

# N.A.B.U.

## *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*

1994

N°1 (Mars)

**1) Preliminary Remarks on the Ekalte Texts** – In his article on the tablets from Tell Munbaqa on the East bank of the Middle Euphrates (ancient Ekalte ; ca. 1530-1458 B.C.), W. Mayer has provided some basic insights into this corpus (consisting of 81 texts until 1988) with preliminary publication of several texts (*MDOG* 122 [1990], pp. 45-66). The following remarks on two of these texts seem to me appropriate at this time.

(a) É.GAL = Ekalte?

MBQ-T 41 (pp. 61f.) is a field purchase document written according to the same format as in the Emar texts. In its regulation of fine, a claimant is required to pay 1.000 (shekels) of silver each to the city-god Ba'łaka (l. 14) and to É'.GAL (l. 15). Mayer regards the latter not as the royal palace but as the GN Ekalte in abbreviation (p. 62). However, there may be some doubt about this in the light of similar texts from Emar, where the city-god Ninurta, the city and the royal palace are well known as recipients of fine. Whenever É'.GAL is mentioned in this context (usually alone), there is no doubt that the royal palace of Emar is indicated. On the other hand, when the city is mentioned (usually together with Ninurta), it is written as URU.KI without the GN, as in MBQ-T 21 : 20 (p. 56) and 22 : 27 (p. 58). Thus it seems likely that É'.GAL in MBQ-T 41 : 15 refers to the royal palace rather than the GN. If this is correct, we may suppose that the two kings mentioned in the Ekalte texts, Iaḥši-Baḥla (MBQ-T 36, 69) and <sup>d</sup>IM-GAL (MBQ-T 49), whose city is unknown, were local rulers of Ekalte, unless Ekalte was indeed put under direct jurisdiction of the kings of Emar during the period from the late 16th to the middle 15th cen. B.C. (cf. pp. 47, 65).

(b) Two more texts from Ekalte?

MBQ-T 81 (pp. 52-54) is a loan document written by Iakūn-Dagan (l. 17), i.e. Ikūn-Dagan who is the best known scribe in Ekalte (see p. 63). This scribal name immediately reminds us of two texts published by A. Tsukimoto, *ASJ* 13 (1991), no. 32, pp. 296f., and no. 42, pp. 309f., both of which were written by the scribe Ikūn-Dagan (32 : 28 ; 42 : 35) and contain a reference to the « gods of the Brothers » (32 : 31 ; 42 : 19f.), which is not attested in the Emar texts so far.

Worthy of special mention is the former text (*ASJ* 13-T 32), which shares two more PNs with MBQ-T 81 : Šillu-Dagan, son of Abdi-Išhara (*ASJ* 13-T 32 : 4f., 25, 32+1 ; MBQ-T 81 : 11f.)<sup>1</sup> and Muḥra-aḥī (the *ḥazannu* in *ASJ* 13-T 32 : 27 ; son of Aḥianni in MBQ-T 81 : 3f., 10).<sup>2</sup> Mayer notes that Muḥra-aḥī, son of Aḥianni, is frequently mentioned in the Ekalte texts and that he must be identical with his namesake, the *ḥazannu*, in MBQ-T 13 : 37 (*MDOG* 122, p. 54 ; cf. also *MDOG* 118 [1986], p. 127 ; *MDOG* 120 [1988], p. 48 on MBQ-T 20). Likewise, the above Šillu-Dagan may be identified with the *ḥazannu* Šillu-Dagan in MBQ-T 45 : 26 and 67 : 38 (*MDOG* 122, *ibid.*).

As for *ASJ* 13-T 42, although no PN but Ikūn-Dagan is shared with MBQ-T 81, <sup>d</sup>IM-malik, son of Abdi-Išhara (l. 32), therefore a brother of the above-mentioned Šillu-Dagan, is also mentioned in *ASJ* 13-T 32 : 3 (cf. l. 5). Note further that *ASJ* 13-T 42 refers to the « seal of the Brothers » (l. 35+1). While this term is unattested in Emar so far, two such seals are known in Ekalte (cf. Mayer, *MDOG* 118, p. 130) : one on MBQ-T 1 (see M. Wäfler, *MDOG* 114 [1982], p. 78 ; with photograph and drawing in W. von Soden, *MDOG* 114, pp. 72f.)<sup>3</sup> and the other on MBQ-T 17, 18, 59, 62, 64 and 81 (see R. Mayer-Opificius, *MDOG* 121 [1989], pp. 79-84).

All of the above observations demonstrate that *ASJ* 13-T 32 and 42 are also texts from Ekalte. This suggests that more Ekalte texts might be hidden among both published and unpublished Middle Euphrates tablets presently scattered all over the world.<sup>4</sup>

1. Tsukimoto transliterates this PN as *mi-lu<sup>d</sup>da-gan* (ASJ 13, pp. 296f.), but *šil-* is preferable to *mi-* (cf. J.-M. Durand, RA 83 [1989], p. 185 on *Emar* VI 52 : 14).

2. Mayer reads *mu-gu-ra-a-ḫi* (MDOG 122, p. 53), while Tsukimoto has *mu-uḫ<sup>\*</sup>-ra-a-ḫi* (ASJ 13, p. 296). In view of the handcopies (MDOG 122, p. 52 ; ASJ 13, p. 324), the respective readings of GA and Aḫ<sup>\*</sup> (cf. Tsukimoto, ASJ 12 [1990], pp. 179f.) are acceptable. However, in taking into account the fact that the slight difference between the two signs hinges on whether the middle wedge of the sign is vertical or horizontal, and the fact that the PN *Muḫra-aḫī* is well attested in Emar texts (e.g. *Emar* VI 15 : 1 ; 77 : 1 ; 111 : 33 ; 126 : 3 ; 150 : 9 ; 275 : 1), I would suggest reading the GA-like sign as Aḫ<sup>\*</sup> in MBQ-T 81 : 3, 10 (cf. Aḫ<sup>\*</sup>-signs attested passim in MBQ-T 21, 22, 35, 41 ; see handcopies in MDOG 122, pp. 55, 57f., 59, 61). However, this should be verified in the future on the basis of photographs or handcopies when other documents of Ikūn-Dagan are published.

3. The text was published by von Soden, MDOG 114, pp. 71-77 ; reedited by D. Arnaud, SMEA 30 (1992), p. 228f.

4. Cf. Arnaud, SMEA 30, p. 216 on the text no. 11 (pp. 214-216).

Masamichi YAMADA (20-01-94)  
8A Dov Gruner St  
TEL AVIV 69498 ISRAEL

## 2) Three Notes on Inheritance Transaction Texts from Emar<sup>\*</sup> -

### (a) *Emar* VI 5 (Msk. 7228)

Owing to the poor state of preservation of the tablet, it is difficult to understand the text on its obverse side. D. Arnaud considers this to be the testament of a certain Ir'am-Dagan, and regards both ll. 2ff. and ll. 11ff. as texts concerning adoption of a certain Aḫiya by him (*Emar* VI/3, pp. 11-13), whereas J.-M. Durand argues that this must be the testament of Ir'am-Dagan's father, who nominated Ir'am-Dagan as the principal inheritor (*i.e.* eldest son) ordering him to take care of his mother in ll. 2ff., and further adopted Ahiya for Ir'am-Dagan in ll. 11ff. (RA 83 [1989], p. 169).

Although Durand's interpretation is convincing in general, one could ask why the property of the testator is mentioned twice in ll. 3f. and 7f., if Ir'am-Dagan was being nominated as his single inheritor. It seems to me that another interpretation of ll. 2-4 is possible, *viz.* the nomination of the testator's wife as the « father and mother » of his house. The first paragraph (ll. 1-10) may read :

(1) *iš-tu u<sub>4</sub>-mi an-n[i-i] PN1 DUMU PN2 a-kán-na iq-bi* (2) *ma-<a> a-nu-m[a f\*] x [x-d\*KUR\* DAM\*-ia\* a-na a\*-bi\* ù\* u]m\*-mi* (3) *ša [É\*-ia\* aš\*-ku\*-un\*-šī\* a\*-na\* f\*x x-d\*KUR\* (DAM-ia)] É-ia* (4) *gáb-bá [mim-mu-ia at\*]-t[a\*-din\* u<sub>4</sub>\*-mi\*].MEŠ\* ša\* f\*x x-[r<sup>d</sup>]KUR* (5) *DAM-ia [bal-tá<sup>1</sup>-at<sup>m</sup>]ir-am-dKUR DUMU-ia (GAL) lip-làḫ-šī* (6) *ki-i\*-me-e i-pal-làḫ-šī* [EGIR *u<sub>4</sub>-mi šī-im-ti-šī ub-ba*]l-šī (7) *É-ia GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.GEŠTIN-ia ka-i[a-an-zi-ia x x x (x)] x (8) gáb-bá mim-mu-ia a-na [ir-am-dKUR DUMU-ia GA]L ŠI.MEŠ* (9) *ir-ti-iḫ LÚ.wa-ra-ša [mu<sub>x</sub>(A)-pal-li-la ma-a]m-ma* (10) *NU.TUK-mi [EN\*.MEŠ\* DI\*.KU<sub>5</sub>\*-šu\* NU\*.TU]K\**

From thi[s] day [PN1, son of PN2], said as follows: No[w I have established] X-[Dagan, my wife, as father and mo]ther of [my house]. [I hav]e [given] my house (and) all of [my possessions to X-Dagan (my wife)]. While X]-Dagan, my wife, is alive, [may Ir'am-Dagan, my (eldest) son, take care of] her. If he takes care of her, [when] she [die]s, my house, my vineyard, [my] *kay[anzu ... ]* (and) all of my possessions will be given (and) remain to [Ir'am-Dagan, my eldes]t [son]. There is no (other) inheritor [(and) indictor]. T[here is n]o [adversary in court for him].

\*Similar contents, *i.e.* nomination of the testator's wife as the « father and mother » of his house, and inheritance of his property by her and then by his sons after her death, are also found in *TSABR* 41, 71 and Arnaud, *SMEA* 30 (1992), no. 8, pp. 207f.

L. 2 ] *x-mi* followed by *ša* (l. 3) immediately reminds us of the expression <sup>f</sup>PN *ana abi u ummi ša būiya aškunšī* ; cf. A. Tsukimoto, ASJ 13 (1991), p. 287. In view of the trace of the sign after the lacuna, UM is preferable to AMA.

L. 7 Perhaps *ka-i[a-an-zi-ia bu\*-šī\* ba\*-šī\*-t]i\*?* ; cf. *Emar* VI 128 : 6. The word *kayanzu*, meaning « property, » is attested only in Emar so far.

L. 9 For the expression *waraša mupallila ul išū* see W. von Soden, *NABU* 87/46a ; cf. Tsukimoto, ASJ 13, p. 283. Cf. also *A-wa-ra-ša A-pil\*-la* NU.TUK (ASJ 13, no. 22 : 10, p. 284) ; *sà-ni-qa mu-pa-li-la ú-ul ti-šu-ú* (*TSABR* 47 : 20f.) ; *sà-ni-qa mu-ba-qí-ra ú-ul ti-šu-ú* (*TSABR* 50 : 14f.).

L. 10 For this restoration, cf. l. 27 (see Durand, RA 83, p. 170).

### (b) *Emar* VI 91 (Msk. 7530)

This is a document concerning the inheritance of the property of a certain Gumašši, son of Atawa, which consists of two parts : (I) the testament of Gumašši (ll. 1-22) ; (II) an arrangement concerning the inheritance of his property by his sons (ll. 23-34), with seal impressions and a witness list (ll. 35-42). Despite previous treatments of this tablet by Arnaud (*Emar* VI/3, pp. 101-103) and then by Durand (RA 84 [1990], pp. 51f.), broken areas on the tablet have prevented us from understanding some details of this document. Lines 20-24 are especially significant when considering how Parts I and II are interrelated. In the following, we shall attempt to clarify the entire process of inheritance while reexamining the text.

In Part I Gumašši stipulates as follows :

§ 1 : He has nominated Da-x-ti, his wife, as the « father and mother » of his house (ll. 2f.) and assigned the three sons of Aštar-bītī (probably his handmaid) to care for her (ll. 4f.). In return for this service, the sons of Aštar-bītī are promised their release after her death (ll. 5f.).<sup>1</sup> As for Da-x-ti, she is forbidden to follow a stranger (ll. 7f.).<sup>2</sup>

§§ 2-4 : He has given his sons his property, dividing it into three. The text reads as follows :

(9) [a<sup>1</sup>-nu-ma É-tu<sub>4</sub> i-n[a x x x x] x [(...) a\*-na\*] (10) <sup>md</sup>30-ta-li- [DUMU-ia GAL at]-ta-din [É an-ni-ta] (11) [ŠEŠ].MEŠ-šú li-ir-[ši-p]u-ni-iš-šú ù šum-ma É [an-ni-t]a (12) [la i]-ra-[ši-p]u-ni-eš-šu lu-ú ri-ši-ip [É<sup>1</sup> an-<sup>1</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>-[ti] (13) [li-di-nu-n]i-iš-šú

(14) [a-nu-ma] 70 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ [si-kf]l-ta ša <sup>m</sup>ba-aš-šī DUMU-ia (15) [el\*-te\*-qè\*] [ù<sup>1</sup> ki-i-mu<sup>1</sup>-ú si-kf-ti-šú (16) [an\*-ni\*-ti\* É] ḥa-ab-la ša KÁ-bi É <sup>m</sup>ku-ú-bi (17) [DUMU x x a-na <sup>m</sup>ba-aš-šī] DUMU-ia at-ta-din

(18) [a-nu-ma É\* x x x-a]g-ga qa-du ka-ia-an-<zi-ia>\* (19) [x x (x) a-na <sup>m</sup>]zu-aš-tar-ti DUMU-ia at-ta-din (20) [ù a-na muḥ]-ḥi ka-ia-an-zi-ia ri-iḥ-t<i> (21) [ù\* f aš-tar]-É a-na <sup>md</sup>30-ta-li- (22) [ù <sup>m</sup>ba-aš-šī] 2 DUMU.MEŠ-ia at-ta-din

L. 10 Restoration follows Durand (RA 84, p. 51).

L. 15 Or [a<sup>1</sup>-ta\*-qè\*], cf. *il-ta-qè-šú* (l. 34). In any case, « Instead of [this] possession of him (*i.e.* 70 shekels of silver), I have given [Baššu, my son, the ḥabla-[house]]” (ll. 15-17) implies that Gumašši received money and in exchange gave Baššu the house.

L. 16 Cf. [ša <sup>m</sup>Ba-aš-šī É] (Arnaud, *Emar* VI/3, p. 101); [É-ta<sub>4</sub> ù É-ta<sub>4</sub>] (Durand, *ibid.*).

L. 18 According to Arnaud’s handcopy, there is no lacuna at the end of ll. 18-20.

L. 19 We expect some delimitation of Zū-Ašarti’s share of the *kayanzu* in the lacuna; cf. *rēhtu* in l. 20.

L. 20 « [As fo]r the rest of my *kayanzu* [and Aštar]-bītī » (ll. 20f.); for appositional usage of *rēhtu* see GAG, § 134g; cf. also the text cited in the following note. As Durand notes (*ibid.*, p. 52), the restoration of DUMU.MEŠ-šī (Arnaud, *ibid.*, p. 102) is quite unlikely.

L. 21 In view of É.ḤÁ.ĪB.TAK<sub>4</sub> ša DUMU.MEŠ-ia, « the rest of the houses will belong to my sons » (*TSABR* 50 : 23f.), one may suppose that « the rest of my *kayanzu* » belonged to Aštar-bītī. However, this seems unlikely here, since, while there is a reason for her sons to be released (see above), this is not the case for her, and thus it is reasonable to assume that she would remain a handmaid.

To summarize, Gumašši gave a house and a part of his *kayanzu* to each of his three sons. As for the houses, note that the brothers of <sup>d</sup>30-tali’ were directed to (re)construct his house or pay for its expense (ll. 11-13; for *rišpu* in l. 12 see Arnaud, *ibid.*, p. 103), and that, as seen above, Baššu paid 70 shekels when he inherited the ḥablu-house (ll. 14-17); perhaps since he paid this extra money, Gumašši gave him this « new house » (l. 26)? As for the *kayanzu*, while a part of it was assigned to Zū-Ašarti (ll. 18f.), the other part, remaining undivided, was given to <sup>d</sup>30-tali’ and Baššu (ll. 20-22). Thus it would be natural that the latter two sons were going to divide their joint share of *kayanzu*.

At the beginning of Part II (§ 5) the text would read :

(23) [EGIR-ki ṭup-pa] an-na-a ip-pu-šu DUMU.MEŠ g[u<sup>1</sup>-maš-šī] (24) [k]a<sup>1</sup>\*-<sup>1</sup>ia\*<sup>1</sup>-[an\*]-<sup>1</sup>zi\*<sup>1</sup>-[šú\* a-na] bi-ri-šú-nu il-ták-nu

[After] this [document] was made, the sons of G[umašši] have settled [his k]ay[anz]u among themselves.

L. 23 Cf. [a-nu-ma ṭup-pa] (Arnaud, *ibid.*, p. 102); [EGIR-ki za-az-za] (Durand, *ibid.*). As for the restoration of the lacuna at the end of this line, we follow Durand’s proposal (but without <sup>m</sup>).

Following this statement, we find <sup>d</sup>30-tali’ complains to Baššu that, while the father gave Baššu a new house, <sup>d</sup>30-tali’ has no place to live (ll. 25-27). Thus, instead of (re)constructing <sup>d</sup>30-tali’’s house, Baššu has given him Aruš-Ḥeba, his handmaid, and her blind husband (ll. 27-30; cf. ll. 11-13). But Dagan-X (broken PN), her son, is not included, since Baššu acquired him for the bride price of his second wife (ll. 30-34).

Although this arrangement was actually made between <sup>d</sup>30-tali’ and Baššu, it is not to be overlooked that probably Zū-Ašarti was also required to consent to this decision, especially on the matter of Dagan-X (cf. ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú š[a <sup>m</sup>ba-aš]-šī in ll. 31f.). Note further that what the *kayanzu* directly indicates in this context is the handmaid with her husband.

As is readily apparent in the above, Part II is the main text of *Emar* VI 91, in which Part I is cited from an old document (*i.e.* the testament of Gumašši). This document shows how Gumašši’s three sons inherited his property after his death according to his stipulations, with an arrangement among themselves whose purpose was, if our interpretation of ll. 20-24 is correct, to divide the joint share of *kayanzu* between <sup>d</sup>30-tali’ and Baššu.

(c) *Emar* VI 128 (Msk. 7517) and *TSABR* 75 (ME 44)

As Arnaud suggests (*TSABR*, p. 127), these texts are most probably testaments of the same person Ba’lu/Adad-ilī, wife of Galalu. This would be nicely confirmed not only by the PN of the testatrix (<sup>f</sup>dU-DINGIR-

lî in *Emar VI 128* : 1 ; <sup>fd</sup>IM-DINGIR-lî/DINGIR.MEŠ in *TSABR 75* : 7', 9') but also by the PN Ḥanānu, brother of her husband (*Emar VI 128* : 14 ; *TSABR 75* : 19', 21').

In *Emar VI 128* Ba'lu/Adad-ilî gives all of her property to her daughter Kili, the inheritrix (ll. 3-7), marries off another daughter Dagan-X<sup>3</sup> without taking her bride price (ll. 8-13) and buys Ḥanānu's share of property (ll. 14-17).

Although *TSABR 75* is partially broken, there is no doubt that Ba'lu/Adad-ilî adopts a certain Abdu, marries him to her daughter Kitte and gives them, as the inheritors, all the property of her husband (ll. 1'-18'). Furthermore, she gives Ḥanānu two servants and one handmaid belonging to the house of her father-in-law (i.e. Galalu's father) on condition that he shall not contest the inheritance of the property by Abdu (ll. 19'-24') :

(22') *šum-ma i-na EGIR u<sub>4</sub>-mi m<sup>m</sup>ḥa-na<sup>1</sup>(LA)-nu áš-šum ḤA.LA.A ša [a]b-di (23') i-ra-gu-um 3 ZI.MEŠ ša-šú-nu li-iš-ku-un É-ta<sub>5</sub> (24') [f]x x-ti ù f<sup>f</sup>ki-it-te DUMU.MÍ.MEŠ-ia li-zu-[z]u*

If in the future Ḥanānu shall lay claim on the share of [A]bdu, let him return (lit. put) those three persons (and) let X-ti and Kitte, my daughters, div[id]e the house.

L. 22' ḤA-LA-A is to be regarded as an orthographic variant of ḤA.LA, not « renoncement » (Arnaud, *TSABR*, p. 127), as in the cases of *TSABR 71* : 12 (cf. J. Huehnergard, *RA 77* [1983], no. 1 : 19, p. 15), 23 (cf. l. 21) ; or, perhaps ḤA.LA.<[h]>Á<sup>1</sup>, cf. *Emar VI 180* : 13-15.

L. 24' Cf. [f<sup>f</sup>h]u-da<sup>2</sup>-ti (Arnaud, *ibid.*).

The property to be inherited is described as follows :

*Emar VI 128* : (4) É-ia ka-ia-an<sup>1</sup>-zi-ia ša URU.KI (5) ù ša EDIN.NA ù gáb-ba mim-mu-ia (6) b[u-ši b]a-ši-ti

my house, my *kayanzu* in the city and the country, all my possessions, va[luables (and) g]oods  
*TSABR 75* : *mi-nu-me-īe<sup>1</sup>* (3') [*ka\*-ia\*-an\*-zi\*-šú\** ša L]Ú.mu-ti-īa<sup>1</sup> ša URU.KI (4') [ù ša EDIN.NA  
all [the *kayanzu* of m]y husband in the city [and the country]

L. 3' Restoration on the basis of *Emar VI 128* : 4f. ; cf. also S. Dalley and B. Teissier, *Iraq 54* (1992), no. 1 : 9f., p. 87 ; *TSABR 83* : 10f., 18. Cf. [*bu-ši ba-ši-ti* ša L]Ú (Arnaud, *ibid.*, p. 126).

Despite the different descriptions of the property and despite the different designations of the possessor, both texts reasonably refer to the same property. First, both, in different styles, refer to the entire property. Second, since Ba'lu/Adad-ilî was undoubtedly married into Galalu's house (not vice versa ; cf. « the house of my father-in-law » in *TSABR 75* : 21'), her house (*Emar VI 128* : 2, 4 ; *TSABR 75* : 17', 23') can only refer to his house, which Galalu inherited as his share from his father.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, it is known that sometimes the property of a man was first assigned to his wife and then inherited by their children (cf. above note a).

If our interpretation is correct, how can we explain the fact that the inheritrixes of this property are different daughters of Ba'lu/Adad-ilî (Kili vs. Kitte), each of them being nominated as a single inheritrix (*Emar VI 128* : 7 and *TSABR 75* : 5' [with her husband])? It seems to me that, since Kili, the first inheritrix, died, whereupon Ba'lu/Adad-ilî nominated her other daughter Kitte and her husband Abdu as inheritors.<sup>5</sup>

\* In referring to texts from Emar/Meskene and its vicinity, the following abbreviations will be used (with texts no.) : *Emar VI* = D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Aštata, Emar VI/3*, Paris, 1986 ; *TSABR* = idem, *Textes syriens de l'âge du Bronze récent (Aula Orientalis Supplementa 1)*, Barcelona, 1991.

1. Restoring : *ub-ba-[lu-ni\*-iš\*-ši\* ]i-maš-ši-īr<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu-ti* ; cf. l. 11, 12 (-ni-eš-), 13. That the sons of Aštar-bīfi were servants is suggested by the use of (*w*)*uššuru* ; cf. *Emar VI 177* : (20') *a-nu-ma<sup>m</sup> PN DUMU-NITA GÉME-ia<sup>f</sup>PN2 D[AM-ia ]i-īp<sup>1</sup>-lāḥ* (21') [*ki<sup>1</sup>-i-me-e<sup>f</sup>PN2 EGIR-ki ši-im-<ti>-ši ta-lak<sup>m</sup>[PN] a-na<sup>d</sup>UTU muš-šur* (22') *DUMU.MEŠ-ia a-na muḥ-ḥi-šu la-a i-ra-gu-mu*.

2. Restoring *EGIR-k[i LÚ\*.za\*-ra\*-ri\*] īta<sup>?</sup>\*-al<sup>?</sup>\*-la<sup>?</sup>\*-[ak<sup>?</sup>\*]*. Although the reading of the final verb is tentative, there is no doubt that the verbal phrase *arki zarāri alāku* is to be restored ; cf. Tsukimoto, *ASJ 13*, p. 287.

3. <sup>fd</sup>KUR-x (x) x ; cf. <sup>fd</sup>KUR-š[i-i]m-ti (Arnaud, *Emar VI/3*, p. 136) ; <sup>fd</sup>KUR-É<sup>1</sup>-ti (Durand, *RA 84*, p. 59).

4. As seen in *TSABR 75* : 22'-24' (cited above), in case Ḥanānu, brother of Galalu, does not recognize the inheritance of Galalu's property by Abdu, outsider of his father's family in origin, it is to be inherited by Galalu's two daughters. Here is no doubt that « the share of Abdu » (l. 22') was originally that of Galalu and that « the house » (l. 23') indicates that of Galalu.

5. Probably not vice versa, since it is stipulated that, even if Kitte should die, Abdu is to remain in Ba'lu/Adad-ilî's house as long as he is alive (*TSABR 75* : 13'-16').

Masamichi YAMADA (20-01-94)

**3) Cylinder Fragment L-29-639 : A New Exemplar of the Nippur B Inscription of Esarhaddon** – Nippur B, the longest of the Esarhaddon texts from the site, is also the least well known ; and new exemplars to fill in the lacunae are welcome. L-29-639, a cylinder fragment in the University Museum, Philadelphia, preserves parts of the first 24 lines of the text (mostly ends of lines) and supplies some of the missing pieces. For the first time, we can establish the exact length of the inscription – 41 lines – and see precisely where the other three exemplars fit in. The ends of the first twelve lines are now recovered, though the beginnings of lines 3-6 are still missing (lines 7-22, where not preserved in other exemplars, can be restored from a parallel passage, Uruk A : 8-23).

The three exemplars of Nippur B previously known are : (1) CBS 2350, published by Legrain as *PBS* 13 81 ; (2) HS 1956, not separately published but used by Borger, *Asarhaddon*, pp. 70-71 §40 in his edition of the text ; (3) 12 N 43, published by Civil, *RA* 68 (1974) 94 no. 8. It is possible that 12 N 43 and L-29-639 were originally parts of the same cylinder, but this cannot be directly verified at present.

L-29-639 measures 97 mm in maximum length and 62 mm in maximum diameter. It was formerly in the Philadelphia Museum of Art as F29-6-397. The preserved sections of lines 1-6, which are unparalleled in other known exemplars of this text or in other Esarhaddon texts, are copied below.

I am much indebted to Grant Frame for his advice while I was preparing this study and to Richard Zettler for obtaining information for me from the University Museum records. The full text of Nippur B, in so far as known from the four identified exemplars, is scheduled to be published in the near future by Dr. Frame in a RIM volume covering rulers of Babylonia from the Second Dynasty of Isin to Sin-šar-iškun (the book is currently designated RIMB 2 and the text as B.6.32.12, though this is subject to change).

- (1) [ ]-su<sup>1</sup>  
 (2) [ ]-šú  
 (3) [ ]-x-su  
 (4) [ ] x ma-al-ku  
 (5) [ ] DU  
 (6) [ ] EN GAL-i EN-šú  
 (7) [ ]-rat<sup>1</sup> er-bet-ti  
 (8) [ ] lib-b]i dEN.LÍL  
 (9) [ ] dA]G dU.GUR u DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 (10) [ ] -u]š i-mu-ru da-na-an-šú-un  
 (11) [ ] GIŠ.MI-šú-nu da-ru-ú  
 (12) [ ] (x) UGU-šú  
 (13) [ ] ti-ik-li-šú kul-lat KUR.KUR i-bé-lu-ma  
 (14) [ ] x še-pu-uš-šú  
 (15) [ ] É-]sag-íl u TIN.TIR.KI  
 (16) [ ] ma-ḥa-z]u mu-kin sat-tuk-ku  
 (17) [ ] T]IN.TIR.KI sa-li-mu ir-šu-ú  
 (18) [ ] ir-mu-ú šu-bat-su  
 (19) [ ] É-šú É-dim-gal-kalam-ma ú-še-rib-ú-ma  
 (20) [ ] da-ra-a-ti  
 (21) [ ] u]l-tu<sup>1</sup> qé-reb KUR aš-šur K[ ]  
 (22) [ ] ú]-l]kin-nu is-qu<sup>1</sup>-uš-šú x [ ]  
 (23) [ ] x (x) [ ]  
 (24) [ ] (x) x [ ]

L-29-639



Notes :

(1) The top of the line is missing ; so it cannot be proven physically from this cylinder that this is indeed the first line of the inscription. This must be inferred from the textual fit with 12 N 43.

(1, 3) The SU signs at the ends of these lines are slightly different in form.

(14) At the beginning of the preserved section, there is the trace of part of the wedge head of a vertical, which is not inconsistent with restoring either -šú or -šú (depending on the slant of the sign).

(23-24) The traces in these two lines are hard to distinguish because of heavy surface abrasion.

J. A. BRINKMAN (28-01-94)

Oriental Institute, University of Chicago

1155 East 58th Street

CHICAGO, ILL 60637 USA

**4) Deux agneaux pour la piqittum d'un devin paléo-babylonien de Sippar** – Dans un article récent (« Divination as a Science in Ancient Mesopotamia », *JEOL* 32, 1991-92, p. 23-41), U. Jeyes a noté à propos de l'examen par le devin des *exta* de l'animal sacrifié : « In certain cases, it was deemed necessary to conduct a check-up examination (*piqittu*) and even a third one. It is not entirely certain whether this means that one or two more animals were slaughtered or colleagues of the diviner checked the entrails of the same animal » (p. 26). U. Jeyes renvoie en note à J.-M. Durand, *ARMT* XXVI/1 p. 46-48, qui cite des exemples de Mari montrant assez sûrement qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un nouvel examen des entrailles de l'animal déjà sacrifié, mais du sacrifice d'un animal supplémentaire. Un texte paléo-babylonien tardif de tell ed-Dēr récemment publié me semble en apporter une nouvelle preuve. *MHET* 1 80 est une lettre du chef des devins de Sippar nommé Ilūni adressée à

l'« homme », c'est-à-dire Ur-Utu. Après les salutations d'usage, Ilûni indique : « Au sujet de ton désir, à propos duquel tu m'as écrit, j'ai procédé à une interrogation oraculaire jusqu'au 10 du mois i » (en lisant *te<sup>1</sup>-er<sup>1</sup>-tam* au lieu de *an<sup>1</sup>-ni-tam* au début de la l. 12). Après deux lignes malheureusement cassées, dans lesquelles le devin expliquait sans doute qu'il n'avait pu obtenir de réponse sans ambiguïté, il poursuit en réclamant deux agneaux pour que l'affaire puisse être examinée et éclaircie. Comme l'a justement indiqué K. Van Lerberghe, l'affaire est vraisemblablement liée à celle exposée dans la lettre n°79, où Sîn-nâdin-šumi écrit qu'il a apporté un agneau au chef des devins Ilûni mais que celui-ci n'a pu obtenir de réponse définitive : « Its is likely that the diviner did not succeed in predicting the future by means of the lamb mentioned in no. 79, and he therefore needs two lambs for a new examination » (*MHET* 1 p. 119). Un seul agneau serait nécessaire s'il ne s'agissait d'éclaircir un cas obscur, pour lequel par conséquent la nouvelle réponse obtenue devra être confirmée. Le second et le troisième examens nécessitent deux agneaux supplémentaires. Il est clair qu'Ilûni n'envisage nullement de faire contrôler par des collègues le résultat qu'il avait tout d'abord obtenu.

Dominique CHARPIN (31-01-94)  
Appt. 2103 10 Villa d'Este  
75013 PARIS

**5) Exit Panamuwa II** – The purpose of this note is to demonstrate, on the basis of new readings in the first of the OArām. *Br-Rkb* inscriptions (KAI 215), that there never was a king of Ya'udi named Panamuwa other than the author of KAI 214 and the father of the author of KAI 215 honoured by his son Bar-Rakib. Though primarily of interest to students of Northwest Semitic, the information may also prove useful to students of Assyrian history, in view of the several explicit references in KAI 215 to Tiglat-Pileser (III) and the virtually certain (though not generally accepted) allusion to Sargon (*ibid.*, l. 18 : ... *bywmy. šr[kn. mlk. 'šwr...*]).

KAI 215, the most dramatic of the Samalian inscriptions, describes in its first seven lines how Panamuwa became king of Ya'udi, viz., by an act of parricide, followed by the massacre (recalling the biblical Abimelech and Jehu) of his father's seventy brothers. Loyal son Bar-Rakib is at pains to justify his father's atrocities. But despite his evident admiration for his father — a great chariot-warrior killed in the battle which saw the fall of Damascus (... *bm̄nt. gm[r. dmšq.]*) in 733/2 B.C.E., and recipient of a royal burial in Assur some years later in the reign of Sargon (ll. 16-18) — he can't quite conceal his disgust at his brutality. For unlike his war-hardened father, Bar-Rakib is a sensitive soul, perhaps even a poet, who adamantly pursued a policy of « peace-in my time » (ll. 4-5 : *wm[g]n[t. 'nky. qdm. m(w)'d.] q[dyšy. whwh. wb'rqy. l'. yqm]. š[lm. l]' tšm[t] (. ) hrb. bbyty. wthrgw. hd. bny*), in contrast to his father, who lived and died by the sword, leaving more towns ruined than settled (l. 4), and a country renowned (*šm. mt.*) for its men-of-arms (*b'ly. kpyry*) and its chariot-warriors (*b'ly. rkb* [l. 10]).

– l. 1 describes the act of parricide. Panamuwa killed his father while the latter was passing (lit., « returning ») his urine in the privy : [*mt. h]šb. šnt[h.] q[ql.] 'by. pnmw. b[šd]q(.).<sup>2</sup> 'bh*. The author's choice of terms —  $\sqrt{qlql}$  « destroy » but also « waste » (cf. t. Fekh. *qlqlt'*) ; and  $\sqrt{pl}$  and *šht* in the immediate sequel — speaks as much for the literary gifts of the author as for the correctness of our interpretation. Cf. similarly in l. 7 : « And he got rid of the sons-of-excrement (*'bn. šht*) from his father's house, [kept them] from (looting) the treasury, [and extricated ( $\sqrt{hlš}$ ) the land of Ya'udi from the « st]inkers] » (*b[yšy]*) ».

– l. 2 : Having pronounced his father's actions « just », Bar-Rakib now proceeds to explain his father's motive. The grandfather's conduct, and that of his (half-)brothers, was so disgraceful (in the eyes and ethics of the soldier Panamuwa) as to arouse even the storm-god Hadad to anger (cp. KTU 1.4 : III : 10-22). This « indecent b[unch] » (*q[bšh.] mšbh*), « cursed (and) [guzzl]ed, [pulk]ed, and gor[g]led and excret[ed] » in the (burial) chambers of their respective ancestors (*'lw[. l']w[. hq]'[w.] wšb[r]w[. w]šht[w. 'š](.)<sup>3</sup> bbyt. 'bh.*). These unmistakable signs of *mrzħ*-festivity, well-known from both Ugaritic and O.T. literatures, are now also documented in the 9th cent. OArām. inscription from Deir 'Alla (DAPT II, 6-8) ; and harshly judged by the speaker (= Balaam's wife!).

– ll. 3-4 describe Panamuwa's treatment of his enemies (*[']bh*) and political adversaries (*b'l. [rbh]*) : some (*[ydk]*) were life-long (*'lm[y.]*) ; others (*[ydk]*) he forgave (*[m]hl...[pš'm]*) ; and with the rest (*ytrh*) he filled the prisons (*ml'. msgrt*).

– ll. 4-5 : After the moving pledge ( $\sqrt{mgn}$ ) quoted above, Bar-Rakib conveys the information which has prompted this note :

<sup>5</sup>... *w'gm. hwyt. hrb. b'rq. y'dy. whl[p. š<m>.] lpmnw.*

*br. qrl. '[b. 'b(y).] 'by. [wš]m. b[d]r. 'bd*

« And even as (civil) war (lit. « the sword ») was in the land of Ya'udi, he chan[ged] (his) na<me>] to Panamuwa, son-of-Krl, my [great-grand]father ; [and (thus)] was a [na]me lost in the fa[m]ily ».

For all his filial devotion and admiration, Bar-Rakib cannot acquiesce in his father's decision to « erase the name » of his grandfather Baršur. It is not only a question of sentiment : an « erased name » (the nastiest of curses in the Bible and to this day in traditional Hebrew parlance) means deletion from the ancestral « roll-call » at the time of Marzeah (or Kispu) ; and an uninvited ghost knows how to exact retribution for such an affront from the living offspring ; and needless to say, when they reunite in the Hereafter.

While refraining from overt criticism unworthy of a respectful son, Bar-Rakib makes his position crystal clear when he refers to his father, once at the beginning of the inscription and three times at the end (ll. 15, 20), by his original patronymic. In l. 15 the subject is his father's decoration ( $\sqrt{\text{šmrg}} = \text{Ug. } \text{šmrg}(t)$  [KTU 1.4 : I : 32]) for military valour by his overlord, the « emperor » (*mlk.* 'šwr. r[b]) of Assyria; and in l. 20, in connection with his own succession to the throne.

A (grand)father owns a share in his (grand)son's successes in the here-and-now; and is a force to be reckoned with in the there-and-after. Bar-Rakib is atoning in this inscription for the sins of his father so as to assure the eternal well-being of all concerned.

Baruch MARGALIT (24-01-94)  
University of HAIFA  
Dept. of Bible ISRAEL

**6) Le sumérien, langue morte parlée** – Le statut du sumérien à l'époque paléo-babylonienne est l'objet d'un débat déjà ancien et qui n'est pas près d'être clos. Dans la dernière livraison de la ZA, A. Sjöberg a publié une très intéressante collation à *Schooldays* l. 40: *lú-eme-gi<sub>7</sub>-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> eme-uri bí-ḫ<sup>1</sup>-du<sub>11</sub>-e-še in-tú-dè-en* « the person (in charge of teaching) the Sumerian language said: "you spoke Akkadian"!, and he canned me » (A. Sjöberg, « An Old Babylonian Schooltext from Nippur », ZA 83, 1993, p. 1). Comme l'a indiqué Sjöberg, le passage montre clairement que l'akkadien était la langue maternelle de l'élève, dont l'usage était prohibé à l'école. Il me semble toutefois qu'on ne peut aller plus loin et utiliser ce passage comme argument pour démontrer que le sumérien était alors une langue morte: au début de ce siècle, les jeunes Bretons se faisaient frapper s'ils parlaient breton à l'école, le français n'étant pourtant pas alors une langue morte! Et les bonnes méthodes pédagogiques de l'apprentissage des langues étrangères excluent le moindre recours à la langue maternelle de l'élève. Bien que la conclusion de Sjöberg me semble la plus vraisemblable, ce passage de *Schooldays* n'apporte donc qu'un élément essentiel au dossier: il ne permet pas de le clore. Sans doute la difficulté réside-t-elle dans notre opposition trop brutale entre langue morte et langue vivante, que nous comprenons comme une opposition entre langue exclusivement écrite et langue parlée et écrite. Une langue morte est une langue que personne ne sait plus de naissance; mais on peut fort bien apprendre à la parler comme à l'écrire. La meilleure façon de décrire la situation est sans doute de dire que le sumérien était alors une langue morte, qui pouvait être parlée dans certains milieux bien définis.

Dominique CHARPIN (8-02-94)

**7) Encore sur le lahmu (comp. A. Cavigneaux, NABU 1993/101; J.-M. Durand, 1993/117; M. Guichard, 1993/118)** – TIM 9,78 :15 ... *la-ah-mu i-na ÍD LÚ i-ša-ba-at*, suivant Cavigneaux « ... un lahmu s'emparera d'un homme dans la rivière », ne se réfère certainement pas à une personne et à une rivière quelconques. *Awīlum*, dans les apodoses des textes divinatoires paléo-babyloniens, est d'habitude la personne pour ou à cause de laquelle un oracle fut entrepris, et la « rivière » est plutôt le fleuve par excellence, le Fleuve de l'ordalie. Nous proposons donc comme traduction: « ... un/le lahmu saisira la personne (= le mandant de l'oracle) dans le 'Fleuve' ».

M.A.M. Wiggermann, dans JEOL 37 (1982) 90-105 et Mesopotamian Protective Spirits (1992) 164-166, a essayé de définir l'identité et les fonctions du lahmu, « hairy one », « naked hero », dont l'association avec les eaux est attestée, entre autre, par les *la-ḫa-ma abzu* de Gudea (Cyl. A xxiv 26-27, voir JEOL 37, 96<sup>29</sup>). Wiggermann donne aussi des exemples pour le lahmu dans le contexte des eaux jaillissantes (ibid. p. 101). Si notre interprétation est juste, le lahmu aurait parfois eu la tâche de retenir dans l'eau une personne coupable qui avait été ordonnée à se soumettre à l'ordalie fluviale. Une « saisie de lahmu » s'accorderait bien avec les positions que nous voyons dans les scènes figuratives de la glyptique.

Pour le texte M.6105, publié par M. Guichard et où il est question d'un bœuf « saisi » par le lahmu, nous proposons d'y voir un accident arrivé lors du passage d'un troupeau par un gué. Le bœuf en question aurait été déporté par le courant, ce qu'on désignait, par analogie, comme une « saisie de lahmu ».

Dans aucun cas ne serait-il question de « crocodiles » euphratiques ou tigridiens, comme le supposent Durand et Guichard. En 1934 (Fauna pp. 120 s.), B. Landsberger a discuté la question de savoir si nous devons compter sur la présence de crocodiles d'eau douce parmi les reptiles de l'Ancienne Mésopotamie. Sa réponse fut négative, et W. Heimpel s'est rangé du côté de Landsberger dans son article « Krokodil » du RIA VI (1980/83) 248. L'animal typique de l'Égypte se trouve une fois dans l'inventaire de Qatna et ensuite, comme cadeau du pharaon, dans des inscriptions de Téglatphalasar I et Assur-bél-kala. Il y est aussi égyptien que son nom, *namsuḫu*, dérivé de la langue du Nil.

D.O. EDZARD (12-02-94)  
Institut für Assyriologie und Hethitologie  
Universität München Geschwister-Scholl-Platz  
80539 MÜNCHEN, ALLEMAGNE

**8) Le sceptre de l'héritier** – Dans un article récent de la *Revue d'assyriologie*, C. Janssen a publié un document paléo-babylonien de Tell ed-Dēr dans lequel on rappelle que le chef lamentateur Inanna-mansum a « transmis son "sceptre" » à son fils Ur-Utu. Il s'agit d'« un acte symbolique que nous interprétons comme la succession dans la fonction de Grand Lamentateur » (C. Janssen, « Inanna-mansum et ses fils : relation d'une succession turbulente dans les archives d'Ur-Utu », *RA* 86, 1992, p. 43). Ce geste, sans parallèle à ma connaissance dans la documentation paléo-babylonienne, trouve sans doute un écho dans celle d'Emar : *haṭṭašu išbir ina mārūtišu issuhšu* « il (le père) a brisé son (= de son fils) "sceptre", il lui a ôté son statut de fils » (D. Arnaud, « La Syrie du Moyen-Euphrate sous le protectorat hittite : contrats de droit privé », *Aula Orientalis* 5, 1987, p. 240 No. 17 : 23), cf. NP *ul mārī haṭṭašu še-eb-re-et* « NP n'est plus mon fils : son "sceptre" a été brisé, *ibid.* 7 (cf. *CAD* Š/2 p. 247b). Voilà sans doute un cas de plus où la pratique juridique d'Emar est en définitive moins singulière qu'il n'y paraît au premier abord.

Dominique CHARPIN (14-02-94)

**9) La fin d'Akkadē : approche chronologique** – 1. Une copie d'inscription royale indique que l'Élamite Puzur-Inšušinak fut chassé par un roi mésopotamien des territoires qu'il occupait en Babylonie du Nord et dans le bassin de la Diyala ou de l'Aqaim : Awal, Kismar, Maškan-šarrim, les pays d'Ešnuna, de Tutub, de Zimudar et d'Akkadē.

Kutik/Puzur-Inšušinak d'Awān (*MDP* 10, pl. III, 1 : 4-5 ; pl. III, 2 : 7 ; le dernier représentant de cette dynastie selon l'historiographie babylonienne : V. Scheil, *RA* 28, 1931, p. 2 : 12) était un hardi conquérant auquel le roi de Simaški avait fait acte d'allégeance (*MDP* 14, p. 7-16, *passim*) et qui, par la vallée de la Diyala occupée par ses troupes, avait poussé jusqu'à conquérir le pays d'Akkadē. On peut admettre que c'est lui qui mit fin à l'ultime principauté se réclamant du pouvoir paléo-akkadien.

La copie figure au revers, v' 7'-23', d'une tablette paléo-babylonienne d'Isin (C. Wilcke, dans B. Hrouda, *Isin-Išān Baḥrīyāt III*, Munich, 1987, pp. 109sq) et ne transcrit, débutant par la formule *u<sub>4</sub>.ba*, qu'un extrait d'une inscription royale plus ample. La construction *u<sub>4</sub>.ba* est bien connue dans les inscriptions royales d'Ur III (H. Steible, *FAOS* 9/2, Urnammu 28 i 8 ; 47 i 12 ; Šūsuen 9 : 20 ; A26 : 5 ; voir également le prologue du Code dit d'Ur.Namma 31, 36, 87, 104, 125, 186 : J.J. Finkelstein, *JCS* 22, 1969, pp. 67sq ; F. Yilidiz, *Or.* 50, 1981, pp. 87 sq) et l'on s'oriente donc vers cette époque. Les lignes précédentes, v' 1'-6', reproduisent une autre inscription royale où l'on peut restituer sans hésitation, à la ligne 1', le nom d'Ur.Namma (C. Wilcke, *ibid.*, p. 110) ; le texte a toute l'apparence d'une inscription complète de ce roi, nonobstant, il peut s'agir d'une dédicace par un tiers. Quoi qu'il en soit, les scribes paléo-babyloniens nous ayant accoutumés à copier les inscriptions royales dans un ordre chronologique relativement homogène, on peut hésiter, s'agissant du commanditaire de l'inscription qui nous intéresse, entre Ur.Namma et son fils Šulgi.

Dans le prologue du même code dit d'Ur.Namma, l'auteur rappelle qu'il a lui-même chassé un autre parti élamite, celui d'Anšan, des villes d'Akšak, de Marad, de Girkal, de Kazallu et d'Usarum.

Les deux sources feraient-elles allusion au même événement ? Il ne semble pas. Certes, le commanditaire des deux textes peut être soit Ur.Namma, soit Šulgi. Cependant, si le code est sans doute de ce dernier, il est de bonnes raisons pour attribuer l'inscription royale à Ur.Namma : B.R. Foster a montré, en effet, comment les scribes paléo-babyloniens pouvaient, avec plus ou moins d'adresse, mettre bout à bout des extraits d'inscriptions différentes d'un même monarque (*ARRIM* 8, 1990, pp. 25sq). D'autre part, la chancellerie d'Ur était tout à fait à même de distinguer les deux États élamites d'Awān et d'Anšan : en Šulgi 30 une princesse royale fut donnée en mariage à l'ensi<sub>2</sub> d'Anšan, ce qui n'empêcha pas ce même Šulgi de détruire ce pays en l'an 34 de son règne ; une inscription de Šū-Su'en indique qu'Anšan lui versait tribut (*PBS* 5, 68 : 1-15) ; en Ibbi-Sîn 9, ce roi mena une attaque contre Ḫuḫnur, « clef d'Anšan », et en l'an 14 il triompha de Suse, Adamdun et Awān (*UET* I, 289 : 11-16, 40-45 où il est écrit en.bi LU<sub>2</sub>xKAR<sub>2</sub>.a mi.ni.in.dab<sub>5</sub>.ba : « il captura leur(s) seigneur(s) », LU<sub>2</sub>xKAR<sub>2</sub> notant le terme bien connu pour dire « prisonnier » ; les formules de noms d'années, lorsqu'intactes, *UET* 3, 45, 892, 1055, 1421, écrivent toutes en.bi lu<sub>2</sub>.a mi.ni.in.dab<sub>5</sub>.ba.a, expression que M. Sigrist et T. Gomi, *The Comprehensive Catalogue of Published Ur III Tablets*, Bethesda, 1991, p. 329, proposent de traduire, « captured the lords of their people » : à vrai dire, les scribes ont tous simplifié la graphie du signe LU<sub>2</sub>xKAR<sub>2</sub> réduit à un simple LU<sub>2</sub>). Ajoutons que Šulgi lui-même (E. von Schuler, *BJVF* 7, 1967, pp. 293-95 ; également le nom de la 46<sup>ème</sup> année du règne), dit avoir ravagé Kimaš et Ḫurtum, deux provinces dont Puzur-Inšušinak avait réprimé la révolte peu de temps auparavant (*MDP* 14, p. 10 i 12-15).

On admet donc que Puzur-Inšušinak fut chassé par Ur.Namma et que l'événement se produisit entre 2112 et 2095 (nous prenons cette chronologie moyenne du règne d'Ur.Namma pour référence). Les successeurs de Šar-kali-šarrī ayant régné 39 ans, la fin de son règne doit se situer, au plus tôt, en comptant à partir de l'année de l'intronisation d'Ur.Namma, en 2151 ; avec beaucoup plus de vraisemblance, on suggère de la placer entre 2150 et 2140, voire vers 2140.

2. On sait que Lagaš accéda à l'indépendance sous Lugal.ušumgal qui avait été gouverneur de la cité dès le règne de Narām-Sîn. Parmi ses successeurs, qui portèrent tous le titre d'ensi<sub>2</sub>, on distingue Puzur-Mama lequel se revêtit du titre de lugal. Au total, considérant le nombre de noms d'années livrés par les textes, on peut estimer à une cinquantaine d'années, au minimum, la durée d'existence de cette principauté (J.J. Glassner, *La*



*Chute d'Akkadé, L'événement et sa mémoire, Berlin, BBVO 5, 1986, p. 44).* Or, P. Steinkeller (*JCS* 40, 1988, pp. 47sq.) a montré que la dynastie fondée par Ur.Bawa s'acheva sous le règne d'Ur.Namma ; l'an 14 de ce règne est une date possible. En remontant le cours du temps depuis 2098, on aboutit à 2148. L'indépendance de Lagaš remonterait donc, au plus tard, aux environs de 2150.

3. Utu.ḫegal fut le dernier monarque d'une courte lignée urukéenne que la chronique de la monarchie une (J.J. Glassner, *Chroniques mésopotamiennes*, Paris, 1993, p. 141) subdivise en deux cycles. Si l'on tient pour assurées les longueurs des règnes proposées par cette source, on arrive à un total de 37 années (J.J. Glassner, *Chute*, p. 45). Utu.ḫegal étant mort en 2112 ou peu de temps plus tard, la monarchie d'Uruk aurait été fondée vers 2149, soit au même moment, ou peu s'en faut, que celle de Lagaš.

4. L'histoire d'Umma est moins bien connue (J.J. Glassner, *Chute*, pp. 44, 49-50). Deux textes de fondation font référence, dans la formule de datation, à deux rois du Gutium, Yarlagan et Si'um : u<sub>4</sub>.ba Ia<sub>3</sub>-ar-la-ga-an lugal Gu-ti-um.kam, u<sub>4</sub>.ba Si-u<sub>3</sub>-um lugal Gu-ti-um.kam. Le document mentionnant le nom de Si'um porte une indication chronologique énigmatique : Umma ba.ba.a 35 mu zal.la.ba, « trente-cinq ans s'étant écoulés depuis la partition d'Umma ». Faut-il comprendre qu'à la suite d'un accord entre deux parties, Akkadé ou Umma d'une part, le Gutium d'autre part, accord qu'implique l'emploi du verbe ba (J.J. Glassner, *JA* 273, 1985, pp. 11-59), une partition eut lieu qui livra Umma, ou partie de son territoire, au Gutium? La question mérite d'être posée. Dans cette hypothèse, si l'on juge, avec la chronique de la monarchie une, que Si'um fut le prédécesseur de Tiriga, on voit que la ville serait tombée sous la tutelle des rois du Gutium entre 2160 et 2147 ; ces deux dates étant extrêmes, la période 2155-2150 paraît la plus vraisemblable.

Un certain Lu.Utu, ensi<sub>2</sub> d'Umma, a laissé plusieurs inscriptions votives, et le nom d'un autre ensi<sub>2</sub>, En.ana.DU, figure sur une tablette paléo-akkadienne dans une formule de datation : u<sub>4</sub>.ba En.an.na.DU ensi<sub>2</sub> Umma<sup>ki</sup> (*MAD* IV 68). La ville aurait-elle gagné son indépendance dès avant de tomber sous la tutelle des rois guti, ou bien aurait-elle secoué le joug étranger à un moment ou un autre de son histoire? On ne sait. Deux textes contemporains d'Ur III et portant le même mode de datation, u<sub>4</sub>.ba Aḫu-a ensi<sub>2</sub> Umma<sup>ki</sup> et u<sub>4</sub>.ba Ur.<sup>d</sup>Li<sub>9</sub>.si<sub>4</sub> ensi<sub>2</sub> Umma<sup>ki</sup> (P. Steinkeller, *FAOS* 17, n°88\* et 92), montrent que celui-ci était toujours en usage, au moins, jusqu'en Šulgi 45, le n°92 associant les deux modes de datation, celui d'Umma et celui d'Ur.

5. L'histoire d'Ur et de Šuruppak est trop mal connue pour qu'il soit possible d'élaborer une chronologie. A Kiš régna, peut-être, au lendemain de la mort de Šar-kali-šarrī, un membre de la famille royale descendant de Sargon en la personne de Šar-addī-qubbišin (J.J. Glassner, *Chute*, hypothèse proposée pp. 43-44).

6. Il ressort de ces quelques observations qu'en tout état de cause, alentour 2150, c'est-à-dire du vivant de Šar-kali-šarrī, une fêlure interne se produisit, une partie du Sud sumérien échappant à l'autorité des rois d'Akkadé ; la fêlure gagna le pays d'Akkad lui-même après la disparition de Šar-kali-šarrī. Ce n'est que bien plus tard que l'ultime principauté akkadienne, avec Šū-durul à sa tête, succomba au coup fatal venu de l'extérieur, œuvre de Puzur-Inšušinak d'Awam, alors qu'Ur.Namma régnait déjà à Ur et en Sumer. Entre la disparition de Šar-kali-šarrī et la prise du pouvoir par Ur.Namma, il s'est donc écoulé un laps de temps qui ne peut guère être supérieur à une trentaine d'années.

J.-J. GLASSNER (15-02-94)  
55, rue des Archives  
F-75003 PARIS

**10) Sūmu-Epuh - A stretcher-case? - A) Sūmu-Epuh was king of Jamhad and contemporary with Šamši-Adad/Jasmah-Addu. The letter which announces his death, ARM I, 91+, gives us tantalising information on the circumstances. The text opens with the blank statement that « Sūmu-Epuh has died » (<sup>1</sup>*su-mu-e-pu-uh im-tu-ut*), and further on in ll. 3'f. we have : *i-na ha-la-ab s[u-mu-e-pu-uh], i-na be-la-nim ik-lu-ú-ma [...]*. Durand (*MARI* 5, p. 180) translated this as : « A Alep, on a tenu Sūmu-Epuh sur une civière », and added a discussion of the word *bēlānum* in various contexts concluding that the expression usually means « by force/against one's will », but perhaps basically a « civière » (« stretcher »). For this latter meaning Durand adduced a parallel from the (then unpublished) ARMT 26/2, 404, where Jasim-El is ill (*maršākuma*) and must attend a royal summit while *i-na bi-la-ni 2 lú ú-ka-lu-ni-NE-ni-ma* « deux hommes me soutenaient sur les brancards » (the editor F. Joannès, *ibid.* p. 263 sub f), refers back to *MARI* 5 for this translation). In this instance there seems no problem in replacing the « stretcher » with the alternative translation « by force » - in the sense that Jasim-El can only attend supported by two men holding him up. In fact I think we can do away with the « stretcher » altogether. The idea obviously derives from the context of the two letters already mentioned, but finds little support in other references (ARMT 26/1, 207 ; ARMT 26/2, 410 ; M.8512 cited ARMT 26/1, p. 436. In *MARI* 5, 180, Durand considered a derivation from *wbl*, but probably *bēlum* is a better choice). Returning to ARM I, 91+ we could then translate : « In Halab Sūmu-Epuh was detained against his will ». This means that the phrase refers to something which happened while Sūmu-Epuh was still alive! The most likely interpretation is that some internal trouble occurred just prior to his death, but unfortunately the text is broken and reveals no further details. The observation stresses our relative ignorance about the Halab kings in this period. Did Sūmu-Epuh's son and successor, Jarim-Lim, perhaps revolt against his father? Why is Jarim-Lim not mentioned in the**

« Assyrian » texts from Mari? Was the announcement of Sūmu-Epuh's death in ARM 1, 91+ perhaps based on a false rumour? Answers to these questions must await further evidence!

B) In an article published in *Akkadica* 81 (1993) I tried to show that Sūmu-Epuh could not have died as early as the Year Aššur-malik since in ARM V, 17+ he is involved with events which must postdate this year. P. Villard has now offered comments on this problem in *NABU* 1993/119 and musters four arguments against my conclusion :

i) In ARM V, 17+ Išhi-Addu complains that Šamši-Adad has not sent the troops he promised and Villard therefore thinks the letter should date to the time of the « Expedition to Qatna » which got under way in Aššur-malik.

– This is possible, but the Mari texts are so replete with references to troops going to and from Qatna that the argument is hardly compelling.

ii) Jarim-Lim's « Declaration of War » (A.1314) provides the « Distanzangabe » which dates the death of Sūmu-Epuh to Aššur-malik and an update would mean that the information is somehow false - or that Jasmah-Addu managed to stay in Mari some time after the demise of his father. Villard thinks the first possibility unlikely and the second impossible : no texts document such a period and the new texts from Tell Bi'a confirm this.

– I too tend to think that the information in A.1314 is correct (cf. *Akkadica* 81, 27f.), but this then forces us to consider the second solution which, however « heretic », is possible. The new texts from Tell Bi'a (the latest information given in *MDOG* 125, 51ff. ; no information on the texts retrieved in 1993 is available to me) do not as yet prove anything since the presence/absence of dated tablets in clearly secondary contexts (at both Bi'a and Mari) are not reliable guides.

iii) Villard considers the chronology of the governors of Tuttul (accidentally confusing in three instances ARM I, 9 with ARM I, 18!) and shows that Šamaš-tillassu, attested in the Tuttul region in ARM I, 91+ which announces the death of Sūmu-Epuh, was replaced not long after the year Aššur-malik.

– Admittedly this could exclude a later date for the end of Sūmu-Epuh, but given the incessant travels and rotation of high officials in the Šamši-Adad kingdom this piece of evidence is not conclusive. I cannot go into the details of this question here, but it is obvious, e. g., that the various plans for change of officials (and other matters) discussed in the letters exchanged between Šamši-Adad and his sons were not always brought into effect!

iv) Villard finally suggests, without detailed argumentation, that the events mentioned in ARM V, 17+ might after all be accommodated before the end of the year Aššur-malik.

– The article in *Akkadica* demonstrated at length that this is *not* possible on present evidence. I don't see how a relatively well-documented and corroborated reconstruction can be dismissed so lightly - especially since the observations in i)-iii) carry little weight in comparison.

Jesper EIDEM (15-02-94)  
CNI, Njalsgade 80, DK-2300 COPENHAGEN S  
DANEMARK

**11) Panamuwa and Sargon (II) : A Case of 'David-and-Jonathan' ? – I.** In the stele inscription (KAI 215) commemorating his father Panamuwa, Bar-Rakib relates how, following Panamuwa's heroic death outside the walls of Damascus (732 B.C.E.), the Assyrian overlord T.P. buried Panamuwa and set up several monuments on the roadside in his honour (l. 17f. : *wlqh. mr'h. mlk. 'šwr[...]* 'by. wqbr. '(y)br[...]. *nbšh. whqm. lh. mšky. b'rh*).

The immediate continuation (l. 18f.) informs us that in the reign of a subsequent Assyrian king whose name begins with *šr...*, Panamuwa's remains were disinterred and brought to the ancient Assyrian city (and royal necropolis) of Assur (written *'šr*, to distinguish it from *'šwr* « Assyria ») : (l. 18f.) : *wh'br. 'by. mn. dmšq. l'šr. bywmy. šr[... mlk. 'šwr.]*. The event was marked — more than a decade after Panamuwa's death as we shall see — by mourning rites of the king and the entire royal household ([*wbkyh. h'. wbk]yh. byth. klh*), *ibid*.

The question of the identity of the Assyrian king who acted in this manner is easier to answer than that of his motives. The suggestion to complete *šr[...]* to *šr[kn]* = Sargon II (722-705 B.C.E.) is not new. But despite the imperative of context and the evidence of KAI 233 (l. 15) — an Aramaic letter of the 7th cent. excavated in Assur at the beginning of the century — for the spelling *šrkn* (= *šarru-kēnu*), the restoration *šr[kn]* here in KAI 215 has not won general acceptance. In truth, no other possibility exists ; nor has a plausible alternative ever been proposed, since in the lifetime of the author Bar-Rakib, no Assyrian king with initial *šr...* is known to have reigned other than Sargon. Bar-Rakib's familiarity with the precise cuneiform spelling of Sargon's name is hardly surprising : one may presume that (like his father) Bar-Rakib personally authored his inscription ; and that as a man-of-letters (cf. ANEP, #460) he had an eye for literary style : ...Mn. *dMšq. l'ŠR* : : *bywM(y). ŠR[Kn. MlK.(')ŠR...]*.

(To be sure, the author of KAI 233, a resident of Babylonia, writes (unlike Bar-Rakib) the name of T.P. with a *k* rather than a *g*. But he also uses (as does Bar-Rakib) a *samekh* for cuneiform *š* in the same name ; yet he writes « Sargon » with a *shin*! Similarly « exceptional » is the O.T. spelling « Shalmaneser » (cuneiform *š* = Heb.

*shin*). Consistency in these matters, it seems, is more common in the scholarly handbooks than in the sources. Cf. A. Millard, JSS 21 (1976); 1-14.)

Why did Sargon take such trouble with Panamuwa's long-decayed remains? If he were responding to a request by his loyal vassal, and Panamuwa's son, why the delay of more than ten years? And why were Panamuwa's remains not transferred to Sam'al and buried in the plot, beside the statue of Hadad, which Panamuwa himself had consecrated expressly for that purpose (KAI 214)?

I submit that Sargon's actions with respect to Panamuwa's remains — the mourning (no doubt witnessed by Bar-Rakib himself as guest-of-honour at the interment ceremony) no less than the transfer — can be plausibly explained only on the assumption that he and Panamuwa were « war-buddies » (comrades-in-arms) in the royal army of T.P. III who trained together and shared many a glorious moment of triumph as well as life-threatening peril on the battlefield. Sargon may even have been indebted to Panamuwa's valour for his life. Sargon's predecessor, Shalmaneser V, shared no such background of camaraderie with Panamuwa, and therefore felt no obligation to disinter Panamuwa from his honourable roadside burial near Damascus. Not so Sargon: the lapse of more than a decade did little to fade the memory of a dear friend. Panamuwa's battlefield death was mourned by the entire Assyrian army (KAI 215:17), including his fellow-vassal kings; none, we may presume, more than the Assyrian prince Sarruken. His actions imply that, as king of Assyria, he wanted even the dead Panamuwa as close as possible, to visit his grave and tend to all his netherworldly needs (as Panamuwa himself had hoped [KAI 214:17]; a person with his past had good reason to be concerned on this matter).

At the conclusion of his inscription Bar-Rakib writes as follows (l. 21f.): *wybl. yw[q]'. qdm. qbr. 'by. pnmw [bmt. 'šwr]* « And a stream flows (or emanates) in front of my father's grave [in the land of Assyria] ». This notice, describing Panamuwa's idyllic gravesite, follows immediately upon the gruesome description of « a child led by a (male-)nurse » sacrificed to « 'Moloch' [and the land of Sheol] » for their 'intoxication' (... *w'l. ybl. 'mn. ysb[w]. mlk. [wmt. š'l]*) — an act evidently forced upon the king by the powerful priesthood of Sam'al (note the choice of *'sb'*, at once playing on the common colour of blood and wine yet expressing the author's disgust).

The purpose of the notice (cleverly linked to the preceding by the word *ybl* despite the *non-sequitur*) is simply to « change the subject » and banish the awful thought from his (and the reader's) mind (since we are at the end of the inscription and might go away feeling sick). But it reveals the fact that Sargon not only buried Panamuwa in the royal necropolis of Assur; he gave him a choice spot, overlooking a gentle brook, as beautiful as it is symbolic. To Sargon, Panamuwa was the epitome of vitality and manly virtue, a friend and role-model to whom he owed his love and appreciation of chariot-warfare (cf. ANEP, #172; KAI 215: 3 ([..k]y. *b'l. rkb. [h]'*); and S. Dalley, *Iraq* 47 (1985): 31-48), perhaps even his life; and for whom the passage of time could no more tarnish his heroic image than the fresh spring-water flowing beside his grave.

One should not be surprised to learn in the future that Sargon — like Panamuwa, killed in battle — asked to be buried alongside his Samalian friend, prince (later king) Panamuwa, and that Panamuwa's epitaph was inscribed with a suitably altered Assyrian version of 2 Sam. 1: 23-26.

II. The intramural massacre carried out by Panamuwa was explained officially (and to the child Bar-Rakib) as the result of his family's moral turpitude and decadence. The underlying cause, one may assume, had more to do with politics. As a young and charismatic charioteer in the royal army of T.P., Panamuwa had befriended many Assyrian officers and princes, perhaps even had caught the eye of T.P. himself. His father's decision (745-743) to join the anti-Assyrian coalition of neo-Hittite and Aramean states organized by Urartu meant that Panamuwa would find himself battling his friends and patron. The *coup* put an end to this dilemma, and Sam'al, alone of all the Neo-Hittite states, fought on the Assyrian side, and remained a steadfast Assyrian ally (and nominally independent) for the remainder of the century (at least). T.P. (and Sargon) knew how to reward such fealty: annexation to Sam'al of neighboring territories to the north and south(?); and a high standard of living for the Samalians resulting from a « favoured client » status.

215: 12-15: ... *wḥn'h. mr'h. mlk. 'šwr. 'l. mlky. kbr. brš[th] ... [whšb. l] <sup>15</sup>gblh...qyrt. mn. gbl. grgm. [‘d. g]wy[m]* « And his overlord the king of Assyria favoured him over the kings already in [his] juris[diction] ... and annexed (lit., 'returned') to his boundary ... cities from the border of Gurgum [unto G]joy[im] (cf. Gen. 14: 1) ».

214: 9-11: ... *wbymy. gm. 'kl. wšt'. y'dy. wbymy. ytmr(.) b[. b'r]qy. lnšb. qyrt. wlnšb. zrry. wlbny. kpyry. ḥlbbh. [hš.] yqh. 'š. r'yh* « And in my reign (the citizens of) Y'DY also ate and drank (well); and in my reign a t[ourist in] my [coun]try would be exposed to the building of cities and *arenas* and governmental strongholds; [post-haste] would he take himself a wife (and settle down) ».

216: 7f.; 14f.: ... *wby. 'by. [g]ml. mn. kl. ... whn'bw. 'hy. mlky'. lkl. mh. ḫbt. byty* « And he [rew]arded my father's (= Panamuwa) house with everything (good)...And my fellow-kings were envious of all the good things (in) my palace ».

But Sargon's treatment of the dead Panamuwa went beyond duty and policy, and provides a parade example of how personal relationships, even at the highest level of government, are not to be discounted or ignored. Eros is the partner of Logos in the making of History.

Baruch MARGALIT (02-94)

**12) Parricidal Panamuwa : the Sequel** – It would be asking too much of a king to confess an Oedipal crime in a literary work of his own hand (= KAI 214). But the recognition, based on the commemorative inscription of his son Bar-Rakib (KAI 215), that the Samalian king Panamuwa ascended the throne by an act of parricidal regicide, has important repercussions for the reading and understanding of his votive inscription (to Hadad) as well. Indeed, most of this long inscription reflects Panamuwa's bad conscience and a desire to clear his name; but the latter half is virtually incomprehensible without the vital information conveyed by his son in KAI 215.

First, however, we must note a small yet important point of grammar overlooked by a century of Semitists. The archaic NWS dialect of OArām. (and close relation of MHeb?) represented by KAI 214-15, forms the *status constructus pluralis* of nouns like *bn* «son» and *šm* «name» by the addition of prosthetic *aleph* and zero suffix, viz., \**bnV* and \**šmV* (precisely as in Arabic). Thus, in 215 : 7 ... *whrg 'bn. šht. mn. byt. 'bh* means «... and he killed the 'sons-of-excrement'» — hardly (the absurd) 'stone of corruption' or the like — in/from his father's house». Similarly in 214 : 16, ... *wyzkr. 'šm. hdd* means «... and he will mention (better : invoke) the *names* of Hadad» — i.e., the name 'Hadad' together with his patronymic *bn dgn* and/or his epithets (*b'l šmyn*, etc.).

Lines 15-18a and lines 20-24 of KAI 214 have a great deal in common, and near-identical opening sentences :

15f. : ...[w]mn. mn. bny. y'hz[. ht]r. wyšb. 'l. mšby. wys'd. 'brw. wyzbh. hdd. zn. [']w(.y)[b'. hd.] nšy. wyzbh. g[dy. 'w(.)] [z.] yzbh. hdd. wyzkr. 'šm. hdd. 'w. [I]'. p'. y'mr...

20f. : ...[wb]'m[. mn. mn]. bny. y'hz. htr. wyšb. 'l. mšby. mlk. 'l y'dy. wys'd. 'brw. wy[z]bh[. hdd. zn. wyzk]r. 'šm. pnmw. wy'mr. ...

The principal difference between these two texts is that in the first Panamuwa envisages a member of the royal house (or his delegate) sacrificing before the statue of Hadad erected by him, and *optionally* invoking *the names of Hadad*, prior to pronouncing the prayer-formulae (to follow) for the welfare of his soul in the Hereafter; whereas in the second he envisages the invocation of *his own names* prior to the same prayer.

17f. : ω...[t']kl. nbš. pnmw. 'mk. wtš[ty. n]bš(.) pnmw. 'mk.

β) 'd. yzkr. nbš. pnmw. 'm(.)[šm. h]dd(.) [wt'rb]zbh. z'. [z. t'lz. 'r]qy. bh.

«... [May] the soul of Panamuwa [e]at with thee (Hadad), and may the sou[ ] of Panamuwa [dri]nk with thee. – Forever let the soul of Panamuwa be mentioned with [the name of Ha]dad; (then) [will] this (fem.) sacrifice [be pleasing] (to Hadad); (and) [then will] my countr[y rejoice] in it».

21f. : ω..... t'kl. nbš. pnmw(.) 'm. hdd. wtšty. nbš. pnmw. 'm. hdd.

β) h'[. l'. yš'. šmy. whdd. yr[h(.) hn. zbh. w'l. yrqy. bh. wnz(.) yš'l. 'l. ytn. lh. hdd. whdd. hr'. lytkh [br'sh. wšht. brglyh. wtbš]l. ytn. lh. l'kl. brgz. wšnh. lmn'. mnh. blyl'. wdlh. ntn. l[mšq]y...

«May the soul of Panamuwa eat with Hadad, and may the soul of Panamuwa [dri]nk with Hadad. – He (of my sons who does so) [shall not bear my name and Hadad will sni]ff the surfeit of his sacrifice and will not be satisfied with it; and that which he will ask (while sacrificing) Hadad will not grant him. And Hadad will hurl dung [on his head and excrement at his feet, and the repas]t (which) he grants him he'll eat in (digestion-impairing) anxiety, and he will deprive him of sleep at night, and (his) [drin]k will be muddied (water)».

Given the close similarity of the two texts (15ff. and 20ff.), one is surprised by the extreme disparity between the beneficent consummation in the former and the litany of maledictions in the latter. After all, the royal son in question, by visiting the statue of Hadad and his father's (prospective) grave (*mqm* l. 14; 'šr(h) – 1. 32; cf. Ug. *atr* (KTU 1.17) with similar meaning) adjacent, is performing an act of filial piety and solicitude; and the words he pronounces in prayer for his father's soul are «strictly orthodox» in both cases.

The answer lies in the phrase 'šm. pnmw (corresponding to 'šm. hdd in ll. 15ff.) Under no circumstances may the son pronounce his father's *names* ('šm, with a Freudian ambiguity of «guilt»); i.e., his father's patronymic, either original *or* adopted. The name *br. brsr*, if mentioned, would belie the adjacent inscription while recalling Panamuwa's parricide. The name *br. qrl* is similarly proscribed: one can deceive human posterity by changing one's name; but one cannot deceive the gods (or the ancestral spirits residing in the Netherworld). If invoked as «Panamuwa br-Qrl» he will go unannounced; for one cannot be summoned (to Marzeah) in Sheol by a false name! And as ll. 13ff. make clear, participation in the posthumous «feast of the dead» (Heb. *zbhy. mtym*) is first on Panamuwa's list of priorities. He dreads the thought of one of his progeny doing to him what he did to his father, viz., «erase his name», and thus starving in Sheol. After warning his son and successor against killing ( $\sqrt{b}d$ ) or bereaving ( $\sqrt{d}b$ ) his own brothers and sisters (ll. 27f.), he declares (ll. 28f.) :

– ... yršy. šht. ygnb. <hd.> 'yhyh. zkry.

wyqm. wth. bms't. mt. nšh. <sup>29</sup>y'mr. 'hkm. hšht.

whn ['. mr'h. rm]'. ydyh. l'lh. 'bh. nšh

«(If <one of>) his brethren steals my memorial and places it in the middle of a forsaken land (cf. Ps. 88 : 13), saying: '(our father) vilified (lit. 'excreted on') and resis[ted his overlord, (and) rai]sed his hands against the gods of his father; let him be forgotten!' – may he have dominion over (a pit of) excrement».

Baruch MARGALIT (02-94)

**13) The Rise and Fall of Zakkur, King of Hamath-and-Lu'ash** – When the curtain rises in KAI 202, king Zakkur is ruler of Hamath and Lu'ash (= Luḫuti), as well as Hadrach – a distinct political entity! – to the north. By the time the curtain falls (in §B), he is also master of 'PŠ (mod. 'Āfiš/Āfis), a more northerly town in the kingdom of Hadrach (Aram. Ḥdrak = Ass. Ḥatarikka ; = mod. Ḥarake ?), on the road to Arpad (mod. t. Refād), 70 kms. still further north.

The first half of the inscription (§A) tells how Zakkur nearly lost Hadrach to a giant coalition of Aramean and neo-Hittite states, some of them (Que, Gurgum, and Melid; perhaps also Kumuḫ [l.8, restored]) located hundreds of kms. from Hadrach and with no plausible interest in its fate. To the historian, these data pose a number of difficult questions which this note will address and hopefully answer (at least in part). But first the questions.

1. The size of the coalition and its extension would be understandable if the objective were to thwart an Assyrian advance westward (as, e.g., in 853 and 805), or if mobilized by Assyria itself, either against a renegade vassal or an aggressor state (e.g., Urartu). Neither of these conditions, however, obtains here. Since the leader and organizer of the coalition is Bar-Hadad of Damascus (son of Hazael), the willingness of Gurgum, Melid, and Que to send forces against Hadrach is a question which cries for an answer, seemingly in vain.

2. Given the scholarly consensus today that the battle for Hadrach took place during the reign of Adadnirari III (810-783) known for his active interest, and frequent military campaigns, west of the Euphrates (beginning 805), one must ask how forces from Gurgum, Melid and Sam'al were able to move several hundred kms. without Assyrian interference? And if, as generally assumed, Zakkur owed his extrication from the siege of Hadrach to Assyrian intervention, why does he not acknowledge the help of « my overlord, the king of Assyria » as did (e.g.) Kilamuwa of Sam'al, in a similar bind a generation earlier (KAI 24), or Ahaz of Judah (two generations later [Kgs. 16 : 7-10])?

3. But surely the most difficult question of all arises from an attempt to understand Zakkur's actions in Hadrach *following* the unsuccessful siege, as related in §B (ll. 1-8). This activity has three aspects, not all of them well known.

a) the construction of fortified settlements and storage-facilities (depots) for chariots and cavalry : [wbnyt. b]ḫzrk. q[rwyn] <sup>2</sup>[wmḥsn.] lrbk. [w]lprš. ... '[nh. bnyt. 'yt. m]ḥsny'. 'l. bkl. gb.

b) the restoration of a king of Hadrach, obviously of Zakkur's choosing and under conditions of fealty : <sup>3</sup>[wšmt.] mlkh. bgwh.

c) the annexation of peripheral (rural) territory to Hadrach, at the expense of a neighboring (city-)state (whose name ends in *aleph*) : ...whsp<sup>5</sup>[t. lh.] 'yt. kl. mḥgt(.)<sup>6</sup>[MDR'](?). wšmth. ml[kt](.)<sup>7</sup>[kw]th.

(MDR' was one of the « daughter-towns » of Arpad (KAI 222,A,33f.). Since the list begins with MDR' and concludes with ḤZZ and 'DM – the former (= mod. 'Azāz) lying north of Arpad— it may be assumed that MDR' lay south of Arpad, in the direction of KTK. – Note the resultant poetic word-play *mḥGt*. [mDR'] (*h(w)g = d(w)r* « round »). If Zakkur had in fact appealed to Assyria for help in breaking the siege, it is unlikely that he would be the one to appoint its king (his predecessor, a loyal vassal of Damascus no doubt, presumably having been deposed (or worse) by Zakkur upon seizing Hadrach), much less annex territories to its kingdom. These are the acts of an « overlord » – Aram. *mr'*, a title borne by « emperor » Hazael and (briefly) by Bar-Hadad; the latter so designated (sarcastically!) by Adadnirari – and it means that Assyria can have taken no (direct) part in these events. Similarly, the massive military construction detailed in §B,7-8 (a military depôt on every hill-top!) points to a defiantly independent ruler determined to resist any encroachment on his newly-acquired territories.

To understand how this could be, we must deal first with questions 1 & 2.

A. The coalition organized by Bar-Hadad is so broad and extensive – sixteen (š[d]<sup>5</sup>[šh.] 'šr) city-states, including seven Bedouin chieftains ([w]šb'[t. mlky](.)<sup>9</sup>[ 'mw) – and so clearly not based on vital interests of many of the participants (especially those north of Arpad), that Bar-Hadad's ability to organize it can only be explained on the assumption that he invoked – perhaps at Arpad's request – the relevant clauses of the loyalty oaths sworn by these states to Damascus; i.e., these are vassals which Bar-Hadad inherited from his father Hazael. The latter, as we know today, was an Aramean « David » who in the second half of the 9th cent. carved out an empire ranging from Philistia and Judah in the south to 'Umq/Unqi (at least) in the north; and as far as the Euphrates to the east. If the foregoing analysis (*seq.* Jepsen) of KAI 202 (§A) is correct, then the frontiers of Hazael's empire in the north were Gurgum and Melid.

B. The efficiency in organization, and the absence of Assyria in the entire affair, means that the siege of Hadrach must antedate Adadnirari III (810-783), or at least his first westward campaign (805). The war waged by Bar-Hadad against Zakkur is the act of an Aramean « emperor » (*mlk rb*) attempting to subdue a (former) vassal who, not content with his native kingdom (Hamath) and his prior acquisition (Lu'ash), sought to expand northward by capturing Hadrach (and deposing its king), thereby challenging Damascene hegemony in Syria while avoiding a direct confrontation with the aging, but still potent lion. The road to Damascus, Zakkur believed, ran through Arpad!

Such challenges to imperial authority tend to occur at times of dynastic transition. The death of Hazael presumably set off a struggle for power and succession resulting in a temporary relaxation of political

control and vigilance. Moreover, it is clear from a variety of sources that Bar-Hadad (II) of Damascus grew weaker rather than stronger as his reign wore on, making it all but impossible for him to organize a coalition of such proportions later in his reign. Finally the dominance of Assyria under Adadnirari III makes such a war unthinkable after 805. Thus the events described in *Zkr* (A) must be dated to the first year or two of Bar-Hadad, and before 805.

C. Zakkur's activity in Hadrach immediately after the siege (§B) is also improbable much after 810. Zakkur in the role of « overlord » in Hadrach (as opposed to his direct rule in Hamath and Lu'ash) points to a political vacuum in the area, best explained as reflecting the waning years both of Šamši-Adad V (who in any case was inactive in the west) and especially Hazael, who after a brilliant reign of some 30 years, was beginning to lose his grip. When Hazael died in ca. 810 B.C.E., Zakkur of Hamath, and by now also Lu'ash, took advantage of the interregnum to move north to Hadrach, and threaten *Bit-Agusi*/Arpad's doorstep (Aleppo). The coalition of Damascene vassals hastily organized by Bar-Hadad shortly after the capture of Hadrach failed to undo the *fait accompli*; and between ca. 809 and 805, Zakkur had ample time to consolidate his hold on Hadrach, installing a puppet king, fortifying every nook and cranny, and thus further weakening Bar-Hadad's hegemony in Syria. At about this time as well King Jehoahaz of Samaria (ca. 814-798 B.C.E.) managed to throw off the yoke of Damascus (1 Kgs. 20 : 34 ; 2 Kgs. 13 : 5), thanks to an anonymous « Saviour » (= Zakkur?).

But Zakkur's own imperial aspirations were nipped in the bud shortly thereafter by the resurgence of Assyria under Adadnirari and his victory (in 804) against an Aramean/neo-Hittite coalition led by 'Atarsumki of Arpad ; the latter a likely *successor* of Bar-Gush (and father of Mati'el), the king of Arpad in KAI 202. It is a plausible inference from the *Pazarcik* stele (*Obv.*, 11f.) that Zakkur didn't participate in this war (another indication of his independence of Assyria). Presumably in collusion with Adadnirari, he stayed neutral, expecting to carve out additional territory following the envisaged debacle of the coalition. But Adadnirari, now made aware of Zakkur's appetite for northern expansion, cut a deal after the war with 'Atarsumki (*Antakya Stele*) : Hamath was deprived of Hadrach and the upper-half of the Orontes (ca. 20 kms. north of Hamath), and Unqi was joined to Arpad, creating a « Greater Arpad » whose main purpose was the containment of Zakkur. Subsequently, in 796, Hamath (now allied with Damascus) was further shorn of Lu'ash-Manšuate (mod. *Maşyāf*), now annexed to Hadrach, thus laying (unwittingly) the foundations for the future Aramean « super-state » of KTK-Ḫatarrika.

The failure of the siege of Hadrach in ca. 809 B.C.E. was a turning point in the fortunes of Damascus, signalling the imminent collapse of Hazael's empire of 25 years. Ascending the throne during the reign of Šamši-Adad V (cf. G. Smith, *apud* J.E. Reade, *Iraq* 43 : 151f.), Zakkur came from the same rugged, common stock as Hazael himself, who may even have been his role-model (if, as seems likely, the recently discovered stele-fragment from t. Dan is that of Hazael). Both apparently usurped the throne ; and both were equally adept with sword and sceptre. But for the revival of the Assyrian Behemoth, Zakkur might well have duplicated Hazael's hegemonic feats, at least in Syria. Zakkur had Lord Hadad on his side, but not Lady Luck. Hazael had both. Hazael bequeathed to his son and successor an unwieldy empire teetering on the brink ; the driving ambition of Zakkur pushed it over the edge. But it was the Assyrian who was destined to pick up the pieces. The author of KAI 202, however, knows nothing of these developments which lie for him in the future (his soothsayers notwithstanding). He is still basking in the euphoria of his victory over the coalition forces in Hadrach, as promised to him by an oracle of Baal-Shamayn (A,13-17), in appreciation for which he made him supreme-deity ([lyn]- B,26f.) in his fledgling empire (B,11ff. : w[šmt. š<sup>12</sup> lmy. 'lh]y'. byt[. b'1. 13šmyn.]). Thus, there can be little or no doubt that KAI 202 dates to the first half of the last decade of the 9th cent. B.C.E., the twilight of Aramean hegemony in Syria.

#### Select Bibliography

- M. Noth, « La'asch und Hazrak », ZDPV 52 (1929) : 124-41.  
 A. Jepsen, « Israel und Damascus », *AfO* 14 (1941-44) : 166-71.  
 A. Dupont-Sommer, *Les Araméens* (1949) : 45-48.  
 E. Lipinski, « The Assyrian Campaign to Manšuate... », *AION* 31 (1972) : 393-99.  
 A.R. Millard and H. Tadmor, « Adadnirari III in Syria », *Iraq* 35 (1973) : 57-64.  
 K. Kessler, « Die Anzahl der assyrischen Provinzen... », *WO* 8 (1975) : 599-63.  
 A.R. Millard, « Epigraphic Notes... », *PEQ* 110 (1978) : 23.  
 N. Na'aman, « Looking for KTK », *WO* 9 (1978) : 220-39.  
 J.D. Hawkins, in : *CAH III-1* (21982) : 403f.  
 H.S. Sader, *Les États Araméens de Syrie* (Beirut, 1987), ch V.  
 W. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus* (1987) : 160-75.  
 V. Donbaz, « Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae... », *Annual Review of the RIM Project* 8, (1990) : 5-24.  
 N. Na'aman, « Forced Participation in Alliances... », in (M. Cogan & I. Eph'al, edd.), *Ah, Assyria* (Jerusalem, 1991) : 84-86.  
 A. Lemaire, « Hazaël de Damas... », *Mél. Garelli* (1991) : 91-108.  
 M. Weippert, « Die Feldzüge Adadniraris III. nach Syria », ZDPV 108 (1992-93) : 42-67.  
 A. Lemaire, « Joas de Samarien Barhadad de Damas, Zakkur de Hamat... », *EI* 24 (1993) : 148-157\*.

Baruch MARGALIT (02-94)

## 14) On Some Anthroponyms and Toponyms –

1. **A-b/pu-le-e** was King of Ú-qu-me-ni (M. Görg, Beiträge zur Zeitgeschichte der Anfänge Israels [AAT 2; Wiesbaden 1989], 206 and Pl. 35, iii, 3; MA). Uqumeni (also Quma/eni, (U)qumani, see Kh. Nashef, RGTC 5, 222f.) was situated in Iraqī Kurdistan northeast of Assyria proper (see K. Kessler, Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens; TAVO beiheft, B, 26 [Wiesbaden 1980], 170). It was in all probability a Hurrian-speaking region. *A-b/pu-le-e* can be the same name as Aram. *pwly* who is defined as a Caspian (B. Porten and A. Yardeni, Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt 2: Contracts [henceforth TADAE 2; Jerusalem 1989], 4, 21) and was presumably the brother of *Ynbwly* (TADAE 2, B 12, 4; cf. A. Lemaire, Semitica 25 [1975], 89) from 5th-century Elephantine (a different *Ynbwly* is recorded in TADAE 2, B 2, 1). *pwly* is also recorded in an undated ostrakon (presumably same period; from Jericho? A. Lemaire, Semitica 25 [1975], 93,3). Ascertained onomastic parallels for *pwly* have not yet been suggested (see W. Kornfeld, Onomastica Aramaica aus Ägypten [SÖAW 333; Vienna 1978], ll3f., s.vv. *pwly*, *Ynbwly* with lit.). The Caspians, like other Pre-Iranian ethnic groups of northwestern Iran, were perhaps not unrelated to their Hurro-Urartian and Caucasian neighbours (cf. I.M. D'yakonov [Diakonoff], Istoriya Midii [Moscow-Leningrad 1956], 139f., 148, 452; idem in I. Gershevitch [ed.], The Cambridge History of Iran 2 [Cambridge 1985], 36ff.).

2. **Gu-bi-ia** (BM 85576, unpubl.; I should like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to quote it), son of <sup>d</sup>ŠÁR-apla-ušur (Bīt-Zēra-lišer, 525/4 B.C.). If it is not a defective spelling of WSem. *\*Gubbiya*, then it may render Old Iranian *\*Gaub(i)ya* « speaker » or sim. (cf. W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen [Wiesbaden 1975; henceforth ASN], 103 s.v. *\*gaubyavahu-* or *\*Gau-biya* (hypocoristicon [« zweistämmiger Kosenamen »] to *Gaubaruva-*, *\*Gau-barva-* (cf. M. Mayrhofer, Onomastica Persepolitana [Vienna 1973], 8,728).

3. **Hi-im-ti-il/Hi-am-ti-il/He-en-ti-il** (Laqe, 878-868 B.C), i.e. « My ardour is god/El » (APN, 13a; cf. R. Zadok, On West Semites in Babylonia [Jerusalem 1978; henceforth WSB], 248) may have the same predicative element as Aram. *gmsn* (TADAE 3 [Jerusalem 1993], 197, 3.8, iiiA, 5) with the theophoric element Sin) if the latter is Semitic. *Hmsn* is the patronym of a Caspian (name broken, member of the detachment [dgl] of Bagapata) who lived in Egypt in 471 BC. If the patronym is Semitic, one has to assume that the Caspian's father, who lived at the end of the end of the 6th – beginning of the 5th century B.C., just one generation after the Achaemenians conquered Aramaic-speaking regions, was the descendant of a mixed (Semitic-Caspian) marriage.

4. **Hi-in-š/za-ni** is recorded in ABL 547 (= SAA 1, 82), a NA letter sent by Tab-šil-Êšarra governor of Assur to Sargon (l. 14 with the determinatives URU and r. 2 with KUR). He reports that the rab-dayyālē (« chief scout » or sim.) inspected the Arabian nomads who grazed their herds from the banks of Wadi Tharthar down to the land of Suhu, i.e. in the desert area. *Hinš/zāni* seems to have been under the jurisdiction of the governor of Calah. Hence *Hinš/zāni* might be sought somewhere between Wadi Tharthar and Suhu. The contemporary letter ABL 1433 (= SAA 1, 87) describes three stages of the itinerary of a messenger, viz. Borsippa, Bīrāte (presumably NW of Sippar, but probably not as far as modern Ḥadīta in SE Suhu), <sup>uru</sup>*He-en-š/za-na* <<na>>/He-en-š/z[*a-na*] (l. 12f.). This can be harmonized with the geographical information of ABL 547: The Borsippean messenger passed the Sippar region and a route conceivably along and/or parallel to Wadi Tharthar on his way to Assyria proper. He had no reason to make a detour via Hindānu which is in another direction (West of Suhu). Therefore, *Hinš/zāni* is to be differentiated from Hindānu (both are listed together in S. Parpola, AOAT 6, 163f.; cf. J.N. Postgate, RLA 4, 415f.). The slightly earlier <sup>lu</sup>*Ha-an-š/za-nu-ú-a* (NB; A. Cavigneaux and B.Kh. Ismail, BaM 21 [1990], 425, 6, 3; mid 8th century B.C) may be a gentilic thereof (mentioned between the people [gentilics!] of Ālu-eššu and Ra(h)ilu of Suhu) if it is a case of a *qat/qit* alternance, a phenomenon which is not uncommon after laryngeals/pharyngals. On the other hand, the town of Hindānu is spelled <sup>uru</sup>*Hi-in-da-a-nu* in the same inscriptional corpus (Cavigneaux and Ismail, BaM 21 [1990], 415f., 2, iii, 7; iv, 31) with an entirely different context. Aram. *Hnzny* is just one of several alternative readings according to the re-edition of the Arsham Letters (TADAE 1, 120f.).

5. **Hu-ul-par** (M. Bonechi, MARI 7 [1993], 163 [and Pl. opposite p.162], iii, 67; OB from Larsa, 1762/1 B.C.) is probably a late form of Ur III *Hu-ul-li/li-par* (see Zadok, SEL 8 [1991], 230:89).

6. **Hu-me-e-šú** (M.W. Stolper, Entrepreneurs and Empire, The Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia [Leiden 1985], 119, 4, Nippur region, 430/29 B.C.) is possibly either Old Iranian *\*Hu-maiša-* « having good, nice rams » or an *-aica*-Koseform to *\*Hauma-* (cf. ASN 119f.).

7. **Na-pi-du-ú-ni** (M. W. Stolper, RA 85 [1991], 55,15; Bīt-Pāniya, 461/0 B.C.), is Elam. *\*Nap(i)-tuni-h* (cf. my The Elamite Onomasticon [Naples 1984], 157,256a).

8. **Par-nu-u-a-ri** is the patronym of the Kummuehan *tamkaru* (merchant or commercial agent) Sukkayyu (Nineveh, sometime between 647 and 612 B.C.; J.N. Postgate and B. Kh. Ismail, TIM 11,2,1, 3). The patronym is possibly Anatolian whose first component may be *parna-* « house » (cf. E. Laroche, Les noms des hittites [Paris 1966], 322 [henceforth NH]; A. Lemaire, Eretz Israel 20 [1989], 124\* with n. 7). The second component is identical with that which follows the theophoric element *šanta* (see E. Laroche, Recherches sur les noms des dieux hittites, RHA 7 [1946-47], 88) in NA *Sa-an-du-(u)-ar-ri* (name of a Cilician ruler, cf. Tallqvist, APN, 192b, 259f.; see D. Hawkins, AS 29 [1979], 156; Laroche, Hethitica 4 [1981], 38:1106). His

namesake, *Sa-an-du-ú-ar*, acted as a witness in a NA legal document from Calah (limmu of Nabu-šarra-ušur the palace scribe, sometime between 647 and 612 B.C., B. Parker, Iraq 16 [1954], 42 : ND 2325,30). Another homonymous individual, viz. NA *Sa-an-du-ú-ra*, returned to Zamua according to a document from Calah datable to the last quarter of the 8th century B.C. (Parker, Iraq 23 [1961], 34f. : ND 2496, 2). Aram. *Šndwr* (B. Porten, The Biblical Archeologist, Winter 1981, 36, 9; end of the 7th-beginning of the 6th century B.C.) is possibly the same name (provided it is not *Sin-dūr*, Akkadian and Aramaic « Sin is [my] wall »). Ph. H.J. Houwink ten Cate (The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period [Leiden 1965], 127, 180) compares *Sanduarri* with Tarko/uariš (cp. perhaps NA *Tar-hu-u(?) -ri*, Parker, Iraq 23, 25f. and Pl. 13 : ND 2440, i, 1) and analyzes the latter as *Tarhu + ari*. He regards *ari* as either a suffix or a second element. However, if this final element is the same in both names, it may begin with *-u-* as the first component of *Sanduarri* is *Šanta* (cf. A. Goetze, JCS 16 [1962], 56a, 3). Compare Oariš (from Corycos in Cilicia, 1st century B.C. or C.E., E.L. Hicks, JHS 12 [1891], 251, 27A, V, 256; see L. Zgusta, Kleinasiatische Personennamen [Prague 1964], 1143-1) on the one hand and NA *Ú-a-ru* on the other (H.W.F. Saggs, Iraq 36 [1974], 206 : ND 2477; not necessarily from the Zagros as suggested by Saggs - although individual Anatolians are mentioned in connection with Zamua : Sanduar and a certain Tar-hu-un-zu-me who was expected to return to Zamua acc. to Parker, Iraq 23, 34f. and Pl. 17 : ND 2496, 4, last quarter of the 8th century B.C.). Another occurrence of the same name may be (if complete) *Ú-a-ri-[-.]* (? ADD 97, r. 2). *Uari* is homonymous with the second component of the toponym *Ma-ri-bat Ú-a-ri* (CCENA 1,i, 23) whose first component is West Semitic.

9. **Pa-ar-šá-gu-ú** (OECT 12 Pl. 48 : AB 243 2; cf. Stolper, Iraq 54 [1992] 126 ad 2; Dilbat, 460/59, 400/399 or 354/3 B.C.) can render Old Iranian \**Frašā-gu-* « having fit, serviceable, good cattle ».

10. **Šá-an-da-mu-ú** (CT 57, 135,4', N/LB, undated, found at Sippar) is Anatolian. It consists of *Šanta* and *-muwa* (cf. Laroche, NH, 156 : 1099; 291, 322f.).

11. **Za'-i-ni** (UET 4, 12, 14,18; father of Balātu, Ur, 505/4 B.C.), can render Old Iranian \**Zaina-* « weapon ». Alternatively Arab. *zayn* (see my WSB, 296, n. 14).

Ran ZADOK (6-03-94)  
Institute of Archaeology  
Tel-Aviv University  
RAMAT-AVIV 69978 ISRAEL

**15) Seeking an identity for Diritum** – Diritum continues to be quite a mysterious deity of the official pantheon of Mari in Old Babylonian times. She occurs frequently in numerous texts from this archive, and her religious importance seems to have acquired especial significance during the reign of Zimri-Lim. The textual evidence of this goddess always employs the DN : Diritum/tim, leaving the real identity underlying such a by-name completely obscure. To my knowledge, the only occasion in which Diritum — « She of Dir » — appears associated with another divine name of the pantheon of Mari is precisely when it is mentioned with that of Ishtar. In the OB god-list published by Ph. Talon (Akkadica 20 [1980] pp. 12-17 = ARMT XXIV, 263) the sequence of DNNs begins as follows :

- (1) <sup>d</sup>Ištār(« U »)+DAR
- (2) <sup>d</sup>Ištār(« U »)+DAR *di-ri-tum*
- (3) *An-nu-ni-tum*

The fact that such a list of gods is headed in second position by « Ishtar-diritum » creates the problem of clarifying if the general DN « Diritum », appearing as it does in the rest of Mari textual evidence, is screening an important hypostasis of Ishtar in the city of Dir. Let us analyze this problem more carefully :

- 1) The city.

A certain Dēr is known to have been the capital of Yamutbal, to the east of the Tigris river, in Elam. This city, according to G. Dossin (*Studia Mariana* 1 [1950] p. 48), was a « very ancient and venerated religious centre », where he first tried to find a native land for the goddess Diritum quoted in the Mari texts. Later, it was argued that a village called Dīr, near Mari, « in the direction of upper Mesopotamia » (cf. J. R. Kupper, *Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari*, Paris 1957, p. 16 n. 2), could have been the place where Diritum was patroness.

- 2) The goddess.

G. Dossin, following E. Ebeling (RIA, sub *Dīritu*), pointed out that Diritu was a known by-name of the goddess Ninlil, while D. O. Edzard, in his analysis of the pantheon of Mari (CRRAI XV, 1967, p. 61), revealed his reservations admitting the difficulty in identifying the goddess hidden behind such a pseudonym.

Whatever her real identity, Diritum did enjoy an important official veneration in Mari, and was probably raised under the administration of Zimri-Lim. The list of the so-called « Panthéon » (cf. G. Dossin, *Studia Mariana* 1 [1950] pp. 41-50) gives the most remarkable role to Diritum, since she receives the major sacrifice offering of the whole list (7 sheep) over the remaining 24 divinities; moreover, there is abundant documentation about her official cult which is recorded in numerous OB Mari texts.

My examination of this material searching for a sign that could corroborate an actual identification of Diritum with Ishtar-diritum has been unproductive. No datum confirms, nor even allows me to suspect, that



both divine names designate the same deity in the official pantheon of Mari. Different texts referring to offerings and animal sacrifices dedicated to Diritum (vid. I. Nakata, ASJ 13 [1991] pp. 251-253), metal gifts, oil offerings, inventories, economic transactions, etc., do not reveal the least sign that might authorize such identification, although the administrative documents relating to Diritum and to several forms of Ishtar coincide in many of their contents.

Only one text related to Diritum, in which a bolt and a *šernum*<sup>1</sup> are offered to the goddess, could be adduced as possible « proof » in identifying a certain local Ishtar with Diritum :

ARMT XXVI, 199 is a letter from Sammêtar to the king of Mari ; it mentions the delivery of a bolt and a *šernum* to Diritum by Lupahum. The context allows us to glimpse a warlike atmosphere, since the goddess had privately warned Lupahum over the danger of an alliance (of Mari) with Eshnunna. Sammêtar informs the king with the following words :

ARMT XXVI, 199 :

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>17 <i>ki-ma ka-ša-di-šu-ma a-na di-ir<sup>ki</sup> ú-še-er-di-ma</i><br/> <i>GIŠ st-ik-ku-ri a-na dDi-ri-tim ú-bi-il</i><br/> <i>pa-na-nu-um še-er-nam ú-bi-il um-ma-mi</i></p> <p>20 <i>še-er-nu-um {ZA} ú-ul sà-ni-iq-ma mu-u {Ú}</i><br/> <i>i-šú-up-pu še-er-nam du-un-ni-ni<sub>5</sub></i></p> | <p>after his arrival, I took him to the city of Dīr.<br/> He brought my bolt to Diritum.<br/> Previously, he had brought a <i>šernum</i> saying :<br/> « The <i>šernum</i> is not reliable. The waters have wet it.<br/> strengthen the <i>šernum</i>! »</p> |
|---|--|

The reasons for such a donation to Diritum are not explicit at all. It is possible that both the bolt and the *šernum* could have had a symbolic value related to the bellicose and protecting character of Diritum, in view of a possible conflict with Eshnunna or Babylon. If this hypothesis is accepted, it could confer on the goddess of Dīr a notable leading role in the foreign affairs of OB Mari with some territorial states across the Euphrates. In fact, ARMT XXVI, 199 seems to reflect a certain tension between Mari and Eshnunna : if the patroness of Dīr did not recommend an alliance with Eshnunna, did she, in fact, counsel war? What we do know is that Zimri-Lim actually sought an alliance with Hammurabi of Babylonia, who was not interested in seeing a powerful Eshnunna in the north either. It is appropriate to recall that Eshnunna rose in revolt against Babylonia and its allies (Mari among them) several times, being defeated about 1762 and 1760 B.C. This context of warlike events, in which ARMT XXVI, 199 seems to fit well, may point, in my opinion, to a possible identification of Diritum with a form of Ishtar in the city of Dīr, named just once « Ishtar-diritum » in the OB god-list : ARMT XXIV 263, 2.

1. The exact meaning of Akk. *šernum* is still vague. Cf. ARMT XXVI/1, p. 428 ; AHw p. 1217 : « wood object ».

Juan OLIVA (9-03-94)

Instituto de Estudios del Próximo Oriente Antiguo  
Universidad de MURCIA ESPAGNE

**16) The Mountain Dagan : dKUR and (d)KUR.GAL** – J.-M. Durand has proposed that Mari's Šakkanakku-period god lists T 142 and T 186 should be correlated to produce a single matching sequence.<sup>1</sup> This reconstruction places dDagan (line 4) and dKUR (line 13) side-by-side in the same list, so that they evidently receive separate cultic service as distinct deities. By the second half of the second millennium, Syrian Emar and Azu (Hadidi) use the writing dKUR as a logographic alternative to syllabic dDa-gan, but the origin of the association has not been clear.<sup>2</sup>

Equation of Dagan and dKUR in Late Bronze Emar may be illuminated by the title dKUR.GAL which receives separate offering after Dagan (dKUR) EN bu-ka-ri and his consort dNIN.LIL at the head of the hierarchical god list Emar (VI.3) 378 : 3. Comparison of 378 : 1-13 with the *zukru* festival lists 373 : 9-13 and 66-78 allows restoration of broken text and displays a consistent order with slight variations. If there remained any doubt that dKUR.GAL represented a Dagan form, 373 : 68 simply distinguishes a dKUR from the Dagan form that dominates the festival, EN bu-ka-ri.

At least one Mari text, the bilingual letter A.1258+ :9, makes explicit the use of kur-gal as an epithet for Dagan :

[<sup>d</sup>]a-gan kur-gal a-a dingir-gal-gal-e-ne  
dDa-gan ša-du-ú ra-bu-ú a-bi<sup>o</sup> DINGIR[<sup>meš</sup> ra-bu-tim]  
Dagan, the great mountain, the father of the great gods, ...

In this context the title kur-gal (*šadû rabû*, the great mountain) takes precedence over a second epithet, the father of the gods, which is also specially associated with Dagan.<sup>3</sup> Dagan seems to take this title from comparison with southern Mesopotamian Enlil by virtue of shared status as pantheon heads.<sup>4</sup>

It appears then that by the later second millennium in Syria, Dagan's borrowed Enlil epithet had been shortened to simple *šadû* (KUR) and taken over for writing his proper name. Emar cult for Dagan as dKUR.GAL

shows that some connection with the ancient title was preserved behind the common writing of the divine name as <sup>d</sup>KUR. Another Emar ritual text records sacrifice to simple KUR (Šadû/Mountain?) in a context where Dagan was the last mentioned deity (Emar 446 : 54), and the Emar personal name Šadi-Dagan may also derive from active address to Dagan as Mountain.<sup>5</sup> It would not be surprising if even in Šakkanakku-period Mari separate cult was rendered to Dagan under his proper name and his title «the mountain». The same list reconstructed by Durand distinguishes another apparent Dagan epithet, Bēl Terqa (line 9).<sup>6</sup>

1. J.-M. Durand, «La situation historique des Šakkanakku : nouvelle approche», *M.A.R.I.* 4 (1985) 161.

2. For Emar, see D. Arnaud, «<sup>d</sup>KUR», *RA* 68 (1974) 190, and D. Fleming, *The Installation of Baal's High Priestess at Emar*, Atlanta : Scholars Press, 1992, 241 ; for Azu, see R. H. Dornemann, «Tell Hadidi : An Important Center of the Mitannian Period and Earlier», in J.-C. Margueron ed., *Le Moyen-Euphrate*, Strasbourg : Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg, 1980, 219.

3. D. Fleming, «Baal and Dagan in Ancient Syria», *Z4* 83 (1993) 88. I wish to thank D. Charpin for the Mari reference [= M. de J. Ellis (ed.), *Nippur at the Centennial* p. 9].

4. K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, Helsinki : Societas Orientalis Fennica, 1938, 221. The epithet KUR.GAL/šadû rabû is also borrowed by Aššur in a later period. Enlil carries the title as early as Gudea's reign.

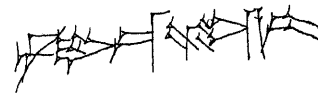
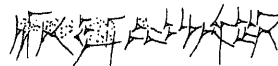
5. The element Šadi- occurs only with Dagan in Emar theophoric names and seems most easily explained by identification with this epithet. In Emar VI.3, see for example Ša-di-<sup>d</sup>KUR (65 : 38 ; 80 : 6'), Ša<sub>10</sub>-di-<sup>d</sup>Da-gan (52 : 18 ; 125 : 28 ; 138 : 3 ; etc.), cf. Ša<sub>10</sub>-di-Da (2 : 36, 37 ; 109 : 30 ; etc.).

6. D. Fleming, *Z4* 83 96-97.

Daniel E. FLEMING (14-03-94)  
58 Elm Street  
MILLBURN, NJ 07041 USA

**17) <sup>d</sup>Lugal-šinig dans l'onomastique de Mari –**

Le répertoire onomastique de Mari paléo-babylonienne permet d'ajouter deux autres attestations de la rare divinité <sup>d</sup>Lugal-<sup>giš</sup>šinig (« Seigneur du Tamaris »), probablement une épithète de Nergal, à celles déjà signalées par W. G. Lambert dans *RIA* 7, p. 151 (*Ri-iš-<sup>d</sup>Be-el-GIŠ.ŠINIG* de *AbB* 7, 33 : 3, et <sup>m</sup>šil-li-<sup>d</sup>Be-el-bi-in de l'inédit BM 97531). Les deux noms propres, qui sont cités grâce à l'amabilité de J.-M. Durand, sont <sup>d</sup>Lugal-<sup>giš</sup>šinig-a-bi, attesté dans la lettre A.2384, 16 et 28, et <sup>d</sup>Be-el-bi-in-na-šir, dans la tablette administrative M.13021 iii : 14. L'équivalence <sup>d</sup>Lugal-<sup>giš</sup>šinig avec <sup>d</sup>Be-el-bi-in se trouve donc confirmée si besoin en était.



A. CATAGNOTI (25-03-94)  
Via Caduti sul lavoro, 8  
52100 AREZZO ITALIE

**18) NWS qrn « (pubic) triangle » – I.** It is a well-known fact that in ancient Near Eastern art and iconography the pelvic region of women – esp. the so-called (Egyptian) «naked goddess» – is represented by a stylized triangle ; an inverted triangle to be precise. Cf. e.g., J.B. Pritchard, *ANEP*, ch. VI ; R. Hestrin, in : *Stud. Phoen.* VII [1987] : 72f. ; *idem.*, *IEJ* [1987] : 217 ; E. Olávarri, *AuOr* [1992] : 48.

The purpose of this note is to demonstrate the NWS term for this «triangle», hitherto unknown. The evidence comes first, and foremost, from the «Balaam Inscription» of Deir-ʿAlla/Tirʿala (O.T. Sukkoth). But very likely it occurs already in a mythological text of the mid-2nd millennium BCE from Ugaritic, as well as in the O.Aram. «dialect» inscription of Panamuwa, king of YʿDY/Samʿal from the 8th cent. BCE ; and at least as a secondary connotation, and the object of word-play, in two O.T. passages.

I have chosen to publish this discovery in *NABU* in the hope that students and scholars of Akkadian will be able to provide additional corroborative evidence absent at the present time from the Assyriological lexica.

**II. 1. DAPT I 10-13.** The text occurs in the third section of (so-called) «Combination I», in which the prophet attacks the social and religious institutions of his country : the «wise-men» teachers (*hkmn*) and the (female) religious functionaries (*'nyh* ; *knhh*) in particular.

...		
[hmr]n. štyw. hmr	3	« [Donkey]s drink must,
wqb'n. šm'w. mwšr	3	And hyenas listen to (their) teaching ;

<i>gry. š<sup>11</sup>q[n. (m)pr'n.]</i>	3	Baby-fox[es are unruly],
[š'ryh.] <i>lhkmn. rqln</i>	3	Concocting [mischief] for the wise-men ;
<i>w'nyh. rqlt. mr</i>	3	And the hierodule concocts myrrh(-perfume),
<i>wkhnh(.)<sup>12</sup>[tnp. pth.]</i>	3	For the priestess [to besprinkle her vulva] ;
[tpšq.] <i>lnš'. 'zr.</i>	3	[She spreads] for (any)one wearing a loincloth,
<i>qrn. hšb. hšb.</i>	3	A pubis draped by an ( <i>ēphōd</i> ) apron ;
<i>whšb. h<sup>13</sup> [bš. zmh.]</i>	3	An apron [stained with lewdness]. »

(For the non-reconstructed text, cf. the *ed. pr.* of Hoftijzer and van der Kooij, supplemented by Lemaire in *CRAIBL* [1985] : 270ff., esp. 280f. For the restorations in l. 11, cf. Prov. 8 : 32f. ; Hos. 6 : 10 and Jer. 23 : 14. For the restoration of l. 12, cf. Prov. 7 : 17 and  $\sqrt{nw}$  in the priestly literature ; Isa. 3 : 17 ; and Ezek. 16 : 25. For the interpretation of *hšb*, cf. Ex. 28 : 28 (=39 : 21) and Lev. 8 : 7. For the restoration of l. 13, cf. Ezek. 16 : 10. – Heb. *zmh*, incidentally, derives from  $\sqrt{zhm}$ , not  $\sqrt{zmm}$ , and refers primarily to post-coital vaginal discharge.)

2. KAI 214, 30f. The text occurs as part of the curses invoked by the king (ll. 28ff.) on anyone of his posterity who removes (lit., «steals») his monument and sets it up elsewhere, «in the middle of nowhere» (*bmš't. mt hšh*). The guilt-ridden Panamuwa distinguishes however between someone acting on the basis of an objective judgment by an impartial «stranger» (*zr*) confirming that in his lifetime Panamuwa «was corrupt (*hšht*), disobey[ed his overlord] (*hn[?]. mr'h*)» and «[che]ated his ancestral gods (*[r]m'. ydyh. l'lh. 'bh*)» – in which case he agrees with the perpetrator who says : «let him be forgotten!» (*nšh. : : y'mr. hm*) ; and someone acting on the basis of a judgment by his adversaries (*'nšy. šry*) : in the latter case,

... *phnw. zkr. h'. ltgmrw. 'yhh. <sup>31</sup>zkrw. plktšh. b'bny*

«Now if it is a male (*i.e.*, one of my sons), sever his penis (lit., «put an end to the connection of his manhood») and crush it with stones» ;

*whnw. [nqbh. lt'qrw. q]m. 'yht. plktšh. b'bny.*

«And if it is [a female, uproot the tri]angle of her femininity, and crush it with stones».

(The difference between (*p*)*lktšh* and (*p*)*lktšnh* is the addition of «energetic *n*» (contra Dion, *La Langue de Ya'udi*, 451, n. 11) ; but the *reason* for its usage here is stylistic : *whNw. [Nqbh... q]rN ... plktšNh. b'bNy.*)

3. Ugaritic (KTU 1.10 : II : 21f.). The phrase *qrn. dbatk* has been much discussed by Ugaritic specialists, but seemingly without conclusive results. The wider context points to a romantic encounter involving the storm-god Baal of Mt. Hermon (*š[ryn] - III : 12*) meandering in the Huleh Valley (*ah. šmk - II : 12*), where he spies his pretty (*n'mt*) «sister» (*ahj*, also «lover», as in *Cant.* 4-5, passim and above, KAI 215 : 31, *'yht*), Anat. He kneels and falls at her feet (*lp'nh. ykr'. wyql*) ; then, raising his head (but still on his knees!), he declares :

*qrn. dbatk...b'l. ymšh //b'l. ymšh. hm. b'p*

«Let Baal anoint...the triangle of your «entrance» ( $d + \sqrt{bw}$  = «enter (sexually)» ; MHeb. *bī'ah* = «(sexual) intercourse») // Baal will anoint it (*hm* = pron. suff. *h + m*) in ... ». (The final word *b'p*, in this context (and in contrast to II : 11) can hardly refer to «flying». Cf. perhaps Ar.  $\sqrt{f(f)}$  «chastity ; abstinence» in which case what Baal is saying is that he will «anoint» his sister's pubis, but will refrain from coitus – like a good brother should! And indeed, there is no mention in the immediate sequel of further sexual activity between the two.)

4. O.T. : a) Isa. 5 : 1. - Ostensibly part of a vineyard song, the romantic/erotic overtones are nevertheless unmistakable, reflecting of course the well-known interplay of agricultural and sexual imagery in the languages of the ancient Near East.

*'šyrh-n'. lydydy. šyrt. dwdy. lkrmw* 5

*krm. hyh. lydydy* 3

5

*bqrn. bn-šmn.* 2

The phrase *bqm bn-šmn*, lit., «a fertile corner», plays on the imagery of the pubic triangle perfumed with fragrant oil ; the «mound of myrrh» and «hillock of frankincense» of *Cant.* 4 : 6. Cf. also Prov. 7 : 17f. There is in fact a double-pun here : cf. «horn of oil» in 1 Sam. 16 : 13 ; 1 Kgs. 1 : 39. *I.e.*, one pours the fragrant oil from a horn-shaped vial (*qrn*) onto the triangular (*qrn*) pubis – Note well the masculine gender of *qrn* in the above passage, in contrast to *qrn* «horn» (*e.g.*, Jer. 48 : 25 ; Dan. 8 : 8, 21).

b) Job 42 : 14. - The third and youngest of Job's daughters (following restitution) is curiously named *Qeren-Happukh*, lit., «Horn-of-Stibium». Although obviously an object most likely to be in the possession of

a lady, it is a more likely candidate for the ancient Iroquois than for the ancient Israelite (or Edomite) onomasticon. In light of the foregoing, it seems not improbable that the author (wishing to conclude his masterpiece on a note of levity) is playing on *qeren-hāfukh* «inverted triangle»! In a language where a female is *nqbh* (< $\sqrt{nqb}$  «(make a) hole») and a lass is called *rhm* (lit «womb»), such levity gives pleasure rather than offence.

Baruch MARGALIT (03-1994)

**19) The OArām. Stele from t. Dan – 1.** The stele inscription recently published by Biran and Naveh can be dated both paleographically and archeologically to (the second half of) the 9th cent. B.C.E. The following reconstruction of the badly damaged text is based on a number of assumptions: a) that the original stele was rectangular with 32-33 letters per line; b) that the author uses formulaic language known from more or less contemporary inscriptions in the same or related NWSemitic dialect (esp. Mesha and Zakkur); c) that the text is composed in «artistic prose» verging on (and on occasion actually) poetry. Of particular importance is the phenomenon of «alliteration», whereby words are selected by the writer not only for their semantic content but also for their assonantal/alliterative properties. In the meagre quantity of text preserved, this can be seen in (1.3): *wYškb. 'BY* (rather than *w(y)mt. 'by*); in (1.4) *Qdm. B'rQ. 'By* (rather than *lpny. b'rQ. GN*); in (1.5) *wyHk. HDD. qDmy* (rather than *wyhk. b'l. šmyn. qdmy*); in (1.6)...*MLky. w'qtL. Mn[hM]* (rather than ...*mr'y* (etc.)...); in (1.7)...*w'lpY. Prš*; in (1.8)...*mLk. yšr'L. wqtL[tyh]* (rather than ...*whrg[tyh]*); and in (1.12) [*mLk. 'L. yš[r'L]*], rather than ...*byš[r'l]*.

## 2. Text.

<sup>1</sup>[*nšb. zn. šm. l]mr. '[lm. hz'l. mlk. dmšq. 'nh. hz'l. m]*  
<sup>2</sup>[*lk. dmšq.] 'by. ysq[. 'l. ks. mlkth. wmlk. ššn. šnh]*  
<sup>3</sup>*wyškb. 'by. yhk. 'l[. 'lmh. hlq. l'hrth. wyšb. yš]*  
<sup>4</sup>*r'l. qdm. b'rQ. 'by[. wyšbh. hdd. bymy. ky. 's. 'nh]*  
<sup>5</sup>*nh. wyhk. hdd. qdmy[. wyqm. 'mdy. 'dny. wy'ddn]*  
<sup>6</sup>*y. mlky. w'qtL. m[h. šmnt. 'lpn. rgl. wšš. m't. r]*  
<sup>7</sup>*kb. w'lpY. prš. [wšmnt. 'lpn. mšky. qšt. w'k. 'yt]*  
<sup>8</sup>*mlk. yšr'l. wqtL[tyh. w'hk. 'nk. w'lthm. bml]*  
<sup>9</sup>*k. byt. dwd. w'šm[. 'yt. qrywt. hm. lhrbt. 'lmm. w']*  
<sup>10</sup>*yt. 'rQ. hm. l[mdb. w'qh. 'yt. kl. kly. byt(.) yhwh. 'd]*  
<sup>11</sup>*hrrn. wlhd[d. mr'y. hhrmt. hm. wyhw'. bn. nmšy. m]*  
<sup>12</sup>*lk. 'l. yš[r'l. w'hk. 'nk. w'lthm. byšr'l. w'šm]*  
<sup>13</sup>*mšr. '[l. šmrn. mšrh. ...]*

## 3. Translation.

<sup>1</sup>[This stele did emplace for] the Lord of E[ternity, Hazael, <sup>2</sup>king of Damascus. I am Hazael, king of Damascus.] My father [as]cended [the throne of his kingship and reigned thirty years.] <sup>3</sup>Then my father lay down (to die) / he went to [his eternity / he departed to his destiny.]

[Now Is]rael <sup>4</sup>[dwelt] formerly in the land of my father; [and in my days (as king) Hadad returned it (to me); for] <sup>5</sup>I [am a humble (=god-fearing) man.] Now Hadad went before me / [my Lord stood by me / and] my king [supported m]e. <sup>6</sup>Thus I killed [eight thousand] of [their infantry, and six hundred (of their) chariotry, <sup>9</sup>and two thousand (of their) cavalry, [and eight thousand (of their) archers; and I wounded <sup>8</sup>the king of Israel and kill[ed him].

[Then I went forth and made war against the kin[g <sup>9</sup>of the House of David. I turned [his (lit., «their») towns into everlasting ruins, a]nd <sup>10</sup>his (lit., «their») land to [a desert. Then I took all the utensils of the House of YHWH, to the (very)] <sup>11</sup>last one, and [dedicated them] to [my Lord] Had[ad].

[Now (by this time) Jehu, son-of-Nimši had become ki]ng <sup>12</sup>over Israel. So I went forth and made war against Israel and laid] <sup>13</sup>siege to [Samaria his bastion. ...]

## 4. Commentary (*in brevis extremis*)

A. The inscription is that of Hazael, king of Damascus (*ca.* 842-810). He was already king in the 18th year of Shalmaneser III (858-824). According to 2 Kgs. 8 he succeeded — certainly did not murder — «Ben-Hadad» (=Hadad-Ezer) whom he served as a high-ranking and devoted official, entrusted with sensitive diplomatic missions. Shalmaneser describes him as a «commoner» who «seized» the throne. This need only mean that he was not a «blue-blood» in line of succession. Unless he is trying to hide his commoner origins, Hazael's allusions in the inscription to his father and predecessor suggest the possibility that Hadad-Ezer, aware of Hazael's abilities and grateful for his devotion, adopted him as his son and named him heir. Whether this sat well with the royal family and ended peacefully must remain for the time being an open question.

With the death of Ahab in 853 BCE (following the battle of Qarqar in which he may have lost his life [cf. 1 Kgs. 22: 34ff.]), the alliance of Israel and Damascus came to an end; and in the decade of 852-42, Israel

and Judah joined forces to (re-)capture territory in northern Transjordan (Gilead-Bashan-Golan) claimed by both sides (cf. 1 Kgs. 22 : 3 and 20 : 26-30; note the absence of Elijah in both accounts). This is the background for Hazael's statement (ll. 3-4) that « Israel dwelt in my father's land » when he ascended the throne.

B. The inscription describes two battles and the beginning of a third: the first, against Samaria, in which the king of Israel was wounded in battle (2 Kgs. 8 : 28f.) — Hazael takes the credit for his death, either ignoring or ignorant of the aftermath and Jehu's regicide; and a second, several years later, against Judah, in which Jerusalem was spared only by an enormous payoff (2 Kgs. 12 : 18f.). Hazael speaks here of « their » cities and land in reference to the « House of David » reflecting perhaps the fact that at this time the king of Judah, Joash, was a mere child and Hazael negotiated Judah's surrender with a delegation of plenipotentiaries who ruled in the king's name. The inscription then goes on to describe the siege of Samaria in the time of Jehu, thus confirming a longstanding scholarly suspicion (beginning with Jepsen) that the siege(s) of Samaria described in 2 Kgs 6 : 24ff. (and 1 Kgs. 20?) is/are misattributed to the Omrides: it was disconcerting for the Biblical historiographer that a king who had carried out so thorough a purge of Baalism, and who enjoyed such enthusiastic support from prophets like Elisha, should have been so cruelly dealt with by History.

The inscription makes no mention of a campaign in the vicinity of Dan, where the stele fragment was found embedded in floor pavement. But this may have come later in the text (at least 20 lines are missing, to judge by MI on which it seems to be modelled). Cf. 2 Kgs. 10 : 32, with its reference to « borders » or « fringes ». Because of its strategic location on the Tyre-Damascus road, Hazael claimed Dan (and the Iyyon Valley) for Aram. This claim, be it noted, is also implicit in Ju. 18 : 28, which speaks of Dan as part of the « Valley of the (Aramean) 'House-of-Rehob' ».

C. It would appear that the Dan stele was erected when Hazael was beginning to establish hegemony in Canaan and Syria, after having thwarted several Assyrian offensives, the last of them in 837, which would be the *terminus post quem*. Before him still lay a triumphant road to empire, which would take him to 'Umq/Unqi, Sam'al, Que, Gurgum and Melid (perhaps also Kumuh), as well as to the east bank of the Euphrates, culminating in his becoming the « overlord » (*mr'*) of all 'Abr-Naharā. The *terminus ante quem* is provided by the stele of Zakkur, which literally quotes from the Dan stele, and which for various reasons must be dated before 805, shortly after the death of Hazael. When Dan was re-captured (no later than ca. 785 CE) the stele was smashed and its fragments utilized as flooring.

D. The inscription may bear on the dating of the DAPT (and vice versa). The latter is the product of an Aramean enclave community, under the spiritual, Moses-like leadership of the prophet-legislator Balaam br-B'r, not far-removed from his « nomadic » origins and concomitant El-worship, residing in the Valley of Sukkoth surrounded by Israelites and under Israelite hegemony. The rulers are designated « blacksmiths » (*hršn*) and « oppressors » (*qqn*), who see everything from afar (= Samaria) but do nothing (good). In particular, they have allowed the irrigation system (*šgr w'štr*) on which the economic well-being of the region entirely depends, to fall into disrepair (*l[yhqrw]*), resulting in mass poverty (« the piglet looks like a *field-mouse* [*hqrqt*] »). The « Israelites » are referred to as *bn[y. y'qb]* « Jacobites » who « belie » (*√khš*) the *hšn* (= priestly breast-plate [of justice]), and who are (or soon will be) « doomed and defunct » (*'bdn. w'yn*), echoing MI, 7. DAPT was thus *composed* before the present stele (which implies Aramean control of Israelite Transjordan); and the « Book-of-Balaam » was published (posthumously) following the Aramean conquest of Sukkoth, seemingly in fulfillment of the revered leader's prophecy. Balaam was probably an older contemporary of Hazael and the same age as his *Landsmann* (and rival?) Elijah as well as Mesha of Moab who is probably hiding behind the (vulgar) nickname « Balak-son-of-Zippor » (Heb. *šippôr*, < \*š(e)j̄p̄r « he-goat ») in the Bible. (Cf. Ar. *balaqa* « deflower », and note *√'nh* in Mic. 6 : 5; the unwarranted use of *√q(w)m* in Num. 23 : 18; and the curious use of *√nšb* and *√qrh* (with overtones of *√nqr*) in vss. 15-17 *ibid.*)

#### Select Bibliography

- A. Jepsen, « Israel und Damascus », *Afo* 14 (1941-44) : 157ff.  
 J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij (edd.). *The Balaam Text from Deir 'Alla Reevaluated* Leiden, 1991).  
 A. Lemaire, « Hazaël de Damas... », *Mél. Garelli* (1991) : 91-108.  
 A. Biran and J. Naveh, « An Aramaic Stele Fragment from Tel Dan », *IEJ* 43 (1993) : 81-98.

Baruch MARGALIT (03-94)

**20) Une visite du gouverneur d'Arpad** – Le texte CT 56, 439 enregistre le 17-ii de l'an 19 de Nabuchodonosor II la fourniture d'un bœuf par le gouverneur d'Arpad au temple de Šamaš à Sippar. Or ce document doit être rapproché d'un autre, *Nbk* 74, qui, à quelques jours près note la présence dans les étables de l'Ebabbar d'un [bœuf] de 2 ans fourni par le gouverneur d'Arpad. L'année avait été identifiée par J. Strassmaier comme étant la neuvième du règne de Nabuchodonosor II (mu 9-kam). Un examen de la copie montre qu'on peut en fait lire mu [1]9-kam, et cette correction permet de rapprocher *Nbk* 74 et CT 56, 439, qui n'enregistrent donc qu'une seule et même fourniture par ce haut dignitaire à l'Ebabbar de Sippar.

**Nbk 74**

2 [udu-nita<sub>2</sub>] ù *tap-ti-ri*  
 [ina] é ú-ru-ú iti gu<sub>4</sub> u<sub>4</sub> 15-kam  
 4 [mu 1]9-kam d<sup>nà</sup>-níg-du-uri<sub>3</sub>  
 lugal tin-tir<sup>ki</sup>

udu-nita<sub>2</sub> *tap-ti-ri*

6-R.2' (liste de chiffres et de NP)

3' [1 gu<sub>4</sub>] 2-ú šá lú-nam šá  
 uru *ar-pa-da*

5' [ o o ] 4 pap-pap 20 gu<sub>4</sub>-meš  
 'ina' é ú-ru-ú

Moutons et jeunes bœufs  
 dans les étables, au 15 Ayāru  
 de l'an 19 de Nabuchodonosor  
 roi de Babylone

moutons bœufs

(...)

1 bœuf de 2ans du gouverneur de  
 la ville d'Arpad

[.....] 4. Total général : 20 bœufs  
 dans les étables (du temple)

**CT 56, 439**

14 udu-nita<sub>2</sub> šá lugal šá Id<sup>utu-re-šu-ú-a</sup>  
 2 *i-bu-ku ina lib-bi 1+en gal-ú šá ina igi*  
 Id<sup>utu-kam</sup> 9 *ina igi l<sup>la</sup>-qep*  
 4 4 *a-na* é-dingir *it-tal-ku a-na* é-gal  
*na-šu-ú* iti gu<sub>4</sub> u<sub>4</sub> 7-kam  
 6 13 udu-nita<sub>2</sub> šá Id<sup>en-at-ta-DA</sup>  
*i-bu-ku ina lib-bi 7 a-na* é-dingir  
 8 *it-tal-ku-u'*  
 iti gu<sub>4</sub> u<sub>4</sub> 17-kam mu '19'-[kam]  
 10 d<sup>nà</sup>-níg-du-uri<sub>3</sub>  
 lugal tin-tir<sup>ki</sup>  
 12 1+en gu<sub>4</sub>-ninda<sub>2</sub> šá *ir-bi šá*  
 [lú-e]n-nam šá uru *ar-pa-du*  
 14 [.....]

14 moutons appartenant au roi que Šamaš-rēšu'a  
 avait emmenés, sur lesquels : 1 adulte, mis à la  
 disposition de Šamaš-ēreš, 9 à la disposition de  
 Lāqēp, (et) 4 qui étaient partis au temple. Ils ont  
 été livrés pour le Palais. 7 Ayaru. 13 moutons que  
 Bēl-attaDA(?) avait emmenés, sur lesquels 7 sont  
 partis au temple. 17 Ayaru, an 19 de  
 Nabuchodonosor, roi de Babylone. 1 jeune bœuf  
 d'offrande du gouverneur de la ville d'Arpad. »

La présence du gouverneur d'Arpad en Babylonie ne laisse pas d'étonner, car de telles visites de gouverneurs des provinces occidentales sont extrêmement rares dans la documentation néo-babylonienne. Les données des deux textes de comptabilité ne fournissent aucun élément déterminant, mais leur date permet de proposer une hypothèse : CT 56, 439 est daté du 29 Mai 586 en calendrier grégorien, soit 8 mois après la destruction du Temple de Jérusalem (25-28 Août 587). Il est donc possible que le gouverneur d'Arpad aît eu à prendre en charge et accompagner les gens du royaume de Juda déportés à la suite de la prise de Jérusalem (seconde déportation) : cette tâche est bien connue pour les autorités locales d'époque néo-assyrienne, dans la circonscription desquelles passent des convois de déportés. Or Arpad se trouve sur la route qu'a dû suivre le convoi des déportés, car un cheminement direct des exilés à travers le désert entre Jérusalem et Babylone était naturellement impossible. C'est d'ailleurs à Riblah, au débouché de la Beqa'a que furent mis à mort certains grands personnages du royaume de Juda après la prise de Jérusalem, ce qui indique que l'armée babylonienne et ses prisonniers remontèrent la vallée de l'Oronte vers la boucle de l'Euphrate. Vu la longueur du trajet jusqu'à Babylone, et le nombre de personnes concernées (plusieurs milliers d'hommes avec leurs familles selon les estimations habituelles), il est probable que cette déportation a pris beaucoup de temps. Il n'est donc pas exclu que ce soit là la raison de la présence du gouverneur d'Arpad à Sippar, et qu'il ait profité de son passage (à l'aller ou au retour) pour « faire ses dévotions » dans un sanctuaire particulièrement prestigieux.

F. JOANNÈS (31-03-94)  
 37 Rue Coignebert 76000 ROUEN

## VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

**21) Disparition d'une personnalité de l'archéologie orientale** – Nous apprenons la disparition d'Edith Porada, ancien professeur de l'art du Proche Orient antique à l'Université de Columbia, ancien conservateur à la Pierpont Morgan Library de New York, décédée à Honolulu le 24 mars 1994 dans sa 82e année.

Née autrichienne, Edith Porada fit à Vienne des études couronnées en 1935 par une thèse sur les sceaux d'Agadé, dynastie mésopotamienne au pouvoir vers 2330-2190. Devant la montée du nazisme, elle partit pour New York en 1938, où elle rédigea le Corpus des sceaux mésopotamiens de la Pierpont Morgan Library, ouvrage majeur paru en 1948. Dès lors, elle partagea son temps entre l'enseignement et l'étude de l'art des sceaux cylindres de l'Orient ancien, dont elle contribua, après le grand spécialiste Henri Frankfort, à établir l'importance pour la compréhension des cultures de la Mésopotamie et de ses voisins. Elle s'est notamment attachée à classer les ateliers des confins de l'Orient, actifs à Chypre d'une part, en Iran de l'autre. Son ouvrage de synthèse, *The Art of Ancient Iran* de 1965, dont il existe des éditions en Allemand et en Français, a fait date dans l'histoire de l'archéologie. C'est par son enseignement, auquel elle se consacrait avec enthousiasme, qu'Edith Porada aura le plus marqué le monde des orientalistes. Devenue conservateur des sceaux et tablettes cunéiformes de la Pierpont Morgan Library, elle y organisa, objets en mains, des séminaires hebdomadaires. Ces séances attirèrent vite des étudiants venus du monde entier. Beaucoup ont ensuite fait carrière aux Etats Unis, en Europe, en Australie et Nouvelle Zélande, en Iran etc... enseignant à leur tour et gardant avec leur professeur des liens d'affection et de coopération toujours vivaces.

Assistante puis Professeur à l'Université de Columbia en 1963, elle obtint en 1974 la chaire Arthur Lehman avant de donner son nom en 1983 à la chaire créée pour l'Archéologie et l'Histoire de l'Art du Proche-Orient, toujours à Columbia. Membre ordinaire de l'Institut Archéologique Allemand, membre correspondant de l'Académie Britannique, Edith Porada reçut le cheval d'or de Saint Marc de Venise en 1988. Parfait exemple de l'éducation raffinée et cosmopolite de la Vienne d'avant-guerre, intégrée au monde scientifique anglo-saxon, Edith Porada, qui parlait un français parfait, laissera le souvenir d'une vieille dame infatigable, ne quittant une séance de congrès international que pour prendre, armée de talc et de pâte à modeler, des empreintes de sceaux-cylindres et de cachets apparus dans les musées, les collections privées ou sur les chantiers de fouilles.

A. CAUBET (30-03-94)  
Musée du Louvre  
34-36 quai du Louvre  
75058 PARIS

**22) Correz par courrier électronique (e-mail) avec NABU** – Il est désormais possible d'envoyer des informations rapides à la rédaction de NABU par le réseau Internet, à l'adresse électronique suivante : [nabu@msh-paris.fr](mailto:nabu@msh-paris.fr).

Il est cependant préférable de ne pas utiliser ce système pour nous envoyer des notes brèves comportant des transcriptions, car le réseau ne gère aucun signe diacritique (accents, indices...etc).

Vous pouvez, par le même moyen, joindre les correspondants suivants :

L. Bachelot	<a href="mailto:bachelot@msh-paris.fr">bachelot@msh-paris.fr</a>
D. Charpin	<a href="mailto:charpin@msh-paris.fr">charpin@msh-paris.fr</a>
J.-M. Durand	<a href="mailto:durand@msh-paris.fr">durand@msh-paris.fr</a>
F. Joannès	<a href="mailto:joannes@msh-paris.fr">joannes@msh-paris.fr</a>
B. Lafont	<a href="mailto:lafont@msh-paris.fr">lafont@msh-paris.fr</a>
C. Michel	<a href="mailto:michel@msh-paris.fr">michel@msh-paris.fr</a>
M. Sauvage	<a href="mailto:sauvage@msh-paris.fr">sauvage@msh-paris.fr</a>
P. Villard	<a href="mailto:villard@msh-paris.fr">villard@msh-paris.fr</a>

## N.A.B.U.

Abonnement pour un an :	CEE	70 FF
	AUTRES PAYS	100 FF
<i>Subscription for ONE year :</i>	EEC	70 FF
	OTHER COUNTRIES	100 FF

– Par chèque postal ou bancaire en **Francs français** à l'ordre de Société pour l'Étude du Proche-Orient ancien.

– *By Bank cheque in french Francs and made out to Société pour l'Étude du Proche-Orient ancien.*

**Païement par Eurochèque : ajouter 22 FF**

– Par Virement postal à l'ordre de Société pour l'Étude du Proche-Orient ancien, Appt. 2103, 10 VILLA D'ESTE, 75013-PARIS, **CCP 14.691 84 V PARIS**.

– *To Giro account : Société pour l'Étude du Proche-Orient ancien*, Appt. 2103, 10 VILLA D'ESTE, 75013-PARIS, **CCP 14.691 84 V PARIS**

Demandes d'abonnement en **Francs français** à faire parvenir à :  
D. CHARPIN, SEPOA, Appt. 2103, 10 VILLA D'ESTE, 75013-PARIS, FRANCE  
Pour les réabonnements, prière d'indiquer votre numéro d'abonné,  
notamment pour les virements postaux.

– *for subscriptions in US \$ only* –

Our financial representative in the USA is Pr. Jack SASSON, Department of Religion – The University of North Carolina, 101 Saunders Hall, CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA 27514 USA.

Subscription for one year : 20 US \$ (private subscribers only).

---

– RÉDACTION –

Francis JOANNÈS  
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'Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien, Association sans but lucratif  
(Loi de 1901). Directeur de la publication : D. Charpin. ISSN n° 0989-5671.

Dépôt légal : Paris, 04-1994. Reproduction par photocopie