . .) the kidneys—	the butcher
93. (. . .) third of the heifer, three female lambs and three female kids—	ration of the <i>šatammu</i>
94. (. . .)—	the chief priest
95. (. . .) the hocks—	the prophet
96. (. . .) the heads and one half of the small intestines	the <i>kurgarrû</i>
97. (. . .) of the regular offerings, the kidneys—	the butcher
98. (Written according to an old tablet) and collated—property of Eanna.	

In addition to its value as a source of anatomical terms this text is also useful in as much as it provides us with a seemingly complete listing of the temple personnel of the Eanna temple around the time of Nabu-apla-iddin, at least insofar as the offices were prebendary ones. That is is concerned with the meat perquisites of the various prebends is obvious not only from its contents and arrangement but also from the many correspondences to the prebendary meat perquisites known from kudurrus and prebend sales.

The closest correspondences can be seen in contemporary kudurru inscriptions. The Nabu-apla-iddin kudurru regulating the endowment of the Ebabbara temple in Sippar, for example, contains a close parallel to the royal shares in this text,²⁷ and in a kudurru of Marduk-zakir-šumi we find the neck assigned to the *kalûtu* prebend as in this document.²⁸ The question which arises is the extent to which this regulation remained valid in later periods. With the publication of recent studies on the Uruk priesthood in the Chaldean/Persian and Seleucid periods²⁹ we are somewhat better equipped to answer this question than previously.

Despite the relatively large number of documents from Uruk during the Chaldean and Persian periods we are still relatively ill-informed about the prebend system there. It seems, however, that the prebend system was much more limited than either the one for the 9th century B.C. which can be deduced from this document or that of the Seleucid period. It seems in fact to have been virtually limited to providing perquisite income for those concerned with the preparation of food for ritual repasts.³⁰ The Seleucid system was somewhat broader, but again it does not correspond to what can be adduced from this document. Thus we can assume that this copy, if it is to be dated to the Chaldean or later periods, was no longer in force as an actual regulation. Instead it was probably no more than a literary exercise as the presence of a colophon suggests. This does not of course detract from its value as a historical source for the period of the composition of the original.

²⁷ *BBS* 36, v 7 ff.:

a-ḫu zitti šarri
kurummai šangî ina immerāti^{mēš}
niqê šarri šá kal šatti
uzuḫēmu uzuḡmašku
uzuḡrkatu uzušer'ānu
mi-šil uzuḡkar-ši
mi-šil uzuḡger-bi
2 uzuḡkur-sin-nu

“half share of the king (is now) the ration of the priest in the sheep of the royal offering for the whole

year: (namely) a leg, the hide, the back, the sinews, half of the rumen, half of the small intestines.”

²⁸ *RA* 16 (1919), i 30–ii 12.

²⁹ For the Chaldean and Persian periods see Kümmel, *Familie, Beruf und Amt im spätbabylonischen Uruk* (Berlin, 1979), 148–54; and San Nicolo, *ArOr* 6 (1934), 179 ff. For the prebend system in Uruk in the Seleucid period see McEwan, *Priest and Temple in Hellenistic Babylonia*, Freiburger Altorientalische Studien IV (67–120).

³⁰ Kümmel, *op. cit.*, 148.

We note several changes between the collegium of the Eanna temple in the period of Nabu-apla-iddin and that of the later periods. While the common sacerdotal offices such as those of the *šatammu*, *ērib biti* and *kalú* and the professions of the food preparers, viz. the *tābiḫū*, *sirāšū* and *nuḫatimmu* remain constant, others give evidence of change. The *maḫḫū* and the *zabardabbu*, for example, are completely absent from later texts from Uruk as actual professional titles although the former did survive as a family name.³¹

Furthermore the *šangū* priests in this text differ from those found in later texts from Uruk. In this text we find *šangū* priests for the ceremonial chariot and for the goddesses Ušur-amassu and Anunitu. None of these is found in later texts, although *šangū* priests of other gods continue to be attested at least in the Chaldean and Persian periods.³²

Thus it would seem that by the Chaldean period, if not earlier, changes, though seemingly not fundamental ones, had taken place in the Eanna temple complex. Exactly when and why these changes came about cannot, however, be determined. We can only hope future finds will elucidate this and other questions raised by this text.

APPENDIX: Anatomical Terms in the Text

Among other reasons this text is quite important for the information it provides us on the terms for the various parts of the body or more specifically of the body of a sheep. The 15th tablet of *Hh*, while it provides us a wealth of anatomical information, is in some respects too informative, and we cannot always be certain if the various entries are to be interpreted as subdivisions of or synonyms for other entries. The same holds true for the series *Ugumu*, which was reconstructed along with the *Hh XV* text in *MSL IX*.

The first three sections of this text, however, contain all the important terms for the body of a sheep without synonyms or subdivisions—at least those terms which refer to butchered parts of the sheep. This means that we are for the most part concerned with larger parts of the body. In line 13, to cite but one instance, we find the head, but we nowhere find the various parts of the head, i.e. the eyes, ears etc., since all of these were included in the former and went to the same person, to wit the singer.

The various terms in each of the first three sections, then, refer to a single sheep. This fact not only aids us in our reconstruction of the text, but it is also helpful in fixing the meaning of the various terms. Thus, if a term occurs only once in a section it cannot refer to a paired member, and of course the converse also holds true. Despite the help offered by the text there remain many uncertainties in interpretation.

The order in which the terms are listed in the texts is as much influenced by considerations of priestly hierarchy as by anatomical arrangement. Still there was some attempt at anatomical classification. The first four entries in each of the sections, for example, are concerned with the shoulder while the next three are concerned with the leg. Together with these, however, each entry contained the other cuts which

³¹ *ROS* 6, 18, 1.7.8.10 and *ROS* 7, 135, 6.

³² See Kümmel, *op. cit.*, 147 f.

went to the particular office. Thus while the arrangement does not necessarily have anatomical significance, it may in certain instances help us in our interpretation.

To begin as the text does we find in the first entry the shoulder (*imittu*), the rump (*rapaštu*) and a rib roast (*šēlu*). The interpretation of the *imittu* as the shoulder is generally accepted and calls for no special comment. The interpretation of the second term, however, raises some difficulties. Von Soden in *AHw* s.v. *rapaštu* gives the meanings “Becken, Kreuz (v. Menschen), Keulen (v. Tieren)” and refers to Köcher, *AfO* 18 (1957/8), 312 f. There, however, Köcher seems to be at variance with the interpretation of von Soden, for he states that on animals “bezeichnet *rapaštu* dann den oberen Teil der Hinterbacken, das sogenannte ‘Mittelschwanzstück’”.³³ This seems much better than von Soden’s “Keule” since it is clear from this text and from *Izbu* texts³⁴ that the *rapaštu* is an unpaired part of the body. The ideogram ^{uz}GIŠ/ÚR.KUN suggests a connexion with the tail and the Akkadian *rapaštu*, literally “broad”, immediately calls to mind the rump of an animal. In view of this we should then probably interpret the *rapaštu* as the rump of the animal including perhaps the meaty portion of the tail.

As far as the ribs (TI/šēlu) are concerned it seems that as a cut of meat this referred to one half of the rib cage rather than to an individual rib since only two are mentioned. Hence the translation “rib roast” rather than simply “rib”. We might note here a text from Uruk from the reign of Nabopolassar which gives the perquisites of the *ērib bīti* priests, among which one finds 1 ^{uz}imittu ^{uz}uba-me-e 2 ^{uz}x[].³⁵ The ^{uz}uba-me-e is quite conceivably a variant of *bamtu*, “rib cage”,³⁶ and raises the possibility that *bamû/bamtu* was read in some cases for ^{uz}TI. In any event *šēlu* and *bamû/bamtu* were obviously closely connected as we already know from lexical sources.

The next line contains the heart (*libbu*) the kidney (*ELLĀG/kalītu*) the *našrapu* and the “choice cut of the shoulder” (*ZAG.UDU.A.RI.A/nisiḥ imitti*).³⁷ Little need be said about these except to note that the *našrapu* remains enigmatic. We can only say that it was a single piece, perhaps an internal organ. We might be tempted to see in it a synonym for the ^{uz}šumû “Bratfleisch” which occurs frequently in ritual texts but which is not found in LB economic contexts, whereas *našrapu* as a cut of meat only occurs in N/LB prebend descriptions. The difficulty with this hypothesis is that the verb *šarāpu*, “to burn”, from which *našrapu* is presumably derived is not used with meat in the sense of “to roast”. It may be, however, that *našrapu* referred not to a part of the sheep which was burned but rather to one which was used for burning, perhaps suet or tallow.

The leg (*ÚR/pēmu*)³⁸ section begins in line 6 where it is listed with the back (*EGIR/urkātu*). With regard to the latter it seems not unlikely that this referred to a cut in the lower back region and was perhaps synonymous with *šašallu*, which does not occur in this text.

³³ Köcher, loc. cit.

³⁴ See *TCS* II, 109, 79', where 2 GIŠ.KUN^{meš} are listed among anomalies such as double heads, double spines etc.

³⁵ *SWU* 117, 23'.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 117 note 9.

³⁷ See *MSL* IX 8, 60 for the reading.

³⁸ For the reading *pēmu* rather than *sūnu* for ^{uz}ÚR in these contexts see Labat, *BiOr* 30 (1973), 58a.

The *qatattu* (GIŠ.KUN.TUR-ti)³⁹ which occurs in line 9 and its parallels has been cautiously identified with the penis on the basis of the following considerations. It is the small or narrow *rapaštu*, which probably refers to a part of the tail and the area around it. The penis should fit this definition. Moreover it is associated with the *ḥašḥuré*, which I would suggest is an euphemism for the testicles, and one expects to find the penis and testicles since we are concerned with a male sheep. That this hypothesis is extremely tentative need hardly be stressed.

The pubic bone and its associated meat have been suggested for the KÁ.GAL/*abullu* since we expect something in this general area if our identifications of the *qatattu* and *ḥašḥuré* are correct. The idea of the pubic bone as the gate to the inside seems logical, but there is no direct proof for this. It is hardly to be connected with the use of *abullu* to indicate the portal or umbilical fissure of the liver⁴⁰ since it is difficult to imagine this referring to a cut of meat.⁴¹ The *ḥašḥuré* in line 11 and its parallels are perhaps to be identified with the testicles as mentioned above. The use of such euphemisms—in this case “the apples” (dual?)⁴² for sexual parts is well attested.⁴³

The reading *tikku* for GÚ in line 12 etc. is based on the fact that there are no phonetic writings of *kišādu* for GÚ referring to a part of the body in this period, whereas the phonetic writing of *tikku* for GÚ does occur. The most striking of these is in a text from the Seleucid period from Uruk which is concerned with the perquisites of the *kalú* priests. It begins *šá-tar šá uzu-ti-ik-ka*^{meš} *šá lú-kalí*^{meš},⁴⁴ which is an excellent commentary to our passage. In addition we know that this reading was lexically attested for GÚ,⁴⁵ and thus it seems likely that in this period the reading *kišādu* for GÚ was confined to the meaning “bank, shore”, etc., while *tikku* was read for GÚ when the neck was meant.

The term *kušši-iḥ-tu* in line 17 f. etc., refers not to a “Mastfuttersack” (*AHw*, 1209b) but rather is a general term for the hide. This can be seen from the report of a theft of animals in *YOS* VI, 137, where we find . . . 1-et U₈ ik-ki-su *kušši-iḥ-tu* UZU^{ba} ù mu-šaḥ-ḥi-nu *siparri* . . . i-b[u-ku], “they slaughtered one ewe; the hide, meat and one bronze vessel . . . they took away.”⁴⁶ The root *šḥṭ* with the meaning “to slaughter, flay” is known from Bibl. and post-Bibl. Hebrew, and hence we have no difficulty in assigning the meaning “flayed skin” to the word *šihṭu*.

Line 19 and its parallels contains all the inner parts not listed elsewhere. The first word is more likely to be read [*ka*]r-šú rather than [*ir*]-ri as in *CAD* I, 182a based on Salonen apud Holma, *OrNS* 13,229, since there is no trace of the horizontal necessary for *ri*. *uzušā* is here to be read either *qerbu* or *irru* since both *libbu* and *karšu* are written phonetically, the former in line 3 etc., and the latter here.⁴⁷ Both would be translated “small intestines”. A comparison of the terms in this text with those

³⁹ The reading *rapaltu šeḥru* is also possible, cf. *MSL* IX, 35, 36.

⁴⁰ See Starr, *The Bārú Ritual*, 122; and Jeyes, *JCS* 30 (1978), 212 f.

⁴¹ Note also [uzu x x] = *na-a-a-bat* = *a-bul-lum*, *MSL* IX, 35, 37. Identification with *najabtu*, “floating rib or cartilage at the tip of the rib”, *CAD* N¹, 151b seems unlikely here since this term is confined to extispicy.

⁴² Cf. the LB dual form *kilalē* for *kilalān*.

⁴³ Cf. Holma, *Körperteile*, 96 f.

⁴⁴ *BagM* Beiheft 2, 115, 1. See also *AHw*, 1357a s.v. *tikku* 2a.

⁴⁵ *MSL* III, 77, 27.

⁴⁶ *YOS* 6, 137, 8 ff. Cf. *CAD* M², 254a, where *kuššiḥṭu* is translated simply hide; and Joannès, *RA* 74, 148, 1 f., 6 *kušši-ḥa-ṣa*^{meš} ù *gi-da-a-tu₄-šú-nu*, “6 hides and their tendons”.

⁴⁷ Cf. *MSL* IX, 9, 98–101.

known from OB extispicy texts shows that the NB terminology was somewhat simplified as a comparison with the chart in Starr, *The Bārû Rituals*, 144 shows:

OB Term	Meaning (Starr)	NB
<i>karšum</i>	rumen	<i>karšu</i>
<i>pî karšim</i>	reticulum	<i>pî karši</i>
<i>riqîtum</i>	omasum	<i>riqîtu</i>
<i>kukkudrum</i>	abomasum	?
<i>sarkat</i>	duodenum	} <i>qerbu/irru</i>
<i>qerbu</i>	jejuno-ileum	
<i>šuhhum</i>	caecum	?
<i>tirānu</i>	colon	<i>tirānu</i>
<i>surumum</i>	rectum	?
	?	<i>irru dami</i>

It seems likely that in this text *qerbu* (šà) refers to the whole of the small intestine and not just the jejuno-ileum. It is possible that the word for abomasum is to be found at the beginning of line 17 before *riqîtu*. The *irru dami* here may refer to either the caecum or the rectum, but this is uncertain.

The UZU *at-ru-ug* in line 20 etc., is enigmatic. If we wish to connect it with ‘TRG in Aramaic and Arabic “citron” we might then view it as a circumlocution or metaphor similar to *hašhuru* “apple” used to refer to a part of the body. This, however, gets us no farther toward an identification.

[UZU]X.LUB.BI in lines 21 ff. is probably to be read *kursinnu*, “hock”, since it would seem that there were four of these on the animal and since we know that hocks were included frequently in prebends.⁴⁸ The first sign is probably [G]Ú, and hence we might restore the broken ideogram for *kursinnu* in *Hh XV* as [UZU GÚ].LUB.BI rather than simply [UZU] LUB.BI.⁴⁹

The meaning of ^{uzu}*hab-su-ru-ku* in line 21 etc., remains unknown. The term also occurs in a description of the perquisites of the *nārûtu* prebend in the following context . . . 1-en qaqqad immeri šá NU UR [] u *ha-ab'-su-ru-uk-ka* . . ., “one sheep’s head of . . . and *habsuruku* . . .”.⁵⁰ As can be seen this does not help us much except for giving a possible connexion with the head.

There is little to be said about the remainder of the text except to note that the ^{uzu}*ši-ši-ti* in line 78 would seem to be better viewed as a variant writing of *šisîtu*, “Haxe”, rather than placing it as in *AHw*, 1250b, with *šišîtu*, “Häutchen”.

⁴⁸ *BBS* 36, v 14; *VS* VI, 268, 3; *PV* 107, 8; *VDI* 1955, 157 VIII 12.

⁴⁹ *MSL* IX, 13, 248.251.

⁵⁰ *Dar.* 463, 2 f.