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### NOTES BRÈVES

**54) Is there a document dated to the reign of Bardiya II (Vahyazdāta)?** – The publication of the book of S. Graziani<sup>1</sup> offers an opportunity to discuss some aspects of the chronology of Bardiya's reign.

According to the famous Bisitun Inscription on the 14th of Addar 523 B.C. (in the Julian calendar, March 11, 522 B.C.) an uprising of Gaumata the Median Magush started, in which he claimed to be Bardiya, the true son of Cyrus and brother of Cambyses. In 1896 J. N. Strassmaier published a document BM 41455 (81-6-25, 66) written in Humadešu on Nisan 19, first year of Bardiya. Until 1976 the document was recognized as the earliest known document of Bardiya, dated April 14, 522 B.C. In that year R. Zadok, in an article concerning the connections between Iran and Babylonia in the sixth century B.C. demonstrated convincingly that Humadešu, where that document and 8 other texts were written, must be located not in Babylonia but « in the westernmost part of Persis, not more than 50 km., east of Susa »<sup>2</sup>. Because not long after the killing of Gaumata the revolt of Vahyazdāta who also called himself Bardiya started and was limited only to Persis, Zadok suggests recognizing the text BM 41455 as a text written under the sovereignty of Vahyazdāta/ Bardiya II i. e. on May 2, 521 B. C.

In my opinion Zadok's suggestion, which has been left almost without any comment<sup>3</sup>, can hardly be approved. Vahyazdāta's behaviour is almost fully parallel to the behaviour of the second rebel king in Babylonia, i.e. Araha, son of Haldita, who – just as his predecessor Nidintu-Bēl, son of Aniri (Nebuchadnezzar III in our reckoning) – also called himself Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus (Nebuchadnezzar IV in our reckoning), i. e. pretended to be Nebuchadnezzar III. Similarly, by taking the name of Bardiya, Vahyazdāta pretended to be treated by people of the country as the still living Bardiya, the son of Cyrus. Only in such a situation did taking the name of Bardiya by Vahyazdāta have any sense. However, as Vahyazdāta took the name of Bardiya, his murdered predecessor, he had to continue the reckoning of the years according to Bardiya's reign. On this basis the text BM 41455 – if it were a text from the time of Vahyazdāta's rule – must be dated to the second and not to « his » first year. This chronological premise speaks for the acceptance of the traditional dating of the text to the reign of Bardiya I, i.e. on April 14, 522 B.C.

1. *Testi Editi ed inediti datati al regno di Bardiya (522 a.C.)*, Supplemento n. 67 agli Annali Istituto Universitario Orientale – vol. 51 (1991), fasc. 2, Napoli 1991. Cf. M. Jursa, « Neues aus der Zeit des Bardias », *NABU* 1993/19.

2. R. Zadok, « On the Connections between Iran and Babylonia in the Sixth Century B.C. », *Iran* 14 (1976) 70.

3. It was mentioned only in R. Borger, « Die Chronologie des Darius-Denkmal am Behistun-Felsen », *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen I. Phil.-Hist. Kl. Jhrg* 1982, Nr 3, p. 119, note 19 and J. M. Cook, *The Persian Empire*, London, Melbourne, Toronto 1983, p. 237, note 14.

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55) **Chronology of the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar III and Nebuchadnezzar IV** – In *NABU* 1993/11 M. A. Dandamayev paid attention to the documents VS 4, No. 9 (17.XI.Nbk 1), BRM 1, No. 43 (11.VI.Nbk 1) and CT 55, No. 79 (–.–.Nbk 1) which allowed him to discuss the chronology of Nebuchadnezzar III and Nebuchadnezzar IV's reigns.

The idea of assigning BRM I 43 to Nebuchadnezzar IV' reign is obviously right, however it was already recognized by F. Joannès, RA 76 (1982) 86 and Note 9 in his review of D. B. Weisberg, *Texts from The Time of Nebuchadnezzar*, YOS XVII, New Haven and London 1980 (and included in my catalogue of all texts known to me from the reign of that king). It remains for me to discuss only two other above-mentioned documents.

Dandamayev's idea that VS 4, No. 9 and CT 55, No. 79 cannot be dated to the time of Nebuchadnezzar II's reign is based on important prosopographic arguments. However the attribution of the text VS 4, No. 9 to Nebuchadnezzar III's reign (on February 1, 521 B.C. in the Julian calendar) is indisputably wrong. From the Bisitun inscription and Babylonian data we know that the rule of Nidintu-Bēl (Nebuchadnezzar III) started shortly after the death of Bardiya (i.e. after 10th of Tašritu = September 29, 522 B.C.). By taking the name of Nebuchadnezzar and by dating the texts to his «accession year» Nidintu-Bēl demonstrated his adherence to the great past and customs of his country. Darius defeated him twice, i.e. on the 26th day of Kislimu and on the 2nd day of Tebetu (December 13 and 18, 522 B.C. respectively). In addition the same Bisitun inscription suggests that Nidintu-Bēl was killed shortly after the second defeat (§§ 19 and 20). It is groundless to suggest that Nebuchadnezzar III changed the method of dating of his reign from *rēš šarrūti* to the first year within the same Babylonian calendar year! For that reason, if VS 4, No. 9 was copied by Ungnad correctly<sup>1</sup>, it cannot be dated to the time of Nabuchadnezzar III.

Dandamayev's interpretation is probably based on Bardiya's documents. Although all of them must be assigned to the same Babylonian calendar year, five documents from the beginning of his rule are dated to his accession year while the all others to his first year. We know, however, that this situation was caused by unawareness of Bardiya having taken the throne in the last day of previous Babylonian year (i.e. on 14th of Addaru according to § 19 of the Bisitun inscription). Precise information reached northern and middle part of Babylonia after the 6th day of Simanu (VS 4, No. 85) and before 23rd of the same month (Strassmaier, ZA 4, No. 4), and south of the country before the 15th of Du'uzu (GC II 132). By changing the dating of the documents from «the accession year» to the first year of Bardiya's reign Babylonian scribes corrected their error, made on the basis of an inaccurate information. There is no basis for changing the dating from the accession year to the first year in the last days of Nidintu-Bēl's reign.

There are, however, some difficulties preventing to recognize VS 4, 9 as the latest, presently known, document dated to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar IV. Assigning the text to the time of Nebuchadnezzar IV would have meant that the text was written on 19th of February 520 B.C. Such a dating is in conflict with the Bisitun inscription which states (§§ 49 and 50) that Nebuchadnezzar IV (Araha) was captured by the Persian army under the command of Intafernes on the 27th of November, 521 B.C. (i.e. on 22nd of Arahsamnu of his first year). It would be also in conflict with the later Babylonian tradition according to which the period of disturbances, lasted 20 months and had come to an end with the capture of Araha<sup>2</sup> and with all other Babylonian texts which, starting from the month of Tebet are dated to the first year of Darius. In such a situation we should take into account two other possibilities, i.e. that the scribe made a mistake in writing the name of the month or that two different peoples with the same name were active in Aqar-Nabû's family and assign VS 4, 9 to the first of them with the activity in the time of Nebuchadnezzar II and OECT 12, A 108 to the second person with the time of Nebuchadnezzar IV.

There is no problem with assigning CT 55, No. 79 to the first year of Nebuchadnezzar IV' reign.

Summing up: if the document is dated to Nebuchadnezzar's «accession year» we can choose only between the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar II or Nebuchadnezzar III. On the other hands if the document is dated to the first year of Nebuchadnezzar's rule, we can choose only between the first year of Nebuchadnezzar II or Nebuchadnezzar IV.

1. My personal collation of the tablet in autumn 1993 confirmed Ungnad's copy. Note, however, that in Ungnad's copy it lacks line 4: [x x] x -<sup>d</sup>AG A-šú [x x (x)]-šú-ja.

2. A detailed analysis of the political situation in Babylonia in years 527-521 B.C. is presented in my still unpublished article «Bardiya, Darius and Babylonian Usurpers in Light of the Bisitun Inscription and Babylonian Sources».

56) BM 63282 – the Earliest Babylonian Text Dated to the Reign of Nebuchadnezzar IV – Although only a fragment of the original tablet BM 63282 is preserved now, the text deserves special attention for the important chronological data it preserves even though not all the lines can be read with certainty.

BM 63282 (82-9-18, 3251)<sup>1</sup> 4,9 × 5.0 cm

1. [ZÚ.LUM].MA šá [TA É] NÍG.GA šá GÚ ÍD.UD.[KIB.NUN.KI]  
 2. ITI.GU<sub>4</sub> U<sub>4</sub>.5.KÁM MU.1.KÁM<sup>md</sup> AG-NÍG.D[U.ŠEŠ]  
 3. [LUG]AL E.KI
- 
4. [x x (x x) ZÚ.L]UM.MA ina ŠUKU.HI.<A> ITI.GU<sub>4</sub> a-na  
 5. [lúERÍN.MEŠ<sup>2</sup> šá lúqt-i-]pi SUM<sup>na</sup>
- 
6. [ x<sup>md</sup> EN-TIN<sup>it</sup> lúSANGA UD.ME.KI SUM<sup>na</sup>  
 7. [ pap-p]a-su lúMU-ú-tu šá É [   
 8. [ UGU<sup>m</sup> R-ja A<sup>m</sup> KAR-d[   
 9. [ mNi-]din-it lúse-pi-[ru  
 10. [ ] na
- Rev.  
 1' [ ]  
 2' [ ] SUM<sup>na</sup>  
 3' [ ] x šá a-na<sup>md</sup> UTU-TIN<sup>it</sup>  
 4' SUM<sup>na</sup>

Translation of Obverse :

1. The dates from the storehouse at the bank of the Eu[phrates].  
 2. Month of Aiaru, the fifth day of the first year of Nebucha[dnezzar],  
 3. [ki]ng of Babylon.  
 4. [x kur x x x of dates from the provision of the month Aiaru for  
 5. [the workmen of qī]pi (?) was given.
- 
6. [x kur x x x x for] Bēl-uballiṭ, šangû of Sippar<sup>1</sup> was given.  
 7. [..... pap]pasu, income of the baker's office of the sanctuary of [...]  
 8. [.....] for Ardiya son of Mušeziab-x  
 9. [.....] for Ni]dintu, the sēpiru.  
 10. [.....] was giv[en](?)

The text concerns dates given as provisions to different people in the second month of the first year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. The question is to which of the three Neo-Babylonian kings of this name the text should be ascribed. The answer to this question is connected with the answer as to where the tablet itself was written.

There are three different arguments in favor of taking Sippar to be the place of issue of the tablet. Line 1 mentions [bīt] makkur šá kišad (GÚ) nār (ÍD) UD.[...], recalling the phrase *bīt makkur ša kišad nār Puratti* known from many texts from the Ebabbar archive. The idea that this text might belong to the Ebabbar archive is strengthened by the name [mNi]-din-it lúse-pi-r[u]<sup>3</sup> (1.9). The latter's activity is attested in Sippar in the 25-year period between Cam 6 and Dar 22<sup>4</sup>. The third, most important argument is deduced from line 6, where we read: Bēl-uballiṭ lúSANGA UD.ME<sup>ki</sup>: « [x kur dates] was given to Bēl-uballiṭ šangû of UD.ME<sup>ki</sup> ». However, the place-name UD.ME<sup>ki</sup> is unidentified. Theoretically we can try to read the name as Bar<sub>11</sub>-sip<sup>ki</sup>, however such an unusual reading is excluded because in Borsippa the title *šatammu* was used instead of *šangû*. The two above-mentioned arguments suggest that the text was written in Sippar where an individual named Bēl-uballiṭ was the *šangû* of Sippar in the time after 3. XII. Cyr 7 (when his predecessor Marduk-šum-iddin is mentioned for the last time) and before 21<sup>2</sup>. II Cyr 8 (when Bēl-uballiṭ is mentioned for the first time as a *šangû*). The last mention of activity of Bēl-uballiṭ so far known has been 5.I.Cam 7<sup>5</sup>. His successor was Ina-Esagila-lilbur, known from texts dated between 18.II.Dar 1 and -.VI.Dar 12. This new text partly fills the gap between the term of office of Bēl-uballiṭ and Ina-Esagila-lilbur. The former was active until the year 521, i.e. in the time of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar IV. In the light of these arguments we should accept the possibility that the scribe has written the sign UD ME in a reverse order and read them as *Sip-par*.

In the light of our text Bēl-uballiṭ can be seen to have held the office of *šangû* of Sippar during the whole period of instability in Babylonia, i. e. through the time of Bardiya, Nebuchadnezzar III and IV. Earlier I

suggested that Bēl-uballiṣ was probably personally responsible for the acceptance of Nebuchadnezzar IV as king in Sippar, and lost his own office after his fall<sup>6</sup>. The text BM 63282 supports that idea. He must have had good relations with all three usurpers and was withdrawn from office by Darius I only after he had suppressed the revolt of Nebuchadnezzar IV. The fact that the activity of his family (*šangū* Sippar) ceased after his removal from office<sup>7</sup> supports the idea that he was an active supporter both of Nebuchadnezzar III and Nebuchadnezzar IV at least.

BM 63282 is the earliest text dated to the time of Nebuchadnezzar IV. We know now that the uprising of Nebuchadnezzar IV started neither about Abu 16 (August 25) as suggested by Parker-Dubberstein<sup>8</sup> nor about 27. II (June 8)<sup>9</sup> but already at the beginning of the month of Aiaru, i. e. before May 17. It gives a new argument for the idea that the uprising of Nebuchadnezzar IV started in Sippar or in its vicinity. The last text dated to the first year of Darius before the outbreak of Nebuchadnezzar IV's uprising is dated only a day earlier (4.II. Dar 1). However, at least one document dated 7.II<sup>10</sup> (that is two days after the outbreak of the uprising) as well as one dated in Simanu<sup>11</sup>, one in Du'uzu<sup>12</sup> and one in Abu<sup>13</sup>, written in Sippar<sup>14</sup> give evidence that not all people were already prepared to leave Darius I and recognize a new usurper, who was not strong enough to control the situation. As the documents we know so far show, in the south of the country Nebuchadnezzar IV was recognized only later, as late as in mid-Abu; however, since that moment till the defeat of Nebuchadnezzar IV, no documents dated to the reign of Darius I exist from this part of the country.

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2. The reconstruction [Šarru-ludari], the *qīpu* Ebabbarra between Cyr 6 and Dar 6 is impossible because the title connected with the name was always followed by the name of the temple, i.e. *šá É-babbar-ra*, what is missing in our text.

3. On the writing of this name cf. J. MacGinnis, *Letter Orders from Sippar and the Administration of the Ebabbarra in the Late-Babylonian Period*, Poznan 1995 p. 189ff., Appendix : Late Babylonian Orthography.

4. J. MacGinnis, Table 1 and the text No 38 dated 12.10.Dar 22.

5. M. San Nicolò, *Beiträge zu einer Prosopographie neubabylonischer Beamten der Zivil- und Tempelverwaltung*, (*Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Kl, Jhrg 1941, Bd II, H.2. München 1941) 35.

6. S. Zawadzki, « Great Families of Sippar During the Chaldean and Early Persian Periods (626-482 B. C.) », *RA* 84 (1990) 23-24 and idem, « Bardiya, Darius and Babylonian Usurpers in the Light of Bisitun Inscription and Babylonian Sources » (to be published in *AMI*).

7. *RA* 84 (1990) 24.

8. R. A. Parker, W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C. – A.D. 75*, Providence Rhode Island 1956, p. 16.

9. Cf. S. Zawadzki, « Bardiya, Darius und babylonische Usurpatoren im Lichte der Inschrift von Bisitun und der babylonischen Quellen » in: *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten, Résumés XXXIX<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Heidelberg 1992, p. 78 (full version in press in *AMI*).

10. Dar 12 (May 19).

11. Dar 13 (14.III = June 25).

12. NBC 6134 (16.IV = July 26).

13. Dar 18 (18.V = Aug. 27).

14. However, only in NBC 6134 the place of issue is mentioned in the text.

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**57) Two « Missing » Documents from the British Museum Collection 83-1-18 Rediscovered** – In the *Catalogue of Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, vol. VIII: Tablets from Sippar 3*, ed. by E. Leichty, J. J. Finkelstein and C.B.F. Walker, London 1988 in two entries in the series 83-1-18, i.e. 32 and 1311, there is the note « missing » and no BM number is quoted. Such a note « missing » should be distinguished from the note « temporarily missing » which means that a tablet was not accessible for study at the time of writing. The situation in this case is for some reason especially strange because both tablets really existed, and their copies were published by J. N. Strassmaier in 1898 as Nbk 2 and Nbn 979, respectively.

Accidentally, while studying some texts in the British Museum in autumn 1994, I was able to find an answer to the question as what happened to both these tablets. One of the tablets which I studied was the text BM 60009 (82-9-18, 32B). To my surprise the content of this tablet was fully identical with the first of the « missing » tablets, i.e. 83-1-18, 32 = Nbk 2. The original text and Strassmaier's copy have the same number of lines with the same content and signs used by the scribe. In both (the copy and the original tablet) lines 6 and 7 are broken in the same place, and both lack the sign *-ri-* in the king's name. The only difference is the reading of the day date, now illegible while Strassmaier was able to read the number 5. There is no doubt that the text 83-1-18, 32 copied by Strassmaier as Nbk 2 is the same text stored now under the collection number 82-9-18, 32B = BM 60009. The most probable reason for the change of the signature is the small size of the tablet (4,7 × 3,7 cm) and the bad ink used for writing the collection number. As we know Strassmaier studied simultaneously the texts from both collections 82-9-18 and 83-1-18. The assistant who put the tablets back on the shelf read the illegible number 83-1-18 as 82-9-18 and placed the tablet among the tablets of this collection. The registrar who later added the BM number to this tablet found it among this collection and re-wrote the illegible number as 82-9-18. At the same time he noted, however, that the tablet with number 32

already existed; he added to the second one the letter B and wrote the successive number BM. When he (or his colleague) started to write the BM number on the tablets from the 83-1-18 collection he noted the lack of the tablet with number 32, but apparently just ignored this fact. We can suppose the registrar did not know that the tablet with this number had already been published, and thought that his predecessor had omitted the number 32 completely; for this reason he wrote the successive BM number, not reserving any number for the « missing » tablet.

The same situation concerns the tablet 83-1-18, 1311. It was published by Strassmaier, Nbn 979, and dated 8.6.Nbn 161. Leichty described the context of Nbn 979 and 82-9-18, 1311B = BM 61337 with the same words: « receipt for wool », and read the damaged year on the original as 10+, which reflects the present state of preservation of the damaged place.

Because both tablets belonged originally to the collection 83-1-18 it would perhaps be better to renumber them, and return them to the 83-1-18 collection to which they really belong, leaving however their actual BM number.

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**58) Unusal Writing of Cyrus's Name** – In *NABU* 1987/93 the late Professor Herbert Petschow wrote a short note concerning the unusual form of the Cyrus name which appears in Neo-Babylonian texts following Cyrus's conquest of Babylonia in 539 B.C. I have also found the same writing <sup>m</sup>*Ku-kur-ra-āš* in the unpublished document BM 79699 (89-10-14, 248) dated as other texts mentioned by Petschow, to the second year of Cyrus's reign<sup>1</sup>.

Here I wish to present two other texts written in the first and second month following the Persian conquest of Babylonia, with quite a new writing of Cyrus's name, where the second syllable was written with the ideogramme SAG which suggests a reading of the name as *Ku-reš* or *Ku-riš*. It reminds us of the form *Kōrēš* known from the Biblical Books of Isaiah (44 : 28 ; 45 : 1) and Ezra (1 : 1-2, 7-8 ; 3 : 7 ; 4 : 3-4 ; 5 : 13-14, 17 ; 6 : 3) ; and thus we might postulate that both texts were written by a scribe of Hebrew origin, i.e. from among the groups of peoples living in Babylonia as a result of the deportations made by Nebuchadnezzar II after his first and second capture of Jerusalem in 597 and 587 B.C.

BM 62644, chronologically earlier, was written after Cyrus decided to refrain using the title of « king of Babylon », which happened after he entered Babylon on the second day of the month of Arahsamnu. The text is better preserved and is partially translated here. The second one, BM 83526 dated 2.9.Cyr 0, is badly preserved and is too fragmentary for translation<sup>2</sup>.

BM 62644 (82-9-18, 2613)

1. [x x x x NÍG].GA <sup>d</sup>AG (sic!) šá <sup>md</sup>30-MU u <sup>m</sup>Mu-ra nu
2. [<sup>lu</sup>x.MEŠ a-na] É-babbar-ra id-din-nu ITLAPIN
3. [U<sub>4</sub>.x].KÁM MU.SAG.NAM.LUGAL.LA <sup>m</sup>Ku-SAG LUGAL KUR.KUR
4. 1 me 97 KÜR 2 (PI) 2 +x. BÂN ŠE.BAR a-na ka-lak-ku
5. [x x x x a-na] <sup>lu</sup>ERÍN.MEŠ šá <sup>lu</sup>qí-i-[p]i
6. [x x x x x E]N A <sup>md</sup>EN-MU-G[ÁL-š]i
7. [x x x x x]-ú-tu
8. [x x x x x] x x x  
(Rest broken)

Rev.

- 1'. illegible
- 2'. <sup>md</sup>AG-MU-ŠEŠ a-na ŠE.NUMUN  
(one blank line)
- 3'. [x (x)] x NIGIN<sup>?</sup> PA <sup>lu</sup>ri<sup>?</sup> un PAP šá LUGAL
- 4'. [(x) UMB]IN <sup>md</sup>30-DINGIR ina qí-r[ib<sup>??</sup>] x

1. [..., prop]erty of Šamaš<sup>1</sup>, which Sin-iddina and Muranu
2. [the ...] gave to Ebabbar. Month of Arahsamnu,
3. [x] day, accession year of Cyrus, king of the Lands.
4. 197 kur 2 Pi and 2+x sutu of barley for the silo.
5. [x (dates or barley)] for the servants of the qīpu
6. [x for x x-Bē], descendant of Bēl-šum-u[šabši]
7. [x for ]-utu
8. [.....]

Rev. 2'. Nabû-šum-ušur for seeds

Commentary :

1.1. <sup>d</sup>AG is most probably a mistake for <sup>d</sup>UTU. Note, however, that in a list of deliveries to the tutelary deities of Sippar the god Nabû is also mentioned.

Muranu can be identified with <sup>l</sup>úšāhit ginē, who was active in the period between Nbk 40 (Nbk 30) and Dar 4 (Dar 125).

Rev. 2. The name can be read alternatively as Nabû-nadin-ahi.

Rev. 3'-4'. Most probably both lines were written at a later time than the text preceding them, after the scribe had noted the lack of some additional data. Another possibility which should also not to be excluded is that the scribe changed his stylus and finished the text at using a new one. The signs look different from the signs in the preceding lines and even though most of them are preserved quite well, the sense of information included there is not clear to me.

BM 83526 (83-1-21, 689)

1. [x] i? [x] mu si mu
2. <sup>m</sup>Ki-i-<sup>d</sup>AG? u <sup>md</sup>EN-T[IN<sup>u</sup>]
3. a-na <sup>md</sup>30-MU x [ x x]
4. x x nu ŠEŠ x [ x x]
5. [ x x x] x [  
(two lines broken)

Rev

- 1'. [x x x] KASKAL<sup>II</sup> a-na [  
2'. [x x x] x šú? kun na x [ (x)]
- 3'. ITI.GAN U<sub>4</sub>.2.KÁM MU.SAG.
4. NAMLUGALLA <sup>m</sup>Ku-SAG
5. LUGAL<sup>I</sup> KUR<sup>I</sup> KUR

1. And not to the first year as in E. Leichty, J. J. Finkelstein, C. B. F. Walker, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, vol. VIII: Tablets from Sippar 3*, London 1988, p. 201.

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**59) Hullum a Ebla e Mari** – Nei testi di Ebla è noto un termine indicato dalle grafie *hu-lu* e *hu-li*, riferito ad un oggetto esplicitamente realizzato in lana e posto sempre in relazione all'equipaggiamento di carri ed equidi BAR.AN<sup>1</sup>. Questo termine può essere tradotto come «giogo», in quanto sostantivo derivato dalla radice semitica \*gll (cfr. G. Conti, *La legge di Geers e il sistema grafico eblaita, Quaderni del Dipartimento di Linguistica* 4 [1993], p. 101, n. 3): secondo le norme del sillabario eblaita, infatti, i segni della serie HA sono regolarmente impiegati per rendere /g/ etimologica come sonora di /h/. L'eblaita *hu-lu* è pertanto corrispondente all'ebraico 'ól ed al *hullu* delle lettere di Amarna, lì impiegato come glossa dell'accadico *nīru*.

Il fatto che la radice \*gll sia usata per indicare il giogo in area semitica occidentale dal III fino al I millennio a. C., aiuta a comprendere meglio l'etimologia ed il significato del termine mariota *hullum* (*hu-ul-li*, *hu-li*, *hu-lim*), citato in vari testi amministrativi di contenuto strettamente affine a quelli eblaiti sopra indicati. Questo lemma si riferisce, infatti, ad un oggetto che viene di regola assegnato (talvolta a «coppie», *ta-pa-al*) assieme ad altri pertinenti all'equipaggiamento di equidi e carri, come *appatum* (briglie), *naplasum* (paraocchi) e *nadullu* (una componente non meglio specificata della bardatura)<sup>2</sup>. La stessa etimologia e la somiglianza dei contesti indicano che si tratta dello stesso oggetto presente nella documentazione eblaita.

Nel CAD, le attestazioni di Mari vengono discusse sotto *hullu* A, «ring (as ornament)», considerato come un prestito dal sumerico, tenuto distinto da *hullu* B, «yoke» (*H*, pp. 229-230). Sulla base di quanto finora proposto, è invece preferibile in entrambi i casi una derivazione dalla radice semitica \*gll.

È dunque possibile supporre che anche a Mari, come ad Ebla, Amarna ed in ebraico, il termine *hullum* /gull-um/, ogni qualvolta si trovi citato in connessione con i carri ed altri elementi della bardatura, faccia riferimento al giogo. Al lessico di Mari appartiene quindi un ulteriore lemma di tradizione semitica occidentale.

Altrove, nei testi amministrativi di Mari, *hullum* può indicare anche un oggetto realizzato in metallo prezioso assegnato assieme ad altri pezzi di gioielleria. Anche in questi casi l'etimo sarà lo stesso e dovrà trattarsi di qualcosa di simile ad una «collana». Si confronti ad esempio il significato che la stessa radice \*gll prende nel sostantivo arabo *gull*, «collare, catena». Questo sviluppo semantico della radice non è, per il momento, attestato ad Ebla.

1. I testi in questione sono *ARET* 1.12 (= *MEE* 2.21), v. V : 1-6, *ARET* 2.15, v. IV : 9-V, *ARET* 3.194, v. I, *ARET* 3.375, v. III, *ARET* 3.799, v. I, *ARET* 4.5, v. VI : 1-5, *ARET* 4.14, v. VII : 20-22, *ARET* 4.14, v. VIII : 1-10, *ARET* 4.17, v. XI : 7-16, *ARET* 8.541, §45 : 4-19, *MEE* 2.11, v. III : 3-8, *MEE* 2.33, v. VII : 11-16, *MEE* 2.33, v. IX : 6-9, *MEE* 10.26, v. X : 7-13, TM.75.G.1399, v. X : 8-13 [= C. Zaccagnini, *QdS* 13 (1984), pp. 198-201]. Il termine era stato finora tradotto dagli editori di *ARET* come « coperta » o « panno » per animali e dagli editori di *MEE* come « viaggio ».

2. Si tratta dei seguenti testi : *ARMT* VII 161 :9 ; *ARMT* XVIII 22 :7, 30 :12, 45 :4 ; *ARMT* XXI 294 :4' ; *ARMT* XXII 317 :5, 324 : IV :3 ; *ARMT* XXIII 41 :6 ; *ARMT* XXIV 192 :3. La traduzione proposta dagli editori è « boucles » o « anneaux ».

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60) Addendum to UR<sub>5</sub>-ra = *hubullu* XV<sup>1</sup> – In my edition of the AOST 70+71 fragments of UR<sub>5</sub>-ra = *hubullu* Tablet XV I did not mention the join 1924.799+1892 published in MSL SS 1 pl. VIII 34 Rev.<sup>2</sup> The fragment 1892 gives the Babylonian section of UR<sub>5</sub>-ra = *hubullu* XV 192-197 with some orthographical variants.

MSL	AOST 70+71		Kish 1924.799+1892	
192	02' uzu.gìr-pad-du	MIN	[...]	[MI]N
193	03' uzu.MIN.gìd-da	<i>sa-a-qu</i>	[...]	[s]a-a-qu
194	04' uzu.MIN.lúgud-da	<i>ku-ri-tú</i>	[...]	[k]u-ri-tu <sub>4</sub>
195	05' uzu.MIN.hul-gig	<i>da-du</i>	[...]	[d]a-a-du
196	06' uzu.MIN.KA.ur <sub>5</sub> -ra	<i>pi-ši-ku</i>	[...]	[p]i-ši-qu
197	07' uzu.KA.ur <sub>5</sub> -ra	MIN	[...]	[x]-[h]u <sup>2</sup> -ru
198	08' uzu.ad <sub>6</sub> .MIN	MIN	[...]	[...]
199	09' uzu.ad <sub>6</sub> .MIN	<i>ši-iš-ši-qa-tu</i>	uzu.x.x	[...]
200	10' uzu.BI.BAD	MIN	uzu.IZI.BAD	MIN
201	11' uzu.úr	<i>pi-i-mu</i>	uzu. [...]	[...]

Commentary :

194. The Kish fragment gives the orthographical variant *ku-ri-tu<sub>4</sub>*.

196. The AOST fragment has in the Babylonian section *pišiku* whereas the Kish fragment has *pišiqu*.

197. In the Babylonian section the first sign rather looks like a *-hu-*, so we may assume a lexem like [ka/zu/su]-*hu-ru* ; for the various possible interpretations of KA.HAR, see JNES 43 (1984) 294f..

201. Present, but broken, in the Kish fragment against my statement in WO 25, 68).

1. B. Pongratz-Leisten, Ein neuassyrisches Duplikat zu HAR-ra = *hubullu* XV, WO 25 (1994) 66-70.

2. I wish to thank M. Civil that he brought this text to my attention.

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61) Zu *NABU* 1995/4 – Nach Kollation glaube ich, einige Verbesserungen zu Zadoks Edition des schwierigen und in seiner Art wohl einzigartigen Textes BM 49718 vorschlagen zu können. Zunächst die Umschrift :

BM 49718

1      <sup>Id</sup>uraš-ana-é-šú dumu šá <sup>Id</sup>uraš-[mu]<sup>1</sup>  
*a-na pa-da-šu-tu<sub>4</sub> šá <sup>Id</sup>uraš-da*  
dumu šá <sup>I</sup>mu-še-zib a-na <sup>kur</sup>elam<sup>ki</sup> il-lak  
3 itimeš *dul-lu ina <sup>kur</sup>elam<sup>ki</sup> ár-ki\**  
5      <sup>Id</sup>uraš-da <<dul-lu>> <sup>Id</sup>uraš-ana-é-šú  
*ip-pu-uš ki-i la it-tal-ku-ma dul-lu*  
*a-di <sup>iti</sup>kin ina <sup>kur</sup>elam<sup>ki</sup> la i-te-ep-šú*  
*a-ki-i <sup>lú</sup>hun\*.gámeš šá <sup>kur</sup>elam<sup>ki</sup>*  
*dul-lu ip-pu-šú kù-babbar šá 3 itimeš*

Rs.

1      <sup>Id</sup>uraš-mu a-na <sup>Id</sup>ag-tin-su-e ina\*-ad-din  
(Zeugen ; 3 : ... <sup>I</sup>muk\*-ke-e-a ; 6 : si]g<sub>6</sub><sup>iq\*</sup>-šeš ; Schreiber ; Di[ibat])  
8      [<sup>iti</sup>š]e ud.27.kam mu.10.kam <sup>I</sup>[a-ri-ia-muš]  
lugal e<sup>ki</sup> u kur.kur <sup>iti</sup>ne<sup>1</sup> [ù?]  
<sup>iti</sup>šu ina di\*-ki šá ina dil-bat<sup>k</sup> [i x (x)]

Zunächst die geringeren Schwierigkeiten: Die wörtliche Übersetzung von *arki* mit «hinter» oder «nach» ist nicht völlig unmöglich; wahrscheinlicher scheint mir hier nach dem Kontext eine Bedeutung «an Stelle von»; dieselbe Vorstellung, die bei *katallu* in der Bedeutung «Hinter-, Ersatzmann» vorliegt. Zu Zeile 8: Zwischen <sup>lu</sup> und *hun.gá* ist eine leichte Beschädigung, aber der Platz reicht nicht, um mit Zadok <sup>lu</sup>[k]u<sub>4</sub> é zu lesen – diese Lesung ist im gegebenen Kontext auch sachlich unmöglich.

Die Crux ist natürlich *pa-da-šu-tu<sub>4</sub>*. Zadok las *pa-da-qat/kat<sub>7</sub><sup>1</sup>-tu<sub>4</sub>* und übersetzte zweifelnd nach dem Zusammenhang «service», konnte aber keine überzeugende akkad. Ableitung vorschlagen; der Verweis auf *pa-da-ku* bzw. *pa-tàk-ka-a-ti* etc. führt nicht weiter<sup>1</sup>. Auch mit den anderen Lesungen für PA und ŠU findet sich in den akkad. Wörterbüchern nichts Passendes.

Nach dem Kontext – «PN<sub>1</sub> wird für *pa-da-šu-tu<sub>4</sub>* des PN<sub>2</sub> nach Elam gehen und ... Arbeitsdienst (o.ä.) in Elam ... leisten» – erwarten wir mit Zadok ein Wort für eine Dienstverpflichtung oder dergleichen. Da wir uns offenbar im Bereich der achämenidischen Verwaltung befinden, liegt es nahe, angesichts der Unmöglichkeit, das Wort akkadisch zu erklären, eine iranische Etymologie zu suchen.

Wir schlagen als Hypothese ein Kompositum aus altpers. *pāda-* «Fuß» und dem Pt. perf. pass. von *š(y)av-* «s. bewegen, marschieren» u. ä. (vgl. z.B. Brandenstein/Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen* (1964) 135 bzw. 143) vor: *\*pāda-š(y)ut-*, wörtl. «durch den Fuß bewegt, Fußgänger». Prof. M. Mayrhofer, von mir um iranistischen Rat befragt, hält nach freundlicher Mitteilung die Ableitung für möglich und verweist mich auf jungavest. *ar'm̄.šūt-* «durch den Arm bewegt» (vgl. sein *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen I* (1992) 553).

Unserem Text zufolge wäre ein solcher «Fußgänger» eine von der achämenid. Verwaltung gemeinsam mit einem Aufgebot von Landsleuten (*dīku* in Rs. 10) zum Marsch (nach Elam) und dortigen Arbeitseinsatz abkommandierte Person. In unserem Text wird das Wort als Abstraktum, wörtl. etwa «Marsch(verpflichtung)» o.ä., verwendet – offenbar wegen des Anklangs des Auslauts an die akkad. Abstraktendung *-ūtu*.

Unter diesen Voraussetzungen wäre zu übersetzen:

«Uraš-ana-bītīšu/Uraš-iddin wird zur (Erfüllung der) *Marsch(verpflichtung)* des Uraš-le'i/Mušēzib nach Elam gehen. Drei Monate wird Uraš-ana-bītīšu in Elam an Stelle des (oder: nach) Uraš-le'i den Arbeitsdienst leisten. Wenn er nicht geht und den Arbeitsdienst bis zum Elul in Elam nicht leistet, wird Uraš-iddin das Silber für drei Monate entsprechend (der Kosten für) die Mitarbeiter, die (in) Elam den Arbeitsdienst leisten, dem Nabu-balāssu-iqbi geben.

Zeugen, Schreiber, Ort und Datum.

Im Ab [und] Tammuz im Aufgebot, das in/aus Dilbat [x (x)]. »

D.h.: Uraš-ana-bītīšu wurde – wohl durch eine Zahlung, s. u. – verpflichtet, an Stelle von bzw. zur Ablösung des Uraš-le'i (je nach dem Verständnis von *arki*) vermutlich mit einem Aufgebot von Dilbatäern nach Elam zum Arbeitseinsatz zu ziehen. Für den Fall, daß Uraš-ana-bītīšu seiner Verpflichtung nicht nachkommen würde, wurde sein Vater verpflichtet, für die Kosten, die durch die Anstellung von Mitarbeitern an Stelle von Uraš-ana-bītīšu entstehen würden, aufzukommen. Nabu-balāssu-iqbi ist wohl mit Zadok einer der Verantwortlichen für die Arbeiten (s. u.).

Wir müssen nun ähnliche Verpflichtungen und ähnliche Transaktionen in anderen Texten suchen, um diese Ableitung durch andere als rein etymologische Argumente zu stützen.

Auf Arbeits- und Militärdienstleistungen in Elam bezieht man sich allgemein mit *dullu* «Arbeit» (z.B. CT 56, 193: 12); weitere Bezeichnungen für Verpflichtungen in diesem Zusammenhang sind:

*rikis qabli* «Gürtung der Hüfte» ~ «Zahlung für militärische Ausrüstung» (Oppenheim, *Or.* 14, 239ff.);

*pasa'du*, das iranische Pendant dazu (Dandamaev, *Fs. Vanden Berghe* (1989) 563ff.; kein Hapax, neben VS 4, 126 auch in *Dar.* 293); und

*ilku ša urāši*, etwa «Dienstverpflichtung zur Fronarbeit» bzw. «Verpflichtung zur Stellung eines Fronarbeiters», für (den Dienst in) Elam (Moore, *Mich.* 26: 1 (9 Dar (I.)), vgl. Joannès, *TÉBR.* 22f. und, für alle drei Kategorien, van Driel, *JESHO* 32, 210).

Unser *pa-da-šu-tu<sub>4</sub>* erinnert hinsichtlich seiner wörtlichen Bedeutung und besonders hinsichtlich seiner Verwendung in unserem Text stark an das akkad. *ilku* (< *alāku* «gehen»); vielleicht handelt es sich sachlich wirklich um dieselbe Art der Verpflichtung. VS 4, 126 ist aus anderen Gründen aufschlußreich: Die Mutter Nidinti-Marduks zahlt hier Silber für die militärische Ausrüstung (*pasa'du*) für den Dienst in Elam an den 'Oberbogenschützen' (*rab qašti*) ihres Sohnes – das erinnert natürlich hinsichtlich der Protagonisten an die Bestimmung in BM 49718, derzufolge bei Nichterfüllung der Arbeitsverpflichtung Uraš-ana-bītīšus Vater einem Dritten, der nach der Parallele in VS 4, 126 zweifellos als der Vorgesetzte Uraš-ana-bītīšus zu identifizieren ist, Silber als Kompensation zu zahlen hat.

Noch bessere Parallelen sowohl zu unserem Verständnis der Grundbedeutung von *pa-da-šu-tu<sub>4</sub>* als «Marschierer; zum Arbeits- oder Militärdienst Abkommandierter» als auch zu BM 49718 als ganzes findet man aber in einigen spätachämenidischen Texten aus Ur aus dem 'Barbier'-Archiv.



In UET 4, 109 bittet Nidinti-Sîn Kušur-Ea um « Silber, Reiseproviant und die gesamte Ausrüstung wie für die (anderen) 'Marschierer' unter den Bewohnern von Ur » (kù.babbar ši-di-tu<sub>4</sub> ù si-im-ma-nu-ú gam-ri lib-bu-ú lú<sup>al-lak</sup>meš šá lú<sup>ú-qu</sup> šá lú<sup>irim</sup>ki) und verspricht dafür, sich an Kušur-Eas Stelle der königlichen Musterung (*an-de-e-su*, ein weiteres iran. Lehnwort) zu stellen und den Dienst beim König auszuüben. *allāku*, wörtl. « Marschierer » oder dergleichen, meint hier sicher mit Dandamaev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia* (1992) 18 « those who perform the military duty », und ist damit mit dem aus dem Murašû-Archiv bekannten *ālik madākti*, dem « ins Feldlager Ziehenden » (Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire* (1985) 61) und älterem *ālik ilki*, dem « Arbeits- oder Militärdienst Leistenden » zusammenzustellen und entspricht insgesamt perfekt unserem *pa-da-šu-tu<sub>4</sub>*.

Das Wort kommt noch in zwei weiteren Texten aus diesem Archiv vor, in UET 4, 48 und 49 (vgl. Joannès, NABU 1988/1). Hier mietet Kušur-Ea jeweils eine Person, die beim Transport der *bāru*-Abgabe der Tempelsklaven nach Susa anstelle von Kušur-Ea mitarbeiten soll. Diese Personen werden so wie die « (anderen) 'Marschierer' der *bāru*-Abgabe der Tempelsklaven » (lú<sup>al-lak</sup>(meš) šá ba-a-ri šá lú<sup>ši-rak</sup>meš) ausgerüstet. Gemeint sind die zum Transport der *bāru*-Abgabe Verpflichteten. S. v. *allāku* übersetzt AHw. « Steuerbote(n) », CAD A/1 « agent for (the collection of) the *bāru*-tax » - m. E. etwas irreführend ; UET 4, 109 stellt klar, daß ein *allāku* ein dienstverpflichteter Angehöriger eines bestimmten Kollektivs ist und nicht etwa als Steuereintreiber oder dergleichen der königl. Verwaltung zuzuzählen ist. Beachtenswert an UET 4, 48 und 49 ist auch, daß wieder die Eltern der Dienstverpflichteten involviert sind: Mutter bzw. Vater übernehmen die Garantie für die ordnungsgemäße Ausführung der Arbeit.

Sachlich sind die genannten Ur-Texte (wie auch der ähnliche Egibi-Text *Dar.* 154) Parallelen zu BM 49718, insofern auch hier Personen zur Erfüllung fremder Dienstverpflichtungen herangezogen, genauer gemietet, werden ; die Ur-Texte nennen mit den Zahlungen den Hintergrund für das Geschehen, den wir aus BM 49718 nur vermuten können ; der Dilbat-Text ist dafür hinsichtlich der Konsequenzen bei Nichterfüllung der Dienstpflicht expliziter.

Damit läßt sich also BM 49718 in unserem Verständnis des Textes gut in einen größeren Kontext einordnen. Zusammen mit der Tatsache, daß sich in *allāku* der Ur-Texte ein sehr guter Kandidat für die akkadische Entsprechung zu dem angesetzten \**pāda-š(y)ut*- findet, beweist dies zwar noch nicht die Richtigkeit der Ableitung, macht sie aber doch wahrscheinlicher.

1. AHw. *padakku* « ein Durchgang?? » bzw. *pa(t)takkātu* « eine Bez. für Menschen » ; tatsächlich sind diese zwei Einträge offenbar zu einem einzigen *padakku* « Silo? » zusammenzuziehen, s. SAA 1 und 3 jeweils im Glossar s.v. Für im AHw. s.v. *pa(t)takkātu* zitiertes KB 6/2, 108 : 10 s. die Kollation der Stelle in SAA 3, 2 : 10.

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AUTRICHE

**62) Vogelkrallen auf ADD 469?** – In NABU 1993/17 stellt JoAnn Scurlock fest, daß ADD 469 nicht, wie in SAA VI 288 notiert, ungesiegelt, sondern einer Kollation R. Jas' zufolge mit Vogelkrallenabdrücken versehen sei.

Dieser für die Interpretation des Textes recht wesentlichen Feststellung muß jedoch widersprochen werden : die Tafel ist, wie eine beträchtliche Anzahl anderer Urkunden aus Ninive auch, trotz der Nennung des Siegels bzw. des Fingerabdruckes am Beginn des Urkundenformulars, ungesiegelt. Im Falle von ADD 469 folgt nach der Siegelzuschreibung zwischen zwei Trennstrichen ein 0.5 cm breiter Freiraum, der weder Siegel-, Fingernagel- noch Vogelkrallenabdrücke enthält.

Diese Beobachtung wird von Petra D. Gesche, M.A. und Dr. Fran Reynolds, dzt. ebenfalls im Students' Room des B.M. tätig, bestätigt.

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AUTRICHE

**63) Mind the edge!** – RS 18.252 is a small tablet, partially damaged, found in Room 5 of the royal palace of Ugarit (thus belonging to the so-called Western Archive) and, as we are further informed by the catalogue TEO

1 p. 166, it is written in alphabetic cuneiform. However, at the end of line 1, on the right edge of the tablet, two signs which belong to the category « syllabique » – or one should rather say word-syllabic – can be found. The different attestations of Ugaritic texts, namely administrative records, containing an Akkadian « indication » are collected in KTU p. 506 (1st edition, 1976 – unfortunately dropped in the new edition, 1995), J. Huehnergard *AkkUg* p. 322, W. H. van Soldt *SAU* p. 240 and discussed in my *UF* 24 (1992) pp. 261f. I prefer to use the somewhat vague term « indication » (following KTU-1st edition's « Angabe ») rather than Huehnergard's « Sumero-Akkadian summaries » (as I already argued in footnote 10 of my *UF* 24 article) or van Soldt's « Akkadian captions » since they not always figure as headings or titles of the texts. In the case of RS 18.252, a two-column text listing social or professional groups with their corresponding figures, the logographic writing follows the first listed figure and thus determines the nature of this and the subsequent amounts (a parallel example is RS 8.272 [KTU 4.38]).

The reading of the logogram has to a certain extent evolved through the ever-increasing editions of the Ugaritic corpus. Virolleaud in the editio princeps (PRU 5 no. 19) exclaimed with astonishment on p. 33 that « on lit le signe syllabique GAN [meaning certainly GÁN], suivi, semble-t-il, du *a* alphabétique! »; this admittedly amazing interpretation was borrowed by Gordon who transliterated, emending the error in PRU 5, in his *UT* no. 2019 « (r. ed.) GÁN-*a* (sic!) ». This extraordinary combination of word-syllabic and alphabetic signs was then solved and overcome with the new reading proposed by the standard edition KTU in 1976 (preserved in the recently published second edition); KTU 4.416 reads at the end of line 1: GÁN.ME, which obviously agrees with the conventional writing of logograms. The also recent Spanish edition of Ugaritic texts edited by Cunchillos-Vita (first part of the series *Banco de datos filológicos semíticos noroccidentales*) does not include the « Akkadian indications » in transliteration and writes instead « (línea en acadio) » – a feature already disapproved by Loretz in *UF* 25 [1995] 498; as a result the text under consideration (numbered 00-4.416, on p. 576) is not fully transliterated (note that the first figure « 5 », after *mrynm*, in l. 1 is also missing) and the legend in brackets at the end of l. 1 does not correspond exactly with what is written on the tablet.

As for the history of the interpretation, even though Virolleaud established the reading of the first sign, it was Eissfeldt – on p. 18 of his *Neue Keilalphabetische Texte aus Ras Shamra-Ugarit* published in Berlin in 1965 – the first one to state the identification of the « Sumerogram GAN » (sic!) with « akkadisch *eqlu* 'Feld' ». Nevertheless, no clear(er) interpretation of the text was provided, probably due to the ambiguous transliteration which they were faced with; thus Gordon, in *UT* p. 280, just defined the text with the label: « guilds and their quotas ». KTU's new and definite reading offered then better chances for more venturesome interpretations. However, Heltzer in *IOKU* p. 29 reproduced Eissfeldt's version: « in line 1, after the professional group and the figure, is the designation GAN(sic!).ME, 'fields' », and he added that « possibly this is identical to the *ubdy*-fields ». This interpretation was formulated again by Lipinski in *OLA* 23 149 where he further stated that the people listed in the text were « benefiting by a distribution of fields (GÁN.ME) ». But it was in this same volume on pp. 119f. that Vargyas developed a new rendering of the logograms (which he had already suggested in footnote 70 of his article in *UF* 13 [1981]): « Certes, GÁN.ME peut être lu en akkadien *eqlātū*(sic!), "champs", mais, en l'occurrence, la seule lecture possible est *ikū*, vu que le mot "champ" est toujours rendu à Ugarit par le logogramme A.ŠÀ. Le texte indique donc les dimensions de la parcelle de service ». Apparently following this detailed study of KTU 4.416, the second edition of KTU identifies now (on p. 371) the text as a « list (trades/professions with amounts of land) ».

As one can see, the reading of the logograms on the right edge of RS 18.252 has posed some problems since the editio princeps and, in my opinion, the presently accepted one is not beyond doubt. Although I admit it is not easy to judge paleography without direct or photographic examination, the signs copied by Virolleaud in PRU 5 p. 33 do not correspond neither to GÁN nor to ME. Indeed, the first sign shows clearly three small vertical wedges; though they usually belong to the sign GÁN in most cuneiform traditions, in Ugarit this sign is always written with only two of them. On the other hand, the reason why Virolleaud read the second sign as the alphabetic cuneiform *a* is just because he saw two consecutive horizontal wedges – and so different from ME. What I suggest as an alternative reading is based on the assumption that, since the editio princeps, the different transliterations have failed in determining the division between the two logograms. The long vertical wedge supposed to be the end of the sign GÁN is but the beginning of the next sign which together with the two (or three?) horizontals forms the sign MEŠ. And the previous sign would then represent the sign LÚ, usually written with three small vertical wedges. Accordingly, the figures following the different social or professional groups would not refer to the number of fields or amounts of land but to the number of people, probably regarding the recruitment for service (*ilku*). Such 'recruitment-texts' phrased in exactly the same way (though written totally in Akkadian) are well attested: RS 17.131 (PRU 6 93 – note that the order of the social/professional groups is almost identical, as Vargyas noted in his *OLA* 23 contribution [p. 118]), RS 34.131 (RSOu 7 4 – listing this time village conscriptions; see also e.g. RS 19.74 [PRU 6 95]). As far as the archive is concerned, it is also worth noting that, in van Soldt's words in *SAU* p. 57, « the most important group is formed by the economic-administrative texts, a fair number of which are lists of guilds and cities ».

Among these, it is interesting to mention the Akkadian document RS 11.830 (PRU 3 190) which records, as stated after the first figure in l. 1, the days (*u<sub>4</sub>-mi*) probably of service-work by different villages or the Ugaritic text RS 11.716 (KTU 4.68) which lists the number of archers recruited also from villages (as indicated in Akkadian on the left edge of the tablet).

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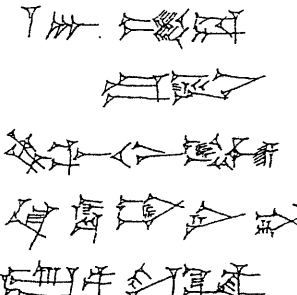
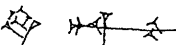
64) Un reçu - Umma, Amar-Sîn 5<sup>1</sup> -

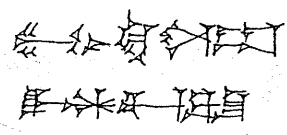
F. 63,0. duḥ-gin / gur-lugal  
 šà-gal áb-ga-PI-za  
 ki Kù-ga (BI?)-ni-ta  
 kišib ensi<sub>2</sub>'-ka' (En<sub>5</sub> [PA-TE]-unu ?)  
 Rev. šà bala  
 mu En-unu<sub>6</sub>'-gal-an<na en-<sup>d</sup>>Inanna ba-hun

Empreinte du sceau

I. <sup>d</sup>Amar-en-[zu]  
 nita-kala-ga  
 lugal ur<sup>ki</sup>-ma  
 lugal an-uba-da-limmú-ba

II. Ur-<sup>d</sup>[Li<sub>9</sub>-si<sub>4</sub>]  
 en[si<sub>2</sub>] (pa-t[e-si])  
 U[mma<sup>ki</sup>] (GIŠ-[ŪH<sup>ki</sup>])  
 ir<sub>11</sub>-zu

F.   
 Rev. 



1. La tablette provient de la collection de R. Deutsch. Je tiens à remercier Monsieur Deutsch pour avoir eu la bienveillance de me permettre de la publier. De même je voudrais remercier le Dr. B. Lafont pour avoir eu l'amabilité de me faire part de ses remarques.

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65) La date de la prise de Larsa par Hammurabi, encore une fois – D'après ARMT XXVI 381 : 15 ; 383 : 12, durant un mois intercalaire (*tašnītum*), Hammurabi conquiert Maškan-šapir et assiège Larsa. Pour Charpin (ARMT XXVI/2, p. 148), il s'agit « vraisemblablement du mois XII bis de l'année ZL 10' ». Par contre, nous avons proposé (NABU 1989/83) que le mois intercalaire soit le V<sup>ème</sup> mois = V<sup>bis</sup> = VI de l'année ZL 11' (ARM XXI 4 ; XXIV 199). Mais comme si souvent dans la recherche de Mari, de nouvelles données nous obligent à revoir notre ancienne supposition.

1. Dans la lettre XXVII 155, datée du 27.II, dont l'auteur est Zimri-Addu, qui se trouve « dans le campement des troupes de mon seigneur » (l. 15'), on trouve la phrase suivante « D'autre part, voici Yasim-Hammu (auteur de la lettre ARMT XXVI 383 [mentionnée ci-dessus])... le jour où [je suis (ou : il est arrivé)] à Larsa (*ana Larsa*) » (ll. 9'-10').

2. La lettre XXVII 161 qui est ultérieure à la prise de Larsa doit être datée d'après la comparaison avec ARMT XXVI 96 : 33-40 (cfr. ARMT XXVII, p. 271, n. k) du 2.V.

3. Zimri-Addu envoie à Šunuḥ-raḫalu la lettre ARMT XXVII 160 depuis Larsa lui demandant d'attirer l'attention de Zimri-Lim sur la teneur des tablettes qu'il envoie au roi. Or, on sait que Zimri-Lim quitta Mari avant le 25.III (XXVI/2, p. 209). Si Šunuḥ-raḫalu se trouve avec Zimri-Lim à Mari (comme dans ARMT XIII 49 et ARM XXIV 75), on obtient le *terminus ante quem* pour la prise de Larsa. Mais Šunuḥ-raḫalu pouvait aussi bien partir de Mari avec Zimri-Lim (comme dans ARMT XIII 47 et 27). Même si le dernier point n'est pas valable, il ressort des deux premiers que le mois intercalaire en question ne peut être le mois V<sup>bis</sup>, et ainsi notre

supposition doit être abandonnée. Quant à la supposition de Charpin, qui parle du mois XII de l'année ZL 10', elle ne s'accorde pas avec le fait que d'après les documents publiés à ce jour, le mois intercalaire durant cette année était le mois V<sup>bis</sup> (IX.23 ; S. 108-625 [Syria LV (1978), p. 342]). A la rigueur, on pourrait maintenir l'hypothèse de Charpin en supposant que dans les lettres ARMT XXVI 381 et 383, envoyées depuis la Babylonie, les auteurs des lettres ont fait usage du calendrier babylonien, qui atteste un mois XII<sup>bis</sup> pour l'année H 30 = ZL 10' (voir P. Huber, *Astronomical dating of Babylon I and Ur III*, p. 57 [référence due à l'amabilité du Prof. M. Stol]).

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**66) Ton vom Ton des Heiligen Hügels – woher stammt der Ton wirklich?** – Obwohl das Kolophon des Textes EAH 197 (publiziert von D. C Snell, RA 88 (1994), 59-63) nun in einer neuen Bearbeitung E. Frahms in NABU 1995/9 vorliegt, sind mit Hilfe verschiedener unpublizierter Paralleltex te weitere Verbesserungen zu erzielen, insbesondere durch zwei Tafeln aus Babylon, MMA 86.11.362 und BM 32620<sup>1</sup>, deren Kolophone dem hier behandelten sehr ähnlich sind. Dieser Typ von Kolophonen besteht aus drei Teilen, einem Gebet an den Gott, dem die Tafel geweiht wird, einer Auflistung von guten Wünschen für den Schreiber und seine Familie, zu deren Gunsten die Tafel geschrieben wird, und schließlich einer Anrufung an die Tafel selbst, daß sie vor dem Gott Fürsprache für den Schreiber einlege.

Daß der Ton für die Tafel von einem speziellen Ort geholt wird, wie explizit in dem Kolophon beschrieben ist, unterstreicht deren Charakter als Motivgabe. Daher soll die Formulierung dieser wichtigen Aussage hier noch einmal untersucht werden<sup>2</sup>. Abweichend von den bisherigen Bearbeitungen ist in Zeile 15f. *īdu* (IM) *ištu* (TA) *ki\*-di ašri* (KI\*) *elli* (KÜ) *ik-ri-iš-ša-am-ma...* « Er kniff Ton von draußen, von einem reinen Platz, ab ... » zu lesen. Die Lesung wird durch einen Vergleich mit Parallelstellen bestätigt<sup>3</sup> :

EAH 197 : IM TA *ki-di* KI KÜ *ik-ri-iš-ša-am-ma ...*

BM 32620 : IM *iš-tu ki-di a-ša[r] el-[lu i]k-ri-iš-[ša-am-ma...*

BM 77665<sup>4</sup> : [ti-i]d *iš-tu ki-di aš-[ru] el-lu [ik]-ri-ša-am-ma...*

Am Ende von Zeile 18 beginnt der dritte Abschnitt des Kolophons, dessen Anfang folgendermaßen zu lesen ist :

(Z.18)... [up<sup>1</sup>\*-pu\*] (Z.19) *ina erēbi* (KU<sub>4</sub>)-ka\* *ša-bat a-bu-tu u q[<sup>1</sup>-b]i damiqti* (SIG<sub>5</sub>-[i]) *šá* [1.1]bēl<sup>(d+EN)</sup>-[erība(SU)] (Z.20) *māru* (A<sup>1</sup>) *šá* 1.bēl<sup>(d+EN)</sup>-uballissu (DI[N-su] *mār*) 1.[e-<sup>1</sup>]ē\*-[ru] ana<sup>1</sup> nabū<sup>(d+AK)</sup> bēlū(EN\*)-šú\*...

« Tafel, wenn du eintrittst, lege Fürsprache ein und rede Gutes über Bel-eriba, den Sohn Bel-uballissus, den Nachkommen Eṭirus, vor Nabū, seinem Herrn! »

Diese Lesung wird bereits durch die Kopie Snells suggeriert und findet ihre Bestätigung, wenn man andere Kolophone heranzieht, z.B. :

BM 47882<sup>5</sup> : *tuppu* (IM.DUB) *ina erēbi*(<sup>1</sup>KU<sub>4</sub>)-k[a...]

BM 64479+ : ... *ina e-reb-bi-ka*<sup>1</sup>

BM 66471<sup>6</sup> : ... <ina> *e-reb-bi-ka*

Durch diese Wendung wird deutlich, daß die Tafel als Motivgabe direkt vor den Gott in seinen Tempel gebracht wird, um den Schreiber dort zu repräsentieren und seine Wünsche vorzubringen. Die Vorstellung, die Frahms Interpretation impliziert, daß Nabū einen Raum betritt, in dem die Tafeln aufbewahrt werden, läßt sich nicht aufrecht erhalten.

Der untere Rand der Tafel EAH 197 ist so stark beschädigt, daß sich wenigstens anhand der vorliegenden Kopie für die folgenden Zeichen keine eindeutige Lesung gewinnen läßt. Zwar hat Frahm eine gute Lösung für das Problem angeboten, jedoch kommt auch eine andere Lesung in Betracht, die auf eine Emendation der über eine Rasur geschriebenen Zeichen in Z. 20 verzichten kann, insbesondere, weil die Zeichenspuren des vorletzten Zeichens des Textes nicht auf LIŠ hindeuten : ... nabū<sup>(d+AK)</sup> [rēmu (...)] li[ršī] ([TU]KU\*-šī\*) « Nabū erbarme sich (seiner?) ». Die vorangehenden Zeichen (s.o.) gehören somit nicht zu diesem Satz. Dieser Vorschlag läßt sich aufgrund des Kolophons von BM 47882 rechtfertigen, wo die Formulierung *liršā* (TUKU-a) *rēmu* (ARHUŠ) ... « Er erbarme sich meiner ... » lautet und weitere Wünsche für das Wohlergehen des Schreibers folgen. Ein Pronominalsuffix wie dort ist in unserem Fall nicht unbedingt erforderlich, da der Bezug auf die Person in dem Bruch gestanden haben kann; man vergleiche etwa die Formulierung *rēmu ana amēli liršī*, die oft in Omina erscheint.

Schließlich seien Korrekturen zu einigen Lesungen erlaubt :

Z. 6 : eher... *gi-n[nda\*-nak-ki...]*

Z. 10 : *bēlu* (EN) *rabū* (GAL-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>\*) *bēl* ([E]N)-šú *šá* PN

Z. 14 : ... BAD-e [GEŠ]TU\* .2\* -šú...

Z. 15 : vermutlich ... *šá* U[G]U-šú GÁL-ú ana\* *pašāri* (BÜR)...

Z. 16 : ... ana GÚ\*. Dahinter fehlt nichts. Dieselbe Schreibung für den *gunnu*-Behälter findet sich in MMA 86.11.362; vgl. auch <sup>du</sup>gú-un-nu (A. Cavigneaux, *Textes scolaires*, S. 52, 79.B.1/67; S. 69,

79.B.1./165). Damit wird die Spekulation über eine Gleichsetzung Borsippas mit Nippur an dieser Stelle gegenstandslos.

Z. 17: ... É! *be-lu* (alle drei Zeichen über Rasur) -t[i\* -šú\*]. So schreiben auch MMA 86.1.362 und BM 32620.

1. Die beiden Texte werden von Verf. im nächsten Band der Publikationen des Metropolitan Museums veröffentlicht. Auf den Text BM 32620, der zu dieser Gruppe gehört, hat mich dankenswerterweise Dr. I. L. Finkel aufmerksam gemacht. Die Texte aus London werden mit der freundlichen Genehmigung der Trustees of the British Museum zitiert. Außerdem danke ich Dr. C. Wunsch für ihre hilfreichen Anmerkungen.

2. Mit \* werden im folgenden solche Lesungen gekennzeichnet, die von den bisherigen Bearbeitungen abweichen.

3. Ebenso schreibt der Text des Metropolitan Museums.

4. Bei dieser unpublizierten Tafel handelt es sich um einen Text aus dem *Nabû ša harê*-Tempel, vergleichbar denen, die A. Cavigneaux, *Textes scolaires du temple de Nabû ša harê* Bagdad 1981, veröffentlicht hat.

5. Diese Tafel wird gemeinsam mit den Texten des Metropolitan Museums ediert.

6. BM 64479+ und BM 66471 (beide unpubliziert) stammen – dem Kolophon zufolge – aus Sippar.

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67) *Šertu* in a Hittite inventory text – In *NABU* 1990/87 the undersigned argued at some length that the word *šertu* (AHW 1218b-1219a, *šēirtu(m)* III, « ein Metallggst. ») means « ring », and that this word in reduplicated form supplies the etymology for *šeršerratu*, « chain ». This evolution would have occurred in the Akkadian-Sumerian linguistic milieu of the early Bronze Age and the new word passed into the neighboring Semitic languages and survives today in Arabic and Hebrew and elsewhere. The proposed etymology has been quoted with approval by K. Beyer in the 'Wörterbuch' included in his *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer, Ergänzungsband* (Göttingen, 1994) S. 423. However, the note may not have appeared in time to be used by *CAD Š/II* (editor's foreword dated 1991), where the word is translated « bar » with a question mark. One difficulty is that in the key passages (prayers to the gods of the night) two items of hardware in securing a door are involved, namely *sikkuru* and *šertu*. It is agreed by both modern Akkadian lexica that *sikkuru* is a bar or bolt. Simple mechanics requires that this should be complemented by something that can secure it or which it can slide into, such as a ring. Among the passages adduced in the original argument were the Qatna inventory texts, where *šertu* occurs among lists of jewelry and items of adornment. A further piece of evidence from inventory texts which is quoted by *CAD* lends support. This passage, S. Košak, *Hittite inventory texts (CTH 241-250)*, p. 88, reads PISÀ]N a-na še-ir-du-kán ku-e-da-ni da-a-ir. The restoration is assured by the previous line and Košak's translation is « tub]e taken for the *šertu* ». If rings were to be made from the supplied tube, this would accord with the previous arguments.

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68) *Ea in hiding* – In the Old Babylonian incantation BM 17305, published by H. H. Figulla as *CT* 42 32 (pl. 41), occurs the following opening couplet, as transliterated by W. von Soden in his review of that volume (*BiOr* 18 (1961), p. 71):

1) *lu-di-kum šiptam*(tu<sub>6</sub>) *ṭa-ri-da-at ka-la mu-úr-š[i]*

2) *ša* <sup>d</sup>*en-líl i-da iš-ku-nu mu-ši-im ši-ma-ti[m]*

Ich will für dich die Beschwörung « werfen » (sprechen), die alle Krankheiten vertreibt, die Enlil unterstützt(?) hat, der Bestimmer der Geschicke!

The difficult idiom *idam šakānum* was further explained as « helfend Hand anlegen » by von Soden (op. cit., p. 72, note on l. 2). More recently, the dictionaries and a new translation have failed to come up with anything different, though other attestations of *idam šakānum* have been neither abundant nor helpful (*AHW* s.v. *šakānu* 4b; *CAD Š/1*, p. 138; B. R. Foster, *Before the Muses* I, p. 115). The context of the couplet is self-evident: the exorcist warns the demonic power he is addressing that he is going to cast a spell on him and drive him and the sickness he embodies out of his patient. Enlil has no conventional place in exorcism, and to find him taking part as an assistant in such an operation would be unusual. Both the obscurity of the idiom and the problem created by Enlil's presence can be resolved by reading instead, at the beginning of l. 2, *ša* <sup>d</sup>*en-líl-bān-da iš-ku-nu*, « (I will cast on you a spell) which Enlilbānda provided ». Under the name Enlilbānda, of course, is introduced the divine patron of exorcism, one of whose responsibilities is exactly to furnish the

exorcist with magic spells. He is invoked under his more common names of Ea and Nudimmud in the immediately following line. This attestation of «Enlil Junior» as a name of Ea is noteworthy because it falls some half a millennium earlier than the oldest surviving entry Enlilbanda = Ea in the god lists (MA An III).

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**69) Additional collations to BiMes 24** – In my recent review of David B. Weisberg, *The Late Babylonian Texts of the Oriental Institute Collection*, Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 24 (Malibu : 1991) published in *AfO XL/XLI* (1993/1994) pp. 111-116, I indicated that I had collated most of the tablets published in that volume. The results of several of those collations were noted in the review. Here are several more not mentioned there. I would again like to thank Professor John A. Brinkman for permission to examine these tablets.

- No. 2,** line 6 : [...] x ina <sup>é</sup>re-eš <sup>ù</sup> <sup>é</sup>á-ki-it<sup>meš</sup> ana <sup>giš</sup>BANŠUR
- No. 4,** line obv. 12' : [...] x <sup>1</sup>ina-qi-bit-<sup>d</sup>[60] <sup>1</sup>DUMU šá <sup>1d</sup>60-DIN-i<sup>1</sup> ina <sup>1</sup>qát<sup>1</sup>
- No. 5,** line 2 : ina hu-ud lib-bi-šú GIŠ.ŠUB.BA-šú <sup>uzu</sup>ti-ik-ka-nu šá UDU.NITÁ GAL-ú šá KI.GAL-ú (?)  
line 10 : [<sup>1d</sup>60-DIN-i<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>dum-qi<sup>1</sup>]-<sup>d</sup>60 DUMU šá <sup>1</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>60-HE.NUN A <sup>1d</sup>30-TI-A.ŠI <sup>1</sup>ú-mar-raq-ma
- No. 6,** line rev. 1' : [...] <sup>1</sup>a-na mu-ur<sup>1</sup>-ru-qu šá GIŠ.ŠUB.BA MU.MEŠ <sup>1</sup>NU<sup>1</sup>[TÉŠ]
- No. 11,** line 9 : [<sup>1</sup>ni-din-tu<sup>4</sup>-<sup>d</sup>60 DUMU šá <sup>1d</sup>60-DIN<sup>1</sup>-i<sup>1</sup> ina <sup>1</sup>qát šá <sup>1</sup>ana-GAL-<sup>d</sup>60 <sup>1</sup>DUMU<sup>1</sup> [šá <sup>1d</sup>60-...]
- No. 14,** line 2 : 30 KÙŠ ÚŠ AN-ú IM.MAR.TU DA É <sup>1</sup>ri-hat-<sup>d</sup>60 ŠEŠ-šú  
line 31 : <sup>1</sup>ki-din-<sup>d</sup>60 u <sup>1d</sup>60-ŠEŠ-MU <sup>1</sup>DUMU<sup>1</sup>[MEŠ šá <sup>1d</sup>60-DIN]-<sup>1</sup>su<sup>1</sup>-E A <sup>1</sup>kur-i  
RE [un-qa] un-qa <sup>1d</sup>[na-na-a-MU] <sup>1</sup>na-din <sup>1</sup>un<sup>1</sup>-[qa]  
[...] [ki-šub]-<sup>1</sup>ba-a MU<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ [...]
- No. 17,** line rev. 8' : [u ki-šub-ba-a<sup>meš</sup>... ] x-<sup>d</sup>60 DUMU šá <sup>1d</sup>60-<sup>1</sup>x-x a-di<sup>1</sup> 12-TA.ÀM
- No. 18,** line rev. 6' : [u <sup>1d</sup>60-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU it-ta-din li-bi<sup>1</sup>]-<sup>1</sup>it<sup>1</sup> a-ma-<sup>1</sup>áš-tu<sup>4</sup> DÙ<sup>1</sup>-[uš]  
line rev. 9' : [A.MEŠ <sup>1</sup>áh-<sup>1</sup>]-ú-tú <sup>1</sup>dum-qi-<sup>d</sup>60 u <sup>1</sup>su-mu<sup>1</sup>-tu<sup>4</sup>-<sup>d</sup>60 DUMU.MEŠ šá  
line rev. 14' : [...<sup>1</sup>lu-uš-tam-mar]-<sup>d</sup>IM [<sup>1</sup>İR-<sup>é</sup>re]-eš <sup>1</sup>DUMU<sup>1</sup> [šá]
- No. 19,** line 33 : DUMU šá <sup>1d</sup>INNIN-MU-MU A <sup>1</sup>[hun]-zu-ú <sup>1d</sup>60-<sup>1</sup>AD-ŠEŠ<sup>1</sup> DUMU šá <sup>1</sup>šá-<sup>d</sup>60-iš-šu-[ú A <sup>1</sup>hun-zu-ú <sup>1d</sup>60-ik-šur
- No. 26,** line rev. 4' : ša-a-tú na-šu-ú meš-hat [...]a-bu meš-hat NU šal-tu<sup>4</sup> šá É MU.MEŠ
- No. 27,** line 13 : a-na šu<sup>1</sup>-bu-ša šá maš-ka-nu-tu šá ép-šú ina <sup>1</sup>uZÍZ U<sup>4</sup>-18-KÁM MU-148-KÁM  
line 27 : <sup>1</sup>DU<sup>10</sup>GA-<sup>d</sup>60 A šá <sup>1</sup>ina-qi-bit-<sup>d</sup>60<sup>1</sup> [A] šá <sup>1d</sup>60-[MU-GIŠ A <sup>1</sup>kur-i]
- No. 32,** line 5 : DA <sup>é</sup>ku-ru-<sup>1</sup>up<sup>1</sup>-pu šá <sup>1</sup>ki-tu-<sup>d</sup>60<sup>1</sup> [SAG.KI KI-ta IM.KUR.RA]  
line rev. 2' : A.MEŠ šá <sup>1</sup>ŠEŠ-šú-<sup>d</sup>60 <sup>1</sup>a-na <sup>1d</sup>[60-ŠEŠ-MU-nu A šá <sup>1</sup>ŠEŠ-šú-<sup>d</sup>60 a-na u<sup>4</sup>-mu ša-a-tú]
- No. 33,** line 1 : [<sup>1</sup>ni-din-tu<sup>4</sup>]-<sup>d</sup>na-na-a DUMU.MÍ šá <sup>1d</sup>60-MU-nu A šá <sup>1d</sup>60-DIN-i<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>DAM <sup>1</sup>NU.TÉŠ<sup>1</sup> A šá <sup>1</sup>ta-nit-tu<sup>4</sup>-<sup>d</sup>60  
line 14 : [a]-na x[ ... a-na] u<sup>4</sup>-mu ša-a-tú <sup>1</sup>i-nam-din pu-ú-ut<sup>1</sup> a-ha-<sup>1</sup>meš a-na mu-ru<sup>1</sup>-qu  
line 15 : [<sup>1</sup>ni-din-tu<sup>4</sup>]-<sup>d</sup>na-na-a na-din-at <sup>é</sup>ku-ru-up<sup>1</sup>-[pu MU.MEŠ ... ]x
- No. 34,** line 1 : [<sup>1</sup>nu-ub-tu<sup>4</sup>-<sup>d</sup>na-na-a] <sup>1</sup>DUMU<sup>1</sup>.MÍ šá <sup>1</sup>ina-KA-<sup>d</sup>60-lib-lu<sup>1</sup> ina hu-ud lib-bi-šú
- No. 35,** line 5 : ina É <<šá IM>> šá IM-4 gab-bi <sup>1</sup>u mu-šu-ú<sup>1</sup> [šá KI <sup>1</sup>ri-hat-<sup>d</sup>60 u <sup>1d</sup>60-DUMU-MU-nu ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú]  
line 23 : <sup>1</sup>dum-qi-<sup>d</sup>60 A šá <sup>1</sup>İR-<sup>é</sup>SAG šá TA <sup>1</sup>ki-<sup>1</sup>niš-tu<sup>4</sup> šá <sup>é</sup>SAG
- No 44,** line rev. 5' : <sup>1</sup>x-x-x-tu A šá <sup>1</sup>di<sup>1</sup>-pa-tu-su [...]

No. 49, line rev. 1' : [...] *la-tú* MU.MEŠ šá <sup>mí</sup>*an-tu<sub>4</sub>-DU*<sub>10</sub>.GA-at MU.MEŠ *bal-ṭa-at* <sup>1</sup>*za-ki-d* 60  
 line rev. 2' : *i-pal-làh-šú u ki-i la uš-ta* [...] *šú a-na l-en u<sub>4</sub>-mu šá la i* [...]

No. 54, line obv. 10' : [*a-na u<sub>4</sub>*]-*mu ša-a-tú* x[...] *šú* <sup>1</sup>*x x be-am-ma x x x qa<sup>1</sup>-nu-šú*  
 line obv. 11' : [...] <sup>1</sup>*x x ki-din-d* 60(?) *gab<sup>1</sup>-[bi ...] na-?-šú ul ú-ba-'-ú*  
 line rev. 14' : [...] <sup>1</sup>*x x GAL-d* 60 *lib-bu-ú šá ina IGI-am-ma* <sup>1</sup>*NU.TÉŠ AD-šú-nu*

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70) « Seeing eye to eye... ». Concerning two incantations against Lamaštu's evil eye – An Old Babylonian incantation from Sippar, S 2/532 = IM 90648 (Cavigneaux & Al-Rawi *Studies De Meyer*, 1994, 85ff.) was described by the authors as « une incantation contre le mauvais œil », suggested, presumably, by the repetitive mention of IGI in the text (ll. 1, 15-16, 17?, 20) and the colophon *šipat IGI*. Line 20 of the text, however, makes it clear that the eye is only an agent in the evil-doing process: IGI *li-tu-ur a-na be-lí-[ša<sup>2</sup>]*. And although *bēlum* leads one to look for a male antecedent, it is a female figure which comes forth: *itruš kappiša / ušparrir idiša*, « she has stretched her wings, she has spread out her arms » (ll. 6-7). This designation cannot but refer to Lamaštu and not the eye itself, as the translation seems to suggest. A thematically close incantation, BM 122691 (cf. Farber ZA 71 (1981), 62f. and JNES 43 (1984), 70 ad p. 62.) strengthens this interpretation. The latter incantation is also labelled *šiptum ša i-in* [...] and the cause of the malicious acts is referred to by feminine personal suffixes (ll. 14-16). In this case, however, the malevolent activities concern babies directly, so Lamaštu's fingerprints, (or better, claw-prints) are clear enough. (See additionally the evil eye of Lillitum: [hul]-<sup>1</sup>*gál igi*[-...] / *li-li-tum ša* <sup>1</sup>*l-[in-ša lem-ne-et ...]*, M. Geller, in *Studies Sjöberg*, 194: 1.)

Two remarks concerning specific lines. In IM 90648: 12 read perhaps <sup>1</sup>*u<sup>1</sup>-[u]?* *im-ta-ag-ga-ra*, « they (the two *Lares familiares*) were not friendly / did not agree ». In BM 122691: 5' read *i-na be-ri la-'i še-l<sup>1</sup>-ta-am iš-ku-un*, « she has caused quarrel among the tots ». (Reading kindly suggested by A. Shaffer and collated at his request on various occasions by I. Finkel, C. B.F. Walker and the present writer).

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71) *Sîn* Goes to Fishing – In a recently published Old Babylonian incantation from Sippar<sup>1</sup> *Sîn* is represented as a fisherman who is asked to go down to the Abzu and help to catch a fish: *apum*(GIŠ.GI) *ša* <sup>d</sup>*Sîn qanûm*(GI) *ša má-gan-na / ... / da-an-nu-um li-ri-id a-na libbi*(ŠÁ) *apsê*(ABZU<sub>x</sub>-DĒ-e) / *bā'irum*(ŠU.HA) *i-ba-ar nānam*(KU<sub>6</sub>).

*Sîn* is often depicted as a shepherd who guards his heavenly cows, i.e. stars<sup>2</sup>, and although some literary texts refer to his abode in Ur as Abzu<sup>3</sup>, and fish are occasionally mentioned as a metaphor of *Sîn*'s fertility powers<sup>4</sup>, he is not commonly found in a role of a fisherman. Thus, it is worth noting that there is yet another attestation which shows that the moon god used to go to fishing.

The Sippar incantation refers most probably to the same anecdote recounted in CT 15, 5-6 (cf. Römer, JAOS 86 (1966), 138-147, and B. Groneberg, UF 6 (1974), 65-68). In this myth, *Sîn* is involved in fishing (*bā'irūm*), and it is said that « *Sîn* loves canebrakes and canals; while in the river – his leg is firm » (ii5: *a-pi ú-da-at i-ra-am* <sup>d</sup>*Sîn i-na-ma na-ri še<sub>20</sub>-ep-šu ki-na-at*).

In both texts *Sîn*'s fishing activities in the marshes are connected to his relations with Ningal. In CT 15, 5-6: ii5-10 the fishing scene is the background to *Sîn*'s raping of Ningal, whereas in the incantation (ll. 24-26) Ningal's steward Nazi (= Nanše) is evoked as the intermediary through which the fish should come out of the water. Nazi's position as the goddess in charge of fish is relevant in this context, as Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi have rightly pointed out. *Sîn*'s symbol, the crescent, which was interpreted as a heavenly boat, supplied yet another thematic link to the fishing story<sup>5</sup>.

Given the same geographical setting of the fishing scene in both of the texts – the marshland in southern Mesopotamia (note the mention of Magan in the incantation) – Ur seems to be the plausible proposition for the origin of this mythical episode.

1. Cavigneaux & Al-Rawi, *Studies De Meyer*, 1994, 82ff. (text A section II: S 7/1600 = IM 95317).

2. Heimpel, *Studies Sjöberg*, 249ff. and passim.

3. abzu ki-tuš-kù-šul-d<sup>suen</sup>-na, « Abzu, pure dwelling place of the youth, Suen », Hall, *A Study of the Sumerian Moon-God, Nanna/Suen*, Ph.D. Diss., 1985, 430.

4. Cf. Hall, *ibid*, 409, 431 and esp. 521.

5. Cf. Sjöberg, *Mondgott* 1 : 41. and Hall, *ibid.*, 414.

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72) **The *muškēnu*, « villein », causes confusion in Cambridge** – The book *Babylon* (Thames and Hudson, Londons 1979 and 1986) by J. Oates, collecting as it does much historical and cultural information as well as photographic material not easily available elsewhere between two covers at a price affordable by students and the public has provided a valuable addition to the more popular scholarly literature on the Ancient Near East. However, the word *muškēnu*, « villein » and the Semitic root from which this is derived has caused some confusion. The purpose of the present note is not to take an archaeologist to task for a philological slip, but principally to point out that one important item of evidence shows that the *muškēnu* is of even greater antiquity than has been thought.

J. Oates states (p. 69) that « The word *muškēnum* is the participle of a verb, possibly of Amorite origin, meaning 'to greet someone by placing the hand before the mouth' [in the gesture of adoration] – perhaps the pose of the bronze figure from Larsa. » An illustration of the latter bronze statue is given in the book; a typically Old Babylonian figure kneels with his right knee touching the ground and holds his right hand before his face. The Akkadian language possessed a number of terms for actions performed by a human being expressing worship of or submission to a deity; some of these expressions can also be used of actions performed between two human being, for example subject and ruler or conquered and conquerer. Two gestures are represented by the statue, namely *šukēnu* « to prostrate oneself, submit, do obeisance » (so *CAD s.v. šukēnu* 1. and 2.) and *appa labānu*, « to beg humbly, to exhibit utmost humility (in gestures), to pray contritely (always with *appu*) » (so *CAD s.v. labānu* B 1.). The common meaning of *appu* in Akkadian as in other Semitic languages is « nose » and whatever the explanation of *labānu* in this expression, the Sumerian equivalent *k i r 4 . š u . g á l* leaves no doubt that the meaning is to bring the hand toward the nose. The expression however became a stock phrase for humiliation as can be seen by the example in a Neo-Babylonian letter *appa ana mītūti alabbin* (ABL 716, l. 17), literally « I was bringing the hand toward the nose to the point of death. » A list of attestations of the expression deriving in part from an unpublished Heidelberg Ph.D. thesis (1982) is given in U. Magen, *Assyrische Königsdarstellungen- Aspekte der Herrschaft. Eine Typologie* (Mainz a.Rh. 1986), pp. 104-8).

The word *muškēnu*, « villein » is a participle of *šukēnu*, « prostrate ». *CAD*'s lexical section s.v. *muškēnu* records the Sumerian writings MAŠ.EN.KAK and MAŠ.KAK.EN and range over the attestations in lexical lists, including the so-called « Early Dynastic List E » which it misquotes as MAŠ.EN.KAK(= DÜ) rather than EN.MAŠ.DÜ as in the text.

The latter is reconstructed by M. Civil *et al.* in *Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon XII* (Rome, 1969), pp.16-21 from six tablets from Tell Abū Šalābīḥ and one from Gasur, all to be dated archaeologically and epigraphically to the Fara period. Both textual witnesses for the line in question come from Abū Šalābīḥ. At this period and in such a case the alteration in sign order need not be of concern. For the sign value one may note that already in archaic texts the sign in question shared the values DÜ and KAK (M.W. Green and H. Nissen *Archaische Texte aus Uruk* (1987) Nr.280). W. von Soden (AHw S.684a, fascicle appeared 1967, essentially following the position of I. J. Gelb, *MAD III*, p. 266 (1957), understands the writing as reflecting an Old Akkadian loanword, *m a š - k a 1 5 - e n*. In later versions of *l ú = š á* this is glossed as *muškēnu*. A social and historical study of the *muškēnu* has been given by W. von Soden, « *muškēnum* und die Mawāli des frühen Islam », *ZA* 56 (1964), pp. 133-41 with reference to the antiquity of the word on p. 134. There the reference is to A. Falkenstein, *ZA* 51 (1955) p. 262 : « Der älteste beleg für MAŠ.EN.KAK = *muškēnu* (OECT VII 12 IV) stammt ... aus dem Palast in Kisch.... Der Text gehört in die Zeit der Fara-Texte... » This is an of course monolingual list. In any case the evidence shows that the *muškēnu*, « villein », whose name as is well known later passed through *Aramaic meskēnā* and Arabic *miskīn* into Italian *meschino* and French *mesquin* predates the Amorrite intrusions and already existed in Early Dynastic Sumer.

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73) **Speaking cow or mooing sorcerer? A note on Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdanna II. 173-4 (186-7)** – The Sumerian poem Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdanna<sup>1</sup> contains an episode which describes a conversation between a human (a sorcerer, « *m a š m a š* ») and animals, a cow and a goat respectively. According to the interpretation of Adele Berlin, the editor of the text, this conversation takes place in the language of the animals. The present note intends to show that this interpretation is not supported by the Sumerian text.

The conversation between the sorcerer and the cow is preceded by the following lines :

[173] *á b - [ e ] t ù r - r a s a ḡ m u - d a - a b - s i ḡ*<sup>2</sup>[174] *á b - e i n i m b í - i n - d u 1 1 l ú - ù l u - g i n 7 i n i m m u - d a - a b - b a l - e*

These lines are translated by Berlin as follows : « The cow in the cattle-pen shook its head at him / He spoke to the cow ; he conversed with it as a man ». Grammatically, Berlin's translation of l. 174 is not without problems. First, on the basis of the verbal form *i n i m m u - d a - a b - b a l - e*, the participant in the comitative must be animate, since it is usually assumed that the /mu/- allomorph of ventive cannot occur



before a comitative infix referring to an inanimate participant<sup>3</sup>. Second, an inanimate addressee should be coreferential with a /ba/- prefix in the prefix-chain of the du<sub>11</sub>, but here the verbal form is bí-in-du<sub>11</sub>.

Although both of these grammatical problems were realized by Attinger, he renders l. 174 in his *Eléments de linguistique sumérienne* very similarly to Berlin's translation: « Il (le 'mašmaš') adressa la parole à la vache, il s'entretient avec elle comme avec un être humain »<sup>4</sup>. Attinger can account for the verbal form m u - d a - a b - b a l - e by assuming that the cow is here personified (although in the previous line it is not); and the function of /bi/- in b í - i n - d u <sub>11</sub> is explained by him as « dire à qqc », with the remark, however, that in this function /ba/- is more often used (« usuel est {ba} »)<sup>5</sup>.

Besides the grammatical problems, one may also feel uneasy about the content of the translations offered by Berlin and Attinger. According to Berlin, l. 174 « tells us that the sorcerer could speak the language of animals »<sup>6</sup>. Rendering the phrase l ú - ù l u - g i n <sub>7</sub> correctly, Berlin and Attinger's translations state, however, that the sorcerer converses with the cow as with a human being. If, as Berlin interpretation seems to imply, the sorcerer was mooing, I wonder which feature of the conversation is actually characterized by the text as human-like. In my view, the phrase l ú - ù l u - g i n <sub>7</sub> is likely to refer to the language of the conversation in this context. In other words, the cow was using the human language, and not the sorcerer the language of animals.

Moreover, it is this interpretation that is supported by the Sumerian text which can be analyzed such a way that the grammatical problems pointed out above also disappear. In one of the well-attested functions of the prefix /bi/-, the prefix is coreferential with an inanimate causee. In these causative constructions, the casemarker of the causee is the locative terminative -e/<sup>7</sup>. The first clause of l. 174 can, therefore, be analyzed as a causative construction. Consequently, I would like to translate ll. 173-4 as follows: « The cow trembled (from fear) before him (= the sorcerer) in the cattle-pen / he made the cow speak so that it conversed with him as if it were a human being ».

In l. 173, the « cow » is the subject of the verb s a g -- s ì g and the « sorcerer » is in the comitative case. In the next clause, the « sorcerer » becomes the subject and the « cow » functions as a causee. This is a change in the syntactic function of participants that may seem to be unacceptable for one who speaks English or German. It is, however, also attested in an inscription of Eannatum: é - a n - n a - t ú m - d a , e l a m s a ġ e - d a b <sub>6</sub> - s ì g , e l a m k u r - r a - n a b i - g i <sub>4</sub> (Ean. 2, 6: 6-8) « Elam trembled before Eannatum, he [= Eannatum] drove the Elamite back to his country »<sup>8</sup>.

1. A. Berlin, *Enmerkar and Ensuhešdanna. A Sumerian Narrative Poem* (Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund, 2). Philadelphia: The University Museum 1979.

2. The reconstruction of the ergative -e/ is confirmed by the parallel lines 186-187 where the animal is a goat. In the following, I discuss only the lines concerning the cow, but my conclusions apply to ll. 186-7 as well.

3. See, e.g., the table entitled « Les allomorphes du 'ventif' » on p. 271 of P. Attinger, *Eléments de linguistique sumérienne. La construction de du<sub>11</sub>/e/di « dire »* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Sonderband). Fribourg-Göttingen: 1993.

4. Attinger, *op. cit.*, p. 287 (ex. 131).

5. There is a translation of l. 174 also in PSD B, s.v. bal D 2, p. 54: « the cow spoke, it conversed as if it were a human being ». This translation disregards the grammar of Sumerian in at least two respects: the subject of the verbal form b í - i n - d u <sub>11</sub> must be an animate participant, i.e., the sorcerer, since as the -b/- before the verbal stem in l. 173 shows, the text considers the cow inanimate, and the second clause of the translation leaves untranslated the -da- infix of m u - d a - a b - b a l - e . PSD A/II uses again Berlin's translation (s.v. ab2 A 3. 1.3, p. 160) for rendering ll. 172-5 of the text. Note that the translation of the first clause in l. 174 is missing.

6. Berlin, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

7. See, e.g., Attinger, *op. cit.*, p. 198 (§ 129 b); p. 288 (§ 185 g). As an example, see u d <sub>5</sub> - d è n í ġ - à r - r a b í - í b - g u <sub>7</sub> - e n « I will make the goats eat goats = I will feed the goats with goats » (Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur 271)

8. Translation from J.S. Cooper, *Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions, I: Presargonic Inscriptions* (The American Oriental Society. Translation Series, 1). New Haven, Connecticut: 1986, p. 42 (La 3.5).

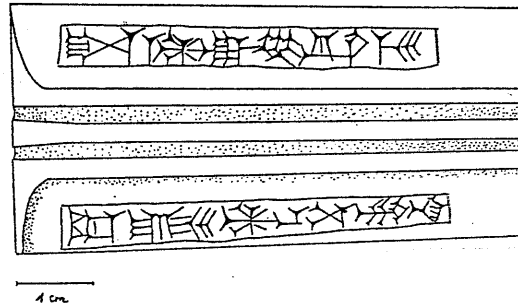
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74) Ein beschriftetes Schwert aus der späten mittelbabylonischen Zeit – Ein Antiquitätensammler, dem auf dem Kunstmarkt ein mesopotamisches Bronzeschwert, das mit einer Keilinschrift versehen ist, zum Kauf angeboten worden war, brachte mir einen Plastikabguß der in die Schwertklinge eingegrabenen zweizeiligen Inschrift (vgl. die Umzeichnung). Das Schwert ist 67,7 cm lang und hat eine maximale Breite von 5,05 cm. Es handelt sich um ein sog. Randgriffschwert (die Höhe des Griffrandes beträgt 1,8 cm). Bedauerlicherweise habe ich das Schwert weder auf einer Photographie noch im Original gesehen, sein Verbleib ist mir unbekannt. Damit die Inschrift der Wissenschaft nicht verlorengeht, sei sie hier kurz mitgeteilt. Auf dem Abguß ist gut zu

erkennen, daß die Inschrift auf der Schwertklinge kurz vor dem Griff des Schwertes angebracht ist. Die beiden Zeilen sind durch die dreifache Mittelrippe des Klingenblattes getrennt. Wie nicht anders zu erwarten, enthält die Inschrift einen Eigentumsvermerk. Er lautet :

ša<sup>1</sup> Nabû(AG)-nādin(SUM)-aḫḫī(ŠEŠ.MEŠ)  
mār(DUMU) Uzib-<sup>d</sup>Šu-qa-mu-na<sup>1</sup>

(Besitz) des Nabû-nādin-aḫḫī,  
des Sohnes des Uzib-Šuqamuna



Aufgrund der Zeichenformen, die der sog. *kudurru*-Schrift sehr ähnlich sind, kann das Schwert in die späte mittelbabylonische Zeit datiert werden. Sein Besitzer dürfte wohl eine höher gestellte Persönlichkeit im Dienste einer der Könige der zweiten Isin-Dynastie (1156-1025 v. Chr.) gewesen sein. Zwar ist ein im Dienste des babylonischen Königs stehender *šatam bīt unāti* namens Nabû-nādin-aḫḫī aus dem frühen 11. Jh. v. Chr. bekannt (vgl. J. A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia 1158-722 B.C.*, AnOr 43, Rom 1968, S. 253 Nr. 48). Da er jedoch als "Sohn des Namri" (*mār Namri*) bezeichnet wird, dürfte er wohl kaum mit unserem Nabû-nādin-aḫḫī identisch sein.

Offenbar ist der kassitische Name *Uzib-Šuqamuna* hier das erste Mal belegt<sup>2</sup>. Zu Namen des Typs *Uzib-<sup>d</sup>GN* siehe : A. T. Clay, *Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Kassite Period*, Yale Oriental Series [Researches], Vol. I, New Haven/London/Oxford 1912, S. 41.144.151 und J. A. Brinkman, *PHPKB* S. 254. Zu Šuqamuna-Namen vgl. A. T. Clay, *Personal Names ...*, S. 40 ; J. A. Brinkman, *PHPKB* S. 256f. und K. Balkan, *Kassitenstudien 1. Die Sprache der Kassiten*, AOS 37, New Haven 1954, S. 122 ; zum kassitischen Gott Šuqamuna siehe : K. Balkan, *Kassitenstudien 1*, S. 118-122 und ferner A. Deimel, *Pantheon babylonicum*, Rom 1914, S. 256 Nr. 3142 und S. 257 Nr. 3176.

1. Das Zeichen *šu* in *<sup>d</sup>Šu-qa-mu-na* besteht nur aus einem waagerechten und einem senkrechten Keil. Die drei kürzeren waagerechten Keilchen, die über dem unteren waagerechten Keil stehen sollten, sind nicht zu erkennen. Dennoch kann kein Zweifel daran bestehen, daß das vorliegende Zeichen *šu* gelesen werden muß.

2. Nach J. A. Brinkman, *PHPKB* S. 257 ist Šuqamuna als theophores Element babylonischer Personennamen von der Mitte des 10. Jh. v. Chr. an nicht mehr bezeugt.

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**75) Die Streitwagen und ihre Räder (Bemerkungen zu M. Guichard, « Les chars et leur carrosserie » in *NABU* 1994/31)** – Bei den Streitwagentexten von Nuzi bezieht sich *šimittu* nicht auf das Joch<sup>1</sup>, sondern auf das Gespann bzw. eine Einheit<sup>2</sup>.

HSS 13-283 SMN 283 (Raum A 23) (= RA 36, S. 171) :  
VS  
1 [21-ta ší-<mi>-it-[tu<sub>4</sub>] GIŠ.GIGIR.MES ša še-ni  
2 4 ší-mi-it-tu<sub>4</sub> GIŠ.GIGIR-tu ša ha-al-<wa>-tar-ri  
3 ŠU.NÍGIN 6 ší-mi-it-ti (...)

1 2 Streitwagen mit *šenu*-Bereifung  
2 4 Streitwagen mit *halwatru*-Bereifung  
3 Insgesamt 6 (Streitwagen ...).

Zeile 3 ist also die Summierung von Zeile 1 und 2 ; entsprechend ist der zweite Teil des Textes Zeile 9 – 12 aufgebaut.

Die Zeilen 1 und 2 nennen jeweils eine besondere Art von Streitwagen: *ša še-ni* und *ša ha-al-<wa>-tar-ri*. Da *še-ni* (wörtl. Schuh) der Reifen des Rades ist<sup>3</sup>, unterscheiden sich die Streitwagen wohl in ihrer Bereifung. *halwatru* wird meist mit GIŠ determiniert, so daß es sich hier um die hölzernen Reifen handeln kann im Gegensatz zu den ledernen Reifen (*ša šeni*). Das steht auch nicht dem Eintrag in Hh = *hubullu*, 5. Tf., 58 entgegen, wo *halmadru* mit GIŠ ha-lu-úb-mur-ra-an-gigir geglichen ist. Der sumerische

Name läßt auf das Material schließen: *huluppu* (Eiche)<sup>4</sup>. Dagegen läßt sich *halwatru* konstruktiv mit hurritisch *halw-/hawal-* (umschließen) erklären.

Wie die Funde aus den ägyptischen Gräbern des Neuen Reiches zeigen<sup>5</sup>, konnten die Wagenräder aus einem Radkranz bestehen, der nur aus einem hölzernen Reifen gebildet ist, dessen Schiftungen mit Leder oder Bast umwickelt sind<sup>6</sup>. Daneben gab es aber auch Räder, deren Lauffläche aus mehreren Lederschichten oder mehreren Holzschichten bestehen<sup>7</sup>. Ein in Lidar Höyük (Südost-Türkei) gefundenes spätbronzezeitliches Wagenrad bestätigt, daß die Konstruktion der Räder in Vorderasien denen von Ägypten ähnlich war<sup>8</sup>. Auch die assyrischen Wagenräder lassen auf den Reliefs eine ähnliche Konstruktion erkennen<sup>9</sup>.

Das Konstruktionsmaterial eines Streitwagens war hauptsächlich Holz. Entsprechend der unterschiedlichen Belastung, der die einzelnen Teile standhalten mußten, fanden auch verschiedene Holzarten Verwendung. So konnte durch dendrologische Untersuchungen des Florentiner Wagens festgestellt werden, daß besonders stark belastete Teile wie Deichsel, Achse und Speichen aus Steineiche waren<sup>10</sup>. Bei einem Wagen Tutanchamuns dagegen waren Deichsel und Teile des Rades aus Ulme<sup>11</sup>. So ist auch für GIŠ *halwatru* ein besonders hartes Holz denkbar, das nicht splittert (entsprechend dem sumerischen Namen Eiche). Von der Belastbarkeit der Räder hing immerhin die Sicherheit des ganzen Gefährts ab. Während die Wicklungen der Verbindungsstellen bei den ägyptischen Wagenrädern aus Birkenbast bestanden<sup>12</sup>, wurde dafür in Nuzi anscheinend Wolle verwendet:

HSS 15-207: 9-10

9 MA.NA ŠÍK.MEŠ a-na 3 ší-mi-it-tu<sub>4</sub> GIŠ ha-al-wa-at-ri

9 Minen Wolle für 3 Paar *halwatru*-Radreifen

Hier zeigt sich auch, daß GIŠ *halwatru* immer paarweise genannt wird.

Das *magarru šešatu* war das sechsspeichige Rad:

HSS 15-167: 15-16

iš-te-nu-tu<sub>4</sub> ma-gar-ru še-ša-tu<sub>4</sub> ša hal-wa-at-ru

ein Satz des sechsspeichigen *halwatru*-Rades.

Daneben kam in Nuzi auch das vierspeichige Rad am Streitwagen vor: GIŠ GIGIR *ru-bu-i-tu<sub>4</sub>* (HSS 15-55) oder auch mit der hurritischen Bezeichnung GIŠ.GIGIR *du-um-na-du* (HSS 15-87).

1. Das Joch ist belegt als *niru* oder als GIŠ. (*niru*: HSS 15-202 :6; GIŠ: HSS 15-78)

2. Siehe Salonen, *Die Landfahrzeuge im Alten Mesopotamien*, S. 47. CAD S, 198a, sub 2: team of draft animals. Die Nuzi-Belege sub 1 sind dahingehend zu korrigieren. AHW 1103, sub 2: Gespann.

Bei der Ausrüstung der Streitwagenfahrer dürfte sich *šimittu* auf das Gespann beziehen, bei den Streitwagen als solche hingegen als Zählinheit. Die Lastwagen werden dagegen nach *tuppāni* gezählt, wie in HSS 13-228 31-32: ŠU.NÍGIN 16 *tup-pa-ni* GIŠ.MAR.GÍD.DA ša URU Nu-zi (im Singular steht *1-en-nu-tù*).

3. Salonen, *Landfahrzeuge*, S.117. CAD Š/2 292, sub B: « a part of or material for chariots or wagons ».

Bei dem von Guichard angeführten *šinum* handelt es sich dagegen um die (halb)mondförmigen Seitenteile des Scheibenrades, das lediglich bei Lastwagen und -karren Verwendung fand (Hh V 99 a: GIŠ.UD.SAR.mar.gíd.da = *ši-in-nu*; wobei UD.SAR für *uskaru* Mondsichel steht und *šinnu* für *sinnu/šinu*). S. hierzu auch K. Deller, « STT 366: Deutungsversuch 1982 », in: Assur 3 (1983), 139-153; hier bes. 145 sub. 7.

4. Salonen, *Landfahrzeuge*. S. 112, 142.

5. Für die Übernahme des Streitwagens in Ägypten aus dem vorderasiatischen, speziell dem hurritischen Raum siehe Ulrich Hofmann, *Fuhrwesen und Pferdehaltung im Alten Ägypten*. Diss. Bonn 1989. S. 304 f.

6. Wolfgang Decker, « Pferd und Wagen in Ägypten », in: *Die Indogermanen und das Pferd*. S. 259-269. Ders., « Der Wagen im alten Ägypten », in: W. Treue (Hg.), *Achse, Rad und Wagen. 5000 Jahre Technikgeschichte*. Göttingen 1986. S. 35-59. Hofmann, *Fuhrwesen*, S. 191 ff. S. auch Salonen, *Landfahrzeuge*, S. 137.

7. Siehe Abbildung Nr. 47 in Littauer/Crouwel, *Wheeled vehicles and ridden animals in the Ancient Near East*, Leiden/Köln 1979.

8. Littauer, Crouwel, Hauptmann, « Ein spätbronzezeitliches Speichenrad vom Lidar Höyük in der Südost-Türkei ». *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1991.

9. J. Spruytte, « Etude technologique. La roue du char royal assyrien ». *RA* 88, 1994, S. 37-48.

10. Decker, *Der Wagen*, S. 38 ff.

11. Decker, ebd. S. 42 ff.

12. Decker, ebd., S. 41.

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76) Eine Kaufurkunde aus dem Archiv des Ḥašuar S. Šimikatal und der Schreiber Teḥija – Unter den von J.W. Carnahan, K.G. Hillard und A.D. Kilmer in *JCS* 46,1994, 105-122 veröffentlichten Nuzi-Texten kann die Urkunde UCLMA 9-3023 durch einen Vergleich mit dem Gerstenschuldschein SMN 1166 (Kopie Lacheman, EN 9/1, 367 = SCCNH 2, 599; Umschrift Owen, *LDN* 124), FO Room A 14, endgültig eingeordnet werden, da die

prosopographischen Übereinstimmungen beider Texte ganz augenfällig sind. Gegenüber der Bearbeitung von UCLMA 9-3023 ergeben sich daraus folgende Korrekturen: Z.1: 1 ANŠE' ŠE'.MEŠ' ša Ḥa-šu-ar; Z. 4 und 9: Ku-uš-ši-ta-e'; Z.18: [NA<sub>4</sub> 1.Ḥa-iš]-te' DUMU Tar-mi-til-la. Übersetzung Z.1-5: « 1 Imer Gerste, gehörig dem Ḥašuar S. Šimikatal, haben Zikkami S. Ḥutija und Kuššitae S. Ennapali als Kaufpreis für eine Kuh erhalten » (zu beachten ist die « Gerstenwährung »). Z.7-11: « Wenn die Kuh Vindikation bekommt, werden Zikkami und Kuššitae sie bereinigen und (die Kuh dem Ḥašuar) übergeben ». Umgekehrt ermöglicht die neue Quelle in SMN 1166:11 die Lesung DUMU.MEŠ Ḥa-ri-<sup>1</sup>a'-šī<sup>1</sup>. Neu im Onomastikon scheint der Name Z.13b NA<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> (so nach Photo JCS 46, 119) 1.Tu-ri-x-te-e zu sein; die Lesung von x als šī ist recht unsicher.

Innerhalb des Archivs des Ḥašuar S. Šimikatal (s. dafür Fadhil, STPPKA 113-121, und G. W. G. Müller, Studien zur Siedlungsgeographie und Bevölkerung des mittleren Osttigrisgebietes, 1994, 72-73) ist Teḥija bislang nur als Schreiber der beiden o.a. Texte nachzuweisen; sie dürften beide Entnahmen aus Ḥašuars Gerstensilo in der dimtu Arikaniwe dokumentieren. UCLMA 9-3023 erhärtet die Annahme, daß dieser Teḥija identisch ist mit dem Schreiber Teḥija, dem wir zahlreiche Texte aus Kurruḥanni verdanken (wenigstens zwölf an Zahl: IM 70326, 70342, 70351, 70732, 70740, 70772, 70782, 70796, 70876 – diese Urkunde ist in Tupšarriniwe verschriftet –, 70972, 70984, 73440). Sein Patronym ist (nach frdl. Mitteilung von Manfred Müller, Leipzig) nur in IM 70342: 29 fragmentarisch erhalten: ŠU 1.Te-ḥi-ia [DUMU x] x x-pu. Für die Identifizierung der beiden Teḥija spricht ihre Vorliebe, mit dem Personenkeil recht sparsam umzugehen und das Graphem na-ās-qū (UCLMA 9-3023: 12; IM 70342: 2; IM 70782: 13). Kontrovers ist, wer SMN 2620 (Lacheman, EN 9/2, 301; Owen, LDN 98-99: Teḥija) geschrieben hat. Die Analyse dieses zum Archiv des Puhišenni S. Mušapu gehörigen und aus Unapšewe stammenden Dokuments durch Fadhil (STPPKA 282a und 283a) macht zumindest wahrscheinlich, daß dessen Schreiber vielmehr Elḥiptilla S. Keltešup war.

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77) Two More Achaemenid texts from Uruk are to be added to those edited in Bagh. Mitt. 21 (1990) 559-621 –

NCBT 1029

[Uruk]

25/IV/41 Artaxerxes I (12 August 424 B.C.)

- (1) *tup-pi ḤA.LA šá<sup>md</sup> A-nu-EN-DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>md</sup> UTU-DIN-su-IE<sup>1</sup>*  
 (2) *ù<sup>m</sup> Tat-tan-nu DUMU.MEŠ<sup>md</sup> šá<sup>md</sup> EN-SU A<sup>m</sup> Kur-i*  
 (3) *ina ḥu-ud lib-bi-šú-nu ina(!) NÍG.ŠID šá<sup>md</sup> EN-SU AD-šú-nu*  
 (4) *šá<sup>md</sup> ina URU ù EDIN ma-la ba-šu-ú KI a-ḥa-meš*  
 (5) *ú-za- 'zu- '3*

- (6) *É ab-ta šá<sup>md</sup> na-pa-šu ù e-pe-e-šú*  
 (7) *KI-tim É<sup>d</sup> BE šá<sup>md</sup> UNUG.KI UŠ AN-ú<sup>1</sup> IM.SI.SÁ*  
 (8) *DA SILA rap-šú(!) mu-taq DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>md</sup> ù LUGAL<sup>1</sup> UŠ KI<sup>1</sup> ú*  
 (9) *IM.U<sub>x</sub>.LU DA ŠE.NUMUN NÍG.GA<sup>d</sup> GAŠAN šá<sup>md</sup> [UNUG.KI]*  
 (10) *SAG.KI AN.TA IM.MAR.TU DA É<sup>md</sup> [...] NUMUN*  
 (11) *DUMU šá<sup>md</sup> EN-šu-bat-E-an-ni SAG.KI KI.TA*  
 (12) *IM.KUR.RA DA É<sup>md</sup> A-nu-it-tan-nu DUMU šá<sup>md</sup> KAR(?)<sup>d</sup> UTU*  
 (13) *šal-šú i-na ú-na-a-ta É ḤA.LA*  
 (14) *šá<sup>md</sup> A-nu-EN-DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>md</sup> LÚ.ŠEŠ ra-ba- '3*

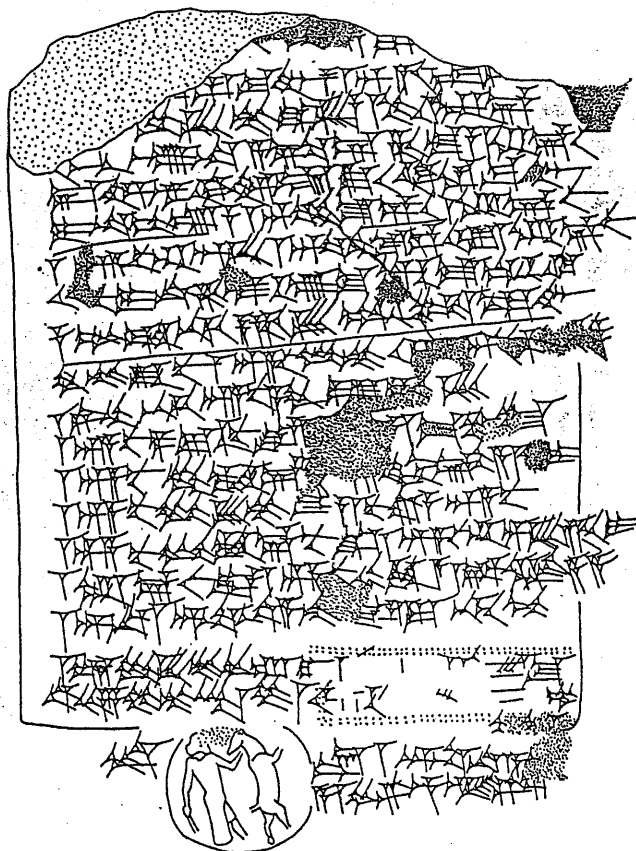
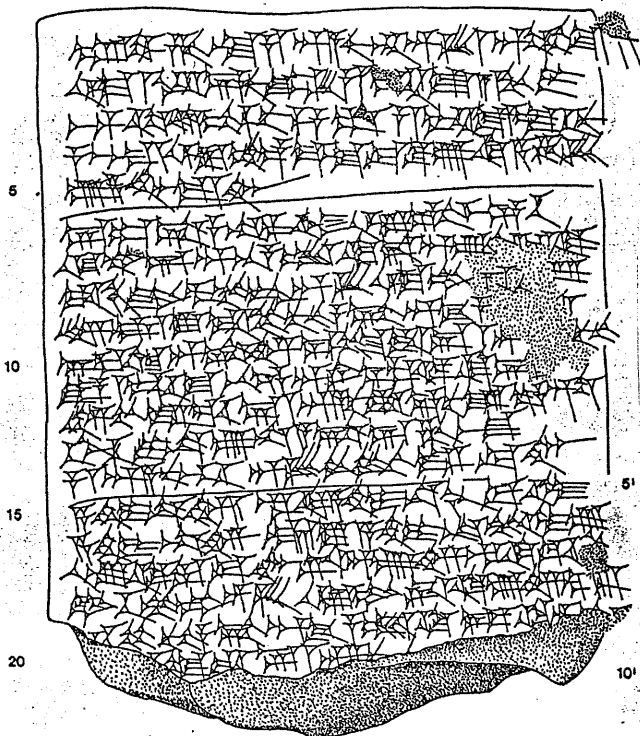
- (15) *a-ḥi i-na IM.SI.SÁ a-ḥi i-na tar-ba-šu*  
 (16) *a-ḥi i-na IM.U<sub>x</sub>.LU a-ḥi i-na mu-šu-ú*  
 (17) *ù ki-šub-ba- '3 UŠ AN-ú IM.SI.SÁ DA<sup>1</sup> SILA<sup>1</sup>*  
 (18) *rap-šú mu-taq DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>md</sup> ù LUGAL UŠ KI-ú IM.U<sub>x</sub>.LU*  
 (19) *[D]A ŠE.NUMUN NÍG GA<sup>d</sup> GAŠAN šá<sup>md</sup> UNUG.KI SAG.KI AN<sup>1</sup> TA<sup>1</sup>*  
 (20) *[IM.MAR].TU DA É<sup>md</sup> A-nu-x<sup>1</sup>-[...]*

(reverse)

- (1') *[...] x x x x [...]*  
 (2') *[... ki-š]ub-ba- '3 šá<sup>md</sup> A-nu-<sup>1</sup>SIPA(?)<sup>1</sup>-šú(?)<sup>1</sup>-[nu...]*  
 (3') *[... Š]EŠ.MEŠ-MU DUMU.MEŠ<sup>md</sup> šá<sup>md</sup> Še-el-líb*  
 (4') *[š]al-šú i-na ú-na-a-ta É ḤA.LA šá<sup>md</sup> Tat-tan-nu*

- (5') É IM.SI.SÁ IM.U<sub>x</sub>LU u ki-šub-ba'<sup>3</sup>  
 (6') i-na bi-rit šá<sup>md</sup> UTU-DIN-su-E u<sup>m</sup> Tat-tan-nu
- 
- (7') <sup>md</sup>A-nu-EN-DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>md</sup> UTU-DIN-su-E ù<sup>m</sup> Tat-tan-nu  
 (8') man-nu i-na ḪA.LA-šú ú-šu-uz-zu il-ki  
 (9') šá LUGAL it-ti a-ḫa-meš il-li(sic)-ka'<sup>3</sup>
- 
- (10') LÚ mu-kin-nu<sup>md</sup> A-nu-ŠEŠ-MU ù<sup>m</sup> [x]-DINGIR-[x]-šú<sup>1</sup> A.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> šá  
 (11') <sup>m</sup>Ni-din-ti-<sup>d</sup>A-nu A LÚ.SIPA GUD.MEŠ  
 (12') <sup>md</sup>A-nu-SIPA-šú-nu DUMU šá<sup>m</sup> [ ... ] šá<sup>m</sup> Ba-bu-tu  
 (13') <sup>md</sup>A-nu-ŠEŠ-it-tan-nu [DUMU šá<sup>m</sup>] Lib-luṭ A<sup>mf</sup> Kur<sup>1</sup> -i  
 (14') <sup>md</sup>A-nu ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU DUMU šá<sup>m</sup> Nu-uh-šá-<sup>d</sup>A-nu  
 (15') <sup>md</sup>A-nu-ŠEŠ-it-tan-nu DUMU šá<sup>md</sup> A-nu-EN-DINGIR.MEŠ A<sup>m</sup> Kur-i  
 (16') <sup>m</sup>Tat-tan-nu DUMU šá<sup>md</sup> A-nu-DIN-it A<sup>m</sup> Sag-gil-a-a  
 (17') «<sup>md</sup>Na»<sup>md</sup> Na-na-a-M[U DU]MU šá<sup>m</sup> Taš-ti-bi
- (18') <sup>md</sup>INNIN-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU LÚ.<sup>a-</sup> ŠID DUMU šá [ <sup>m</sup>NAR.A UNUG.KI ] ITI.ŠU<sup>1-a</sup>  
 (19') UD.25.KÁM MU.41.KÁM<sup>a-m</sup> Ar-[taḫ-šá-as-su] LUGAL<sup>-a</sup>  
 (20')<sup>a-</sup> KUR.KUR<sup>-a</sup>

(upper edge) NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB<sup>md</sup> Na-na-a-x / A<sup>m</sup> LÚ.Ì.SUR-gi-ni-e



(1-5) Tablet recording the division of shares which Anu-bēl-ilī, Šamaš-balāssu-iqbi, and Tattannu, the sons of Bēl-erība, descendant of Kur'ī, made with one another of their own free will, (that is, of shares) in the property of Bēl-erība, their father, whatever there is, whether in town or countryside :

(6-14) A ruined house to be torn down and reconstructed, located in the district of the temple of Ea (or : Enlil?) of Uruk, the upper long side on the north adjoining the broad street, the thoroughfare for the gods and the king, the lower long side on the south adjoining a field belonging to the estate of the Lady of Uruk, the upper short side on the west adjoining the house of [...]zēri, son of Bēl-šubat-qibānī, the lower short side on the east adjoining the house of Anu-ittannu, son of Eṭir(?) - Šamaš, (and) a third of the household goods – (this is) the share of Anu-bēl-ilī, the eldest brother.

(15-20) A half share in the northern part (of the property with) a half-share in the courtyard, a half share in the southern part (of the property with) a half-share in the passageway, as well as the vacant lot with its upper long side on the north adjoining the broad street, the thoroughfare of gods and king, its lower long side on the south adjoining a field belonging to the estate of the lady of Uruk, its upper short side on the [we]st adjoining the house of Anu-x-x-x-... [(and a third of the household goods – this is the share of Šamaš-balāssu-iqbi.)]

(break)

(1'-4') [(A half share in the northern part (of the property with) a half-share in the courtyard, a half share in the southern part (of the property with) a half-share in the passageway, and the empty lot(?) adjoining the empty] lot of Anu-rē'išunu(?) [and ...]-aḥḥē-iddin, the sons of Šellibi, (and) a third of the household goods – (this is) the share of Tattannu.

(5'-6') The northern and southern parts of the property and the empty lot are held in common by Šamaš-balāssu-iqbi and Tattannu.

(7'-9') Anu-bēl-ilī, Šamaš-balāssu-iqbi and Tattannu are occupants each of his own share, (but) they will(?) discharge obligations to the crown jointly.

(10'-17') Witnesses : Anu-aḥ-iddin and x-ilišu, sons of Nidinti-Anu, descendant of the oxherd ; Anu-rē'išunu, son of [..., descendant] of Babūtu ; Anu-aḥ-ittannu, [son of] Libluṭ, descendant of Kur'ī ; Anu-aḥḥē-iddin, son of Nuḥša-Anu ; Anu-aḥ-ittannu, son of Anu-bēl-ilī, descendant of Kur'ī ; Tattannu, son of Anu-uballit, descendant of Saggilaja ; Nanā-iddin, [son] of Taštibi.

(18'-20') Iṣtar-aḥḥē-iddin, scribe, son of [Šellibi. Uruk,] month IV, day 25, year 41, Ar[taxerxes], King of Lands.

(Upper Edge) Seal of Nanā-x-, descendant of the Šāḥit-ginē.

This document belongs to the group of texts connected with Šamaš-balāssu-iqbi/Bēl-erība/Kur'ī (Bagh. Mitt. 21 563ff. Nos. 1-3). It was perhaps prepared but not concluded on the same day, by the same scribe (but not before the same witnesses) as Bagh. Mitt. 21 566 No. 3, the record of a slave sale in which two of the brothers named here sold their shares in a slave to the third brother, presumably pursuant to the general division of inherited property.

7. É<sup>d</sup>BE ša UNUG.KI : cf. bronze cup *ana naptanu ša* É<sup>d</sup>BE YBC 9442 :2f. (Nbk. II, 28/VI/27) ; *qaqqaru ša* GIŠ.SAR É<sup>d</sup>É-a AnOr 9 2 :52 ; 9 GIŠ.SAR.MEŠ É<sup>d</sup>É-a AnOr 9 3 :42 ; É<sup>d</sup>BE (field) YBC 4134 :2, also line 24 ; Freydank Wirtschaftstexte Index pp.146-7 s.vv. <sup>d</sup>BE, *bīt<sup>d</sup>Ea* ; *bīt<sup>d</sup>Enlil* (É<sup>d</sup>BE) ; *ul-tu* É<sup>d</sup>BE VAS 20 103 :5' (context broken) ; [K]Á É<sup>d</sup>BE von Weiher Uruk 4 (= Uruk, Spätbabylonische Texte aus U 18, IV, Ausgrabungen Uruk Warka Endberichte 12 [1993]) no. 220 iii 23 ; barley carried *ina* É<sup>d</sup>BE NCBT 144 :4 (Nbk. II,22/VIII/40) ; offerings in *dannu* containers for <sup>d</sup>BE NCBT 528 :12 (no preserved date).

18-20. <sup>a</sup>--<sup>a</sup> : erasures, perhaps indicating that the tablet was prepared on 25/IV/41 Artaxerxes, like Bagh. Mitt. 21 566 No. 3, but the transaction was concluded only afterward, hence before different witnesses ; but if that is so, the correction of the date was not completed.

Upper Edge. The seal owner was perhaps the last-named witness, Nanā-iddin, his patronym omitted in the seal caption and his ancestor's name omitted in the list of witnesses.

NCBT 1067

Uruk

--/-- Artaxerxes

- (1) ṚŠE1[.NUMUN ...]
- (2) šá ina bi-Ṛri1 [ ... ]
- (3) šá UŠ.<SA>.DU<sup>md</sup>DIŠ-DU-[A ...]
- (4) u UŠ.SA.DU<sup>md</sup>IM-S[U(?) ..]
- (5) šá<sup>md</sup>ṚUMUN(?)·MU1·MU u<sup>m</sup>ŠEŠ.MEŠ-x [ ... ]

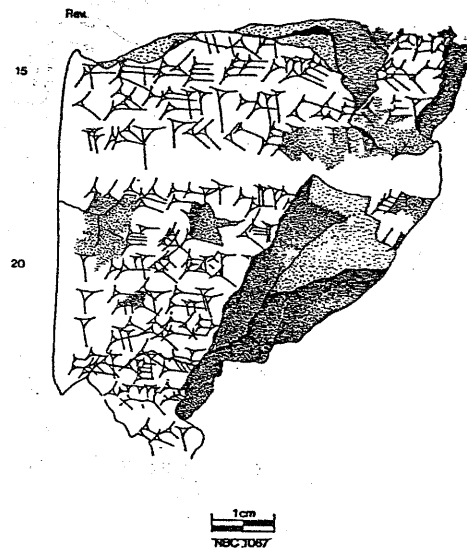
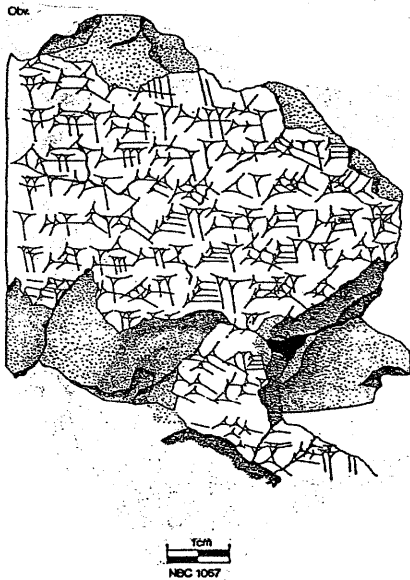
- (6) <sup>md</sup>UTU-DIN-su-E ma-la HA.[LA ... ]  
 (7) a-na er-re-šu-tu a-na <sup>m</sup>[ ... ]  
 (8) DUMU šá <sup>md</sup>IM-SU id-din  
 (9) [...] x a x [...] x [...] ]  
 (10) [...] -mu <sup>r</sup>dul(?)<sup>l</sup>-[lu(?)]  
 (11) [...]ŠE-NUMUN[...]

(lower edge)

- (12) [...] -pu-[uš(?) ... ]  
 (13) [ ... ] x-šú ia-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>l</sup>-[nu]

(reverse)

- (14) [...] x x [...] <sup>r</sup>ina<sup>l</sup> muh-b[i]  
 (15) maš-kat(!)-tum i-nam-[din...] ŠE.NUMUN [GUD.MEŠ(?)]  
 (16) u LÚ.APIN <sup>md</sup>A(!)-nu-DIN-x [...] ]  
 (17) a-na <sup>m</sup>Man-nu-x-x [ ... ]  
  
 (18) LÚ.MU.KIN<sub>7</sub> <sup>m</sup>Si(?) x [ ... ] DUMU(?) <sup>m</sup>[ ... ]  
 (19) [<sup>m</sup>x-<sup>2</sup>x [...] ]  
 (20) <sup>md</sup>DIŠ-DIN-<sup>i</sup>t [...] ]  
 (21) <sup>m</sup>Ta(!)-tan-[...] ]  
 (22) <sup>m</sup>Ni-din-tum-x [ ... ]  
 (23) UNUG.KI ITL [ ... ]  
 (24) [<sup>m</sup>Ar-ta[h-šá-as-su LUGAL KUR.KUR]  
 (upper edge) NA<sub>4</sub>.[KIŠIB ... ]



This text, too fragmentary for useful translation, is the remnant of a lease «for cultivation», presumably on share-cropping terms, (*ana errēšūtu*, line 7, see Ries Bodenpachtformulare, 65f. with n. 441, Joannès Textes économiques 79), its terms apparently extraordinary, hence not susceptible to confident reconstruction. Judging by line 6, this text too belongs with the group of texts connected with Šamaš-balāssu-iqbi/Bēl-erība//Kurī (Bagh. Mitt. 21 563ff. Nos. 1-3).

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**78) Enkidus Rede vor den Weisen von Uruk : SpTU II 30 (+?) IV 123** – Bei den Ausgrabungen in Ue XVIII wurden zwei Fragmente der zweiten Tafel des Gilgameš-Epos gefunden. Das erste Fragment wurde in Umschrift von E. von Weiher in ZA 62, 222-229 publiziert, die Kopie in SpTU II 30 nachgeliefert. Das zweite Fragment erschien in SpTU IV 123. Beide Fragmente umfassen Teile der 6. Kolumne und sind so erhalten, da zwischen ihnen in den Zeilen 15-20 jeweils nur etwa 1-3 Zeichen fehlen. Ein Join im Kernbereich scheint möglich, muß aber am Original überprüft werden. Eine Schwierigkeit besteht darin, daß nach den Kopien allein zu urteilen, die Kolumne in SpTU 30 um einiges schmaler wäre als in SpTU 123. Leider fehlen bei SpTU 30 die Maßangaben, die es erlauben würden, das Verhältnis der beiden Stücke genauer zu bestimmen.

Mit Hilfe der beiden Fragmente läßt sich die Zeilenfolge für die gesamte 6. Kolumne der Tafel wiederherstellen. Die Zeilen, in denen die beiden Bruchstücke zusammenpassen, enthalten einen Teil der Rede Enkidus an die Weisen von Uruk. Nach dem Ende von SpTU 30 zu urteilen, läuft diese parallel mit seiner vorherigen Rede an Gilgameš (V 6-15). In Zusammenschau mit der weitgehend identischen Rede der Weisen an Gilgameš im "Heidel-Fragment" (Heidel JNES 11, 140-143) und in SpTU 123 kann der ganze Passus der Rede ergänzt werden, vor allem die Zeilen 25 und 26, die in der Parallele aus Ninive (Thompson EG, Pl. 10: Tf. II, V 1-6) fehlen. In der folgenden Rekonstruktion sind die Zeilenzählungen beider Fragmente und der Rede Enkidus an Gilgameš angeführt.

<u>123 30</u>	<u>123</u>
V VI	VI
15) <i>akītu</i> (Á.KLIT) <i>liš-šá-kin-ma ni-g[u-tú li]-[ib]-ši</i>	x+ 2
16) <i>e-lu-ri liš-taš-ša-nu ina [maḥar(IGI) <sup>d</sup>Nin-s]ún?</i>	x+ 3
17) <sup>d+</sup> <i>En-ki-dù ana ši-bu-ú-tú mil-[ku i-ma]l-lik</i>	x+ 4
18) <i>šá eḫūti</i> (GURUŠ.MEŠ) <i>šá Uruk</i> (UNUG) <sup>ki</sup> <i>mu-d[u-ú]-tu<sub>4</sub></i>	x+ 5
(6) 19) <i>qí-ba-niš-šum<sup>?</sup>-ma la il-lak ana <sup>gis</sup>qiš[ti(TIR)] <sup>[<sup>gis</sup>erēni(ERIN)</sup></i>	x+ 6
7 20) <i>ḥarrānu</i> (KASKAL.MIN) <i>ši-i ul šá a-la-ku : a-me-lu šu<sup>1</sup>-[ú<sup>?</sup> ul<sup>?</sup> šá<sup>?</sup>] a-ma-ri</i>	x+ 7
8 21) <i>na-šir šá <sup>gis</sup>qiš[ti(TIR)] <sup>[<sup>gis</sup>ERIN<sup>?</sup>]</sup> x x pa<sup>?</sup> šá</i>	x+ 8
9 22) [ <sup>d</sup> <i>ḫum</i> ]-[ <sup>ba</sup> ]-[ <sup>ba</sup> ] [ <i>ri-ig-ma-šú a-bu-bu : pi-i-šú girru</i> ( <sup>d</sup> GIŠ.BAR)- <i>um-ma</i> ] <i>na-pi-is-su mu-ú-tú</i>	x+ 9
10 (23) [ <i>i-šem-me-e-ma ana 60 bēri</i> (DANNA)] <i>rim-mat <sup>gis</sup>qiš[ti(TIR)]-šú</i>	x+10
11 (24) [ <i>man-nu-um-ma šá ur-ra-du</i> ] <i>a-na <sup>gis</sup>qiš[ti(TIR)]-šú</i>	x+11
12 (25) [ <sup>d</sup> <i>Adad</i> (IŠKUR) <i>ištēn</i> (1-en) <i>ù šú-ú</i> ] <i>šá-nu-ú</i>	x+12
13 (26) [ <i>ma-nu-um-ma šá i-ge-er-ru-šú i</i> ]- <i>na <sup>d</sup>f-gi-gi</i>	x+13
14 (27) [ <i>áš-šú šul-lu-mu <sup>gis</sup>erēni</i> (ERIN) <i>pul-ḥa</i> ]- <i>a-ta šá nišē</i> (UN.MEŠ) <i>i-šim-šú <sup>d+</sup>En-líl</i>	x+14
15 (28) [ <i>u a-rid <sup>gis</sup>qiš[ti(TIR)]-šú<sup>1</sup> i-šab-bat-su lu-u<sup>?</sup>-tu</i>	x+15
(29) [ <i>it-bu</i> ]- <i>ú-[ma] ma-l<sup>?</sup>i<sup>?</sup>-ke-e rab-bu-tu</i>	x+16

Kommentar

15-16) Die beiden Zeilen wurden nach der Rede von Gilgameš an Ninsun in Ninive (Thompson EG, Pl. 11 : Tf. III, I 30-31) rekonstruiert, in der nur die Zeilenden erhalten sind.

30?) ]-*ta lib-ši*

31?) ]-*na ina maḥ-ri-ki*

15) Für die Formulierung *nigūtu libši* siehe auch Bauer, Asb. II 74, Rs.8

16) Die kopierten Spuren passen nicht ganz zu *sún*. Eine Kollation wäre notwendig.

19) Erwartetes *šum* sieht in der Kopie wie *šim* aus.



- 20) Die Lücke wurde unter der Voraussetzung ergänzt, daß die zweite Hälfte parallel zur ersten formuliert war; die Konstruktion wäre freilich ungewöhnlich. Für ähnliche Konstruktionen siehe Aro, Infinitivkonstruktionen 2.57-2.66. Übersetzt etwa: "Dieser Weg ist nicht des Gehens; dieser Mensch ist nicht des Sehens/Kennens" oder etwas freier: "Dieser Weg ist nicht gangbar; dieser Mensch (Gilgameš) kennt ihn nicht". Das Paar *alāku / amāru* taucht in der altbabylonischen Fassung (Yale Tablet in YOS Res. 4/III: Pl. I-VII) in ganz ähnlichem Zusammenhang in positiver Form als Stativ auf, wenn von Enkidu gesagt wird: Yale VI 24) [*ur-ḫ*]a-am a-me-er a-lik ḫarrāna (KASKAL-na). Vergleiche weiter den Ausspruch von Gilgameš in Yale VI 3-4; hier ist nur das Verb *amāru* durch *idū* ersetzt: 3) ] x ḫarrānu(KASKAL) ša la al-[i-ku] ma-ti-ma 4) a]l<sup>7</sup>-ka-sú i-lí l[a] i-de
- 21) Die Zeichen am Ende vermag ich nicht zu deuten. Man vergleiche vielleicht Yale III 40-41 :  
40) na-ši-ir-ša<sup>d</sup>We-er [  
41) da-a-an la ša-[li-il<sup>7</sup>
- 22-28) Für diese Zeilen wurden die Rede Enkidus an Gilgameš (SpTU 123, V 6'-15'), von der die Zeilenanfänge erhalten sind, und die Rede der Weisen an Gilgameš (SpTU 123, VI 20'-27' und Heidel, Rs. 6'-12') als Parallelen herangezogen.
- 22) Die Zeile ist sehr eng beschrieben. Hier sind wie in der neuassyrischen Fassung (II, V 3) zwei Zeilen zusammengefaßt worden.
- 25) Diese Zeile kommt in der neuassyrischen Fassung nicht vor. Als Parallele kann aber die altbabylonische Fassung Yale III 43-44 angeführt und entsprechend ergänzt werden:  
43) <sup>d</sup>Adad iš-[te-en (ù)?)  
44) šu-ú [ša-nu-ú]
- Im Heidel Fragment Rs. 10 kann die Umschrift in der parallelen Rede nach dem Photo ebenfalls in 1-e]n ù šu-ú šanū(MIN-ú) verbessert werden.
- 26) Diese Zeile ist nur aus den neu/spätbabylonischen Exemplaren bekannt. In SpTU 123 steht in den parallelen Reden das Verb *gerú* (V 13 i-ge-e[r-; VI 25 i-ge-[ ). Heidel ergänzte an der entsprechenden Stelle (Rs. 11) *i-maḫ-ḫa-ru-šú*, doch läßt sich dort auch *i-ge]r-ru-šú* lesen.
- 28) Mit dieser Zeile setzt das Heidel-Fragment ein. Nach dem Photo zu urteilen steht dort in der ersten Zeile: ]<sup>a</sup>-rid<sup>g</sup>[

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79) While my article, « niga sá-du<sub>11</sub> as a Fattening Grade in Ur III Texts, » was in press [ZA 85/1 (1995) 8-18], I came across a couple of new publications not available to me at the time I wrote the paper, and one offers a new text having some importance to the corroboration of its thesis.

In M. Sigrist, Texts from the British Museum (SAT I), p. 228, udu sá-du<sub>11</sub> appear in the context of lists of livestock received by Anamu the fattener. In lines 2 and 25 they follow udu niga, in line 7 (referring to line 5) they are designated as a royal fixed delivery (sá-du<sub>11</sub> lugal), and in line 27 (ref. to line 25) they are designated as property of the ensi (ni-ga énsi-ka). The date is AS 3, and I suggest that this is an additional example of the occurrence of the term (niga) sá-du<sub>11</sub> outside the reign of Šulgi (see note 4). This text also supports the interpretation of udu sá-du<sub>11</sub> as an abbreviated form of udu niga sá-du<sub>11</sub> (see note 10 and p. 9).

See also Sigrist, Neo-Sumerian Texts from the Royal Ontario Museum, 13 line 6 (p. 25), where ur-saḫ is probably to be read sá<sup>1</sup>-du<sub>11</sub>. In view of his commentary to this line, it should be noted that elsewhere in the Sulgi-simti archive udu niga hur-saḫ does not occur.

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#### 80) Le sacrifice *pîdum* et le nom du jeune bouc à Mari

(a) Le terme de *pîdum* était apparu d'abord dans ARM XXI 7: 7, où des livraisons de bestiaux se voyaient cataloguées de *ša pí-di-im ša ha-na*. M. Anbar en avait refusé l'occurrence et proposé de lire *ša-pí-ṭi-im* (MARI 5, p. 643). Outre que le texte ne forme pas un bon sens avec une telle lecture, l'usage de l'administration centrale de Mari n'est pas d'utiliser DI pour ṭi.

Plusieurs parallèles existent à cette expression, comme XXII 291 qui donne :

- 20 gukkal\*-nita<sub>2</sub>-há, ša li-mi-<sup>d</sup>IM  
(3) 3 máš-gal, ša ri-ip-i-li-im  
(5) 1 munus-ás-gàr, l[a]-i-um, [lú o-o]-an<sup>ki</sup>  
(8) [1] me-at 9 sila<sub>4</sub>-há, 7 ás-gàr 2 munus-ás-gàr, 4 udu ka\*-pa-su\*  
(11) šu-nigin<sub>2</sub> 1 me-at 22 udu-há, pí\*-du-um ša\* ha-na\*

- (13) *ša li-mi-<sup>d</sup>IM ú-ša-re-em*  
 (14) *šu-nigin<sub>2</sub> l me-at 46\* udu-há, mu-tù*  
 (16) *pí-qí-ti ru-ma-an*  
 (17) *iti <sup>d</sup>da-gan , u<sub>4</sub> 14-kam*

L'écriture de ce document est archaïque, avec des graphies qui rappellent celles de Yahdun-Lîm, notamment pour le Ú. Rumân est d'ailleurs bien attesté dans d'autres textes contemporains du nôtre.

Le *pídum* se présente, d'après son étymologie, comme un « rachat ». Il est attesté par plusieurs NP comme *pí-di-<sup>d</sup>SIG<sub>4</sub>*, M.5734, ou *pí-di-AN*, XXII 3 ii 10 (col.), A.362 (nu-banda<sub>3</sub>), Pidi-ki-El (cf. *MARI* 8, p. 643, n. 590). Il est possible, en l'occurrence, que le contexte ne soit pas sacré, mais représente une taxe acquittée par les Bédouins envers l'administration royale.

(b) L. 10, *kapasum* n'est sans doute pas un NP, d'après le mouvement du texte, puisque les l. 8, 9, 10 sont résumées en l. 11, par un premier sous-total, lequel est mis en équivalence avec les autres livraisons individuelles du début du texte. Il ne peut donc s'agir que d'une épithète de udu (« petit bétail », ovin ou caprin), nouvelle à ma connaissance, et qui n'est qu'un particularisme de plus de la nomenclature mariote concernant les animaux domestiques. On est tenté de le rapprocher du nom d'ovin hébreu *kebeš*, compris généralement comme « agneau », ou du *kabš* arabe qui signifie « bélier » ou « chef de sa tribu » (Kazimirsky). Ici, *sil<sub>4</sub>* étant déjà employé, il semble que l'on ait l'énumération « petit (caprin) », « petite chevrette », « femelle-chevrette », « (jeune)-bouc », allant depuis les tout jeunes à des animaux vraisemblablement adultes, mais sans doute moins âgés que les *ùz* ou *máš-gal*. La distinction du sexe ne serait pas faite pour les plus jeunes animaux, comme cela se passe dans les inventaires de personnes de Mari, lorsqu'il s'agit d'énumérer des enfants.

Si cette façon de voir est juste, l'akkadien de Mari recourait donc à une prononciation KPS, non KBŠ. Le dialecte de Mari présente, pour les sifflantes, des différences notables de traitement avec les dialectes occidentaux. On remarquera que, pour ce terme, à l'hébreu Š correspond un Š en arabe ou en syriaque (*kebsā*). Ces termes ne sont d'ailleurs pas très employés.

Un rapprochement me paraîtrait possible, en outre, avec une épithète de caprin à Nuzi, attestée par *Excavations at Nuzi IV 457* : 10 = 9 udu-há *qa-ap-šu ši-hu-ru*. Ce terme est entré dans les dictionnaires, sans analyse, en tant que *kapšušihuru*, épithète de capridés de sens inconnu. Une analyse de cette trop longue séquence en *kà-ab-šu ši-hu-ru* y ferait voir la juxtaposition de deux termes identiques pour désigner l'animal, le premier sémitique, le second hourrite. La bilingue hourro-hittite de Boghaz-Köy, *KBo 32 13*, ro. i 18 donne en effet la séquence de noms d'animaux *še-eš-we<sub>2</sub> ha-wi<sub>2</sub>-ir-ni ša-a-ha-ri*, parallèle à *máš-tur-i sil<sub>4</sub>-i máš-gal-ia* de la traduction hittite. On peut en tirer un terme *šāhari* = *máš-gal* « bouc ». La notation *šihuru* de Nuzi lui correspondrait parfaitement pour la séquence consonnantique, non pour celle des voyelles. On peut imaginer que, dans le texte de Nuzi précité, le terme hourrite a été juxtaposé au mot sémitique comme une glose explicative d'un terme rarement usité. (Pour ce passage de la Bilingue et le problème des correspondances entre noms d'animaux des versions hourrite et hittite, cf. le point sur la question et les réserves éventuelles à faire, dans la contribution de Jean Catsanicos, « L'apport de la bilingue hourrite de Hattuša à la lexicologie hourrite », dans *Mari, Ébla et les Hourrites*, Actes du Colloque de Paris de 1993, sous presse.)

Le fait que le dialecte de Mari réalise le terme comme *kapasu* pourrait indiquer, par ailleurs, une prononciation mariote Kapsatum ou Kapsum pour les NP cités, *FM II*, p. 105 a), lesquels sont interprétés traditionnellement comme Kabsatum ou Kabsum et signifiant « brebis » ..., etc..

(c) La documentation de Mari datant de la même époque ancienne, XXII 294 : 4 (*udu-a-lum ša za-ma-ra-tim*) ou XXIV 45, 51 (ces deux documents appartiennent, eux-aussi, au règne de Yahdun-Lîm ou au tout début de l'époque éponymale) fait apparaître un autre nom d'animal, *zamartum* ou *zamurtum*, qui n'est certainement pas à rapporter à la racine *ZMR* « chanter » (cf. *ARMT XXIV*, p. 33) mais n'est autre que l'écho dans la documentation cunéiforme de l'animal *zāmer* dont ne parle que *Dt 14* : 5, et uniquement pour en reconnaître l'aspect comestible. Dhorme, *Pléiade I*, p. 553, traduit « chevreuil ». Il est vraisemblable que le *\*zamrum*, fém. *zamurtum/zamartum*, représentait une race de capridés, pas obligatoirement sauvages d'ailleurs.

Tous ces divers termes qui semblent ne se trouver, à Mari, que dans des textes de Yahdun-Lîm, ou immédiatement postérieurs à lui, pourraient représenter l'usage du nord-ouest de la Haute-Djéziré au début du II<sup>e</sup> millénaire et avoir été propres, en l'occurrence, au dialecte bensim'alite du Bahh.

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**81) Confusions de signes** – La signification du sumérogramme NI-PAD, mentionné dans des textes de Mari édités par J. Bottéro, a été élucidée par B. Landsberger qui a proposé d’y voir le « presseur d’huile », en corrigeant la lecture des signes en NI-ŠUR<sup>1</sup> (cf. *ARMT VII*, p. 360). Cette seconde lecture, en contradiction avec la lecture matérielle, admise par J. Bottéro, se reproduit ailleurs comme dans *ARM XXII* 262 i 8. Par contre M.6546 (l. 9) donne la graphie normale lú-i-šur et conforte la correction de B. Landsberger.

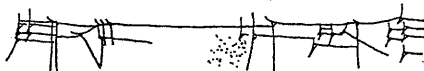
6546 :8 

Ce phénomène touche aussi l’onomastique, tel le nom divin Aššur écrit à deux reprises a-PAD dans *ARM I* 74 (l. 7 et 28) ou le NP, déjà connu, Yašur-Dagan :

*ARM XXII* 276 i 7 :  
it-ti ia\*-PAD\*-d\*da\*-gan\*



M.12435 11' :  
ia-PAD-d\*da-gan

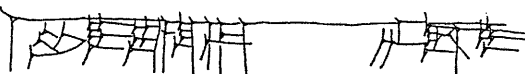


À coté de ces écritures « aberrantes » *ARM XXI* 405 9' donne la graphie attendue :

1 lú ia-šur-d\*da-gan

Le NP est enfin attesté dans sa graphie développée par *ARM XXII* 14 II' 9' :

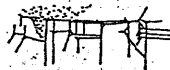
1 lú-tur ia-šu-ur-d\*da-gan



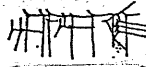
La grande ressemblance des signes ŠUR et PAD permet aisément de comprendre la raison et la fréquence de ce qui semble être des confusions (dans *ARM I* 74, Aššur est écrit avec la « bonne et mauvaise » graphie, cf. autographie de G. Dossin, pl. XCIV et XCVI, l. 7, l. 28 et l. 33).

Or, dans la lettre *ARM XXVI*/1 103, attribuée au devin Halî-hadun et Inib-Šamaš, une méprise similaire semble s’être encore produite pour ŠUR. Au lieu de trouver une graphie normale pour la ville d’Aššur, seule localité attendue dans ce passage, se trouve écrit <sup>d</sup>A-MÛŠ<sup>ki</sup>. Ce particularisme se reproduit dans *ARM XXVI*/1 104, parallèle au texte précédent, mais réduit la graphie pour Aššur à « <sup>d</sup>MÛŠ<sup>ki</sup> ». Le plus simple pour cette dernière variante est sans doute de restituer un « A ». Mais du fait que le signe MÛŠ du syllabaire de Mari n’est pas si éloigné du graphisme de ŠUR, il est assez vraisemblable qu’il s’agisse d’un signe pris pour un autre.

*ARMT XXVI* 102 : 2'



*ARMT XXVI* 102 : 15'



*ARMT XXVI* 103 : 10

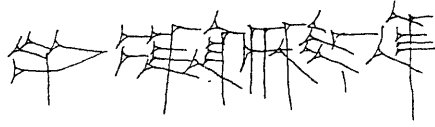


Quoi qu’il en soit, le signe ŠUR, dont l’usage se cantonne au sumérien et à l’onomastique, est à verser dans la liste des signes difficiles du syllabaire de Mari (dont une étude générale est en cours actuellement dans notre équipe). Il donne peut-être une illustration des limites de la connaissance des scribes de Mari, en dépit de la forte impression que peuvent laisser quelques « prouesses » littéraires comme cette bilingue suméro-akkadienne, une lettre de cour, écrite par un scribe déchu ; cf. D. Charpin, « Les malheurs d’un scribe ou l’inutilité du sumérien loin de Nippur », *Nippur at the Centennial*, Philadelphia, 1992, p. 7-27 et notamment p. 24.

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**82) Le toponyme ADKirum** – Dans *FM II* p. 195, j’ai republié sous le n°103 la tablette *ARMT XXII* 123. Parmi les personnages porteurs de cadeaux destinés au roi Yahdun-Lîm à la porte de Tarnip, se trouve un certain Šallurum, suivi l. 8 de ce que j’ai lu à la suite de J.-R. Kupper lú sé-ke-ri-im. Il serait toutefois étonnant de trouver un homme chargé de fermer les vannes d’un canal dans un tel contexte (pour le terme de *sêkerum* à Mari, voir J.-M. Durand, « Problèmes d’eau et d’irrigation dans la région de Mari », B. Geyer [éd.], *Techniques et pratiques hydro-agricoles ...*, Paris, 1990, p. 101-142, en particulier p. 137). Un nettoyage plus poussé de la tablette dû à J.-M. Durand a cependant fait apparaître un signe KI en fin de ligne ; par ailleurs, le second signe ressemble davantage à AD qu’à ŠI. Il faut donc sans doute lire lú aD-KI-ri-im<sup>ki</sup> « homme d’ADKirum », lú

ne désignant pas forcément dans ces textes le roi d'une ville (*FM II p. 186 n. 63*). Il s'agit là d'un toponyme dont je ne connais actuellement pas d'autre attestation.



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## VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

**83) Index of Akkadian Lexical Systems [ISLA-Project]** – The Assyriological Section of the Instituto de Estudios del Próximo Oriente Antiguo (University of Barcelona) has started a project named *Índice de sistemas léxicos de la Lengua Acadia* [ISLA].

The aim of the project is to provide a thematic or conceptual dictionary of the Akkadian Language.

On the macro-structural level, the ISLA arranges the Akkadian lexical repertory on a decimal thematic classification according to *onomasiological* (: from the object to the lexeme) criteria. It is intended as a complement of and *not* as a lexicographic alternative to the now available dictionaries of the Akkadian written tradition, that arrange the lexemes alphabetically and operate according to exclusively *semasiological* (: from the lexeme to the object) criteria.

On the micro-structural level, the ISLA describes briefly the diachronic and diatopic setting of every lexeme in the grid of lexical systems peculiar to the Akkadian language.

Its inmanent lexicographic dimension aside, the ISLA-Project represents a new, strictly linguistic approach to the patterns of thought, or world-views, of the Mesopotamian society.

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**84) Soutenances de thèse** – María D. Hidalgo a soutenu avec mention *cum laude* à l'unanimité du jury sa Thèse de Doctorat de l'Université de Murcie (Dept. d'Histoire Ancienne), intitulée *Los textos rituales de Emar*. Le jury était composé de A. González (Univ. de Murcie), J.-L. Cunchillos (C.S.I.C., Madrid), G. del Olmo Lete (Univ. de Barcelone), E. Martínez (C.S.I.C., Madrid) et M. Molina (Univ. de Murcie). Directeur : J. Sanmartín (Univ. de Barcelone).

Ignacio Márquez Rowe a soutenu avec mention *cum laude* à l'unanimité du jury sa Thèse de Doctorat de l'Université de Barcelone (Dept. d'Histoire Ancienne), intitulée *El ilku en Ugarit: estudio textual acerca del sistema tributario territorial*. Le jury était composé de G. del Olmo Lete (Univ. de Barcelone), F.J. Fernández Nieto (Univ. de Valence [E]), F. Martín (Université de Barcelone) et M. Molina (C.S.I.C., Madrid). Directeur : J. Sanmartín (Univ. de Barcelone).

J. SANMARTÍN (17-05-95)

**85) Job opening** – The Department of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology of Bryn Mawr College seeks an archaeologist for a tenure track position at the level of Assistant Professor beginning in September, 1996. Preferred areas of specialization are Anatolia, Syria-Palestine, and Cyprus within the range of periods Neolithic through Roman. Candidates who are able to contribute to interdisciplinary programs in urban or environmental studies, or who have allied expertise in art history, Classical studies or anthropology, are encouraged to apply. Experience in fieldwork is strongly desired. Ph.D. required. Send letter, curriculum vitae, writing sample, and names and addresses of from three to five references. Application deadline is November 15, 1995. Address materials to Prof. Stella Miller-Collett, Chair, Department of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, PA 19010-2899. Fax : 610-526-7479. Tel : 610-526-5053. E-mail : smillerc@brynmawr.edu. Bryn Mawr College is an equal- opportunity, affirmative action employer. The College particularly wishes to encourage applications from individuals interested in joining a multicultural, international academic community. Minority candidates and women are especially encouraged to apply.

Richard S. ELLIS (28/09/1995)

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