

N.A.B.U.

Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires

1990

N°3 (septembre)

NOTES BRÈVES

81) Die §§ 125 bis 129 CH und ihre Stellung im Gesetz – In ZA 57 (1965) 158 hatten wir für die §§ 125 – 128 CH einen «System-Zusammenhang» vermutet, wonach die §§ 127 und 128 durch das Stichwort *aššatum* «Ehefrau» mit einander verknüpft sind. R. Yaron, *The Laws of Eshnunna*² (1988) 204f., 205¹⁰⁷, lehnt dies ab; nach ihm gehören die §§ 127 und 129ff. zu *sets of provisions, in LE and CH, on sexual misbehaviour* und bildet § 128 an der Stelle, an der er jetzt steht, eine unpassende Einfügung in ein *coherent set of provisions*. Dagegen hat P. Koschaker, *Rechtsvergleichende Studien zur Gesetzgebung Hammurapis ...* (1917) Systemschwierigkeiten mit § 127: «eigentümliche systematische Stellung» (S. 210f.), «systematisch isolierte Stellung» (S. 212). Für G.R. Driver & J.C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws I* (1960) 275 ist die Stellung der §§ 127/128 schwer erklärbar; sie vermuten jedoch meines Erachtens zu recht in § 127 ein «*connecting link*» zwischen § 126 und den folgenden Ehebestimmungen.

Vielleicht lässt sich aber trotz der Bedenken der genannten Autoren ein grösserer systematischer Zusammenhang der §§ 125 bis 128 mit einander und so eine Erklärung für ihre Stellung finden.

Sie scheinen nämlich eine Sequenz von Zweierparaphengruppen zu bilden: §§ 125/126, 126/127, 127/128, bei denen die jeweils zwei Paragraphen trotz ihrer völlig verschiedenen Sachverhalte immer ein gemeinsames Element haben und insofern «zusammengehörig» sind. Gegenstand des § 125 ist Gut, das seinem Verwahrer abhanden gekommen war; § 126 betrifft (wahre oder) unwahre Behauptungen über – insofern an § 125 anschliessend – abhanden gekommenes Gut¹; § 127 stellt unwahre – s. dazu § 126 – verleumderische Behauptungen in Bezug auf eine *entum*-Priesterin oder eine *aššatum* «Ehefrau» unter Strafe; § 128 schliesslich – an das Stichwort *aššatum* anschliessend – beginnt mit diesem Wort ein neues Grossthema, das Thema «Familienrecht», d.h.: In §§ 125-126 handelt es sich um wirklich oder angeblich abhanden gekommenes Gut; die §§ 126-127 haben die Sanktionen für das Aufstellen unwahrer Behauptungen zum Gegenstande; den §§ 127/128 ist der Personenkreis *aššatum* gemeinsam. Dabei bildet der jeweils zweite Paragraph das Bindeglied, die «Brücke», zwischen dem vorausgehenden und dem nachfolgenden Gesetz. Damit führen jene Zweiergruppen, einander attrahierend, schrittweise vom einen zum anderen völlig verschiedenen Themenbereich (moderne Gesetzgeber würden ohne stilistischen Übergang über das neue Thema einfach eine Überschrift setzen). Mir scheint, dass diese – scheinbar «an den Haaren herbeigezogene» – Anordnung nicht zufällig ist.

Der (Die) Redaktor(en) stand(en) vor der schwierigen Aufgabe, zwei grosse aufeinander folgende, sachlich verschiedene Themen («Vermögensrecht», zuletzt Depositum in §§ 122/125, und «Familienrecht») irgendwie mit einander zu verbinden. Wenn dem(den) Redaktor(en) wirklich – wofür meines Erachtens eine nicht geringe Wahrscheinlichkeit besteht – jener hier skizzierte Gedankengang vorgeschwebt haben sollte, hätte jener Übergang vom einen zum anderen völlig verschiedenen Thema kaum besser erfunden werden können. Diese rekonstruierte Gedankenführung entspräche der im CH auch anderweit sichtbaren Tendenz, zwischen dem Ende eines Themas und dem Beginn eines neuen Gegenstandes abrupte harte Übergänge zu vermeiden und – wenn notwendig – schrittweise Übergänge zu schaffen.

Dabei kann für die Systemdiskussion dahingestellt bleiben, ob die §§ 127 und 129ff. «Eigenproduktion» der(des) Verfasser(s) des CH darstellten oder ganz oder teilweise aus anderen Quellen

wörtlich oder umformuliert kompilatorisch übernommen worden waren. Wenn sie aber gar auf eine gemeinsame Vorlage zurückzuführen und von der Redaktion durch Einfügung des § 128 getrennt worden wären, so wäre nach einem etwaigen Grund zu fragen: Plan- und ordnungslose Kompilation etwa aus verschiedenen Quellenvorlagen (so im Ergebnis wohl Yaron 204f.) oder – wahrscheinlicher – eine vielleicht traditionelle, planmäßige Gedankenführung? Einen Hinweis geben dafür die §§ 27/28 CE. Schon Yaron 204 vermerkt, dass «LE 27/8 (or a similar text) is perceivable in CH 128». Tatsächlich weisen beide Paragraphengruppen trotz aller Verschiedenheit in der Diktion im einzelnen eine gemeinsame Gedankenfolge für die nachfolgenden eherechtlichen Bestimmungen auf:

- 1) Definition, wann eine Frau (noch) «nicht Ehefrau» ist (§§ 27 CE, 128 CH);
- 2) Definition, wann eine Frau «Ehefrau» ist (§ 28 CE, in CH unausgesprochen); mögliche Folge
- 3) Ehebruch (§§ 28 CE; 129 CH, die §§ 130-132 attrahierend), im CH als Auftakt zum Eherecht überhaupt. Die Analogie wird in beiden Gesetzen thematisch fortgesetzt durch Bestimmungen über das Schicksal der Ehe, bzw. über die ehelichen Verpflichtungen der Frau bei langdauernder, unverschuldeter oder verschuldeter Abwesenheit des Mannes (§§ 29/30 CE, 133-136 CH). Die die Einleitung zum Thema «Ehe/Familienrecht» bildende Sequenz der §§ 128 und 129 scheint danach in ihrer gedanklichen Abfolge direkt oder indirekt von Vorläufern beeinflusst zu sein; den Übergang zu ihnen vom vorhergehenden «Vermögensrecht» bewirkten – wie gezeigt – die §§ 125-127.

Im übrigen scheint es keineswegs sicher, dass § 127 zusammen mit §§ 129ff. zu einem speziellen Thema «sexual misbehaviour» gehört(e). Er stellt nur allgemein eine von einem «Verleumder» nicht bewiesene Verleumdung einer *entum*-Priesterin oder einer *aššatum* «Ehefrau» unter peinliche Strafe. Über den Inhalt der Verleumdung sagt § 127 gar nichts aus; er konnte verschiedenster aber offenbar ehrenrühriger Art sein, so über Charaktereigenschaften der Betroffenen: Diebisch, Betrügerin, Verschwenderin (vgl. *suppuḫu* «verschwenden» in § 141), Trinkerin (vgl. § 110: Todesstrafe für eine *entum* wegen Schenkenbesuchs), sonstiger liederlicher Lebenswandel und auch sexuelles, aber noch nicht ehebrecherisches Missverhalten. Inhaltlich ist also § 127 völlig neutral: Verleumdung schlechthin, ähnlich den §§ 186/7 des Deutschen Strafgesetzbuches. Ob die Phrase «*ú-ba-nam ú-ša-at-ri-iš*» «er hat einen Finger (gegen eine *entum* oder eine *aššatum*) ausstrecken lassen» in der Protasis des § 127 CH zwingend allein auf Behauptungen über sexuelles Missverhalten beschränkt gewesen war, ist – s. auch Koschaker 214 – unsicher. Die spezifisch sexuelle Komponente von Verleumdungen – Bezeichnung einer Ehefrau, Geschlechtsverkehr mit einem anderen Mann (gehabt) zu haben – erscheint systemgerecht erst in den §§ 131f. unter dem Thema «Ehefrau, eheliche Treupflicht».

Vielleicht hat Koschaker 213 recht, dass § 127 aus einer von der Redaktion des CH überarbeiteten Quelle stammt, die ursprünglich nur von der verleumdeten *entum* handelte; bei der gewollten Übernahme in das Gesetz fand die Stelle ihren Platz nach § 126, dessen Gegenstand ebenfalls das Aufstellen unwahrer Behauptungen war. Vielleicht wurde mit Rücksicht auf die mit § 128 folgenden Bestimmungen über *aššātu* zwecks Schaffung eines Übergangs zu §§ 128ff. in jener Quelle die *aššatum* eingefügt, die damit zugleich – beabsichtigt(?) – denselben Ehrenschatz erhielt wie die *entum*. Der Vorläufer des § 127 hätte damit nicht in den eherechtlichen Bereich gehört. Das würde das etwas merkwürdige Nebeneinander von *entum* und *aššatum* erklären und auch das Fehlen von Angaben über den Inhalt der in § 127 unter peinliche Strafe gestellten Verleumdungen.

Offensichtlich sollte – wie gesagt – mit § 128 ein neues (Gross-)Thema begonnen werden: Das Familienrecht, angefangen mit «Ehefrau, eheliche Treupflicht» in §§ 128 bis 136, und zwar zunächst – chronologisch richtig – mit der «Negativdefinition»: Eine Frau, die ein Bürger als *aššatum* «Ehefrau» genommen hat, ist keine «Ehefrau» (*ul aššat*), wenn die für eine Eheschließung erforderlichen Formen nicht erfüllt sind. Das bedeutet unausgesprochen, dass eine solche Frau keinen Ehebruch begehen kann. Entsprechend dem auch anderweit zu beobachtenden Denk- und Ordnungsschema, dass oft einem behandelten Rechtsfall ein Gegenfall gegenüber gestellt wird (Schema: «Fall – Gegenfall», hier «Nichtehefrau : Ehefrau») schliesst § 129 als Gegenfall zu § 128 – «chronologisch richtig» – den Fall des Ehebruchs durch eine *aššatu* an. Indirekt bestätigt § 129 die eben aus § 128 gezogene Folgerung, dass die «Nichtehefrau» keinen Ehebruch begehen kann, auch wenn sie wie in § 27 CE ein Jahr (oder länger) ehelos bei einem Manne lebt.

Nach alledem scheint die Stellung der §§ 127 und 128 im Gesetzeswerke – entgegen z.B. Koschakers negativer Wertung – systemgerecht zu sein, wohl durchdacht in einer für uns schwer erkennbaren und nachvollziehbaren Denkweise. Auch hier wird, wie meist im CH, der Regelfall nicht *expressis verbis* erwähnt, nämlich die Verpflichtung der Frau zur ehelichen Treue.

¹Driver & Miles I 245 vermuten ansprechend einen direkten sachlichen Zusammenhang zwischen beiden Paragraphen (*closely connected*).

Herbert P.H. PETSCHOW (09-07-90)
Heinrich-v.-Kleist-Str. 2-4
8730 BAD KISSINGEN RFA

82) *Pays des Lacs – A deux reprises, j'avais cru trouver une attestation de la «Région des Lacs», dans ARM V, 67: 16 [= M.A.R.I. V, pp. 216-217] et dans ARM I, 42: 37-38 [= N.A.B.U. 1988-17 ([34])]. Un ré-examen des passages (après nettoyage plus poussé des tablettes) et la constitution du dossier historique afférent me font désormais proposer avec beaucoup plus de vraisemblance (c'est *têmtum* la forme mariote!) qu'il s'agit chaque fois du *mât du*-ma-a-tim*, lequel était d'ailleurs déjà attesté dans ARM I, 23: 11 & 20. Le «Pays des *Dumtum*» est certainement une région proche de Tell Leilan puisqu'il est mentionné en même temps que le district (*halšum*) de Šubat-Enlil. C'est, en tout cas, une région centrale où des prisonniers de guerre sont déportés comme travailleurs. Il n'est pas impossible qu'il s'agisse de la région actuelle des lacs mais, en tout cas, l'étymologie du toponyme n'y incite plus. Il est possible que «*du-ma-a-tim*» soit descriptif, au même titre qu'*apum* dans *mât apim*, car il ne semble pas y avoir de ^{ki} après le toponyme. Le terme est certainement apparenté au toponyme Dumtân (Dumtên) de la région de Terqa, auquel il faut rapporter la variante Dimtân (Dimtên) de la région de Terqa également. Un toponyme Dimtum est aussi connu pour Sagarâtum. Les toponymes peuvent en effet être attestés sous plusieurs formes dialectales, le cas le plus spectaculaire étant celui d'Ilum-Muluk qui devient certaines fois Ilum-Malik, etc. Il pourrait donc s'agir, éventuellement, du «Pays des fermes fortifiées». Le toponyme ne semble attesté, en tout cas pour l'instant, qu'à l'époque du royaume de Haute-Mésopotamie. Peut-être le «Pays d'Apum» regroupe-t-il, à l'époque de Zimri-Lim, plusieurs divisions géographiques distinguées à l'époque de Samsî-Addu.

Jean-Marie DURAND (10-08-90)

3 av. de Choisy, App. 2111, 75013 PARIS

83) aB Kaštappum, mA Kaltappu, nA Kassappa/i – AfO 32 (1985) ad (RGTC 5,)148 hatten J.N. Postgate und ich dafür plädiert, den mA ON Kaltappu mit dem nA ON Kassappa/i zu identifizieren. Zeitgleich damit wurde von J. Eidem in Iraq 47 (1985) 87 Anm. 26 in Umschrift eine aB Quelle veröffentlicht, in der zweimal (Z. 12.16) das Toponym *Ka-aš-tap-pi-im^{ki}* vorkommt: SH 882, ein Brief des Šamši-Adad an Kuwari von Šušarrā, dem darin befohlen wird, 1000 Mann, angeführt von einem *rabi Amurrim* von Šušarrā nach Kaštappum zu entsenden, wo Šamši-Adad bereits eingetroffen ist. Auf Grund der phonetischen Entwicklung aB *-št-* > mA *-lt-* > nA *-ss-* und des geographischen Horizonts (^{1D}*Za-i¹-ba-am i-te-bi¹-ru¹*, «sie überquerten den (Kleinen) Zāb», Z. 11) kann kaum Zweifel daran bestehen, dass sich die aB, mA und nA Toponyme auf ein und denselben Ort beziehen.

Der Name lebt fort in dem modernen Toponym *Tall Kašāf/Kešāf/Kušāf*, wo S. Parpola (LAS II p. 202; SAA I p. 237b) das antike Kassappa/i sucht. *Tall K.* wurde besucht und beschrieben von F. Sarre und E. Herzfeld, Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet I (1911) 210-212. Dieser Tell liegt am Grossen Zāb, etwa 2 km stromaufwärts von dessen Mündung in den Tigris. An seiner Nordseite wird er von einer Flussschleife umspült; die Zitadelle erhebt sich etwa 30 m über den Wasserspiegel. Dank der günstigen verteidigungstechnischen Lage, die eine Kontrolle des Unterlaufs des Grossen Zāb ermöglichte, dürfte K. von grosser strategischer Bedeutung gewesen sein, die auch von SH 882 reflektiert wird.

K. war der Ausgangspunkt von vier Strassen in nördlicher, südlicher, nordöstlicher und südöstlicher Richtung.

Nach N führte eine Route, links des Tigris, nach Kalḫu – Sasiqani – Zikkû – Ninua (LAS 206: 10-r.10).

Nach S war Kassappa/i, ebenfalls auf dem linken Tigris-Ufer, durch die Stationen Amante (Amatte) und Mē-ṭābūte (SAA I 104: 1-9) und im weiteren Verlauf wohl über Ekallāte und Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta (dort Übergang auf das rechte Ufer) mit Aššur verbunden. Man darf somit davon ausgehen, dass in nA Zeit Ninua und Aššur sowohl rechts wie links des Tigris miteinander durch Strassen verknüpft waren.

Nach NO ist auf der SAA I beigefügten Karte «The Assyrian Empire» (fortan: SAA Map) eine Strasse Kassappa – Kilizi – Arba'il eingezeichnet. Ein Itinerar im strengen Sinn ist für diese Route nicht überliefert, doch scheint der Aufzählung URU.Ka-¹sa¹¹-pa ND 2803 I 34 (Iraq 23, pl. 29) – URU.A-di-AN (I 31) – URU.Kāl-zu (I 20) – URU.¹Arba-¹il' (I 8) ein itinerarähnliches Prinzip zugrunde zu liegen. Die drei letztgenannten Städte, URU.Kāl-zi, URU.EN-AN, URU.Arba-¹il sind auch in SAA I 160 r.6.11.13 (wenn auch in anderer Reihenfolge) miteinander kombiniert. Man wird also nicht fehlgehen, wenn man für die Strassenverbindung Kalḫu – Arba'il die Zwischenstationen Kassappa/i – Adi'an (oder Adi'il) – Kilizi postuliert. Von Arba'il führte diese Strasse weiter in nordöstlicher Richtung nach URU.1-te (vielleicht Issēte zu lesen) – URU.Mu-šī – URU.Ḫi-ip-¹tū¹-ni in der Provinz des Nāgir ekalli (ABL 891: 6-8); vgl. P.E. Pecorella – M. Salvini, Tra lo Zagros e l'Urmia, 1984, 120-121). Über das Andarutta-Gebirge mit den Pässen Topzawā und Kelišīn gelangte man auf diesem Wege nach Mušasir. An einem Teilstück dieser Route scheint sich auch SAA I 170 zu orientieren: [URU.Ka-sa]-ap-pi – [URU.x]-d.IM – URU.Arba-¹il – URU.1-te (Z. 7.5.4.2).

Der Itinerarcharakter von SAA I 170 tritt jedoch deutlich in Z. 7-10 zutage, wo folgende Stationen erwähnt werden: [URU.Ka-sa]-ap-pi – URU.Ba-qar – [URU.Ar/Ur]-zu-ḫi-na. Die beiden letztgenannten Orte vermitteln den Anschluss an das sog. Zamua-Itinerar K.4675+ (vgl. jüngst L.D. Levine, SAAB III/2, 1989, 75-92, mit neuer Kopie von J.N. Postgate), dessen Ausgangspunkt URU.Ba-qar-ri (Z. 1.3) ist; von dort führt die Strasse über URU.Sa-re-e (Z. 1.2) weiter nach URU.Ár-zu-ḫi-na (Z. 2.3). Die Stadt Sarê (auf der SAA Map = Altin Köprü am Nordufer des Kleinen Zâb) ist, wiederum nach der SAA Map (vgl. auch D. Oates, Iraq 36, map on pl. 24), sowohl von Arba'il als auch von Kilizi erreichbar; die beiden Strassen treffen an einem Punkt etwa 15 km nordwestlich von Sarê zusammen. Genau hier möchte ich die Lage von URU.Ba-qar(-ri) vermuten. Wenn ich SAA I 170: 7-8 richtig verstehe, mündete in B. noch eine dritte (auf der SAA Map nicht eingezeichnete) Strasse, eben die von Kassappa/i in südöstlicher Richtung führende Route nach Baqar(ri).

Auf welchem Weg die Streitmacht des Kuwari von Šušarrâ nach Kaštappum gelangen sollte, können wir SH 882 nicht entnehmen. Das Geländeprofil erlaubte wohl kaum, von Šušarrâ in westlicher Richtung direkt gen Arba'il (Urbil) zu marschieren; wahrscheinlicher liess der *rabi Amurrim* seine Tausendschaft den zwar längeren, aber bequemeren Weg entlang des Kleinen Zâb einschlagen bis zu dem (später so genannten) Sarê und von dort nach Kaštappum.

Die mA Belege, URU.Kal-tap-pu VS 21, 17: 41 und die Nisbe URU.Kal-<tap>-pa-ie-e stehen im Kontext mit den Städten Ša-Il-ittija, Rêš-nēberi, Kalḫu und Ḫusāna. Ein geographisches Anordnungsprinzip ist nicht erkennbar; die Information beschränkt sich darauf, dass Arbeitskräfte aus den genannten Städten zu Bauarbeiten in Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta zusammengezogen wurden.

In nA Zeit unterstand Kassappa/i nach ND 2640: 23 (Iraq 23, pl. 21) dem Statthalter von Kilizi.

Der von S. Parpola, NATop. p. 203, zu Kassappa/i gestellte Beleg URU.Ka-šap-pi aus dem nB Brief ABL 862: 3.5 ist mit R. Zadok, RGTC 8, p. 198, von nA Kassappa/i zu trennen und mit dem Land Kašappu (CT 57, 255: 30 und YOS 3, 14, 8f.) zu verbinden, das im SO Babyloniens zu suchen ist.

Karlheinz DELLER (16-07-90)

Assyriologie/Sandgasse 7

6900 HEIDELBERG, RFA

84) Eine Erwägung zur Lokalisierung des aB ON Qabrâ/Qabarâ – «The town of Qabrâ, although probably close to the modern town of Altin Köprü, cannot be located precisely, but the land of Qabrâ must have incorporated a major part of the large and fertile plain between the Zâbs, including the town of Urbêl (Erbil) in the north» J. Eidem, Iraq 47 (1985) 84 mit Anm. 7. Auch die gründliche Beschäftigung mit den auf Q. bezüglichen Mari-Belegen durch D. Charpin und J.-M. Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 4 (1985) 312-315, erbrachte keine weitergehende Präzisierung. Selbst die Veröffentlichung von sechs neuen Mari-Belegen für Q. durch D. Charpin, S. Lackenbacher und B. Lafont in *AÉM* I/2 (1988; es handelt sich um 291: 23; 373: 38; 489: 8.46; 510: 9; 512: 5, die RGTC 3, 187 nachzutragen sind) trägt nicht wesentlich zur definitiven Lösung des Problems bei.

Vorgängig hatte sich Hildegard Lewy bemüht, Q. mit Hilfe der Nuzi-Texte zu lokalisieren: *WdO* 2 (1959) 438-445, spez. 441 Anm. 3; *OrNS* 28 (1959) 4-25, spez. 8 Anm. 1, 24 Anm. 2-8, 25 Anm. 1; *JAOS* 88 (1968) 150-162, spez. 151 und Karte p. 161. Die von ihr URU.Qa-ab-ra gelesenen Belege hat indes A. Fadhil (Studien zur Topographie und Prosopographie der Provinzstädte des Königreichs Arraphê, *BaF* 6, 1983, 198) allesamt als URU.Ila-ab-ra-še-mi-we gedeutet bzw. ergänzt. Hinsichtlich der Lokalisierung des von ihr ebenfalls herangezogenen (*OrNS* 28, 25 mit Anm. 1) ON URU.Kap-ra (GAL/TUR) kommt G.G.W. Müller in seiner Heidelberger Dissertation, *Geographie des Landes Arrapha. Topographie und Einwohnerschaft* (1990) 90, zu dem Schluss, dass Gross- und Klein-Kapra unmittelbar benachbart und beide in der Nähe von Kurruḫani (Tell Faḫar), keineswegs jedoch nördlich des Kleinen Zâb, zu suchen sind. Mit den Positionen beider Autoren kann ich mich identifizieren; von den Nuzi-Texten können Argumente für eine genaue Lokalisierung von Q. nicht bezogen werden.

Rekurs auf nA Quellen nahmen D. Charpin und J.-M. Durand, *M.A.R.I.* 4 (1985) 314 Anm. 92: «Malgré les trois occurrences du NG sous la forme *Sa-ar-ri-ma.KI* [ARM 4, 49: 5.8.12; danach ergänzt *ShT* 57, SH 861: 14], on considèrera qu'il s'agit de la ville de Sarrê». Gemeint sind die nA Belege URU.Sa-re-e K. 4675+: 1.2 (SAAB III/2, 76-77); ABL 192: 11.14; ABL 635 r. 1; ND 2640: 33 (Iraq 23, pl. 21); vgl. *BaF* 6, 73-78. Die Anregung der beiden französischen Kollegen ist nachdrücklich zu unterstützen.

Aus Nuzi-Texten lässt sich das Toponym S. (bisher) nicht belegen. Unter den in der Stadt Azuḫinni verehrten Göttern findet sich SMN 2153+2154: 9' (HSS 13, pl. 10) auch d.*Sa-re-^le'*. Da die beiden Städte A. und S. in jedem Fall geographisch sehr nahe aneinander zu rücken sind, könnte man die Vermutung äussern, dass S. sowohl ein Theonym als auch ein Toponym, wie Aššur und Tilla, darstellt.

Nach der übereinstimmenden Deutung von ARM 4, 49 in *M.A.R.I.* 4, 314 und Iraq 47, 84-85 flohen die Einwohner von Sarrima vor dem anrückenden König Šamši-Adad nach der Festung Qabrâ, während

er in der verlassenen Stadt Lager bezog. Die Flucht von S. nach Q. erfolgte sicher nicht über Stock und Stein, sondern auf einer bestehenden Strasse. Projiziert man diese Route auf das Zamua-Itinerar, so findet man dort die Stationen URU.Sa-re-e und URU.Ba-qar-ri. Das bedeutet, dass die nA Stadt B. auf den Ruinen der aB Stadt Q. erbaut sein muss und darüber hinaus Kontinuität in der Namengebung besteht.

Lässt man Vokallängen und Konsonantenverdoppelungen ausseracht, verhalten sich die beiden Namen wie /Qabara/ zu /Baqara/, d.h. die Silben /qa/ und /ba/ erscheinen invertiert, während die Endsilbe /ra/ ihre Position behauptet. Als Grund für diese Inversion möchte ich einen psychologischen benennen: für assyrische Ohren klang /Qabara/ zu sehr an *qabāru* «bestatten» (babylonisch *qebēru*) and *qabru* «Grab» an. Einer der Wege, dieses Tabu zu vermeiden, war die Silbeninversion, ein anderer bestand in der Substituierung des /r/ durch /l/. So schrieb man nicht selten in lexicalischen und zweisprachigen Texten *qá-ab-lum*, *qab-lum/lu/li* statt *qá-ab-rum*, *qab-rum/ru/ri* (Belege s. CAD Q 17b/18a); diese Schreibvarianten «may point to an avoidance of this word, due to some taboo» (CAD Q, 18b).

Die ungleiche Dichte der Attestation von *Qa-ab/ba-ra-a^{ki}* in aB und URU.Ba-qar-(ri) in nA Texten erklärt sich aus der historischen Situation: zur Zeit des Šamši-Adad war Q. eine heiss umkämpfte Festung, deren Besitz gleichbedeutend war mit einer Kontrolle über das Land zwischen Kleinem und Grossen Zāb; ab der mA Zeit war dieses Gebiet fest in assyrischer Hand (vgl. einfach die Karte TAVO B III 7). Seinen Rang verdankt die Stadt Baqar(ri) dem Umstand, dass sie jetzt ein Post- und Fernmeldeknotenpunkt, ein *bēt mardīti* erster Ordnung ist. Aus diesem Grund beginnt das Zamua-Itinerar an dieser Stelle. Falls meine oben vorgetragene Vorstellung einer Route Kassappa/i – Baqar(ri) – A/Urzuḫina nach SAA I 170: 7'-10' der Kritik standhalten sollte, wäre K.4675+ nicht länger der einzig verfügbare Beleg und liesse sich das Urteil von L.D. Levine «Baqarri is virtually unknown, and its location is uncertain» (SAAB III/2, 85) revidieren.

Der hier vorgetragene Vorschlag bleibt Spekulation bis man den Tell des alten Q. und B. gefunden hat. Ich vermute ihn etwa 15-20 km. nordwestlich von Altın Köprü zwischen den Strassen nach Erbil und nach Dibaga-Guwair.

Karlheinz DELLER (16-07-90)

85) aB *umšarḫum*, mA *umzarḫu*, nA *unzarḫu/unzaḫḫu*, nB *unzarah* – ZA 74 (1984) 235-239 habe ich übersehen, dass es neben den mA, nA und nB Belegen des im Titel genannten Wortes Stellen in Mari-Briefen gibt, die lexikalisch angeschlossen werden könnten: LÚ.MEŠ *ú-um-ša-ar-ḫi*⁹ *ù ša-ba-am ru-ud-da-am Ia-ás-ma-aḫ-d*.IM¹⁰ *i-r[i-š]a-an-ni* LÚ.MEŠ *ú-um-š[a-ar]-ḫi*¹¹ [*ú-ul ad]-di-iš-šum-ma ú-ul aš-ku-un-nu*¹² [*ma-ša-ra-a*]t LÚ.MEŠ *ú-um-ša-ar-ḫi*¹³ [*ù LÚ.MEŠ n]a-si-ḫi-ma du-un-ni-na ù ru-uk-sa* ARM IV 86: 8-13 sowie 1.*Puzur₄-an-nu šum-š[u]*^{4'} *ú-um-ša-a[r]-ḫ[u-um']* (A. 1553, jetzt M. 8943: 3-4 (in Umschrift zitiert AÉM I/1, 235, Anm. 20). Das Lexem *umšarḫum* (Pl. *umšarḫū/i*, also Substantiv, nicht Adjektiv) wurde bisher durchgängig als Gentilizium verbucht (ARMT XV, 137; ARM XVI/1, 36; AÉM I/1, 591; zweifelnd RGTC 3, 245: «Stammes- oder Berufsbezeichnung?») und hat deshalb nicht den Weg in AHW 1418b gefunden. Da in ARM IV 86 *šābum ruddūm* «zusätzliche Arbeitskräfte» und *nasīḫū* «Depotierte, Fremdarbeiter» in Opposition stehen, wäre «Einheimische» hier eine plausible Übersetzung. Auch M. 8943 wäre «PN mit Namen, ein Ortsansässiger» ein vertretbare Wiedergabe. Das Wort ist sicher nicht semitisch; eine vermutete hurritische Herkunft liess sich bisher nicht beweisen. Der Übergang *-mš-* < *-mz-* ist durch die fremde Herkunft bedingt; Parallelen dafür stellen sich mir nicht ein. — [Gelegenheit zu einer Korrektur: ZA 74, 236 3.Z.v.u. lies LÚ.pa.¹*qud*! ABL 1074: 1 und vgl. M.W. Stolper, JCS 40, 1988, 129 Anm. 8].

Karlheinz DELLER (16-07-90)

86) *Pullulu*, «closely guard», in OB prayers to the gods of the night – The first phrase of two Old Babylonian prayers to the stars as gods of the night has been variously, and unconvincingly, translated in the text editions, anthologies, and in the standard lexica, and a new solution is proposed here. The ensuing phrases are discussed in the following note on *šertu* and it will suffice here to indicate the context: it is night, the houses are secure and the population quiet. The first of the relevant passages is in a text originally published by W. Šileiko in 1924 and re-edited by W. von Soden in ZA 43 (1936) pp. 305-8 with the opening words as follows: *pu-ul-lu-sú(!) ru-bu-ú* translated: «Unruhig sind die Fürsten, ...». A second relevant passage occurs in AO 6769, a prayer to the gods of the night published in RA 32 (1935) 179-87 by G. Dossin, who also quotes in full but without a translation the Šileiko text. Dossin transliterated and translated as follows: *bu-ul-lu-lu e-bu-ú*, «Ils reposent les grands; ...». In the first line the sign as in Dossin's copy is a clear e (cf. the *ru* in l. 11); simply a scribal mistake for *ru*. Dossin's considerations (p. 184) whether *ebū* «thick» could be involved are unnecessary. In AHW 814a s.v. *palāsu* D1) von Soden upholds his rendering *pu-ul-lu-sú*, applying it also to Dossin's text. A copy or photograph

of the original of the Šileiko text is not available to the present writer, but it would have to be observed that in Dossin's text the sign here rendered *-sú* is identical to the preceding *-lu-*, with the horizontals parallel, while the *-sú* in l. 9 has the upper and lower horizontals oblique. It is also not easy to see how a translation «unruhig» can be derived from a basic meaning «beschäftigen, ablenken» (AHw 814a). The translation in SAHG, p. 274 also reflects this reading. Dossin's apparent justification of his rendering does not stand up to closer analysis. His first example is as follows: (quoted from Šileiko): *ki-ma im-me-ri ina [ta-ba-áš]-ta-ni-šu bu-lul-ma*, (IV R 22 n. 2 l. 22) translated «comme un mouton, dans ses excréments il est couché». Misunderstanding has arisen from the Sumerian parallel as in OB lú A 225: *lú.mur₇.ba.ná.a = ša ina ta-ba-aš-ta-ni-š¹ bu-ul-lu-lu* (MSL 12 201 5). The sense in both cases is of wallowing in filth, but the Sumerian centers on the action of lying down, while the Akkadian means smeared, CAD B p. 44a, *balālu*, 4)a, *bullulu*, «to smear» (with tears, dung, etc). Dossin's alleged equivalence of *bātu* and *butallulu* in IV R 60* C rev. 8-9 (with reference to the ancient commentary) is simply a misunderstanding of Ludlul II 106-7 (BWL p. 44). His translation of *bu-ul-lu-lu* as «reposit» must therefore be abandoned. CAD has a third proposed solution, B p. 44a 4. b), which quotes ZA 43 306: 1 as follows *bu-ul-lu-lu rubū* and translates «the princes are numb (in sleep?), ...». Here the word is understood as that which refers to numbness of particular parts of the body in medical texts. CAD also refers to Oppenheim's translation in *Analecta Biblica* 12 p. 295, where he translates «The nobles are deep in sleep, ...», but does not discuss the lexical problem. Two more recent translations evidently follow CAD. R. Labat in *Les religions du Proche-Orient asiatique*, p. 276, translates «Les princes sont engourdis (dans le sommeil), ...». K. Hecker in *TUAT II/5*, p. 719, *Lieder und Gebete*, renders the passage: «Zur Ruhe gekommen sind die Fürsten, ...». As well as rejecting Dossin's translation, the writer questions the renderings of both dictionaries on two grounds (1) neither rendering is well based lexically and (2) neither fits the context. It is proposed here to read *pullulū*, understood as a 3rd pers. pl. stative D stem of *palālu*, «überwachen», AHw 813b. This is hitherto only attested in the G and Ntn stems, but one could note that it is not necessary here to postulate a lexical D-stem; the point could simply be plurality (GAG § 88f., «Durchführung einer Tätigkeit an mehreren Objekten»). However, one could also note a parallel in an inscription of Agum-kakrime:

<i>ša LUGAL a-gu-um</i>	Concerning the king Agum,
<i>UD.MEŠ-šú lu-u ar-ku</i>	may his days be lengthy,
<i>MU.MEŠ-šú li-ri-ka</i>	his years long,
<i>BAL-šú ina dum-qi</i>	(and) his reign closely guarded
<i>lu pu-ul-lu-ul</i>	in beneficence.

V R 33 vii ll. 11-15

If this suggestion is correct, the first words of the strophe in the prayers to the gods of the night would introduce its content: the places of abode are adequately secured, the population quiet.

Alasdair LIVINGSTONE (20-07-90)
Assyriologie/Sandgasse 7
6900 HEIDELBERG, RFA

87) *šertu*, «ring», *šeršerratu*, «chain» – The word *šertu* has been defined as «ein Metallgsgst.» (AHw 1218b-1219a, *šē/irtu(m)* III). The purpose of the present note is to show that the meaning «(metal) ring» makes good sense in the known passages where the word occurs, and further to suggest that this lexeme, in reduplicated form, supplies the hitherto unknown etymology of the word *šeršerratu*, «chain». Both words have cognates in other Semitic languages, and some of these reflexes are considered at the conclusion of the note. First the key passages:

(1) Old Babylonian prayers to the gods of the night. The relevant lines are:

The text originally published by W. Šileiko in 1924, re-edited by W. von Soden in ZA 43 (1936) pp. 305-6, and referred to in the previous note. The present writer would render it as follows:

Obv. 1 *pu-ul-lu-lu ru-bu-ú*
2 *wa-aš-ru-ú sí-ik-ku-ru ši-re-tum ša-ak-na-a*
3 *ḥa-ab-ra-tum ni-šu-ú ša-qú-um-ma-a*
4 *pe-tu-tum ud-du-lu-ú ba-a-bu*

«The princes are closely guarded, bolts are slid home, rings in place. The noisy population has become quiet, gates usually open are locked.»

The fact that this passage is booked in AHw under the lemma referred to above, and not under *širu*, «Fleisch, Leib, Eingeweide-Omen» (AHw 1248b) presumably means that von Soden has abandoned the interpretation offered in SAHG, p. 274, namely «Opferschauen sind veranstaltet».

Under the same heading belongs AO 6769, the prayer to the gods of the night, published in RA 32 (1935) 179-87 by G. Dossin, and also discussed above. This may be rendered:

- 1 *pu-ul-lu-lu ru'-bu-ú sí-ik-ka-[um]*
- 2 *še-re-tum ta-ab-ka-[a (?)]*
- 3 *[ḥa-ab-ra-tum ni-šu-ú ša-qú-um-ma-a]*
- 4 *pi-tu-tum ud-du-lu ba-a-[bu]*

«The princes are closely guarded. Pegs and rings are ... [The noisy population has become quiet], gates usually open are locked.»

The above passages Š and AO are quoted by CAD S p. 249b s.v. *sikkatu*, without translation. CAD S p. 257b s.v. *sikkūru* translates Š as follows: «the bolts have been lowered, the bars have been set in place, the gates, (normally) open, have been locked.» Reference is made by CAD to parallel passages such as the following: *eli* ^{u3} *dalti* ^{u3} *sikkūri na-du-u ḥar-gul-lu* (*Maqlû* VII 10), translated (H, p. 99b) «the locks are placed on door and bar». In its ensuing discussion section, CAD adds: «The ḥ-lock most likely consisted of a set of metal rings (Sum. *ḤAR.GAL) used to hold the bar in place., a ring or similar catch being required in the context, and ḤAR being a known writing for or equivalent of words such as *semeru*, «ring». One could therefore consider for the relevant phrase in Š a translation as follows: «The bolts are slid home, the rings in place ...». In AO the problem is the nuance of *tabkā*, normally used of solids which can be poured such as grain and sand, though this could perhaps be associated with AHW's citations of use of the word *im* «übertr. Sinn». One should perhaps think of sets of rings falling in place. In any case a peg (*sikkatu*) and ring (*šertu*) would make good sense as items of hardware used in securing a gate or door.

(2) In the Qatna inventories of precious objects and items of personal adornment *šertu* occurs in the following context:

...ŠÀ 1 AŠ.ME GUŠKIN GAL
 ŠÀ 33 *ku-us-su* GUŠKIN 1 *še-er-tu* GUŠKIN 'GAL'
 '2/3' MA.NA 2 GÍN KIL.LÁ.BI ša GIŠ.TUKUL-*bi-[il-li]*
 RA 43 (1949) p. 187 ll. 227-229

...including: a large gold sun disc
 including 33 gold *kussu*. A large gold *šertu*.

Weight thereof: 2/3 of a mina and 2 shekels. Pertaining to Tukulti-billi.

For [A]Š.ME = ^d*šam-šu* see MSL 13 189 189. CAD K p. 587b seems plausibly to understand the word as a necklace, which was then adorned with the 33 *kussu*. In any case a meaning such as ring would fit well for *šertu* in this context.

(3) In Sennacherib's inscription K 1356 recording the construction of the bronze gates of his *akītu* house on the plain and the depiction of the deities thereon, as they set out for battle against Tīamat. The following quotation of the relevant sections is based on repeated collation and a new copy of the tablet. The published copies (Meissner-Rost *Senn.* pl. 16 and Pallis *Akitu* pl. 3-4) were made before the tablet had been baked and cleaned, and suffer also from failure to accurately indicate the size of the lacunae. For this and other reasons Luckenbill's edition (*Sennacherib*, p. 139-142) is no longer usable. Before quoting the occurrence of *šertu* in this inscription, the context must be provided:

^{1d}30-PAP.MEŠ-SU MAN *aš-[šur^k]* ⁱ *e-piš ša-lam* AN.ŠÁR ^ù DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
 É *a-ki-it* EDIN *šá is[inni qé-re-e-í]i šá ul-tu* UD.MEŠ SUD.MEŠ *im-ma-šu-u*
 'ina *bi-ri* ^{qí-bit} ^dUTU ^u ^dIŠ[KUR *ú-tir áš-ru-uš-šú]* 'É'.LÁ.UG₅.GA É *ka-mu-u* 'mu-tim' MU-šú *am-bi*
 MU É *pa-pa-hi-šú* É.DÚB'.DÚB'.A[B.BA É *mu-šap-ši-í]ḥ ki-šir tam-ⁱtim niⁱ-bit-su az-kur*
 KÁ.GAL UD.KA.BAR ḤUŠ.A *šá ma-la a-ga-s[a-lak-ki ina] ši-pir* ^dSIMUG
 [u] *nik-lat* IM-ia *ú-še-piš-ma*

K 1356 ll. 1-6

«Sennacherib, king of Assyria, maker of the image of Aššur and the great gods. The *akītu* house on the plain, that of the fe[s]tival of banque[ti]ng, which had been forgotten since distant times, by the instruction of extispicy, the command of Šamaš and Adad, [I restored to its place]. I called it Elaugga, 'House which binds death'. I designated its inner shrine Edub[dubabba, 'House which ca]lms the host of Tīamat'. I constructed a red bronze gate, which as to its metal b[ands] was the work of the smith god Ninagal, and of my own genius.»

[*Agasalakku* – It is well known that this word (CAD A/I p. 148b, AHW p. 16a) designates a type of axe. However, in some passages it seems to refer to a component, hence AHW ad loc.: «(sum. Lw. 'offenes Diadem') eine Art «Band, Reif» (z.B. um ein Beil)». The restoration is offered with reservation but seems

on present evidence to be the best candidate. Metal bands on doors were usually known as *miserru* (CAD M/II, p. 111b). Cf. C.B.F. Walker in *Bronze-working Centres of Western Asia* c. 1000-539 B.C. (ed. J. Curtis), p. 116, where the above passage is translated and discussed.]

Later on in the inscription, after the description of the gods as they set out in battle against Tiāmat, further details are given of the construction of the gates. Sennacherib's own contribution included the invention of a new alloy. The passage including the word *šērtu* reads as follows, setting in after a lacuna of approximately four signs length:

...] KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN UD.KA.BAR *še-er-tú*
 'ul-ziz' ú-nu-ut KÙ.BABBAR GUŠKIN UD.KA.BAR 'ĤUŠ¹-[a ĥ]e-pu-u ul-tu UGU 1 LIM GÚ.[UN]
 a-di 1 GÍN šub-šu-lim-ma a-ħa-meš a-ba-tu mu-nak-kil nik-la-te-šú-nu
 ša-bit pít-qí-šú-nu a-le-'-e a-na-ku

ll. 17-20

«...] I assembled silver, gold and bronze in the form of rings. I myself, as one who understands the matters involved, am capable of breaking up utensils of silver, gold and red bronze – from one thousand talents to one shekel, to crush together and undertake their smelting.»

One could suppose that the rings were hammered out to form the bands. The proposed meaning for *šērtu* thus results in plausible translations of passages in three texts. As mentioned at the outset, there is an additional argument. This is that *šērtu*, «ring», in reduplicated form may supply the etymology for *šeršerratu* «chain». Sumerian could possibly have played a role in this development. However, reduplication does occur within Akkadian, and the various types are presented in GAG § 57a and b. A reasonably close parallel is *kankannu*, «Gestell für Töpfe» (AHw p. 437a) in its relation to *kannu*, «ein Ständer; ein grosses Gefäss» (AHw p. 437b). The related words in Akkadian show the following pattern, which could plausibly be regarded as stemming from a hypothetical *šawarum:

OA: *šawurum*
 OB: *šewerum*
 MB: *šemerum* and *semerum*
 SB: *semertu*
 NA: *šaburu*
 " : *ša'uru
 " : sa'uru

This table exhibits well known sound shifts. Thus the OA form shows vowel harmony. This is of course retained in NA along with two parallel shifts, namely from *w* to *b* (as in OB *awātum* > NA *abutu*) and from *w* to ' (as in OB *awilum* > MA *a'īlu*). The OB form developed an *e* vowel due to the influence of the *r* (GAG § 9b and § 85b). OB *w* shifted to *m* in MB as expected, and in both Assyrian and Babylonian a by-form with *s* instead of *š* developed. It could be observed that a word such as «ring» would be particularly liable to reflect the vernacular since it belongs not only to the literary language, but also to the language of the workshop, as spoken by people not subject to the conservative linguistic influence of literacy. The writer would suggest that *šērtum* could be a feminine form of *šewerum*, having undergone a phonetic development similar to that of Oakk *tāwirtu* (from *wu''uru*) to OB *tērtum*.

Akkadian words for chain show the following pattern:

Oakk: *šuršurum*
 Oakk: *šeršerrum*
 OB-SB: *šeršerretum*
 OA-NA: *šaršarratum*
 MB: *šuršurratum*

J.N. Postgate, «*The archive of Urad-Sherūa and his family, A Middle Assyrian household in government service*», p. 115, note to l. 59, points to the existence of a plurale tantum *šuršurrātu*. Postgate is obviously correct in stating that the objects in question are in certain texts fetters for the hands or the feet. However, his bald statement that he «cannot follow the interpretation offered by Saporetti in *SMEA* 14 (1971) 181-3, and prefer(s) to see no connection between the chains and the quiver with its arrows» seems to imply that he has misunderstood Saporetti's point. This is namely that «Ci sembra allora che le *šuršurrātu* fossero anelli usati per stringere l'estremità dell'asta dopo l'inserimento della punta ...». This has nothing to do with the fetter attestations, but in the context of Saporetti's argument and the text he is discussing (KAJ 310) involves the perfectly cogent suggestion that the word *šuršurrātu* could refer to rings used to make fast the tip of the arrow after insertion of the point, and prevent the wood or cane from splitting. It appears that a reduced form of the word occurs in Nuzi, as in HSS 15 157, ll. 3-4: *a-na še-mi-ru še-er-ra-ta a-na e-pé-ši*, «(so much bronze issued by the palace) to make rings for chains». This idea is

echoed in a lexical list from further west, where the entry *šar-šar-ri¹-tu₄* is followed by *ši-mar šar-šar-[ri-ti]*, «a ring for a chain» (*Emar VI/4*, p. 103 Annexe XIII: AD II. 9¹-10¹).

Semitic cognates for the words for ring discussed above include Arabic *siwār* and Hebrew and Syriac *šēr(ā)*. H. Fraenkel, «Die Aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen», p. 290, brings Arabic *silsilah*, «chain» into its relationship with Hebrew *šaršeret* and Aramaic *šilšeltā*. Thus Hebrew agrees with Akkadian in retaining *r* as against the Arabic and Aramaic forms with *l*. Counter-examples could be quoted, such as *almattu* vs. *'armalah*, where Akkadian (and Hebrew) has *l* while Arabic (and Aramaic) has *r*. Examples of dissimilation in both directions *r > l* and *l > r* are given in C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss I*, pp. 219-31. This is related in a wider context to interchange of *n*, *l*, and *r*, referred to by S. Moscati in «*Il sistema consonantico delle lingue semitiche*», p. 50 and in «*An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*», ed. Moscati, pp. 31-2. Here should also be noted parenthetically the rare interchange between *l* and *r* within Akkadian, discussed by W. Farber, «*Beschwörungsrituale an Ištar und Dumuzi*», p. 204, and more recently by K. Deller in «*Old Assyrian Kanwarta, Middle Assyrian Kalmarte, and Neo-Assyrian Garmarte*», *JEOL* 29 (1985-86), p. 49 with footnotes 41-8. The underlying factor seems to be the closeness of the point of articulation, and the extreme case occurs in Gurage, where *l* and *r*, being positional variants, are technically the same phoneme (E. Ullendorff, «*The Semitic Languages of Ethiopia, a Comparative Phonology*», pp. 125-7). Here however, as in Nuzi the geographical area constitutes a linguistic vortex, so that pure Semitic can no longer be expected. The various local reflexes of the word for chain in Gurage are set out by W. Leslau in his *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage*, Vol. II, pp. 108-9. A convenient overview of the forms in Semitic generally is given by the same author in his *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez*, p. 508a s.v. *sansala*. To the references there given could be added those in T.M. Johnstone's *Jibbāli* (p. 229) and *Mehri* (p. 349) *Lexicons*. The ESA forms are treated by W.W. Müller in the Leslau Festschrift, «*Ethiopian Studies*», p. 283. Note that various Arabic dialects also have a dissimilated form with *n* replacing *l* in the first syllable.

Alasdair LIVINGSTONE (20-07-90)

88) The weapons in Aššur's *akītu* chariot – K 1356, referred to and quoted in the previous note, is undoubtedly to be reckoned among the most important inscriptions of Sennacherib. It is therefore particularly unfortunate that a key line has been mistranslated in as recent a book as S. Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia, Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh, and others* (1989). Following Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, p. 142, Dalley translates the first of the two lines on the left edge as follows: «I am the conqueror positioned in Aššur's chariot.» As already seen by *CAD* K p. 289a and Menzel, *Assyrische Tempel*, Band II, Anmerkung 675, the line must be read and restored as follows: [GIŠ].TUKUL *ka-ši-du ina* GIŠ.GIGIR *an.šar šak-nu*. Menzel points out that a restoration [ana]-*ku* is uncertain in view of the verb. Two further points can be made. Collation of the tablet reveals traces of a horizontal wedge, obviously allowing 'GIŠ' but not 'ana'. Moreover, it would seem that the items mentioned here are the divine weapons recorded in the «Götteradressbuch» as follows: ^d*ka-ši-du-ti* ^dGIŠ.TUKUL ^d*ka-la-pu*, Menzel, T 147, Teil 1, II. 9-10.

Alasdair LIVINGSTONE (20-07-90)

89) *Līlu*, «evening» – In a recent study of *UET VI/414*, «At the Cleaners» (Festschrift K. Deller, *Ad bene et fideliter seminandum*, *AOAT* 220, pp. 174-187) the present writer followed *CAD* L p. 190b in positing a masculine form *līlu* of the common word *līliātum* (f.pl.t.), «evening». In this connection, attention should be drawn to the several occurrences in *ARMT XIX* (H. Limet, *Textes administratifs de l'époque des Šakkanakku*). Collected by Limet on p. 163, these are *in li-li* (five times) and *in li-li-en* (once), occurring, except in one instance, at the foot of the document before the date formula. As pointed out by Limet, the parallelism with *in šè-er-te-en*, «morning», in the same position in six other documents makes it certain that «evening» is meant, in spite of the unexpected orthography. Moreover, in the one case where it occurs in the middle of a document, it is also there parallel to *šērtēn*. One could at least raise the question, whether *li-le* should be read, and understood as an apocopated dual. Be this as it may, one must in any case accept that *līlu*, like *mūšu* and *šēru*, existed in both masculine and feminine forms. Note also that *šērtēn* is a newly attested form, analogous to *līlātān*, the ending *-ān* being variously employed in temporal expressions along with *-i* and lengthened *t*.


Alasdair LIVINGSTONE (20-07-90)

90) **Ad SAA 3 «Poesis aulica et miscellanea litteraria» postscriptum primum** – A number of corrections to the text of SAA 3 are given here, as well as some additional points which would have been included in the footnotes, had time allowed during the final stages of completion of the manuscript.

p. XXI: Text no. 8 is of course from Aššur.

p. XXXIV, footnote 4: M.P. Nilsson.

p. 4, l. 15: Collation omitted:

K 3258 obv. 15: AN. 

p. 46, l. 13: New examination of an excavation photograph rather favours reading at the end of the line *na-an-du-ru-ti ZÁH¹*, agreeing with the suggested translation. Traces as seen on photo:



p. 46, l. 20: Rather: «The women of his palace ...».

p. 47, l. 32: Perhaps a personal name «*lra-ši-lu*»?

p. 48, text no. 20: The second tablet number should read 83-1-18, 482 and the place of publication is CT 54 524. (Should be corrected also on p. 175.)

p. 77, text no. 33: The tablet no. should read Sm 1876. (Should be corrected also on p. 175 and in SAAB III/1, Plates I and II.)

p. 86, text no. 35: The tablet no. should be read K 6330+ (given correctly on p. 175).

p. 104, l. 11: Two problems should be mentioned concerning the suggested reading É.KAŠ. Firstly, there is no doubt that the god in question is Aššur, and it is known from texts such as Menzel, T 56, that on precisely this day in the ritual calendar he went from the É ^d*Da-gan* to the É.ŠÁR.RA. Secondly, it seems that É.KAŠ is not used in NA cultic texts, the corresponding building being designated É ^d*SIRIS*. One could also remark that in such a context as the present one there would be little difficulty in understanding É.BI as «his temple», thus É.ŠÁR.RA. The distinction between the personal and impersonal pronoun classes of Sumerian grammar was not always observed in Babylonian scholarly texts. One could compare, for example, the regular rendering in An = *Anum* of «his wife» as DAM.BI.SAL.

Alasdair LIVINGSTONE (20-07-90)

91) **Recently published mystical/mythological explanatory works** – Two recent publications have made important additions to the corpus of those texts which subject rituals to mythological exegesis, collected and edited in the writer's «*Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*», (OUP 1986, reprinted without alteration in 1987). These new additions are:

1) A fragment in late Assyrian script and believed to be from Aššur, with part of thirteen lines extant on both obverse and reverse. G. Beckman and B. Foster, «*Assyrian Scholarly Texts in the Yale Babylonian Collection*», *A Scientific Humanist, Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs*, Nr 22, p. 25 (copy and catalogue note «possibly a 'mystical explanatory work'; rev. 3'-5' cf. KAR 307: 25-27»).

2) A late Babylonian four column tablet probably from Kiš with c. forty-five lines more or less preserved on each of the first three columns. O.R. Gurney, *Literary and Miscellaneous Texts in the Ashmolean Museum. OECT XI*, pp. 62-63 (copy) and pp. 26-33 (transcription, translation and notes).

A number of comments can be made in addition to the information already provided in the two new publications referred to above, including some observations which are of considerable relevance for the history of this genre. Hitherto, the type of mythological explanatory works in which sequences of ritual actions are stated and then given mythological explanations (see *MMEW*, Chapter Four) were only represented by texts redacted in late Assyrian copies, although it was possible to suggest on the basis of related material that much of this speculation had a Babylonian background (see eg. *MMEW* p. 131 [Nippur and Babylon] and p. 137 [Babylon]). The appearance of a substantial Babylonian manuscript can therefore be seen as confirmatory evidence. The interpolation of miscellaneous items of mythological information within calendrical cultic texts is not unusual. The concern here is with those texts which seek to systematically explain ritual in terms of myth in an abstract fashion. In the case of the new Babylonian text, the fact that explanation is the point is made clear by repetition of the word *aššu*, «because», in every instance. Differences in content are significant. As stated by Gurney, the new tablet is comparable with the Aššur tablet VAT 9947 (*LKA* 73, see *MMEW* pp. 126-8 and 148-51) in that the basis is a cultic calendar. There is, however, a radical difference in the mythological material drawn upon. In common with the related sections of *KAR* 307, *CT* 15 43-44, and *LKA* 71 and dupls., the mythological background is one in which

Ninurta or (in the majority of instances) Marduk vanquishes not only the demons Tiāmat, Kingu, Anzû and Asakku, but also the older generation of gods, including Anu, Enlil, Ea and Enmešarra. Compare with this examples of the mythological background exhibited in the new text:

(examples taken from col. 1)

- §2' Enlil raised to status of Anu.
Nusku consecrated with him.
- §8' Šin raised to kingship.
Ennugi raised to office of sukkal.
- §9' Ennugi lays a net.
Ninurta tramples on his opponents.
- §10' Ninurta brings the evil gods before Enlil.
Enlil rejoices over him (Ninurta) and sends a message of congratulations to Lugaldukuga in the middle heaven.
- §11' Nusku crowned with Ninurta.
Nusku receives tablet of destinies and gives it to Enlil.
- §12' Ninurta removes nose-ropes of captive gods
- §14' Ištar routs the seven devils and Dumuzi rises up.

The obvious differences in mythological content should probably be interpreted as follows. The previously known material ultimately reflects the theology of Babylon, postdating the religious reforms of Nebuchadnezzar I. The new text, on the other hand, reflects the theology of Nippur. It would however, for various reasons including religious conservatism in Nippur, be incautious on present evidence to speculate as to the relative date.

With regard to the new late Assyrian text, comparison with KAR 307 ll. 25-27 shows approximately how much is missing on the left and right edges of the tablet, for each line a total of six or seven signs. This would mean that the total width of the tablet was not much greater than the maximum preserved width of the obverse.

- KAR 1. 25 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *ša ina ŠÀ ša-an-du* GID[IM] *ša an-zi-i*
SF r. 3' *e-té]m-mu šá an-zi-i* [KAR LUGAL *šá ina GIŠ.GIGIR GUB-zu*
SF r. 4' *iz]-zaz-zu*
- KAR 1. 26 LUGAL *qar-ra-du* EN ^rd1MAŠ *šu-u*
SF r. 4' LUGAL *šá ina GI[Š.GIGIR? 4MAŠ šu-u*
- KAR 1. 27 *ša še-ḥi ša KI-šú GUB-zu* EME.MEŠ *ša an-z[i-i k]i-i iš-du-dam-ma*
SF r. 5' *ša še-ḥ]i šá it-ti-šú GUB-m[a KAR ina [Š]U.2-šú ú-kal*

In r. 4', *qār-* is not totally impossible, but what follows can hardly be the beginning of *r[a*, so perhaps repetition is involved. ll. 9'-10' of the obverse can be read as follows:

- SF 1. 9']IŠ *an-zi-i nap-tu* KISAL-*šu it-tu[-u*
SF 1. 10'] *nin-li-bur-na?* MUN *šar-ka-šu* [
...] the ... of Anzû is naphtha; his ankle bone is bitumen [...
...] that is Ninliburna. Salt is his pus [...

This clearly relates both to the «God Description Texts» (*MMEW*, Chapter Three) and to the «Compendium» equating deities with plants, minerals, animals, objects and substances given in *MMEW*, pp. 176-9. What is particularly interesting is that the new text can also be associated with an example of the practical application of such ideas, namely that given in *MMEW*, p. 172-3, where, in a ritual for curing a sick man, gypsum is Ninurta, bitumen is Asakku, and of course Ninurta routs Asakku. In the new text it is another of Ninurta's victims, Anzû, who is involved, and the substances mentioned here are also similar. It may well be that the same background ideas are involved.

ll. 6'-8' of the obverse and l. 10' of the reverse seem to give interpretations or statements of ritual acts in Ajjar, naming the 25th and 24th days. Despite the fragmentary state of most of the rest of the text, one notes the possibility of reading or restoring such characteristic phrases as *ana la] ma-še-e* in obv. l. 3' and *šá ina tel-tu* in r. 8'. The new Babylonian text also discusses the 24th and 25th of Ajjar, but the cultic and mythological backgrounds seem to be different.

Alasdair LIVINGSTONE (20-07-90)

92) On LE ¶ 46-47A – The second revised edition of Reuven Yaron, *The Laws of Eshnunna* (Jerusalem and Leiden: Magnes Press and E.J. Brill, 1988), incorporates the Tell Haddad fragment published by Farouk N.H. al-Rawi in *Sumer* 38 (1982) 117-120 (= *Sumer* 40 [1984] Arabic Section 95-98). The fragment — the lower portion of a school or exercise tablet with writing on one side only — provides parallels or duplicates to the bodily injuries provisions LE ¶¶ 44-47 and adds a new provision (LE ¶ 47A) which parallels and conflates the cases outlined in LH ¶¶ 206-208. Photographs of the Eshnunna tablets IM 51059 (source A) and IM 52614 (source B) were published by Albrecht Goetze in *Sumer* 4 (1948) plates I-IV (following p. 102), in *JCS* 2 (1948) plates I-IV, and again in his 1956 publication of the edition of LE in *AASOR* 31; high-contrast prints (from the same negatives) have been used to suggest or confirm numerous readings (see B. Landsberger, *David AV* [1968] 65 note 3, M.T. Roth, *BiOr* 40 [1983] 397 note 1, and *CAD* passim). The evidence of the new fragment and a reexamination of the photographs in the Oriental Institute of the IM sources now resolve the discrepancies between IM 51059 (source A) and Haddad 116 in LE ¶¶ 46 and 47.

LE ¶ 46: A iii 39-40	<i>šum-ma LÚ a-wi-lam im-ḥa-aš-ma kir-ra-šu iš-te-bir₅</i> 1/3 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR Ì.LÁ.E
Haddad 116: 5'-6'	<i>šum-ma LÚ LÚ im-ḥa-aš-ma</i> <i>ki-ir-ra-šu èš-te-bir₅</i> 1/3 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR Ì.LÁ.E

«If a man has struck another man and broke his collarbone, he will pay one-third of a mina of silver.»

The sign copied by Goetze in A iii 39 as /ḥa/ is almost certainly /kir/ on the photograph. With the reading of that sign secured by the Haddad 116 parallel, the rest of the word presents no difficulty. (See Yaron, *LE* [first ed. 1969] 44 note, for suggestions based on reading the first syllable /ḥa/.)

The amount of the pecuniary sanction is clearly 1/3 in A iii 40, as Goetze copied and as confirmed by the photograph. Goetze's 2/3 can only be a simple typographic error first introduced in his *editio princeps* in *Sumer* 4 (1948) 86 and carried over into his and some other's subsequent editions (despite the prompt correction by J. Miles and O.R. Gurney in *ArOr* 17/2 [1949] 186).

LE ¶ 47 A iii 40-41	<i>šum-ma LÚ i-na ši-gi-iš-tim¹</i> LÚ ¹ <i>ig/k/q-te-el</i> 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR Ì.LÁ.E
Haddad 116: 7'-8'	<i>šum-ma LÚ i-na ši-gi-èš-tim</i> LÚ <i>ig/k/q-te-el</i> 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR Ì.LÁ.E

«If a man, in the course of a fray(?), has inflicted any of the above injuries on another man he will pay ten shekels of silver.»

Reading ¹*ši-gi-iš-tim* and ¹*ig/k/q-te-el* in the damaged lines of A is admittedly strongly influenced by the clear signs in Haddad 116, but is supported by the traces visible in the photograph and is far more likely than *i-še-el* first read by Goetze in *Sumer* 4 (1948) 86. Note that W. von Soden, on the basis of the published photograph, suggested reading the first sign of the verb /ik/ in *ArOr* 17/2 (1949) 372 (a reading rejected by Goetze in his edition in *AASOR* 31 [1956] 120).

Šigištu, which occurs only here, is almost certainly derived from *šagāšu* «to slay, strike down, murder, etc.» (and cf. *šaggaštu* «slaughter, massacre, murder,» a synonym of *qablu* B «battle, warfare, etc.» in *LTBA* 2 1 iv 53 and 2: 119; the connection with *šaggaštu* was made by al-Rawi, *Sumer* 38 (1982) 120; see *CAD* Š/2 s.v. *šigištu*. The term is the second of three in the bodily injury paragraphs to specify the place of or circumstances in which the injury was inflicted, a specification that must somehow mitigate or otherwise effect the culpability of the offense. LE ¶ 44 specifies that the injuries discussed in LE ¶¶ 44, 45, and 46 (all associated with the verb *šebēru*) take place in an unidentifiable place or circumstance (see Yaron, *LE* p. 70 note, for previous suggested restorations, none of which can be confirmed from the photographs); LE ¶ 47 specifies that the (same injuries?) occur in the *šigištum*; and in LE ¶ 47A the (same?) injuries resulting in death occur in the *rišbatum*. Given the small penalty (ten shekels) in LE ¶ 47, *šigištum* must indicate mitigating circumstances with culpability and thus the compensation reduced by one-half or two-thirds.

It is unlikely that *ig/k/q-te-el* is — as al-Rawi seems to suggest in *Sumer* 40 (1984) 97 — an aberrant form of the West Semitic verb *qatālu* «to slay». Neither a I/2 error **iq<te>tel* for **iqtatal* nor a I preterite error **iqtel* for *iqtul* is plausible; furthermore, context suggests the inflicting of a nonfatal injury.

We therefore assume a I/2 of an otherwise unknown middle weak verb. The translation here is based solely on the assumed context.

The Haddad fragment ends the bodily injuries section with a paragraph that recalls the series of circumstances envisioned in LH ¶¶ 206-208: an injury inflicted without premeditation demands the payment of the victim's medical expenses (¶ 206); that same injury, if it results in death, demands a payment of 30 shekels if the victim is an *awilum* (¶ 207), or 20 shekels if he is a *muškēnum* (¶ 208). The lack of premeditation is established in LH ¶ 206 by both the circumstances (*ina rišbatim*) and by the offender's oath. The new LE ¶ 47A omits the oath and conflates the other permutations into one paragraph:

LE ¶ 47A : Haddad 116: 9'-11' *šum-ma LÚ i-na ri-èš-ba-tim*
 DUMU LÚ *uš-ta-mi-it*
 2/3 MA.†NA KÛ.BABBAR Ì.LÁ.E†

«If a man, in the course of a battle(?), (inflicted any of the above injuries with the result that he) has caused the death of a member of the *awilum* class, he will pay two-thirds of a mina of silver».

Rišbatu is attested elsewhere only in Nabnitu XX 312, in the astronomical commentary *AfO* 10 pl. 7 ii 10 where it is equated with *diktu* «(military) defeat, losses,» and in the parallel provision in LH ¶ 206. The III/2 form of *mātu* in ¶ 47A suggests that the injury only later or indirectly resulted in the victim's death, recalling the requirement of paying the victim's medical expenses in LH ¶ 206.

Martha T. ROTH (27-07-90)
 1155 East 58th Street
 CHICAGO IL 60637 USA

93) Cuts of Meat for King Nebuchadnezzar – The custom of sending to the king a share of the food presented to divine images is well documented for the late periods of Mesopotamian history. Several texts from the archive of the Eanna of Uruk record the periodic trips of the men in charge of taking these provisions to the court. The provisions are referred to by the following collective designations: *rehātu* «sacrificial remains,» *sellu tabnītu* «well arranged basket» and *kurummat šarri* «provisions of the king.» Whether those terms are functionally equivalent or refer to different types of food allowance is unclear. The interest of the document edited below, also from the Eanna archive, lies in the fact that it enumerates the ingredients of a shipment of *kurummat šarri*. Collations have led to several improvements. There is no previous edition of the text.

GCCI 1 238

1.	2 bán <i>tak-ka-su-ú</i> ¹ 2 ¹ ninda ì.giš	2 <i>sūtu</i> of cake; 2 <i>akalu</i> of sesame oil;
2.	1/2 silà zú.lum.ma ni.tuk ^{ki}	1/2 <i>qū</i> of Telmun dates;
3.	1 silà kaš.<ú>.sa sig ₅ -tì	1 <i>qū</i> of fine <i>billatu</i> beer;
4.	2 ninda.há mun.há <i>tu₉-uq-qu-[*]nu</i>	2 <i>akalu</i> of prepared(?) salt
5.	ù <i>mut-ta-qu</i>	and a sweetcake;
6.	5 uzu [*] udu.meš 2 uzu [*] zag. [*] meš	5 mutton cuts (namely) 2 shoulder cuts,
7.	2 uzu. [*] giš. [*] kun.meš 1 uz[u [*] t]i	2 rumps and 1 r[ib roast];
8.	1 tu. [*] kur ₄ .mušen ¹ o ¹ [o o o]	1 turtledove ¹ o ¹ [o o o].
9.	[*] pap šuk.há lugal [*] šá ina šu.min	Total of the king's provisions which, by
10.	I ^{na-na-a-šeš} -mu a I ^{ár-rab}	Nanaya-ah-iddin descendent of Arrab
11.	u I ^{sum-šeš} a I ⁱⁿ⁻ⁿⁱⁿ -numun-dù	and Nādin-ahi descendent of Innin-zēr-ibni,
12.	<i>a-na</i> lugal <i>šu-bu-ul</i>	were taken to the king.
13.	iti sig ₄ u ₄ 7-kám mu 26-kám	Month Simānu, 7th day, 26th year of
14.	^{na-níg} .du-urì lugal tin.tir ^{ki}	Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.

line 4: I see no other possibility than to assign a phonetic value *tu₉* to the sign TÚG. On *taqānu* occurring in conjunction with food and drink see *AHW* s.v. *taqānu* D 4. Note however that *řabtu* is feminine ! The question must remain open. The solution of the *CAD* (M s.v. *muttāqu*) is to read ŽID.x.KUM (*isqūqu*), but collation showing a final *-nu* makes that even more unlikely.

line 7: Specifically, UZU GIŠ.KUN might refer to the fat tail of the sheep, the choicest part of the animal. At the end of the line, only the final *Winkelhaken* of the sign TI is still visible.

All the ingredients mentioned in the text are well known delicacies served to cultic statues. In *Iraq* 45 (1983) 187-98 McEwan edited a large tablet from the Eanna listing the daily offerings of meat to Ištar and Nanaya and the categories of temple personnel entitled to a prebendal share thereof. On lines 25-26 the text specifies that three cuts of the sacrificial sheep (*immer ginê*) are set aside for the king's provisions (*kurummat šarrî*): a shoulder cut (UZU ZAG.LU = *imittu*), the rump (UZU GIŠ.KUN = *rapaštu*) and a rib coast (UZU TI = *šēlu*). It is remarkable that *GCCI* 1 238 follows the prescriptions of that document perfectly, listing the cuts in the exact same order.

The text edited by McEwan is a Neo-Babylonian copy of an old tablet composed probably during the reign of Nabû-apla-iddin (first half of 9th century). The presence of a colophon as well as the absence of any close archival correspondence to the prescriptions of the text led McEwan to assume that it was a mere literary exercise, no longer in force as an actual regulation. The evidence just presented now suggests the opposite. Can we speculate that the tablet was recopied in the Neo-Babylonian period to serve as a source for the reinstatement of the old prebendal system after times of disruptions? This might have happened during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, whom various sources credit with the restoration of cultic practices at Uruk¹. The search for old documents such as the one edited by McEwan would be consistent with the intellectual climate of the Neo-Babylonian period.

One may note that the Nabû-apla-iddin tablet assigns the neck cut (*tikku*) to the *kalû* priests (l. 12, 35 and 61). As noted by McEwan (p. 191 n. 19) the neck is still associated with the prebend of the *kalû* in Seleucid Uruk (*BMitt* Beiheft 2, 115, 1), a strong indication of the immutability of some religious practices in Babylonia.

¹See for instance the discussion of the historical background of the «Uruk Prophecy» in *JAOS* 95 (1975) 371-75.

Paul-Alain BEAULIEU (30-07-90)
Yale Babylonian Collection
Sterling Memorial Library
NEW HAVEN CT 06520 USA

94) ^dAbbūtānītu «(göttliche) Fürsprecherin» – Zu dem Ausdruck *abbūta(m)/abbuttu šabātu(m)* «für jmd. Fürsprache einlegen», den ich jüngst in *Acta Sumerologica* (= ASJ) 13 (1990), 319-338, untersucht habe, steht *karšu(m) akālu(m)* «jmd. verleumden» in Opposition an den Stellen aus den neubabylonischen Briefen ABL 283: 5-8 und ABL 793: 6-10 (s. ASJ 13, 321f.). Nachzutragen ist ein Passus aus einem neuassyrischen Brief:

r. 2 *ma-a šá LÚ*.GIŠGIGIR kar-ši-[šū]*

3 *la in-nak-ku-lu a[b-bu-ut-tu-šū]*

4 *la ta-ša-(Rasur)-bat EN []*

«Der Streitwagenmann wird ²weder verleumdet noch wird Fürsprache ³für ihn eingelegt ...»

ABL 607 r. 2-4.

Das TAB in r. 4 scheint ein unvollendet ausgeführte Rasur (Kollation E. Weissert), 3. fem. Sing. in Kongruenz zu *a[bbuttušu]*. Mit der Lesung *taššabbat* (Präs N *šbt) dürften sich die Erklärungsversuche der Verbalform von S. Ylvisaker, *LSS* V/6, 36; *AHW* 1069a; *CAD* § 5b erledigen.

Ein jungbabylonischer Beleg dieser Kombination der Ausdrücke lautet: (^dZarpānītum) *a-ki-lat kar-šu ša-bi-tat a-bu-tū* «(einerseits) verleumdet sie, (andererseits) legt sie Fürsprache ein» (F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, 135: 258; s. ASJ 13, 327). Hingewiesen werden sollte auf eine interessante Parallele dazu, die einem 1979 zu Babylon im Tempel des Nabû ša ḫarê aufgefundenen Text entstammt:

r. 1 ^dNa-na-a ^dGaz-ba-ba ^dKa-ni-sur-ra ^dTa-ḫa-ra-pi-i-UN.MEŠ

2 ^da-ki-lat kar-ši u ^da-bu-ta-ni-tu₄

«Nanā, Gazbaba, Kanisurra, Taḫāra-pī-nīši, sie ist (einerseits) Verleumderin, (andererseits) Fürsprecherin.»

Grabungsnummer 79-B-1/20, r. 1-2; A. Cavigneaux, *Textes scolaires du Temple de Nabû ša ḫarê*. Vol. I, Bagdad 1981, p. 138 (Umschrift) und p. 173 (Autographie); Ramaḍān 'Abdulmaḡsūd al-Qiṭṭ, *Sumer* 38 (1982) p. 106 (arabisch), Photo p. 114.

Eine vergleichbare Affixhäufung wie in *abbūtānītu* (*abb + ūt + ān + ī + tu*) findet sich noch in *nērtānītu* «mörderisch» (s. *CAD* N2 177b); dieses Adjektiv besteht auch aus *nēr + t + ān + ī + tu*; hier kommt das -t- des Fem.-Endung zweimal vor (vgl. *GAG* Ergänzungsheft, 10** zu § 56 r).

Abzugrenzen ist ^d*abbūtānītu* von ^{Mf}Abbuttānītu, einem mittelbabylonischen Personennamen (BE 15, 185: 11 u.ö.), der zu dem Adjektiv *abbuttānu* gestellt wird (s. AHw 5b und CAD A1 48a). Diesem Adjektiv liegt das aus sumerisch *ugu-dù* (vgl. M. Civil, JNES 32 (1973) 58) entlehnte Wort *abbuttu*, das eine Sklaven-Haartracht bezeichnet, zugrunde (vgl. noch G. Dosch, SCCNH 2, 1987, 77-87).

Gazbaba und Kanisurra gelten als Töchter der Nanā. Der Gottesname *Tahāra-pî-nîši* ist «Sie bindet den Mund der Menschen auf magische Weise, um sie zu zwingen, die Wahrheit zu sprechen» zu deuten, vgl. CAD H 119b.

Kazuko WATANABE (25-07-90)
Toyo Eiwa Women's University
32-1, Miho-cho Midori-ku
YOKOHAMA-SHI JAPON 226

95) Zur Lesung und Aussprache von ^dEN.ZU am Ende des 3. Jahrtausends – Zahlreiche Fachkollegen, wie jüngst P. Steinkeller (FAOS Nr. 10: 4, 17; 11 Rs. 3; 12: 8, 22; 15: 4; 17: 5, 16 und passim) umschreiben den akkadischen Namen des Mondgottes regelmässig mit ^dEN.ZU. Sie machen dadurch deutlich, dass für sie die Lesung noch nicht feststeht.

In Texten aus der Zeit der 3. Dynastie von Ur begegnen mehrfach Personennamen mit einem Element ZU/SU, z.B. *i-bī-ZU* (AUCT 3, 230: 4; Forde, NTSDU 58 I 15, nu-bānda; T. Gomi, Orient 16, 48, 33: 64), *nu-ūr-ZU* (NATN 259 Rs. 4; MVN 3, 332: 3 und Siegel; PDT 2, 1115: 9f., sagi; YOS 4, 304: 19, dub-sar) und *i-ti-SU* (MVN 3, 261 Rs. 2). Dieses Element kommt m.W. nur am Ende des Namens vor.

Anhand gesiegelter Tontafeln mit Schreibvarianten zwischen Text und Siegellegende lässt sich die Bedeutung und Funktion der fraglichen Elemente eindeutig bestimmen:

PDT 1, 495: 3f.:	<i>i-ti-ZU šu ba-ti</i>
Hülle 3:	<i>kišib i-ti-ZU</i>
Siegel (nach Kollation) ¹ :	<i>i-ti-^dEN.ZU</i>
MVN 3, 261 Rs. 2:	<i>i-ti-SU</i>
Siegel:	<i>i-ti-^dEN.ZU</i>

Nach diesen Varianten entspricht SU/ZU dem Gottesnamen ^dEN.ZU. Zu demselben Ergebnis kommt man mit Hilfe von Paralleltexen:

PDT 2, 1115: 9f.:	2 sila ₄ ^d Inanna-Unu ^{ki} -ga	<i>nu-ūr-ZU sagi maškim</i>
PDT 2, 1171: 2f.:	2 udu-niga ^d Inanna-Unu ^{ki} -šè giri	<i>nu-ūr-^dEN.ZU sagi</i>

Eine Schreibvariante anderer Art begegnet in UET 3, 157: 4. Danach weisen Tafel und Siegellegende einen Namen *i-ti-AN.ZU* auf², während in den weitgehend parallelen Texten UET 3, 995: 5 und 1016: 4 das erwartete *i-ti-^dEN.ZU* steht.

Diese Varianten zeigen, dass das Element SU/ZU für den Gottesnamen ^dEN.ZU steht. Gleichzeitig muss die Schreibung mit SU/ZU als Hinweis auf die Aussprache gewertet werden: ^dEN.ZU kann am Ende des 3. Jahrtausends in Mesopotamien noch nicht für eine Aussprache *Sîn* stehen, da sonst die Schreibung mit SU/ZU unerklärlich wäre. Folglich müssen wir auch in akkadischen PN ^d*Suen* umschreiben.

Wann und wo im frühen 2. Jahrtausend *Suen* zum *Sîn* wurde, ist m.W. bisher nicht untersucht. M. Hall, *A Study of the Sumerian Moon-God, Nanna/Suen* (PhD. Diss., University of Pennsylvania 1985) S. 36ff. (besonders S. 40) und 71ff. hilft – soweit ich sehe – nicht weiter. Die Schreibung ^d*Sin* (^dEŠ) und *Sin* (EŠ) begegnet in Texten aus der Zeit um 1850 v. Chr. (z.B. Zeit Sumula'el's YOS 14, 133: 23 (Z. 17, 20, 24 ^dEN.ZU); Zeit Apilsin's ibid. 147: 29, 36; 149: 26).³

Streng genommen ist es m.W. nicht einmal erwiesen, ob das Zahlzeichen EŠ = 30 in dieser Zeit bereits eine Lesung *Sin* hatte, denn 30 ist die natürliche Zahl des Mondgottes für die 30 Tage des Monats und könnte ebensogut als Kürzel für den Gottesnamen *Suen* stehen. Gesichert ist der Lautwert in der mittelassyrischen Zeit.⁴ Nötig wäre eine Schreibvariante *Si-in/Sí-in* für ^dEN.ZU in einem altbabylonischen oder einem älteren Text, um die bestehende Zweifel auszuräumen.

In diesem Zusammenhang ist auf die Schreibung ^dEN.ZI in 2 Exemplaren des Vocabolario di Ebla (MEE 4 VE 799) statt des zu erwartenden ^dEN.ZU (nur in 1 Exemplar) hinzuweisen. Obwohl in der semitischen Spalte (in 4 Exemplaren) *sú-i-nu* steht, muss man in der Schreibung ^dEN.ZI den ältesten Hinweis auf die kontrahierte Form des Names (^d*Sí:en*) sehen.⁵ In Mesopotamien ist jedoch – wie oben versucht wurde zu zeigen – wenigstens bis an das Ende des 1. Jahrhundert des 2. Jahrtausends von einer Lesung *Suen/Sue(n)/Su(en)* auszugehen.⁶

¹Siegel nach Kollation: *Na-ra-am-i-lí*, *sukkal-ì-[du₆]*, *i-ti-^dEN.ZU*, *dub-sar ir₁₁-zu*.

²Nicht kollationiert; ein Fehler des Kopisten lässt sich allerdings nicht auszuschliessen.

³Aus der Ur III-Zeit ist mir keine Schreibung mit EŠ bekannt. Nach Kollation (Maeda, ASJ 2, 212) ist HLC II 95, 111 Rs. 8 *nu-úr-Eš₄-tár* *sukkal* zu lesen und nicht, wie MAD 2, 213 = AnOr 42 Nr. 275 s.v. *Sin* vermutet, *nu-úr-Sin*(EŠ).

⁴AnOr 42 Nr. 275. Lautwert SIN erst mA und jünger, vgl. dazu z.B. auch AHw 1047f. s.v. *s/zingurru*, *sinnišāniš*, *sinnisānu*, *sinnistu*, *sinnu* I.

⁵So auch W.G. Lambert, *Bilinguismo a Ebla* 399. Anders offenbar P. Xella, HSAO 2, 352, der ^den-zi/zu umschreibt. Auch in Personennamen aus Ebla kommt die Schreibung *Sú-i-nu* vor: *Ír-am₆-Sú-i-nu* und *Tù-bí-Sú-i-nu* (A. Archi, Eblaitica 1, 130f.).

⁶Vgl. dazu auch M. Hall, *Nanna/Suen* S. 37.

Hartmut WAETZOLDT (25-07-90)
Batzenhäuselweg 11
6903 NECKARGEMÜND, RFA

96) Die eblaitische Entsprechung und die Bedeutung von *nì-anše-aka* – Im Vocabolario di Ebla Z. 110 (MEE 4, S. 209) findet man dazu die Übersetzung *maš-kà-nu*, was M. Krebernik (ZA 73, 5) fragend zu akk. *maškannu* «Tenne» und P. Fronzaroli (SLE 145f.) zu *maškanu* «chain; money paid in addition to the purchase price?» stellt.¹ G. Pettinato übersetzte bereits in MEE 2, 1 II 3 «corda, catena» (Komm. S. 10), da dieser Gegenstand sowohl aus Wolle als auch aus Metall hergestellt werden konnte.

Wie ich jedoch bereits seit längerem vermutete, entspricht das *nì-anše-aka* der Wirtschaftstexte einem anderen eblaitischen Wort. Zu dieser Annahme war ich aufgrund des Vergleichs verschiedener Texte gekommen, z.B.:

MEE 1,	13 I 1	2	<i>má-ḫu</i>	<i>nì-anše-aka</i>	
ibid.	9 I 1	4	<i>má-ḫu</i>	<i>lu-bù-gu</i>	
ARET 8,	537 VII 13ff.	2	<i>nì-anše-aka</i>	4 <i>kù-sal</i>	4 <i>zi-kir-ra-tum</i>
MEE 1,	19 I 1	2	<i>lu-bù-ga</i>	4 <i>kù-sal</i>	4 <i>zi-kir-ra-tum</i>

Da die Eintragungen in Wirtschaftstexten jedoch keinem zwingenden Schema folgen, bestand weiterhin eine Unsicherheit, ob diese Entsprechung auch zutrif. Durch die Publikation von ARET 7 wurden jedoch die letzten Zweifel beseitigt. Wie bereits A. Archi erkannte, enthalten die Texte 3 I 1 – VI 1 und 12 I 1 – Rs. II 5 die gleichen Eintragungen, allerdings in abweichender Formulierung. Die hier allein interessierenden Zeilen lauten:

3 III 1f.	<i>ša-pi gín-DILMUN</i>	<i>kù-sig₁₇</i>	2 <i>nì-anše-aka</i>
12 III 3	<i>ša-pi</i>	<i>kù-sig₁₇</i>	<i>lu'-ba'-ga</i> (so nach Foto zu lesen; A. Archi umschrieb <i>dab₆'?</i> - <i>zu-ga</i>).

Für dieses eblaitische Wort finden wir in den Texten die folgenden Schreibungen:

<i>lu-bù-gu</i>	(MEE 1, 9 I 1, 29 II 3')
<i>lu-bù-gú</i>	(MEE 1, 10 I 1)
<i>lu-bù-ga</i>	(Dual; MEE 1, 19 I 1)
<i>lu-ba-ga</i>	(Dual; ARET 7, 12 III 3).

Fraglich bleiben muss wegen des anderen Kontextes, ob das aus Gold gefertigte *NI-bù-gu* (Lesung *Íf-bù-gu* ?) – als Teil des *la-ha* – Gefässes – (MEE 1, 1868 Rs. XIV 5-9) hierher zu stellen ist.

Die Bedeutung von *lu-bù-gu* lässt sich jetzt sicher bestimmen. Obige Dual – Formen machen deutlich, dass es sich um einen paarweise benutzten Gegenstand handeln muss. Bereits A. Archi hatte in *Miscellanea Babylonica. Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot* S. 31ff. die Vermutung geäußert, dass es sich bei *nì-anše-aka* um die Zügel handeln müsse. Diese Annahme lässt sich mit Hilfe obiger Gleichsetzung und der «Estratti di vocabolari» (MEE 4, S. 350) Z. 022 aufs beste bestätigen: *ad-2 = lu-bù-ga* (s. VE 1037). Nach dem Foto (Text 11 Rs. IX 13) dürfte statt *ad-2²* eher *ad-tab* zu lesen sein, womit das normale sumerische Wort für «Zügel» vorliegt (J. Bauer, St Pohl 9, S. 267 zu II 5).

An der Bedeutung kann man somit nicht mehr zweifeln. Viel schwieriger ist die Frage, zu welcher semitischen Wurzel *lu-bù-gu* zu stellen ist. Da das Wort in den verschiedenen Textgattungen einheitlich einen 1-Anlaut aufweist, liegt eine Ableitung von *LBK* nahe (CAD L 7 to soften, to steep, to macerate); Vgl. *labku* 1. «flexible (said of a bow)»; etwa *lubúku* (oder ähnlich) «das Flexible»? (Bei Annahme von L/R - Wechsel käme besonders die Würzel *RPQ* in Frage).

Die Zügel waren auf jeden Fall in Ebla so hoch geschätzt, dass sie wichtigen Persönlichkeiten neben Kleidungsstücken und Schmuck zum Geschenk gemacht wurden (vgl. die MEE 2, S. 10 zu II 3, ARET 4, S. 316; 8, S. 64 genannten Texte).³

¹In altbabylonischen Texten aus Mari kommt ein Gegenstand aus Kupfer vor, der ebenfalls *ma-aš-ka-nu* genannt wird, aber 6 bis 7,5 Minen wiegt (z.B. ARM 25, 497 Rs. 1, 706 Rd. 1).

²Die Keile von tab sind nicht ganz waagrecht, aber auch wieder nicht so schräg wie beim Zahlzeichen 2. Tab gehört möglicherweise zu den Zeichen wie DU₉/GABA, die häufiger nicht ganz waagrecht geschrieben werden, Vgl. VE 948ff. und 1046ff. In Text B findet man DU₉/GABA: Waagrecht Z. 946-948, 950, 1046, 1048, 1049; schräg Z. 949 und senkrecht 951.

³Die Lesung von *mì-anše-aka* lässt sich nicht mit Sicherheit festlegen (*anše* wurde hier nur wegen der Bedeutung Zügel, die zum lenken der Onager bzw. Esel dienten, gewählt). Wegen der anderen Entsprechung muss man VE 110 möglicherweise anders lesen.

Hartmut WAETZOLDT (25-07-90)

97) Zu einer Schülertafel aus Mari – Joachim Oelsner publizierte in *N.A.B.U.* 1989-33 eine Notiz (mit demselben Titel) zu der Schülerübung, die W.G. Lambert als «A list of Gods' Names» (*Miscellanea Babylonica*, Paris 1985, 181-190) veröffentlicht hatte.

Hier soll nur kurz auf einen anderen Aspekt dieses interessanten Textes eingegangen werden, und zwar auf die Tatsache, dass die Anordnung des Lehrstoffs genau Schulübungen aus Nippur entspricht. Auf der Vorderseite⁽¹⁾ (mit Oelsner) schrieb der Lehrer erst den neuen Unterrichtsstoff, dann musste der Schüler ihn wenigstens einmal wiederholen. Der Lehrer teilte dafür die Tafel so ein, dass die Schüler-Kolumne breiter war als die von ihm selbst beschriebene, damit dieser, da er noch nicht so sicher war, mehr Platz für seine Übung hatte. Ebenso wie auf dem Mari-Text kommt es in Nippur vor, dass der Schüler das vom Lehrer Vorgeschriebene zweimal wiederholte (z.B. M. Çiğ - H. Kızılyay, *Zwei altbabylonische Schulbücher aus Nippur* S. 51 Ni 5152).

Auf der Rückseite⁽¹⁾ wiederholte schliesslich der Schüler die gesamte Liste oder den sonstigen Lehrstoff, soweit er ihn in früheren Unterrichtsstunden gelernt hatte, und zwar zum Teil einschliesslich der gerade neu durchgenommenen Zeilen (so entsprechen in dem Mari-Text Vs.⁽¹⁾ 1-7 der Rs.⁽¹⁾ IV 21-27 = Z. 103-109 nach der Lambert'schen Zählung).

Die geschilderten Fakten zeigen, dass die Lehrer in Mari nach demselben pädagogischen Prinzip wie in Nippur unterrichteten: Zu Beginn der «Schulstunde» wurde der neue Stoff durchgenommen und danach früher Gelerntes wiederholt. Dieses Prinzip kann man z.B. anhand des Silbenalphabets B aufzeigen (Çiğ - Kızılyay, c.o. S. 66ff.); die entsprechenden Texte konnte ich in Philadelphia dank des freundlichen Entgegenkommens von Åke Sjöberg durchsehen und hier zitieren. Vom Anfang des Silbenalphabets B fand ich zufällig keine Texte, ab den Zeilen 50 ergibt sich folgendes:

Neuer Lehrstoff (vom Lehrer vorgeschrieben)	Wiederholung des Schülers auf der Rückseite
Zeile 50-60	ab Zeile 1 ¹
Zeile 61-71	ab Zeile 1 ²
Zeile [72-81]	[ab Zeile 1] ³
Zeile 82-94	ab Zeile 1 ⁴
Zeile [95-107?]	[ab Zeile 1] ³
Zeile [108?-120]	[ab Zeile 1] ³
Zeile 121-132	ab Zeile 1 oder Zeile 21ff. ⁵
Zeile 133-143	ab Zeile 1 [oder Zeile ?] ⁶
(Zeile 178-[190?]	ca. ab Zeile 20) ⁷
Zeile 186-191	ab Zeile 72 ⁸
(Zeile 215-[227?]	ca. ab Zeile 101) ⁹
Zeile 266ff.	ab Zeile 94 ¹⁰

Die noch recht jungen Schüler nahmen demnach meist 11-13 Zeilen neu durch. Nach dem Schultext aus Mari mutete man ihnen sogar nur 7 neue Zeilen zu. Wiederholt wurde die Liste soweit sie bisher im Unterricht behandelt worden war. Ab etwa Zeile 132 erlaubte der Lehrer, die ersten Zeilen wegzulassen, so dass die Schüler nur rund 110 bis 150 Zeilen zu schreiben hatten. Die selben Anforderungen wurden auch an die Schüler in Mari gestellt. Für die Götterliste ergibt sich daraus, dass am Anfang sehr wahrscheinlich nichts fehlte, da auf Kolumne V der Rückseite noch Platz blieb für den Auszug aus einer weiteren Liste. Wie

W.G. Lambert jedoch bereits feststellte (S. 188 zu Z. 109), fehlt die zweite Hälfte der Liste. Die Schüler hatten diese noch nicht gelernt.

Bei der Zeichenliste in Kolumne V der Rückseite handelt es sich um einen Auszug aus einem Vorläufer zu Proto-Ea, der noch keine Spalte mit den Ausspracheangaben hat. Einen vergleichbaren Text besprach ich in AoF 13, 1986, 5ff. Bei diesen Zeichenlisten musste der Lehrer den Schülern die verschiedenen Lesungen der Zeichen erläutern.

Die Nähe zu Proto-Ea ist unverkennbar, wie folgende Aufstellung zeigt (die Anordnung der Zeichen stimmt überein):

Schulübung		Proto-Ea (MSL 14, 30ff.)
V 4'	LU	62f.
5'	DIB	65
6'	TÚG! ⁷	66-69
8'-11'	KAK ¹	86-88
12'	IR	89
13'-15'	NI	90-97
16'-18'	ĤU	125-128
19'-21'	RI	129-132
22'	AN	134-138
23'-25'	MUL ¹	138a-140
26'	ĤAL ²	142f.
28'	ZU/SU	147-149
29'	SUxA	150
30'-31'	UD	151-159

Dieser Schülertext aus Mari ist ein gutes Beispiel für die Verbreitung sumerischen Unterrichtsmaterials im semitischen Sprachraum. Erst wurde eine Liste mit meist sumerischen Gottheiten (Ausnahme Z. 41, 48, 60) und anschließend eine Liste zum Erlernen der verschiedenen Lesungen von Sumerogrammen durchgenommen.¹¹

¹CBS 6116, 6261.

²3 NT 397.

³Zufälligerweise von mir kein entsprechender Text gefunden. In Istanbul dürften diese jedoch vorhanden sein.

⁴CBS 5892, 3 NT 393, 3 NT 571.

⁵CBS 8057; CBS 6247 (oder Nummer 6241?, letzte Ziffer nicht sicher lesbar).

⁶3 NT 396.

⁷UMBS 12, 46. Der Lehrer hatte den Unterrichtsstoff etwa anders eingeteilt.

⁸Ni 3584 (Çiğ - Kızılyay, c. o. S. 30).

⁹UMBS 12, 45 (abweichende Einteilung des Unterrichtsstoffs).

¹⁰Ni 5152 (Çiğ-Kızılyay, c. o. S. 51).

¹¹Die Kombination von Götterlisten mit sonstigen Listen kommt bei Schülertexten in Mesopotamien ebenso vor, vgl. z.B. MVAG 21, 1916, Tf. IV-V: Vs. Auszug aus Vorläufer von Hh VIII 71a-84b = MSL 7, 188f.; Rs. Auszug aus Götterliste (Namen meist mit Nin beginnend). Ferner MSL SS 1, 51 Nr. 56, 60; SLT 122, 125; diese Kombination ist jedoch vergleichsweise selten.

Hartmut WAETZOLDT (25-07-90)

98) Notes to Atram-Ĥasīs, Tablet II: (a) The Episode of the Famine according to the Assyrian Version – It may seem futile to propose restorations and new interpretations to fragmentary passages of the Second Tablet of the Atram-Ĥasīs myth, based solely on philological and literary considerations, rather than on new textual evidence. However, anyone who is working on a translation of this myth into a modern language, cannot resist the temptation to try to restore some of the words, lost in the numerous lacunas and damaged lines in the reconstructed text. The following insights and restorations are a result of a careful study of the text, on the basis of the editors' excellent copies, while preparing a Hebrew anthology of Sumerian and Akkadian literature (in collaboration with the poetess Sh. Shifra). Some of the following corrections are rather simple and self-understood. Others – are based on speculation and should be accepted with due reserve. Needless to say that the present writer anxiously awaits the long promised revised edition of this myth by the editors, on the basis of new textual material available to them.

All previous reviews and interpretations of the famine episode follow the editors in their tacit assumption that the famine, according to the Assyrian recension (S vi 1-15)¹, lasted for *six years*.² However, in view of the OB recension, which puts the years of the famine at the typological number *three*,³ we would expect the late Assyrian recension to put it at the larger typological number – *seven*.⁴ The seventh year of famine, in this recension, can be recovered, in my opinion, if we restore l. 12 b (cf. p. 112, l. 24) as follows: *im-la-ni-ma š[eš (6)? šanāti (MU^{mes})]* «when six years have passed,» i.e. when the seventh year arrived. One could also consider the restoration *s[ebe(7) šanāti]* (so perhaps traces of copy), but the verb *imlû* with *umû/warhû/šānātu*, as subject, usually means «passed,» rather than «arrived». ⁵ Hence, «when six years have passed» (lit. became full), is semantically equivalent to «when the seventh year has arrived.» The above restoration is based on the further stylistic consideration that when the poet reaches the seventh year, i.e. the climax, he departs from his monotonous, formulaic phrase «x *šattu ina kašādi,*» introducing a new, more dramatic, formula: «*imlānimma x šanāti.*»

The above restoration of l. 12 clarifies the structure of the masterfully built famine episode: In the **first** year, the people consumed the old grain (= *labīra*) left over from the previous year⁶; in the **second** year, they emptied their stores (= *unakkimā nakkamta*);⁷ in the **third** year, the people began to starve proper, and their features became distorted; in the **fourth** year, their bodies contracted and became hunched; in the **fifth** year, family ties broke down to such an extent that if a mother still happened to have something to eat, she prevented it from her own daughter and vice versa⁸; in the **sixth** year, nothing was left to eat in the house and, therefore, the people were forced to practice cannibalism within the family, i.e. they served their infant children for dinner⁹; when the **seventh** year arrived (ll. 12b-15), the famine reached its peak, so that no infants were left in the house for consumption. Consequently:

bitu iltānu šanū ireḥamma

«One house (i.e. family) attacked/devoured the other» (l. 13). In such circumstances, the people constantly lived on the verge of death¹⁰ and, therefore, Atram-Ḥasīs was forced to appeal to Enki, to take measures whereby the famine would be relieved. Thus the seventh year meant for humanity both the peak and the end of the prolonged famine.

Note that when the author of the Gilgameš Epic describes the Seven-Day period, during which the ship lay stranded on Mt. Nišir (Gilgameš XI 141-146), he uses a similar device, to emphasize the dramatic change, which took place on the seventh day. This poet, too, uses a brief, monotonous formula, when he refers to the first six days (*išten ūmu, šina ūmu* etc.). When he reaches the seventh day, he departs from this formula and introduces a new formula, for dramatic effect (*šebû ūmu ina kašādi*). The same poetic device was also observed in Ugaritic literature.¹¹ For a condensed form of this device see also the description of the seven days of the flood in the Gilgameš Epic: «Six days and [seven] nights/ Blows the flood-wind, the hurricane sweeps the land./ When the seventh day arrived, the hurricane subsided ...» (Gilgameš XI 127-129).

Finally, it should be pointed out, that the above reconstructed **seven** years of famine in the Atram-Ḥasīs myth recall the **seven** years of famine in the Biblical Joseph narrative (Gen 41: 27ff.; cf. 2 Sam 24: 13), just as the **three** years of famine of the OB version recall the **three** years of famine during the reign of David (2 Sam 21: 1).

¹Cf. Lambert-Millard, Atram-Ḥasīs, pp. 112ff.; see already S v 12-26 (pp. 110ff.).

²Cf. W.G. Lambert, OrNS 38 (1969), 534; A.D. Kilmer, OrNS 41 (1972), 168f.; W.L. Moran, RA 79 (1985), 90; D.A. Chase, JCS 39 (1987), 241ff.; W.H. Propp, N.A.B.U. 1989-68.

³Cf. Lambert-Millard, *ibid.*, pp. 78f., col. iv 9-18.

⁴This problem was noticed already by Lambert who observed that «to diminish their number the great gods decide to cause a famine for six years» (JSS 5 [1960], 115); and that «it will not be doubted that these six years were leading up to a seventh, whatever may have taken place in it» (*ibid.*, p. 117; referring to *ki 7 šanāti* in text U, obv. 9; cf. p. 122). Ann Draffkorn-Kilmer, on the other hand, sees in the above six years of famine six separate plagues, which presumably led to the decision about the 'final solution', i.e. the flood (cf. OrNS 41, p. 169, note 39).

⁵See CAD sub *malû* 4 b; AHW sub *malûm* IV 9; cf. Biblical Hebrew *māl'û yāmîm/šānîm* etc.

⁶Cf. *yāšān* in Lev 25: 22 et passim.

⁷Cf. Gen 41: 33-36.

⁸For this motif in omen literature, see CAD M/1, p. 302b.

⁹A well known motif in Mesopotamian literature; cf. also Lev 26: 29; Deut 28: 53-57; Lam 2: 20; 4: 10.

¹⁰*ina šuparkê napišti* (ll. 14-15)

¹¹Cf. S.E. Loewenstam, «The Seven Day-Unit in Ugaritic Epic Literature,» IEJ 15 [1965], 121-133.

Jacob KLEIN (05-08-90)
Samuel Noah Kramer Institute of Assyriology
Bar-Ilan University, RAMAT-GAN 52100 ISRAEL

99) Notes to Atram-Ḫasīs, Tablet II: (b) The Old Babylonian Version of the «Messengers» Motif – In Tablet II, col. v of the main (OB) recension of Atram-Ḫasīs, a message is sent by Enlil to Enki, in which Enlil accuses Enki with contradicting his orders and obstructing his plans by saving mankind from famine.¹ A short version of this accusation is repeated twice in text x rev. ii (p. 118): once in Enlil's address to the messenger (ll. 2-6), and again in the messenger's address to Enki (ll. 9-13).

The question arises: who was the messenger who conveyed Enlil's message to Enki? The editors of the myth did not clarify their position as to the identity of this messenger; but their translation of these lines assumes that only **one** divine person is involved here, perhaps Nusku, who is addressed by Enlil in II v 23. However, when Enki answers Enlil's accusations, he addresses an anonymous messenger: [d^é-a pa-a]-šú ipuš-ma iqabbi / [iz-za-kar] ana mār šip-ri (cf. p. 118, rev. ii 14-15).

The above text, as copied by W. Lambert, indicates clearly *ana DUMU šip-ri*, at the end of l. 15. This, however, seems to contradict ll. 7-8 and ll. 29-31, which refer to the messenger's movements and speech in the plural. These lines may be reconstructed as follows:

[(mārū^{meš} šip-ri) i-bi-ru] ta-ma-tú ra-pa-áš-tú
 [ter-ti^{dén}-líl a-na d^é-a ú-šá-an-nu-ú
 «[(The messengers) crossed] the wide sea,
 They repeated [the message of] Enlil to Ea» (x rev. ii 7-8)
 [mārū^{meš} šip-ri?] il-qu-ú ter-ta
 [i-bi-ru] ta-ma-tú ra-pa-áš-tú
 [il-li-k]u-ma ú-šá-an-nu-ú
 [ter-ti^{dén}-l a a¹-na qu-ra-di^{dén}-líl
 «[The messengers] took the message,
 [They crossed] the wide sea,
 [They went] and repeated
 [the message] of Ea to Enlil» (x rev. ii 28-31).

From the above lines we may safely conclude that Enlil's message to Enki was delivered by more than one messenger. How many? The answer to this, seemingly strange, question seems to lurk in II v 22-27 of the main recension (p. 82), which may be reconstructed and rendered as follows:²

22 Enlil pr'ašu i[pušamma]
 23 ana šukkalli Nusku [izzakkar]
 24 še-na 'DUMU'[(meš)] 'ši'-[ip]-'ri' li-ib-[bi-ku-nim]
 25 li[šērib]ūni ana mahri[ja]
 26 še-na D[UMU^(meš)] ši'-ip'-ri ib-bi-ku-n[i-iš-šu]
 27 izzakaršunūši qurādu [Enlil]
 22 «Enlil [opened] his mouth,
 23 [And addressed] the vizier Nusku:
 24 'Let [them] bring [to me] **two messengers!**
 25 Let them [make them enter] before me!
 26 They brought [to him] **two messengers;**
 27 The warrior [Enlil] addressed them (as follows): ...».

That the team of Enlil's messengers included two divine persons, is clearly indicated by *šena* (ll. 24 and 26), which is a secondary form of *šina* «two», attested in the OB period.³ Most probably, these persons were designated as *mārū šipri*, but I admit that the restoration of these words in ll. 24 and 26 above may turn out to be erroneous upon collation, or upon the appearance of a new duplicate.⁴ The singular form «DUMU šip-ri» in x rev. ii 15 (p. 118), which only partly supports my reconstruction of the plot, may be explained as a scribal error for DUMU^{<meš>} šip-ri; the lapse having been caused by homoteleuton, i.e. by the graphic identity between the ME of meš and the ŠIP of šip-ri.

In view of the above considerations, the long distance, shrewd and ironic «Dialogue» between Enlil and Enki, furnished by the OB text D (pp. 80ff.) and the NB text x (pp. 118ff.) is to be reconstructed as follows:

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| 1. | Enlil to assembly – accusing Enki: | D v 13-21 | |
| 2. | Enlil summons two messengers: | D v 22-25 | |
| 3. | Enlil to messengers – accusing Enki: | D v 25-[35] = | x rev ii 2-6 |
| 4. | Messengers to Enki – accusation: | | x rev ii 7-13 |
| 5. | Enki to messengers – apology: | | x rev ii 14-27 |
| 6. | Messengers to Enlil – apology: | | x rev ii 28-43 |
| 7. | Enlil conjures assembly as to flood: | | x rev ii 44-48 |
| 8. | [Enki is summoned to assembly(?): | D v 36-vi 8] | |
| 9. | Enlil's address to Enki(?): | D vi 10-14 | |

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 10. | Enki's reaction(?): | D vi 15-21 |
| 11. | Enlil to Enki – accusation: | D vi 22-30 |
| 12. | Enki to Enlil – apology(?): | D vi 31-[44] ⁵ |
| 13. | Enlil to assembly – proposal: | D vii 30-38 |
| 14. | Enki to assembly – counter proposal: | D vii 40-54 |

The «two/multiple messengers» motif is also attested in Ugaritic literature, where it appears in a very similar, but further developed, form.⁶ When e.g. Keret is instructed by El to besiege Udm, he is told that Pabil, the local king, will **send him messengers** (*wylak mlakm*), with tribute, to buy him off, and convince him to lift the siege; thereupon, Keret will **send him back the messengers** (*wṯtb mlakm lh*), demanding from him his daughter for a wife (KTU 1.14: III 19-20; 32-33). The **messengers rise** (*ttb' mlkam*) and set their faces toward king Pabil to tell him Keret's message (KTU 1.14: VI 35ff.). A closely similar situation is described in Gen 32: 4ff., where Jacob sends **messengers** (*mal'ākīm*) to Esau, to buy him off and appease him.

Even more developed is the «messengers» motif in the Ugaritic Baal Cycle, where we encounter two types of messengers: anonymous messengers, on the one hand, and a **pair of divine messengers** – Gapn and Ugar, on the other hand. The anonymous messengers are sent by Yam (*[m]lakm ylak ym*) to the divine assembly of El, demanding the extradition of Baal (KTU 1.2: I 11ff.). Here also the messengers **rise** (*tb' glimm*), and set out toward their destination (*ibid.*, lines 19f.); they **arrive at the assembly** (*tmgy n mlak ym*), and cast terror upon the gods (*ibid.*, lines 30ff.).⁷ In another episode, Baal sends the divine pair Gapn and Ugar to Anat, to tell her that he is in trouble (KTU 1.3: III 33-36). The same messenger pair move back and forth between Baal and Mot (KTU 1.5: I 8ff.).

Now, Ugaritologists observed that the above messenger-pair is sometimes referred to in plural, and at other times – in singular. Thus, e.g., in KTU 1.3: III 29f., we read: «Behold, Anat perceived the **two gods**, she stamped (her) feet at it».⁸ Note especially KTU 1.5: VI 5 and 8, where these gods refer to their own arrival by the form *mgny*, which is interpreted as a first pl. dual form («we two have arrived».)⁹ We wonder, whether the above inconsistency is a real literary phenomenon, or perhaps an illusion, existing only in some Ugaritologists' imagination. Whatever the case may be, the divine messenger-pair motif in the Baal Epic Cycle seems to have been borrowed from Mesopotamian literature, and it has a clear forerunner in the Second Tablet of the OB Atram-Ḥasis myth.

¹Cf. Lambert-Millard, *Atra-Ḥasis*, p. 82, ll. 28-32; 1'-3'. For vi 23-30 (p. 84), see below.

²The text is given here in normalized transliteration, except when a new restoration is needed.

³Cf. AHw, sub *šina* II.

⁴An alternative restoration of the first half of this line (as well as l. 24) could be: *še-na 'i'-n[a] ma-ri* «two of (my) sons» (cf. p. 48, ll. 94 and 117; p. 120, l. 48).

⁵Lines 31-32 are to be restored thus: [^d*en-ki pi-a-šu*] *i-p[ū]-'ša-am-ma' / [iz-za-kar a-na q]ú-ra-[di] ^den-'lil'*. It may be assumed that in the following lacuna Ea repeated his apology on Enlil's accusations (cf. Nos. 5 and 6 above).

⁶For the messenger in the Ancient Near East and the Bible, see recently S.A. Meier, *The Messenger (mal'āk and mār-šipri)* in the Ancient Semitic World (Ph.D. Dissertation Harvard, 1986); D. Elgavish, *The Emissary and his Mission: The Diplomatic Service in the Cuneiform Sources and the Bible* (Ph.D. Thesis Bar-Ilan University, 1989; in Hebrew).

According to Meier (*ibid.*, pp. 96-123), the travelling of messengers in pairs was a frequent practice in the Ancient Near East, especially in everyday life. The purpose of this practice was to ensure the safety of the messengers and the success of the mission. In Mesopotamian myths, however, the divine messengers tend to travel alone, with negligible exceptions (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 123-127). The divine messengers of the Bible (*mal'ākīm*) also normally travel alone (*ibid.*, pp. 127-129). The divine messengers in Ugaritic mythology and epic literature, on the other hand, normally travel in pairs or groups of unspecified number (*ibid.*, pp. 127-134; for further details see below). See also Elgavish, *ibid.*, pp. 227ff.

⁷*Ibid.*, ll. 30ff. Note further that both in the Babylonian and Ugaritic myths the messengers, sent to the divine assembly, are expected to **bow down/prostrate** and **stand up** before they deliver their message; cf. *Ip'n il [l]tpl ltšthwy pḥr m'd qmm aṣr amr [ḥn]y d'thm* in the Baal myth to Atramḥasis I 122-123 *ina puḥri [kala ilīma] kimis iziz [šunni awāt]ni* (cf. ll. 134-135; p. 122, obv. 3). For this literary topos, see further Meier, *ibid.*, pp. 163ff.

⁸*hlm 'nt tḥ ilm bh p'nm ṯff.*

⁹Cf. C. Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual*, p. 56. See also Meier, *ibid.*, pp. 129-134, where further evidence is presented for *Gapn-wa-Ugar* being two (rather than one) gods.

Jacob KLEIN (05-08-90)

100) **Contributions to the Study of Sumerian Texts in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad: 1. Collations to In-nin-šà-gur₄-ra: TIM IX 20-26** – Through the hospitality of the British Archaeological Expedition to Iraq, the courtesy of Dr. Mu'ayyed Sa'id Damerji, Director General of Antiquities and Heritage, and Dr. Šabaḥ Jasim, Director of the Iraq Museum, and the kind help of Aḥmed Karmel and the staff of the Museum, I was able to collate and copy a number of tablets in the Iraq Museum in Baghdad in the spring of 1990.¹ Some of the results are presented here.

Line and page references are to Åke Sjöberg's edition, «In-nin šà-gur₄-ra ...», in: ZA 65 (1975) 161-253.

These Tell Harmal tablets have deteriorated since they were copied by J. van Dijk. The collations generally confirm the very high quality of Van Dijk's copies.

TIM IX 20 = IM 51545. This is source C in Å. Sjöberg's edition.

1. Sumerian line: Read a-nu-na (NB na-, not ki). There is no room for [-ke₄-ne], or [-ne] unless written over the edge, which is unlikely. Cf. line 5, where the Anunna-gods are similarly written ^{da}a]-nun-na
Akkadian line: *mu-te-le-tum*, no *el* (as copied)
3. Sum.: za-da du₈ (copy correct). This does not support the reading za ša₄ for za DU.
Akk.: [be-]e-[e]t. -a-nim, as copied (not a-ni-im).
4. Sum.: There is only one small sign between 'AN' and 'mah'. It could be á. I see a little more than shown on the copy. The two verticals should be further to the right.
5. Sum.: Read ^{da}a]-nun-na (cf. line 1) KU.PIRIG.'DI' 'mu'.tag'.ge'.ne (no un, cf. p. 209). The reading U'.PIRIG.DI, suggested on p. 209, is not possible. The sign between na and PIRIG is almost certainly KU. This gives the reading ku-šu_x or ^{ku}kušu_x.
6. Akk.: The last sign but one can be read -a]r without exclamation mark (cf. p. 210).

TIM IX 21 = IM 51543. This is source O in Å. Sjöberg's edition.

115. Read ka-áš rather than ka-šè*.
117. Sum.: Read di-im-ma instead of dím-ma (as copied). Akkad.: ú-'la'-li is reasonably certain.
118. Sum.: Ad Å. Sjöberg's reading: *ki-da-ra-ab'-aq-qa: ki is certain (one extra vertical stroke); da exactly as copied, identical with da in 10 (= line 119). The sign read ab' could be ta. Read possibly ki-da-ra-ta or ki-id-ra-ta? The signs read aq-qa by Sjöberg are now destroyed (might be an erasure). The end of the line is now missing, from -g[e-en ...].
Akk.: -ib- is reasonably certain. - Read *ku-un-nu'-um'* (*um* with horizontal echoes, as explained in the following note). - The signs *ku-um-ma eštar* are now missing.
119. Akk.: ba' exactly as copied. -hu certain (with horizontal echoes).
120. Akk.: One sign, ta, is missing in the copy after the second iš₇; read: *si-ni-iš-ta*. - The lower part of the Akkadian line is now missing.

TIM IX 26 = IM 51530. This is source Oa in Å. Sjöberg's edition.

121. Akk.: The sign following *ra-še-e* is probably KU. The next sign is now completely destroyed. Read probably *ra-še-e 'ku'-[ma] 'eštar'*.
122. Sum.: The sign read búr, in sa₅-búr, looks as follows:



The sign read bala, in kù-bala', looks as follows:



I prefer von Soden's reading kù-búr (AHw 643, quoted by Å. Sjöberg, p. 234).

Akk.: von Soden's restoration *mēkūtum*, «Mangel», equivalent to kù-búr, fits the traces and the spacing very well: *me-ku-[ú-tu]m* (AHw 643). - Read *wu-tu-rum* instead of *wu-tu-ru-um* (as copied).

123. Sum.: The space between the first and the second kù is remarkably small for dun. However, the traces do not point to kù-'diri', as suggested by R.D. Biggs, CAD B 176, s.v. *bitiqtu*, (quoted by Å. Sjöberg, p. 234):



The gloss can be read 'ku'-du-[un] (no traces of -un are now visible).

124. The sign read *ki is ki, exactly as copied.

TIM IX 22 = IM 51544. This is source P in Å. Sjöberg's edition.

137. Read gú-zi instead of gú (as copied).

TIM IX 24 = IM 51176. This is source R in Å. Sjöberg's edition.

159. Akk.: The 2nd sign, te, looks as copied. The 3rd and 4th signs look as follows:



The 4th sign (copied correctly by J. van Dijk) is distinctly different from ú in this ductus, but virtually identical with RU in line 8 (= 160). Since the equation with *šutēšû* is beyond doubt, one must assume that the scribe made a mistake here. Possibly he had *šu-te-šu-ru-um* in mind. Read *šu-te-šu^l-(RU)-um*?

161. Sum.: The 5th sign looks like MA rather than BA. The sign read x by Å. Sjöberg (ni₅-x-til) looks approximately as copied by van Dijk. This is my own copy:



I tentatively read ne-ur₅²-til.²

162. Sum.: Reading hu, in pa-hu²-ur, is certainly justified.

TIM IX 23 = IM 51529. This is source Ra in Å. Sjöberg's edition.

163. Akk.: The second sign is certainly ur. The 3rd sign cannot be tum (distinctly different from tum in the line below). Reading ša is certainly possible, although stylistically unexpected. One could then suggest [pu-uh-h]u-ur ša še-ri-[k-tim ...], «collecting the gifts». Reading h]u fits the traces very well.

Akk.: Between *pé-er-de-tum* and *ta-nu-qa-[um]* insert ù, as copied.

164. Sum.: The signs read e-gi-sùh-sah₆ maš-ab-ri, look as follows:



I tentatively read: i(?) -gi sa-ah qa(?) -ab(?) -ri. The first sign cannot be e. The third sign is a clear sa. The fifth sign is identical with qa in the preceding line.

165. Sum.: The first three signs, read perhaps 'á¹-gu(?) -bu.

¹The financial support of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq and G.E.C. Gad's Fond is acknowledged with gratitude.

²AHw s.v. *gilitum* suggests ne-hu¹⁷-úš, but the reading hu is excluded. The duplicate Q = HAV 20 obv. 7 has 'ni¹-ri¹-ti¹-la, if one can trust the copy. If the reading ne-ur₅-til is justified, this would be the first attestation of the equation (ni^g?) -ur₅-til = *gilitum* «terror». However, one would then expect ni^g rather than ni in the duplicate (Q). I do not know any other attested Akkadian translation of ur₅ til.

Bendt ALSTER (25-08-90)
Nationernes alle 1
HELSINGØR 3000 DANEMARK

101) **Horizontal echoes: A scribal peculiarity of the Tell Harmal tablets** – On page <2> in his introduction to TIM IX, J. van Dijk refers to what he calls a «trembling hand» as characteristic of the Tell Harmal duplicates to «In-nin-ša-gur₄-ra». Closer inspection reveals that the extra strokes follow a deliberate and consistent pattern, and that they are not just casually placed.

Extra strokes are frequently placed under the (lower) most important horizontal, and sometimes under the (lower) left Winkelhaken of a sign. The sign PA, shown in the sample below, shows that they could occasionally be placed both under the upper and the lower horizontal lines.

The reason for placing these extra strokes is also clear. In this ductus the heads of the cuneiform signs are so large that it can be difficult to distinguish the direction of a horizontal from a vertical line. The extra strokes were placed so as to make it easy to distinguish the direction of the horizontal or slanted lines from the verticals. This scribal peculiarity appears most clearly on TIM IX 21. A copy of obv. 9 (= line 119, Akk.) is given below as a sample.

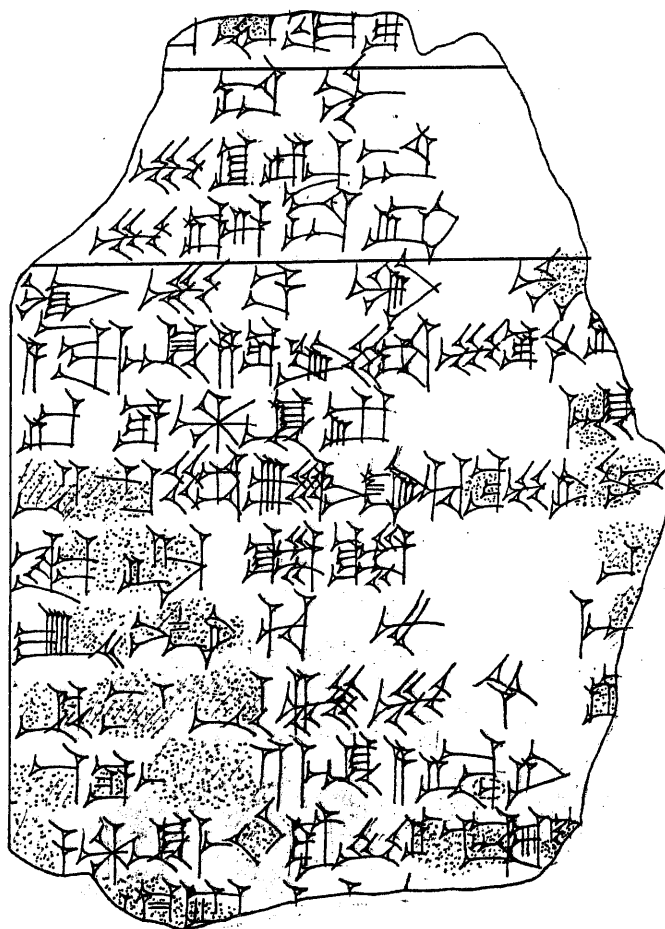
I do not know whether this phenomenon is an idiosyncrasy of one particular scribe, or it could be recognized by careful observation on other tablets, possibly from the same area and period.



TIM IX 21 obv. 9

Bendt ALSTER (25-08-90)

102) A duplicate to «Enlil and Namzitarra» – The copy of N 5909 reproduced here was prepared in the University Museum, Philadelphia, in September 1974, with the kind permission of Prof. Å. Sjöberg, curator of tablet collection of the University Museum. It is a duplicate to «Enlil and Namzitarra», and was used by M. Civil as source D in his edition in AfO 25 (1977) 65-71. Since the composition has been brought into focus with the publication of the Emar duplicates, now treated by J. Klein, Acta Sumerologica 12 (1990) 55-70, and the copy was recently discovered in my private files, this was thought to be a good opportunity to publish the copy.



N 5909, obverse

Bendt ALSTER (25-08-90)

103) **A Grandson of Kurigalzu¹** – The seal impression published here has been found on eight Middle Babylonian envelopes and tablets from Nippur which are now in the University Museum, Philadelphia.² The only object among this group bearing a date with a royal name is the envelope CBS 3015, which was written in the twelfth month of year 4 of Nazi-Maruttaš (= 1304 B.C.).³

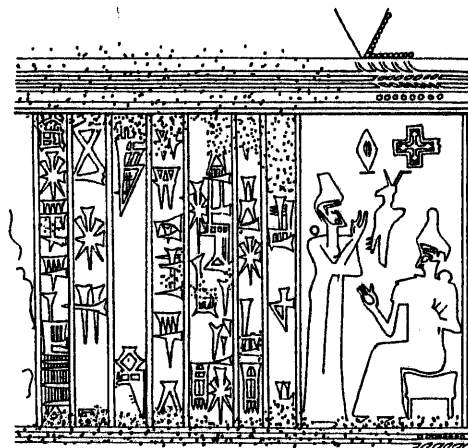
The seal that made this impression had metal caps, probably of gold with filigree and granulation. The visible height of the seal stone is 3 cm, with a circumference of 4 cm; the original height including the caps may have been about 6 cm. The main part of the surface is occupied by the inscription in vertical ruled columns. The design shows a standing man in a tall hat facing a seated man, also in a tall hat; their arm positions are the same as on the Hammurabi stele, and we may therefore suppose that the seated man is a god and the standing figure the king or some other human (there are no specific identifying markers). The symbols in the field – a cross, rhomb, and locust – are normal for the First Kassite style, as for example in other seals which show the same combination of figures.⁴ The strong but precise linear style of engraving is related to the style of other seals of this period: e.g., *Collection de Clercq*, nos. 254 and 261; Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, no. 557; von der Osten, *Brett Collection* (OIP 37), no. 81. The distinctive back profile of the headdresses is common among the Nippur impressions and may be a local trait.

The inscription reads as follows:

- (1) [x-(x)]-*Ja-nu-u*[m]⁵
- (2) [N]U.ÉŠ 4EN.LÍ[L]
- (3) [DUMU] *ka-da-aš-ma-an*
4EN.LÍL
- (4) 'DUMU' DUMU *ku-ri-gal-zu*
- (5) LUGAL KIŠI
- (6) ʾIR 4PA.'K'[U]
- (7) 4UN.GAL-EN.LÍL.K[I]

Translation:

- (1) PN,
- (2) [n]i^šakku of Enlil,
- (3) [son of] Kadašman-Enlil,
- (4) grandson of Kurigalzu
- (5) king of the world,
- (6) servant of Nusku
- (7) and UN.GAL-Nibru.



It is unfortunate that the name of the seal's owner is damaged; but possible restorations for this period include Bēlānum, Ilānum, and Kandalānum.⁶ Inclusion of a genealogy, here father and grandfather, is more common under the Kassite dynasty than in preceding periods.⁷ The title «nišakku of Enlil» under the Kassite dynasty seems to have been held principally by highly connected individuals, usually relatives of a monarch or governors and their families;⁸ there is as yet no nišakku attested for another god at this time.

The goddess UN.GAL-Nibru, sometimes called Queen of Nippur (*šarrat Nippuri*), has been discussed in detail by W.G. Lambert, *Zikir šumim*, especially pp. 179-180.⁹ In Kassite times, the goddess is known also from the economic text *BE* 15 34: 2 (dated I-2-year 13, *elē šarri*).¹⁰ In the seventh century, she is attested as a form of Innin/Ištar in an inscription of Esarhaddon concerned with building the Ebaradurgara in Nippur.¹¹

Placing the text historically depends on which of the two Kassite kings named Kurigalzu is identified as the monarch mentioned in line 4. If it is the first Kurigalzu (reigned c. 1390), then the Kadašman-Enlil in line 3 would be his son and successor as king.¹² Very few texts can be assigned with certainty to Kurigalzu I; so it has yet to be established whether he was credited with the title *šar kiššati* in his lifetime or shortly thereafter.¹³ The Kadašman-Enlil in this text bears no title (which may not be significant); but the seal could have been inscribed late in the reign of Kurigalzu, when the king had a grandson old enough to be entrusted with a temple office.¹⁴ In this case, the only dated use of the seal would occur fifty-six years after the death of the seal owner's father; but, since the owner of the seal is not mentioned on most texts bearing the seal impression,¹⁵ it is possible that the seal continued to be used after his death.¹⁶

If the Kurigalzu in line 4 was the second Kurigalzu (1332-1308), the king would have died only four years before the seal bearing his grandson's name was used. This Kurigalzu is known to have borne the title *šar kiššati*, at least in economic texts.¹⁷ But in this case one would have to postulate an otherwise unknown Kadašman-Enlil as a brother of the reigning Nazi-Maruttaš.

We are grateful to M. Civil, I. Finkel, and W.G. Lambert for their comments on this text.

¹Matthews identified the seal impressions on the envelopes and tablets, recognized their connection with Kurigalzu, and wrote the archeological section of this note, including tablet-envelope designations. Brinkman is responsible for the text edition and historical/philological commentary.

²Envelopes: CBS 3015, 3022 (*BE* 15 23), 3107 (*BE* 15 15), 3153 (*BE* 15 25 and pl. III: 3, *BE* 14 pl. XV: 48.1), 3165 (*BE* 15 31 and *BE* 14 pl. XV: 48.2), 3197 (*BE* 15 18); tablets: CBS 8872, UM 29-15-691.

³Others texts with year dates (without royal name) are CBS 3022 (year 9), CBS 3107 (year 4, also month XII), CBS 3153 (year 10), CBS 3165 (year 12) and CBS 3197 (year 7). CBS 8872 and UM 29-15-691 have not yet been read to see whether they have year dates.

⁴Buchanan, *Ashmolean Catalogue*, 1 no. 559; Legrain, *PBS* 14 554, 557; Delaporte, *Catalogue Bibliothèque Nationale*, no. 298; van Buren, *Orientalia* NS 23 (1954) pl. 1 no. 3 (BM 89015); CBS 11455 (Nippur, unpublished); and perhaps the Nippur impression 13 N 592, which will be published by Richard Zettler.

⁵A comparable form of UM may be found in *BE* 14 8: 8 or, on stone, as Fossey no. 10444.

⁶Clay, *Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period*, pp. 63-64, 85, 96.

⁷E.g., Ward, *The Cylinder Seals of Western Asia*, no. 532; *Collection de Clercq*, vol. 1 no. 255. Note the exceptional genealogy of Uballissu-Marduk, *šatammu* under a Kurigalzu, who cites his ancestors back to at least his great-great-grandfather (BM 122696; photo in Julian Reade, «Commerce or Conquest: Variations in the Mesopotamia-Dilmun Relationship», in H.A. Al Khalifa and M. Rice, eds., *Bahrain through the Ages: The Archaeology* [London, etc: KPI, 1986], p. 332.

⁸E.g., *JAOS* 88 (1968) 192-193 no. 1: 9 and no. 2: 6; *PBS* 13 64: 11 (and possibly *BE* 1 33: 11); *OIP* 22 no. 276: 2; *BBSSt* no. 3 i 46.

⁹See also the comments by R.D. Biggs, *JAOS* 104 (1984) 367.

¹⁰And possibly on the sealing seen on the tablet CBS 3657 (*PBS* 14 569) and other tablets (including *TuM* NF 5 seals VII and IX), according to a reading of the divine name in the last line as suggested by W.G. Lambert. The final three lines of text there would then read: (2) DUMU DUMU ^dNIN.IB-*na-di-in-aḥ-ḫe-e* (3) ÌR ^dNIN.MÚ(SAR) (4) 'ù ^dUN.GAL' EN.LIL.'KI'.

¹¹Goetze, *JCS* 17 (1963) 119-131.

¹²The succession is well known; the relationship between the two men has been assumed, perhaps on the basis of possibly genealogical statements such as that in *EA* 9: 19 (where Burna-Buriaš II, the son of Kadašman-Enlil I, refers to Kurigalzu I as «my father»).

¹³*CT* 36 6 i 2 assigns him the title, but the authenticity of that text is not beyond question.

¹⁴The writing of the personal name in line 1 with a final *-um* (as opposed to a final CVC orthography) is more common in early Kassite texts, e.g., from the reign of Burna-Buriaš II, than later; but this is likely to yield nothing more than a slight bias in favor of Kurigalzu I.

¹⁵I have read through most of the texts associated with this sealing, but have not had the opportunity to examine CBS 8872 and UM 29-15-691 [JAB]; none of the texts which I have inspected mentions the seal's original owner. The envelopes deal mainly with provisioning or rations: sheep, wheat, flour, beer, vessels. In some cases, they are receipts (with the main verb *imḫur*: CBS 3015, 3107) or *aklu* texts (CBS 3022, 3153). Martuku is the most common recipient (CBS 3022, 3153, 3165, 3197), with Innibu occurring once in that role (CBS 3107). Place names mentioned are URU *še-li-bi* KI (CBS 3197: 12) and *za-rat-IM.KI* (CBS 3165: 9). The provisioning periods range in length from four days (CBS 3165) to one year (CBS 3022, 3153).

¹⁶Either by a successor in the office of *nišakku* or by a later member of the original seal owner's family. There is no clear connection between the type of business transacted in the texts and the office of *nišakku*.

¹⁷E.g., *BE* 14 40: 32, *CT* 51 22:8, L. 39432: 91'. For the writing of *kiššatu* as 50, see *MSKH* 1 405 n. 32.

D.M. MATTHEWS – J.A. BRINKMAN (28-08-90)
The Oriental Institute, 1155 East Fifty-eight Street
CHICAGO, ILL 60637, USA

104) The reading of LAK 722 – The sign LAK 722 is attested only once, in Nik 264. This text was treated most recently by Gebhard Selz (*AWEL* = *FAOS* 15, 1 p. 487f.). It contains a list of vessels. Column i line 3 reads: 6 *ma.LAK* 722. I would like to connect this *ma.LAK* 722 with the vessel *ma.an.hara₄* treated by Waetzoldt in *WdO* 6 (1970-71) p. 19. The absence of the element *an* in Nik 264 is in accordance with the rules of orthography. As a parallel, one could cite *ma.sim* «sieve» (DP 492 ii 4, etc.), which is written *ma.an.sim* in later periods (CAD *nappītu*). LAK 722 (DAG.KISIM₅xTIL) is, therefore, in my opinion, a miscopy or variant of DAG.KISIM₅xIR (*hara₄*).

Bram JAGERSMA (04-09-90)
W. van Hallstraat 17
2321 CP LEIDEN, PAYS-BAS

105) **sag ha.za** «to be at the disposal of, to be ready for» – It is well known that Sumerian *sag* and *ha.za* correspond to Akkadian *rēšum* «head» and *kullum* «to hold». Less known, however, is the fact that Sumerian *sag ha.za* also corresponds to Akkadian *rēšam kullum* as an idiom, meaning «to be at the disposal of». Some attestations of this expression are:

(Death of Ur-Nammu 175) ^{du}[dug s]_{a6}.ga.ni bar.ta ba.da.gub (176) [^dlama s]_{a6}.ga.ni sag.gá.na li.bí.in.ha.za «Her good Udug kept away from her. She did not have her good Lama at her disposal».

(Lugal.e 529) níg.dím.dím.ma.zu sag.gá ha.za.ab *ana mim-ma e-pe-ši-ka re-e-šá ki-il* «Be ready for whatever is to be made of you» (VAT 251, Neo-bab. bil. version).

(Farmer's Almanac 20) ^{kuš}sag.kéš ^{kuš}bar.e₁₁.dè ^{kuš}ka.dù ^{kuš}usan₃ sag.zu hé.ha.za «(These implements) should be ready at your disposal» (Cf. PSD B p. 122a). The same construction occurs in Farmer's Almanac line 34.

In this expression, *sag* has a locative or locative-terminative post-position. A pronominal suffix after *sag* marks the person at whose disposal somebody or something is. In Akkadian, a pronominal suffix after *rēšum* has the same function.

Bram JAGERSMA (04-09-90)

106) **ARM XXI 296 et ARMT XXII 204, deux documents apparentés** – ARM XXI 296 est un fragment de texte administratif dans lequel sont énumérés par valeur pondérale décroissante, 4 types de pointes en bronze : les épieux de lance-šukur¹ (1, 3, 1/2 mine chaque), les pointes de javelot-nāzinu² (10 sicles chaque), les pointes-samrātum³ (6 sicles chaque) et les pointes de flèches (1 et 2 sicles chaque). Un autre document administratif, ARMT XXII 204, offre à partir de la colonne ii: 3' une séquence analogue avec des poids à l'unité qui, pour une même catégorie de pointe, correspondent à ceux mentionnés dans ARM XXI 296. Certaines lignes d'ARM XXI 296 peuvent être complétées d'après ARMT XXII 204. Ainsi on lira l. 1: [1^ššukur ha-a[š-šu]⁴, l. 2: [7] ^ššukur 1 1/[3 ma.na àm]⁵, l. 7: [10]98 ^ššà-am-ra-tum 6 su àm⁶, l. 10: [10 ^štukul] 'ša li-ša¹-nu ši-na 10 su àm⁷, l. 11: [3 ka-ta-pu zab]ar 1 ^štukul zabar⁸. Il est donc fort probable qu'ARMT XXII 204 ait eu un duplicat dont seul un fragment, en l'occurrence ARM XXI 296, nous soit parvenu.

¹Pour l'identification du ^ššukur (ancienne lecture igi.kak) avec la lance, cf. la contribution de J.-M. Durand dans M.A.R.I. 5 p. 185 sq.

²Le *nāzinu* est une lance apparentée au ^ššukur (cf. article cité p. 186). Néanmoins, dans l'état actuel de notre documentation, sa pointe est d'un «calibre» sensiblement plus petit que le ^ššukur: 10 sicles (ARMT XXII 204: ii', 8') et 1/3 de mine (ibid. iii', 6'). La lance-šukur peut peser par contre 1/2 mine (XXI 282: 3, 6; et cf. les deux présents textes; XXI 280: 3; XXII 206: 11'; XXII 207: ii', 3'; XXII 204: rev. i, 8' et rev. ii, 15'; XXV 326: 3, 10), 2/3 de mine (XXI 280: 2; XXI 282: 2; XXII 203: 23'; XXII 204: iii', 8'; XXII 206: 11; XXII 257: 11), 1 mine (XXII 190: 3; XXII 204: iii, 7'; XXII 221: 9; XXIII 384: 1), 1 mine 1/3 (ci-dessus XXII 204: ii', 4') ou 3 mines (cf. ci-dessus XXI 296: 4).

³La présence du *samrātum* parmi des pointes de lances et de flèches est déjà en soit une indication précieuse quant à la nature de cette arme (cf. déjà J.-M. Durand p. 187). Son poids peut être de 5 sicles (XXV 326: 5), 6 sicles (XXII 207: 4'; I 38: 3), 10 sicles (XXII 191: 1 sq.; XXV 569: 5), ou 15 sicles (XXII 203: iii 7'). Il semble donc que cette arme appartienne à une catégorie de javelot dont la pointe est généralement d'un calibre plus petit que celle du *nāzinu*.

⁴D'après la copie cunéiforme, le début du signe *aš* est bien apparent.

⁵On peut voir sur la copie le début du 1/3.

⁶La cassure de la tablette s'est faite à cet endroit le long du clou vertical indiquant le nombre 60.

⁷Le signe non déchiffré dans ARMT XXII 204 doit sans doute être *tukul*.

⁸Une lecture *tukul* est préférable, d'après le parallèle qu'offre ARMT XXII 204 : ii, 16'.

Philippe ABRAHAMI (14-09-90)
307 Bd de Belleville, 75019 PARIS

107) **LI = gúb and LI = eL_x** – A bilingual inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I (c. 1245-1208), published by W.G. Lambert in Iraq 38 93, makes use of a version of the Assyrian King List current in his time. The sign of LI occurs twice after mu.(meš) «name(s)» in lines 3 and 4. Unfortunately, the Akkadian of the first five lines is missing but this LI is possibly read *gúb* (*ellu*) «pure, noble» (cf. CAD) according to the context. The paragraph in question is as follows:

- | | | |
|---|--|-----------|
| 1 | 'é ¹⁷ -bala-ne-ne x [.....] | = [.....] |
| 2 | bala 6 lugal-e-ne-šè x x [.....] | = [.....] |
| 3 | 77-bi-ta mu-meš gúb(? LI)-b[é ² -meš ² x x x x x x] | = [.....] |
| 4 | 40 lugal-e-ne-kì lib-ba-ne-ne-a 24 numun mu-gúb(LI)-'e ¹ -n[e ²] | = [.....] |

5	ud-ul-lí-a-ta en a.da.mìn-bala-Sú-li-li-ke ₄ en-na bala-[mu-šè]	= [.....
6a	nam-sanga-ne-ne-a me-ugula ^{lá} -e-ne igi ^d A-šur ₄ -ra	= x [.....
6b	en an-ta-gál ugu-ni ba-dùg-ga da-rí-šè mu-un-gi-na	= <i>bēli ša-qí-i e-li-šú i-ti-bu¹-m[a ...</i>

«Their dynasties [from] to the dynasty of six kings [.....]. With 77 noble names [from? ...to? ...]. In the total of their 40 kings, 24 seeds, noble offspring (or names) [whose father are there?]. From the beginning to the «going out» of the reign of Sulili, up to [my] reign, in their high priesthood, (their) duties as overseers in the presence of Ashur, the exalted lord, were pleasing to him and he established (the duties) for ever».

Note 4) For mu = *lit-t[um]*, cf. CAD littu, so that mu-gúb here may be equal to *littu elletu*. For *li-tu el-lu-tu* «noble offspring», see below.

gu-ub¹LI = *el-lu*, with za-gìn = *ebbu* and zabar = *namru* as one section, is given in a lexical text: An.ta-gál F 251-3, MSL 17 219. Its meaning of «pure» is also proved in the word a.gúb.ba/*egubbû* «the pure water» and «pure water vessel». a.gúb.ba is only attested in Standard Babylonian and Neo-Babylonian copies, but lú.a.gúb.ba is found in J. Bauer *Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagasch*, no. 125 ii 1.

For *ellu* used with kings, cf. *A-gu-um-ka-ak-ri-me mār Ur-ši-gu-maš zērum* (numun) *el-lum ša dŠu-qa-mu-nu*; *zērum el-lum zēr šarrūti^{ti}*, 5 R 33 i: 1-3 and 20, and *ru-bu-um el-lum*, (for Hammurabi) CH iii 55, nun *el-lu* (for Adad-nirari I) RIM 131: 1, *lit-tu el-lu-tu* (for Adad-nirari II) KAH II 84: 12.

Although J. Krecher in his *Sumerische Kultlyrik* thinks that LI-ba in VS 2 25 i 21 may be *li = hadû, rāšu* and M.E. Cohen treats the word as *li.ba/bi* without question mark in *The Canonical Lamentations of Ancient Mesopotamia*, the -ba or -bi, which always follows LI in all five texts, shows that it should be read gúb, as -la or -lu shows that the word before them is read húl in all the parallel lines:

nu-mu-ni-in-dib-bé lú (VS: mu-lu) húl-la-né/na/a-na nu-mu-ni-in-ib-dib-bé/ba
 še-eb-é-zi-da-ka (VS: g[á]?) é²-g[al]-mah-a) lú (VS: mu-lu) gúb-ba-né/na nu-mu-ni-in-dib-bé
 (VS 2 25: i 20-21; Cohen, pp. 75: 15-16 and 100: 139-140)

«They (text: he) will no more pass by (the house). Citizen(s) will no more pass by it joyfully. Citizen(s) will no more pass by the brickwork of the faithful house (VS: of Egalmah) happily».

Note: húl-la-na = *ha-diš* in Lugal I 18, zálag-ga-né = *nam-riš*, and ma.az.za-né = *el-ši-iš* (cf. CAD) so that the Sumerian suffix -ané/ana after a verb or adjective root often equates the Akkadian adverb suffix -iš.

lú húl-la-né nu-mu-ni-[in-dib-bé]
 lú gúb-ba-né nu-mu-ni-in-[dib-bé]
 lú húl-la nu-mu-un-ta-è-a
 é-zi lú dág(UD)-ga nu-mu-ni-in-dib-bé
 (Cohen, p. 133: 204-207)
 «Citizen(s) will no more pass by it joyfully
 Citizen(s) will no more pass by it happily
 No joyful man comes from it.
 No pure man passes by the faithful house».

úru ki-sikil-bi nu-húl-lu-bi
 úru guruš-bi nu-gúb-ba-[bi]
 (Cohen, pp. 711: 124-125, 716: 229-230)
 «The city where its girls do not rejoice,
 the city where its young men are not happy».

This reading gúb for LI is also proved by Proto-Ea, the OB lexical text (MSL 14 p. 58: 683 and 121: iv 2: gub = LI). Ea VII, a MB lexical text, gives [gu-ub? LI *ra-am?*]-*kum* (MSL 14 p. 452: iv 3'). Since *ra-am-ku* = *el-lum*, «bathed = pure», is given in Malku VI (CT 18 23a: 5), the restoration is quite reasonable and gúb meaning «pure» confirmed.

That gúb means «happy» may come from «pure» ⇒ «clean» ⇒ «shining» ⇒ «happy». The evidence is that in the lexical texts and other texts *ellu*, *ebbu* and *namru* are given as synonyms (= dág or dadag) «pure, shining», among which *namāru* has the meaning «to be happy/happy» apparently (cf. CAD). C. Wilcke in AfO 23 86: 20 gives it₄-šè, «in the light of the moon», = *i-na ri-ša-tim* «with joy», which proves «shining» = «happy». Another group of synonyms shows that «shining» = «happy» in Proto-Ea, MSL 14 119: 26-8: SUD = *ri-a-šum*, *ha-na-bu-um*, *ul-lu-hu-um*, «to rejoice», «to be radiant», «to decorate».

In Cohen p. 75, the Akkadian for gúb-ba-na is restored as [.....*ina*] *ri-šu*, following Krecher's suggestion, but it also can be restored as [.....*ina na-ma*]-*ri-šu* since -šú «his» is also not written as -šú in

line 13: *ina pa-ni-šu*. Moreover, the correct case of *rêšu* after *ina* is expected to be *ina ri-ši*. Apart from the Sumerian -*ané/ana* = Akkadian -*iš* as stated in the note above, it can also be translated into Akkadian «*ina* + infinitive-*šu*» literally and the phrase will be treated as an adverbial sentence since the subject -*šu* is given: *tuš-a-na = ina ašābišu* Lugal I 18, «while he is sitting».

Note that in Cohen p. 133 above *húl* is first given as the synonym of *gúb*, and then as the synonym of *dág* (= *ellu, namru*, Cohen: *zalog-ga*, which proved that *ellu* and *namru* share the meaning of «happy».

^{li-i}LI = *ra-a-šu* in MSL 3 114: 203 and LI = *ha-du*, LI.LI = *hi-di-a-tu, ri-ša-tu* in RA 16 167: 17-19, both NA texts, may be due to that the scribes in the late period neglected the value *gúb* of LI.

I.J. Gelb in MAD 2 56 suggests that LI = *e_x* in name LI-*lu-ul*, a king of Akkad whose name is listed as *E(Ī)-lu-lu* on the Sumerian King List (SKL). The copper spear with the name of LI-*lu-ul* is published in AfO 10 281 by S.L. Levy and both Levy and Gelb as well as others scholars treat the name as Elul-dan. However, W.W. Hallo in his *Titles* 68 shows that *kala (dannum)*, «the mighty one», is a title of Akkad kings written as *da-núm* in Akkadian, not a part of the name, which SKL gives as Elulu correctly. The name and titles on the spear are: 1) LI-*lu-ul / dannum* (*kala*) 2) *šār 3) A-ga-dè^{ki}*. Since *gúb* (LI) = *el-lu*, the writer suggests that LI = *e_x* so that the name of the king on the spear is read as *El_x-lu-ul* or *Ellu^{lu}-ul*. If the name is Akkadian, it may be *e/illūlu* «the pureness», the *parrūs* or *pirrūs* form (GAG, 62 o) of *elēlu*. The same form is in *šillūlu*, «protection», a well-known Oakk. and OA name. However, the names of E-lu-lu of the first dynasty of Ur and *Ī-gi₄-gi₄*, Na-nu-um, and I-mi, the three usurpers with Elulu in Akkad, and Dudu, their successor, seem to be against the suggestion. A possibility is that the scribe of the spear may have believed that Elulu is an Akkadian name relating to *ellum* so he used LI = *e_x* to write the name.

Von Soden in his Akkadische Syllabar treats LI = *i₁₂* and gives two certain examples: *i₁₂-lá-ku-ni* and *I₁₂-la-ap-[rī]* (a Hurrian name, cf. OIP 57 219, Ilapriyaš) as well as the name of our Ellulu. For these two cases, *il_x* read for LI is all right.

WU Yuhong (15-09-90)
Department of Ancient History and Archaeology
University of Birmingham
BIRMINGHAM BI 5 2TT GRANDE-BRETAGNE

108) Ashur or Chagar Bazar ? Eponym Erišum or «Yari-LUGAL» ? – In N.A.B.U. 1989-69, V. Donbaz presents an administrative tablet from Ashur (A 729/Ass 18583) and, according to the month name Magranum, which is not in the Old Assyrian Calendar, in its date, he believes that it came from Chagar Bazar. However, this month name of the «Šamši-Adad Calendar», which is used in the letters of Šamši-Adad and his officials and in Chagar Bazar and Qaṭṭara (Tell el-Rimah), could be used in Ashur under the Šamši-Adad dynasty and at any place in Šamši-Adad's empire. For example, the month of Magranum is used in ARM 1 31, a letter send by Šamši-Adad from Šubat-Enlil (lines 11 and 15) to Mari, in Tell el-Rimah (cf. *Tell el-Rimah* p. 267 index) and in Mari under the Assyrian ruler (cf. D. Charpin, *M.A.R.I.* 3 105). Another administrative tablet from Ashur published by Donbaz in JCS 26 82 (A 1574) bearing another month name (Dumuzi) of the same calendar proves that the calendar was also used in Ashur itself in this period. Hence, it is reasonable that the tablet is written in Ashur, where it was excavated.

These are two tablets dated to the Later OA period with the OA/MA month names but they are not written under the Šamši-Adad dynasty. The first one, published by Gelb and Sollberger in JNES 16 163 ff., is possibly written in the reign of Naram-Sin before Šamši-Adad took Ashur since the seal of Naram-Sin of Akkad is reused in the text. Although the second one is dated by Veenhof (*Zikir Šumim* 359ff.) to our Šamši-Adad (no. 39 in AKL), the tablet is possibly dated to Šamši-Adad II (no. 57 in AKL), son of Erišu III, and the eponym in the tablet could be Išme-Dagan II son of Šamši-Adad II (no. 58 in AKL). According to the palaeography of Veenhof (p. 366) the tablet is later than OA tablets and the first one dated to Naram-Sin, the contemporary of Šamši-Adad. For the omission on mimation in the text, which does not occur during the time of Šamši-Adad, Veenhof admits: «It is difficult to draw chronological conclusions from these facts although it is clear that general omission of mimation asks a later date» (p. 372). Moreover, the practice that a royal person was named as an eponym began in 14th B.C.

Donbaz's reading of the limu's name in the date as «*Ya-ri-LUGAL* [...]» is doubtful since so far no eponym bearing an Amorite name such as Yari(m)- ... occurs in this period. Although Ikun-piya, an Akkadian name, is written E/Yakun-piya once in Mari (ARM 12 14, cf. Veenhof *M.A.R.I.* 4 204), it is unlikely that an Akkadian name was written as its Amorite equivalent in Ashur itself, the old Akkadian city. Moreover, so far as is known, the logogram LUGAL has not been found in Amorite names. According to the copy, *E-ri-šum*¹⁷ [(x x x)] is suggested here. The last sign is a horizontal plus an IR¹ (four Winkelhaken instead of four verticals). It could be a ŠUM¹⁷, since ŠUM is often written as BI/two horizontals plus

IR/NI/KAK in this period. The left part of LUGAL sign is three or four horizontals so that the sign in the date is not like LUGAL (cf. Donbaz, Akkadica 42, 19, a collection of signs of LUGAL).

The sign in A 729:



		ŠUM		LUGAL
OA	CCT 5 40b: 4			CCT 1a: 2, 15, 17
	KAH 2 5-7: 1		8: 1	
Mari	ARM 15 9: 92			11: 112
Šamši-Adad	KAH 1 2: 16, 19			2: 2
Chagar-Bazar				AOAT 3/1 41: 75
Rimah	no. 206 r: 3			no. 1: 9, 35

For Erišum who is mentioned about 15 years before Šamši-Adad took over Mari, see the Mari Eponym List B 23: *i-na E-ri-ši-im* ^dŠamšī-^dAdad da-aw-[da-a-am ša] *i-na Dūr*[..... *i-du-uk*] (M.A.R.I. 4 230). Šamši-Adad may already have taken over the city of Ashur and introduced the calendar used by his dynasty into Ashur before this year since the year was the 16th after he became king according to the Eponym List. Otherwise, this Erišum may have been another eponym since we know that three kings of the Old Assyrian dynasty bore this name.

WU Yuhong (15-09-90)

109) *Limu ēribu ša egir PN* instead of «*limu Yaribu*» – In S. Dalley and others, Tell Rimah 215, the dating supplies another eponym possibly with name of Yari...: *li-mu Ia²-ri-bu* [š]a egir *A-at-ta-ra*. The reading is also doubtful since no eponym's name occurs before *ša* in all the known cases of the date formula «*limu ša egir PN*». This formula was used when the message naming the new eponym appointed in Ashur did not arrive at far away cities or no appointment was made in Ashur because of some disorder when the new eponym year began (cf. M.T. Larsen, RA 68 16-21).

According to the copy of no. 215 and the *limu A-at-ta* in nos. 18 and 263, I would read the date as *iti Ni-iq-mi-[im]* ud-23-kam *li-mu e-ri-bu* [š]a egir *A-at-ta-ia'*, «the coming eponym who is after Attâ». Although *limu ēribu* is first attested here, *šattum* (MU) *ēribtum* «coming year» (cf. CAD *ēribu* 1 a) and *warhum ēribum* «coming month» (A. Finet ARM 15 187) are well-known from the texts of this period. This date implies that the month of Niqumum (I* = VI) in it is the first month of an eponym year (cf. M. Gallery, JNES 40, 346b, D. Charpin, M.A.R.I. 4 244ff., N.A.B.U. 1989-93 and W.G. Lambert, N.A.B.U. 1989-90). For the name of Attâ or Attaya, see *A-ta-a-a* in CCT VI 24a: 13 and MAH 19603: 9 in M. Ichisar, *Les Archives Cappadociennes du Marchand Imdilum*, p. 73. For the *Xa-a* is written into the short *-a* in the end of a name, see *Sà-ma* and *Sà-ma-a* in Balkan, *Observations* 93. Rimah 263, dated to Ayyarum (VII* = XII), the eponymy of Atta, is related to 215: both tablets are under the charge (*gir*) of Belu/Belkima-abiya in Qaṭṭara, which means that the scribe in Qaṭṭara on 23/I* of the new year still waited for the name of the new eponym to succeed to Atta. Since Qaṭṭara was not far from Aššur, the appointment of the new eponym of this year in Ashur must have been delayed for some reason.

WU Yuhong (15-09-90)

VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

110) Workshop «Mesopotamian Epic Literature: Oral or Aural» – From 20/VI/90 to 22/VI/90 Dr. M.E. Vogelzang and Dr. H.L.J. Vanstiphout organized a Workshop on the topic of oral or aural aspects of Mesopotamian epic literature. This Workshop was made possible by means of the Fellowship Dr. Vogelzang holds from the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences. The participants and the topics treated were:

Bendt Alster:

«Aspects of Oral Composition in the Lugalbanda Epics»

Jeremy Black:

«The Use of Frames in Sumerian Narrative Poetry»

Jerrold S. Cooper:

«Babbling on Recovering Mesopotamian Orality»

Joan Goodnick Westenholz:

«Oral Traditions and Written Texts in the Sargonic Cycle»

Karl Hecker:

«Geschriebene und gesprochene Reime in der akkadischen Literatur»

Shlomo Izre'el:

«The Study of Oral Poetry: Reflections of a Neophyte»

Piotr Michalowski:

«Literacy and Literature»

Joseph Russo:

«Oral Theory: Its Development in Homeric Studies and Applicability to Other Literatures»

Herman L.J. Vanstiphout:

«Repetition and Structural Parallelism in the Aratta Narratives»

Marianna E. Vogelzang:

«Aspects of Oral and Written Tradition in the Two Versions of Nergal and Ereshkigal»

The proceedings of this Workshop will be published as soon as possible, hopefully before Summer 1991.

111) Bar-Ilan Studies in Assyriology – The Samuel Noah Kramer Institute of Assyriology, Bar-Ilan University, announces the appearance of a collection of studies in Sumerology and Assyriology, entitled: *Bar-Ilan Studies in Assyriology Dedicated to Pinhas Artzi* ed. by Jacob Klein and Aaron Skaist, Bar-Ilan University Press, Ramat-Gan 1990. The book can be ordered for \$42.–(including postage) from: Bar-Ilan University Press, Ramat-Gan 52900, Israel.

112) 'Master' en Assyriologie à l'Université de Barcelone – Le Instituto Interuniversitario de Estudios Orientales de l'Université de Barcelone offre à partir du Cours 1990/91 aux étudiants nationaux et étrangers — de préférence postgradués — la possibilité d'acquérir le titre de 'Master en Etudes Orientales' dans sa Section d'Assyriologie. Le cycle d'études comprend trois cours académiques avec le programme suivant:

1er. Cours:

Langue Accadienne I (6 cr.)

Introduction à la Culture Mésopotamienne (2 cr.)

Proséminaire méthodologique (1 cr.)

2nd. Cours:

Langue Accadienne II (6 cr.)

Langue Sumérienne I (6 cr.)

3me. Cours:

Langue Accadienne III (6 cr.)

Langue Sumérienne II (6 cr.)

Matières Communes/Séminaires

Littérature Sumérienne et Accadienne (2 cr.)

Langues Ougaritique et Phénicienne (6 cr.)

Littérature Cananéenne (3 cr.)
Philologie Sémitique Comparée (6 cr.)
Langue Hittite (6 cr.)
Religions de l'Ancien Orient (6 cr.)

Outre les matières obligatoires, chaque aspirant doit choisir des matières optionnelles jusqu'à compléter 150 h. / 15 cr. par Cours, choisies avec l'approbation du Tuteur parmi les matières communes / séminaires et les cours offerts par les Sections Egyptologique ou d'Indoeuropéen Oriental (Indo-Iranistique) de l'Institut, ou par le Département de Philologie Sémitique de l'Université. Pour des informations plus concrètes adressez-vous s.v.p. à:

Prof. Dr. Joaquín SANMARTIN
Dept. de Filología Semítica, Fac. de Filología, Universidad de Barcelona
Gran Via de les Cortes Catalanes, 585 E-08007 BARCELONA, ESPAGNE

113) Doctorat d'Etat – Dominique PARAYRE prévient que son Doctorat d'Etat en iconographie¹, soutenu à l'Université de Strasbourg II le 26 novembre 1988 (Mention Très Honorable, Félicitations du Jury), sera prochainement publié par les *BAR International Series*. Le livre, intitulé «Recherches sur le disque solaire ailé en Egypte et en Orient (IIIe-Ier millénaires av. J.-C.)», engage un certain nombre de perspectives de recherche à partir de l'analyse précise d'une image créée par l'Egypte, et quasi-omniprésente dans le répertoire oriental pendant deux millénaires. Il comportera 2 volumes: un volume de texte d'environ 550 pages «camera ready» (même mise en page que les *M.A.R.I.*) et un volume d'illustrations (451 planches et 5 cartes). Ce travail est organisé en deux parties.

– La première partie, intitulée «Typologie: étude de répartition ou 'la migration d'un symbole'», présente les types de disques ailés en distinguant les modèles non anthropomorphes, originels (types égyptiens, égyptisants, orientaux sans volutes, orientaux à volutes) et les modèles anthropomorphes, dérivés des premiers à des fins idéologiques précises (Assyrie, Urartu, Syrie-Chypre; empire achéménide). Elle met en lumière l'étonnante malléabilité de l'image en présentant ses variations de forme dans l'espace et dans le temps, dans une perspective à la fois culturelle et transculturelle. L'analyse débouche notamment sur la notion d'«idiosyncrasie»: le disque ailé est un excellent instrument de datation et d'identification des ateliers sur le terrain. Cette première partie s'achève sur une synthèse par période, depuis le Bronze Moyen (ca. 1800 av. J.-C.) jusqu'à la fin de la domination achéménide (ca. 330 av. J.-C.).

– La deuxième partie, intitulée «Elargissement du débat: perspectives de recherche sur l'image», présente les principales directions de travail de l'auteur: ou comment l'image ainsi classée et intégrée à son contexte devient un document à part entière pour l'historien. Le chapitre premier concerne *la morphologie de l'image et le travail des ateliers*: les facteurs en jeu (culturels, fonctionnels, techniques); l'interaction des facteurs endogènes et des facteurs exogènes, soit l'étude de la mobilité des images. Le chapitre second concerne *la symbolique*, et aborde les problèmes suivants: l'emplacement de l'image dans le champ figuratif; image et religion: croyances et pratiques cultuelles (le disque ailé, le soleil et le ciel); image et société (le disque ailé et le roi; la démocratisation des symboles); image et culture matérielle; image et écriture.

¹Catalogue, typologie [texte et planches], codification, études de cas; ca.1000 pages et 450 planches de dessins à l'encre de Chine, avec légendes descriptives.

114) Changement d'adresse – Francis JOANNES vous prie de bien vouloir noter sa nouvelle adresse à compter du 1er Octobre 1990: 37, Rue Coignebert F-76000 ROUEN.

– REDACTION –

Francis JOANNES
37 Rue Coignebert
F-76000 ROUEN

Pierre VILLARD
64 Boulevard Barbès
F-75018 PARIS

N.A.B.U. est publié par la Société pour l'Etude du Proche-Orient Ancien, Association sans but lucratif
(Loi de 1901). Directeur de la publication: D. Charpin. ISSN n° 0989-5671.
Dépôt légal: Paris, 10-1990. Reproduction par photocopie