

# N.A.B.U.

## Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires

1995

N°4 (Décembre)

### NOTES BRÈVES

**86) Centre et périphérie** – Il n'existe encore aucune étude d'ensemble consacrée à la délimitation de l'espace dans les textes mésopotamiens. Je voudrais ici communiquer une observation faite à partir des archives de Mari. On sait que le royaume de Mari s'étendait essentiellement le long de deux cours d'eau, l'Euphrate et le Habur. Lorsqu'on voulait déterminer une portion de territoire, il suffisait donc de dire « depuis A jusqu'à B ». C'est ainsi que les gouverneurs de Qaṭṭunân, lorsqu'ils voulaient désigner la totalité de leur district, utilisaient la formule « depuis Tehrân jusqu'à Rahatum », du nord au sud, soit de l'amont vers l'aval (cf. M. Birot, *ARMT* XXVII p. 7-8 § 2).

Étudiant les lettres écrites depuis le Suhûm, je me suis aperçu que leurs auteurs, lorsqu'ils décrivaient celui-ci, ou des parties de celui-ci, procédaient au contraire de l'aval vers l'amont. Ainsi, la région de Yabliya (où *Suhûm šaplum*) est-elle décrite à plusieurs reprises comme s'étendant « de Harbû à Mulhân » (à *ARMT* XXVI 154-bis : 6, on peut ajouter les références aux inédits A.1234 : 6' et M.9518<sup>+</sup> : 13-15 [contrairement à ce que laisse entendre *ARMT* XXVI/1 p. 33, il n'est pas question de Hanat dans ce dernier texte]). Le devin auteur de la lettre *ARMT* XXVI 167 indique de même : « <sup>8</sup>J'ai pris les présages <sup>6</sup> pour le district, <sup>7</sup> depuis Mulhân <sup>8</sup> jusqu'à Sapîratum ». Or on sait que Mulhân constituait l'extrémité méridionale du *Suhûm elûm*, qui avait Hanat comme chef-lieu, tandis que Sapîratum se trouvait dans l'île de Bēḡān, à 25 km en aval de Hanat, donc nettement en amont de Mulhân (voir mon article « Sapîratum, ville du Suhûm », *MARI* 8 [sous presse] p. 360-361). On citera encore la lettre de Yaši-El inédite A.2053, où l'on indique : « ... du Suhûm, depuis Mulhân jusqu'à Hanat » (l. 19-21 : *ša su-hi-im iš-tu mu-ul-ha-an<sup>ki</sup> a-[d]i ha-na-an<sup>ki</sup>*). On signalera pour finir la lettre de Lâ'ûm inédite A.2227 : « Depuis Qaşâ, Ayabum et en amont jusqu'à Yabliya, le Suhûm s'est révolté » (<sup>6</sup> ... *iš-tu qa-ša-aki<sup>7</sup> a-ia-bi-im<sup>ki</sup> à e-li-iš<sup>8</sup> a-di ia-ab-li-ia<sup>ki</sup> <sup>9</sup> su-hu-um ib-ba-al-ki-tam*). Les seuls exemples contraires que je connaisse, à propos du Suhûm, concernent des itinéraires, comme *ARMT* XXVI 98, qui mentionne un trajet de Yabliya à Qaşâ.

Or toutes ces lettres étaient écrites au roi de Mari, qu'il s'agisse de Yasmah-Addu ou de Zimri-Lîm. Il semblerait donc que l'étiquette voulait qu'on se mette à la place de son correspondant, et que le point de départ de la description soit l'endroit qui en était le plus éloigné, le point d'arrivée étant au contraire le point le plus proche de Mari : dans la région du Habur, les sites étaient donc mentionnés d'amont en aval, dans le Suhûm, d'aval en amont. Telle est du moins l'interprétation qui me semble actuellement la plus vraisemblable.

Si ce principe pouvait être confirmé, cela devrait aider à préciser certaines localisations : ainsi pour la mention qui figure dans A.4018 « depuis Halabît jusqu'à Lasqum » (*ARMT* XXVI/1 p. 126 n. 37) : Lasqum serait en aval de Halabît. On pourrait aussi régler le cas de *ARMT* XIII 117+ : 26-27 (*Mél. Kupper* p. 157) : « depuis Zibnatum jusqu'à Zanipatum ». On sait que ces deux villes appartenaient au district de Saggarâtum (ici désigné comme *halšum elûm*) et que Zibnatum est à mi-chemin entre Dûr-Yahdun-Lîm et Terqa. A partir de *ARM* III 4, J.-M. Durand a considéré que Zanipatum était en amont de Zibnatum, mais la lettre de Kibri-Dagan n'est pas très claire : si ma théorie est juste, ce devrait être le contraire.

Dominique CHARPIN (10-11-95)  
Appt 2103, 10 villa d'Este  
F-75013 PARIS

**87) Lakûm, to feel secure** – ARM 27 115, formerly 2 129, tells how a father came from Qaṭṭunan to Mari and took care of his sick son. When the son recovered and the father rested a last time in the hotel (*bū napṭarim*, Absteige), the father *il-ki*, and his son cut his throat with a bronze knife. J.-M. Durand came across the same verb in ARM 26 22 and commented on it. A third example can now be found in A.1056, published by D. Charpin in MAR1 7, 185. In it Ibal-AN reports to Šunuhra-Halu the conclusion of an agreement between the Hana and kingdoms of Ida-Maraš. He mentions the satisfaction of the Hana about the agreement and adds: « All of Hana *i-la-ak-ka* up to Hurra throughout Ida-Maraš. It (Hana) has no enemy ». Charpin translates *i-la-ak-ka* « peuvent aller » which fits well. But the reduplication of /k/ renders derivation from *alākum* unlikely. The context suggests the meaning « feels secure ». This meaning fits well in the other two attestations. ARM 26 22 was written by Asqudum at a time when he prepared to come back from the west. He was concerned about not having instructions on what to bring back to satisfy the needs of the palace. But a tablet with the instructions came just in time before his departure. Asqudum expressed his relief by describing the situation he would have faced otherwise: « had I gone I would have gone without feeling secure about the need » (lines 11-12 *inūma anāku allaku ana lā lakê ḥisiḫtim allak*). The father of ARM 27 115 « felt secure » (*ilki*) and then was killed.

A semantic connection of « to feel secure » and *lakû* « infant » presents no difficulties. Durand assumed that weakness was the tertium comparationis, my proposal implies that it is the lack of awareness of danger that we share with infants when we feel secure.

Wolfgang HEIMPEL (20-09-95)  
Department of Near Eastern Studies  
University of California  
BERKELEY, CA 94720, USA

**88) Kaniš and Beyond** – Owing to the survival of large numbers of tablets from the sites of Kültepe, Boğazköy and Alişar Hüyük, the activities of Old Assyrian traders operating on the trade routes between Aššur and Central Anatolia during the early second millennium are understood to an exceptional degree. However, the tablets provide little information beyond Central Anatolia. On the basis of other evidence, it may be possible to trace the extension of these routes from Central Anatolia as far as the Aegean.

Some years ago, H.-G. Buchholz (in C. Doumas, ed., *Thera and the Ancient World II* [1980], 231-33; *JDAI* 87 [1972]: 1-59) discussed the subject of lead disk balance weights from the Aegean and several Near Eastern sites. Among these he associates lead disk weights of disparate types; the Ras Shamra weights (C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* 4 [Paris, 1962], 72, fig. 60, A, D), for example, are quite distinct from the Aegean and Anatolian specimens. He treats the weights as artifacts of interest for their function and the metal of their manufacture, the latter being a subject which he has discussed elsewhere in detail (*JDAI* 87 [1972]: 1-59; *Acts of the Int. Arch. Symposium «The Mycenaean in the Eastern Mediterranean»*, Nicosia 1972 [1973], 278-84, 408-410), and claims a Near Eastern origin for the use of lead disk weights in general. However, because he does not distinguish among the various types of lead disk weights and does not discuss the question of standards of weight, the full significance of the Anatolian weights has been overlooked.

A single, damaged lead disk weight recovered from early excavations was published by T. Özguç in *Kültepe 1949* (1953), pl. 57, 63 and seven similar specimens have been published more recently by the same author in *Kültepe-Kaniš II* (1986), 77-78, pl. 130. To these eight from Kaniš can be added at least two from Boğazköy (R. M. Boehmer, *BoHa 7 = WVDOG* 87 [1972], 165, pl. 59) while a single specimen is known from Alişar (H. H. von der Osten, *OIP* 29, fig. 298, no. d 2694). The specimen published in *Kültepe 1949* was not weighed. The value of the Alişar weight is similarly unknown. The function of the seven lead disks published in *Kültepe-Kaniš II*, on the other hand, has been recognized and the objects weighed. Likewise the weight of one of at least two lead disk weights from Boğazköy has been recorded.

With their distinctive raised rims, these lead disk weights closely resemble a type of balance weight well known from the Aegean. While an Aegean connection can be reasonably inferred from the Anatolian specimens on the basis of their distinctive form alone, it can be definitely established from a determination of the standard on which the weights are based. The value of the Aegean standard has been put at around 61.8 gm. (K. M. Petruso, *Keos VIII* [1992], 26-34) and 65.5 gm. (J. L. Caskey, *Deltion* 24, A [1969]: 95-106). The published photographs show considerable corrosion of the metal, as is to be expected. Despite this, based on the published values and allowing for the effects of oxidation, there can be no doubt that these weights conform to the Aegean standard. One of the Kültepe weights (Kt.j/K153) is reported to weigh 59.95 gm. A similar Boğazköy specimen described by Boehmer as « ein rundes, scheibenförmiges Gewicht mit Randleiste » (*BoHa 7 = WVDOG* 87 [1972], 165) now weighs 115.70 gm. and is considered by K. Bittel to have suffered a loss which can amount to only a few grams (*Boğazköy III* [1957], 32, n. 3). This would restore an original intended weight of two Aegean units. Another Kültepe lead disk weight (Kt.76/K175) weighs 19.40 gm., one-third of the unit. This fraction is common among the Aegean weights; for example, two specimens from Knossos weigh respectively 19.40 gm. and 19.82 gm. (Petruso, *Keos VIII*, 39, nos. 62, 63).

Of the seven lead disk weights published in *Kültepe-Kaniš II*, all but one are from Level Ib; the

singleton is reported from the earlier Level II. The conditions of the period represented by Level Ib have been determined from textual evidence to be significantly different from those of Level II (*Kültepe-Kaniš II*, 17) and the two periods were separated by a destruction and a period of abandonment. Again from textual evidence, Level Ib saw an orientation towards Syria along with a distinct decline in the level of trade with Aššur. The only dated lead disk weight from Boğazköy dates from the period of Büyükkale Level IVd, contemporary with Kārum-Kaniš Ib. The dates of the Alişar weight and that published in *Kültepe 1949* are unclear. Boehmer suggests they can be assigned to the same period.

The initial impression gained from these data is of Aegean-Assyrian trade via Anatolia. This interpretation, however, hinges on questions of chronology. Kārum-Kaniš Ib has been dated on the basis of limu-names to the reigns of Šamši-Adad I (1813-1781) and his successor, Išmê-Dagan I (H. Otten, *MDOG* 89 [1957]: 71). Most Aegean lead disk weights from a secure context can be dated no earlier than LM IA; a single specimen from Ayia Irini on Keos which could possibly be earlier (MB IIB/III) comes from an insecure context (J. L. Davis, *Keos V* [1986], 1-2). Of the eighteen weights excavated by Evans at Knossos, only eight have recorded contexts and none of these can be dated earlier than LM IA (Petrušo, *Keos VIII*, 40). Of the others, there remains only a slight and perhaps ultimately unprovable possibility that some could belong to an earlier period. However, a lead disk weight and at least one stone weight on the same standard from Quartier Mu at Mallia are securely dated to MM II (Petrušo, *Keos VIII*, 54, n. 3). These are the earliest securely dated weights on this standard from the Aegean and their date may be considered to overlap Kārum-Kaniš Levels II and Ib (L. V. Watrous, *AJA* 98 [1994]: 716, table 1).

Although the recent raising of the Aegean chronology on the basis of Carbon 14 dates is not universally accepted, L. V. Watrous (*AJA* 98 [1994]: 737) points out that, since Kemp and Merrillees (*Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt* [Mainz, 1980], 255-56) have indicated that MM II pottery appears in Egypt by the first part of the Twelfth Dynasty, i.e., ca. 1990-1890 B.C., the duration of MM II can be considered to range from around this period to no later than ca. 1800 B.C., which suits the higher dating.

On the middle Mesopotamian chronology, the beginning of Kārum-Kaniš Level II has been dated to the last years of Irišum I (1940-1901 B.C.) and its end no later than the end of the reign of Puzur-Aššur II (1848-1824 B.C.), and perhaps as early as the preceding reign of Sargon I (1871-1849 B.C.), the dates for these last two kings being conjectural (L. L. Orlin *Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia* [1970], 206-210). Thus the Kārum-Kaniš Level II weight is probably not later than ca. 1824, and could be a few years earlier than ca. 1900 B.C.

On the basis of these chronologies, the earliest Anatolian and Cretan lead disk weights could fall into the same general period. Given the present unstable condition of Aegean chronology, it would be perilous to attempt to determine chronological priority.

In view of a possible synchronism, it is interesting to look at the context of the Cretan finds. As Watrous (*ibid.*, 737) observes, «Poursat's excavation and ongoing publication of Quartier Mu have given us a clear example of wealthy business establishments of the MM II period». He notes (*ibid.*, 738) the evidence for international connections in the presence of Anatolian sealings, reliefs with Egyptian and Anatolian motifs, stone and faience beads of Egyptian type and a Syrian-type sword. His observation that «the international mercantile character of Quartier Mu is reminiscent of the contemporary houses from the karum at Kültepe-Kaniš» might be considered prescient.

Any consideration of trade between Crete and the Central Anatolian karums raises the question of trade routes. A MM II sea route is suggested by the Egyptian influences at Mallia. Cyprus was trading with Crete from the beginning of the MBA and clear Cypriot contact with Syria, Palestine and Egypt appears in MC II (H. W. Catling, *CAH*<sub>3</sub> 2.1 [1973], 173-74). But even if the evidence suggests a sea route along the southern Anatolian coast, this would not preclude the contemporaneous existence of overland routes from the eastern Aegean through the Anatolian hinterland.

For the later Bronze Age, a sea route is suggested also by finds of lead disk weights on Cyprus in Late Cypriot contexts. One of these specimens is reported to weigh 128 gm. (Buchholz, *TAW II*, 238, n. 42), equivalent to two Aegean units. Like two of the Kültepe specimens and some of the Aegean weights (e.g., Petrušo, *Keos VIII*, Cat. no. 190 from Kommos and no. 192 from Mallia), it is perforated in its centre. It might be possible to connect Cyprus with the Old Assyrian trade during the Kārum-Kaniš Level Ib period if this period could be brought into line with the Late Cypriot period. However, this seems unlikely. The end of Level Ib can perhaps be lowered as far as the first quarter of the seventeenth century (H. G. Güterbock, cited by T. Özguç, *Kültepe-Kaniš II*, xxi, n. 4), but would still fall within the MC III period (D. L. Saltz, *The Chronology of the Middle Cypriote Period* [Nicosia, 1977], 66 and passim). Thus the Level Ib lead disk weights would appear to be earlier than the Cypriot specimens. This evidence is of course neutral as regards Anatolian-Cypriot trade during this period which should be considered in the context of the «remarkable scarcity» (Petrušo, *AJA* 88 [1984]: 302) and lack of publication of balance weights from before the LBA. On the positive side, the present evidence indicates the use on Cyprus during the Late Cypriot period of the same system of weight known from the Aegean.

A large proportion of the extant Aegean lead disk weights come from Ayia Irini on the island of Keos. Since this island is strategically adjacent to the silver mines of Laurion which had, by the MBA, become the major source of metals in the Aegean (Davis, *AJA* 96 [1992]: 704), it might be suggested that some of the silver that found its way to Aššur in the hands of the Old Assyrian traders during the Kārum-Kaniš Level II period could have had its ultimate origin in the Aegean. That silver was mined in Anatolia (K. A. Yener et al., *Journal of Archaeological Science* 18 [1991]: 572) in no way precludes its simultaneous importation. Silver was money, and was there ever a merchant who felt he had sufficient or was critical of its origin?

Edward W. CASTLE (21-09-95)  
Chicago House, Corniche el-Nil  
LUXOR, ÉGYPTÉ

**89) Gunu(m)<sup>(ki)</sup> dans les textes d'Ebla** – Un nom de lieu Gunu(m) (*gú-nu<sup>(ki)</sup>*, *gú-núm<sup>(ki)</sup>*) est mentionné plusieurs fois dans les textes d'Ebla en relation spéciale avec le dieu Rasap (cf. ARES II, s.v. ainsi que M. Bonechi, *RGTC* 12/1, s.v.), une seule fois avec Adamma, sa parèdre (cf. F. Pomponio, *SEL* 10, 1993, 3-7). Il s'agissait donc d'une importante épiclèse «topique» de ce dieu, dont au moins un temple est attesté par TM.75.G.1560 v.X 9-17: 1 KIN<sub>x</sub> siki *Īr-i-ba* ur<sub>4</sub> TAG<sub>4</sub>-sag in u<sub>4</sub> dumu-nita en é è <sup>d</sup>*ra-sa-ap gú-nu<sup>ki</sup>*, « une mesure K. de laine pour Iriba, le collecteur de ... lorsque le fils du roi est sorti du temple de Rasap de Gunu ».

Dans un article paru dans *Or* 46, 1977, 230-232, M. Dahood et G. Pettinato ont attiré l'attention sur le parallèle entre d'une part les données éblaïtes concernant Rasap de Gunu(m) et son temple et d'autre part les attestations de (*bt*) *ršp gn* dans les textes alphabétiques d'Ugarit. Ils en arrivaient à la conclusion que, dans les deux cas, il s'agit de la même réalité topographique et culturelle, c'est-à-dire d'un centre du culte de Rasap à localiser à peu près entre Tell Mardikh et Ras Shamra (« Since Ugarit and Ebla are only about 80 kilometres apart, both texts may well be referring to the same temple », p. 231). Même si le terme Gunu(m) a logiquement été inséré dans les répertoires des toponymes éblaïtes, une telle interprétation n'a pas convaincu tout le monde (il suffit de voir p.ex. D.O. Edzard, *ARET* II, p. 127; A. Archi - M.G. Biga, *ARET* III, p. 357: « NL o da GN "giardino" »; F. Pomponio, *UF* 15, 1986, 154: « jardin »; M. Bonechi, *RGTC* 12/1, qui parle d'« una realtà topografica di Tell Mardik, o dei pressi », etc.).

S'agit-il donc d'un véritable centre urbain, ou bien a-t-on affaire à un endroit caractéristique du culte du dieu Rasap et devenu de la sorte son épithète? Une analyse plus approfondie des attestations de Gunu(m) à Ebla, ainsi qu'une mise au point des données ugaritiques concernant *gn* sont peut-être susceptibles d'éclaircir la question, puisque le parallèle entre les deux documentations est tout à fait fondé.

En ce qui concerne Gunu(m) à Ebla, il est fort probable que le terme désignait un endroit particulier, et non pas une ville des environs (la présence [irrégulière] du déterminatif de lieu ne pose aucun problème, cf. p.ex. les cas de *sa-za<sup>ki</sup>*, de *ambar<sup>ki</sup>*, de *bàd<sup>ki</sup>*, de *uru<sup>ki</sup>*). Rappelons en effet que :

1) Gunu(m) n'est jamais attesté seul (*gú-nu-gú<sup>ki</sup>* n'a rien à voir avec notre terme), comme on l'attendrait s'il s'agissait d'un centre urbain (et comme c'est toujours le cas pour les autres manifestations locales de Rasap), mais il suit toujours le théonyme ;

2) Le texte *ARET* I, 6 v. X 29 fait état d'une « Porte » d'Ebla appelée *ká<sup>d</sup>ra-sa-ap gú-nu* : il semble assez improbable qu'un quartier de la ville soit nommé d'après une épiclèse extra-éblaïte du dieu ;

3) On possède un indice non négligeable du fait que (le temple (?) de Rasap de) Gunu(m) pourrait se trouver à l'intérieur du complexe palatin, d'après *ARET* IV, 13 v. IV 7: 1 *zara<sub>6</sub>-túg ú-ĥáb túg-mu am lú<sup>d</sup>ra-sa-ap gú-núm<sup>ki</sup> sa-za<sup>ki</sup>*, « un textile z. de couleur (?) u. pour le trousseau (cf. *ARET* XI, p. 172) du taureau de Rasap de Gunum de/à Saza » (peut-être à mettre en relation avec *ARET* III, 467 v. II 13).

Si donc la documentation éblaïte parle assez nettement en faveur de l'interprétation de Gunum comme un endroit particulier, un apport décisif dans cette direction nous vient des textes d'Ugarit lesquels, contrairement à l'opinion de Dahood-Pettinato, confirment que *gn* est d'une part un nom de mois et d'autre part – avec la même signification – la dénomination d'un lieu, siège de rites, à localiser dans la ville même, vraisemblablement à l'intérieur du complexe du palais royal.

Le rituel KTU 1.106 (un texte plusieurs fois étudié, cf. entre autres P. Xella, *TRU-I*, 81 ss.; G. del Olmo Lete, *La religion cananea*, Barcelone 1992, 146 ss.) enregistre une série de cérémonies en l'honneur de plusieurs divinités chthoniennes, parmi lesquelles Rasap joue un rôle primordial (à remarquer l'attestation de trois personnages qui semblent être des rois défunts et divinisés [ll. 2 ss.], définis comme *inš ilm*, « le peuple divin »); les rites se déroulent pendant le mois de *gn* (cf. KTU 4.219: 14; 4.220: 5, etc.) en différents jours et dans différents endroits de la ville, avec la participation du roi et de ses enfants. En particulier, les lignes 18 ss. sont significatives à cet égard, puisqu'elles nous décrivent les cérémonies effectuées dans le *gn*: <sup>18</sup>(...) *b tmn. gn<sup>19</sup>[n]p\*š. warb<sup>c</sup> 20šrh. dqt 21wšb<sup>c</sup>. gdl. wk 22l. šbšlt. dg. gn<sup>h</sup> 23<†>ib. rgm. bgn whl 24mlk*, « au huitième (jour du mois) de *gn* une « gorge » et quatorze têtes (fém.) de petit bétail et sept vaches et toute la nourriture de poisson dans le *gn* : on donne l'oracle dans le *gn* et le roi est désacralisé ».

Sur la base de ce texte, il est tout à fait sûr que l'épiclèse Rasap-*gn* est à expliquer par le lien qui existe entre le dieu et cet endroit particulier, qui donne aussi son nom au mois homonyme. En plus, il n'y a pas

la moindre indication que le *gn* soit situé dans une autre ville qu'Ugarit ; au contraire ; tous les emplacements culturels ici nommés (*hmn, qdš, 'ly*, etc.) se trouvent dans le palais royal ou dans ses environs. Une confirmation ultérieure nous vient du texte administratif KTU 4.219 (enregistrement de sommes d'argent payées pour des jarres de vin remises à deux temples, ceux d'Astarté et de Rasap-*gn*, à des particuliers, à la reine, etc.), duquel il ressort que le temple de Rasap-*gn* (l. 3) est bien une réalité locale (le texte a été trouvé dans la pièce 73 du Palais Royal).

Il faut encore ajouter au dossier un fragment de rituel provenant de Ras Ibn Hani (RIH 77/11, cf. TRU-I, p. 354) qui documente l'existence de *plusieurs* Rasap-*gn* : (...) *w ršp. gn. yšan...* « et les Rasap-*gn* sortiront ... », fait qui s'accorde très bien avec KTU 1.106 (où il est question de deux épithètes de Rasap, *hgb* et *mhb*) et est confirmé indirectement par KTU 1.91 : 11 (*k. 'rbn. ršpm. bt. mlk*).

En ce qui concerne la nature de ce *gn* et son étymologie, l'analyse des textes et la comparaison dans le domaine sémitique (cf. déjà WUS n. 671, p. 67 ; voir ensuite DRS 3, p. 147, s.v. GN'/W/Y/N ; Jongeling-Hoftijzer, DNWSI, I, ss. vv. *gn* et *gnh*, p. 227 ss.) nous oriente sans aucun doute vers la signification de « jardin » ou, si l'on veut, « champ », « potager », sens qui ressort aussi clairement de la documentation ugaritique elle-même (cf. KTU 1.5 VI 21 et 1.6 I 4, où le mot se trouve en parallèle avec *'mq* « vallée », tous les deux employés avec les verbes *tl̄* // *hr̄* « fendre », « labourer » : cf. L.L. Grabbe, UF 14, 1982, 89-92).

Ce « jardin » d'Ugarit est à mettre en relation avec des installations analogues documentées peut-être à Mari (*rapiqātum*, Ph. Talon, AIPHOS 22, 1978, 63, mais cf. A. Tsukimoto, AOAT 216, 1985, 61-62 ; voir aussi (?) ARM XII 267, 5) et à Ebla-même (*giš-kiri<sub>6</sub>* dans les textes publiés par G. Pettinato, OA 18, 1976 ; *giš-nu-kiri<sub>6</sub>* dans ARET I, 13, 22 et MEE 10, 2, r. V 5-11, ici en rapport avec Enki ; peut-être *má-ra-sum* dans P. Fronzaroli, ARET XI, *passim* : les rapports entre ces mots sont à étudier davantage), où elles étaient le siège d'importantes cérémonies centrées sur le culte des rois défunts et d'autres divinités chthoniennes (cf. P. Xella, ds HSAO 2, 1988, p. 356). D'autre part, la nuance sémantique qui fait de ces « jardins » en même temps des « cimetières » a une longue histoire (G. del Olmo Lete, SEL 3, 1986, 62 ss.) qui arrive jusqu'au monde grec (cf. A. Motte, Prairies et jardins de la Grèce antique, Bruxelles 1973, 241 et *passim*), comme cela est confirmé aussi par les autres langues sémitiques (voir surtout éth. [amh.], s.ar. et arabe).

Tout bien pesé, il semble raisonnable d'abandonner l'idée que Gunu(m) était une ville syrienne et d'enregistrer une nouvelle attestation du sémitique \**gann-* « jardin » à Ebla, un endroit particulièrement lié – comme d'ailleurs à Ugarit – au culte du dieu Rasap et à l'au-delà.

Paolo XELLA (28-09-95)  
Via Valle Scrivia 37  
I-00141 ROMA, ITALIE

**90) Yasīm-El's Sophisticated Rhetoric : A Janus Cluster in ARMT XXVI, 419, l. 10'** – Jean-Georges Heintz recently drew attention to the presence of a « Janus parallelism » in letter A.2203 from Mari<sup>1</sup>. Janus parallelism describes a literary device in which a lexeme parallels in a polysemous manner both that which precedes it and that which follows. Though this type of word play has been known for some time in the Hebrew Bible, it is a recent discovery in Akkadian literature<sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless, the number of cuneiform exemplars continues to rise<sup>3</sup>.

Heintz's observation was that Yasīm-El, the author of the Mari missive, employed the term *nārum* (l. 15') ambiguously, both as « stele » and as « water course<sup>4</sup> ». As the former, *nārum* faces back to the mention of the clearing of a well in lines 11'-12', and as the latter, it looks ahead to the erection of a commemorative stele in line 19'.

The sophisticated language of this extraordinary letter suggests that we look at it again for its cleverness. In so doing, two additional word plays, also of the Janus type, appear in lines 7'-13'. Here we read : *a-na ša-bi-im ša be-lī-ia ša a-sa-ri-iš wa-aš-bu a-du-ur-ma i-na la mu-du-ut<sup>1</sup> A-tam-ri-im u ir-meš-šu al-li-ik-ma i-na ša-bi-im ša be-lī-ia šī-ri-im-tam aš-ku-un-ma* 8 *gi-ḥá bu-ur-t[a]-am ep-[t]e-[e-ma] me-e ú-še-li-ma a-na a-tam-ri-im me-e ú-te<sup>4</sup> -ḥi-ma a-tam-rum ma-di-iš iḫ-du* which Fr. Joannès translates :

« Pour l'armée de mon Seigneur qui est installée là-bas, j'ai eu des craintes et, (sans prendre le temps) d'en informer Atamrum et ses serviteurs, j'y suis allé ; dans l'armée de mon Seigneur, j'ai introduit l'émulation et [j'ai ouvert] un pu[i]ts de 8 cannes de profondeur ; j'ai fait montrer l'eau et j'ai approvisionné Atamrum en eau, de sorte qu'Atamrum s'est beaucoup réjoui<sup>5</sup>. »

Of note here is *šī-ri-im-tam* in l. 10'. While on the one hand we can read it with Joannès as a « cutting tool » used for clearing debris from wells<sup>6</sup>, its appearance with *šabim* « army » in a military context in the Mari letter A.4627 suggests that we interpret *širimtam* as « (military) endeavor, effort<sup>7</sup> ». That letter reads as follows : *Ha-am-mu-ra-bi u A-tam-rum bi-ri-šu-nu iš-ta-lu-ma i-na ša-bi-šu-nu t̄a-ra-di-im ma-di-iš šī-ri-im-tam ir-šu-ú* « Hammurapi and Atamrum have consulted amongst themselves and they have made a rushed effort to send their armies ». Also bolstering this reading is the frequent use of *šarāmu* « endeavor, desire » with *kašādu* « conquer<sup>8</sup> ».

Moreover, the term *šabim* (l.10), though clearly meaning « army » in this context, also can mean « waterwork, irrigation » (from *šabū*), especially when used with *šakānu* (as it is here), and is known to mean

this elsewhere in the Mari corpus<sup>9</sup>. Thus, the phrase *i-na ša-bi-im ša be-lí-ia ší-ri-im-tam aš-ku-un-ma* permits several interpretations:

- « I have set my (military) endeavor for the army of my Lord. »
- « I have set my endeavor to the waterworks of my Lord. »
- « I have set (to work) the cutting tool for the army of my Lord. »
- « I have set (to work) the cutting tool to the waterworks of my Lord. »

Here both polysemes also function as Janus parallelisms. As « army », the term *šabim* reminds us of Atamrum's servants, i.e., his military personnel, and the verb *alāku* « go (on a campaign) » in l. 9'. As « waterwork », it directs our attention ahead to the clearing of the well in l. 11'. Likewise, as « (military) endeavor, effort », *šarimtum* faces back to *šabim* (as « army »), and as « cutting tool », it anticipates the *burtum* « well » in l. 11'. Moreover, the Janus use of *šabim* and *šarimtum* in tandem (and also that of *nārum!*) is representative of what I have called a « Janus Parallel Cluster » in a previous issue of this journal<sup>10</sup>.

Such devices illustrate the rhetorical sophistication of Yašim-El. Doubtless, a literary examination of other Mari letters will yield similar insights into the literary craftiness of their authors.

1. Jean-Georges Heintz, « Myth(olog)èmes d'époque amorrite et amphibologie en ARMT XXVI, 419, ll. 3'-21' », *NABU* 1994/68.

2. Scott B. Noegel, « A Janus Parallelism in the Gilgamesh Flood Story », *ASJ* 13 (1991), 419-421; « An Asymmetrical Janus Parallelism in the Gilgamesh Flood Story », *ASJ* 16 (1994), 306-308.

3. For a comprehensive catalogue and examination of Janus Parallelism in biblical and Akkadian literature see Scott B. Noegel, *Janus Parallelism in the Book of Job and Its Literary Significance, with Excurses on the Device in Extra-Jobian and Other Ancient Near Eastern Literature* (Ph.D. Dissertation; Cornell University: Ithaca, NY, 1995; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1995) (= *JSOT Supplement Series* [in press]).

4. Francis Joannès, *Archives Épistolaires de Mari I/2*. Archives Royales de Mari XXVI (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1988), p. 308, n. e.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 307.

6. *CAD* S, 315, s.v. *sirimtu*; *AHw* 1028, s.v. *sarāmu*.

7. *CAD* Š 208, s.v. *širmu*; *AHw* 1092, s.v. *šermum*.

8. *CAD* Š 101-102, s.v. *šarāmu*; *AHw* 1083, s.v. *šarāmu*

9. *CAD* Š 45, s.v. *šabû*; *AHw* 1073, s.v. *šabû*

10. Scott B. Noegel, « Janus Parallelism Clusters in Akkadian Literature », *NABU* 1995/71.

Scott B. NOEGEL (29-09-95)  
Jackson School of International Studies  
Box 35360, University of Washington,  
SEATTLE, WA 98195-3650, USA

**91) The Location of Kuwara** – In *ASJ* 17, pp. 275-81, I examined the question of a temple of Ninhursag, which, according to an original inscription<sup>1</sup>, was built by Manishtushu « in HA.A<sup>ki</sup> ». As I argued, this toponym is none other than the city of Kuwara. I also speculated that the temple in question is possibly the same as Nutur, the temple of Ninhursag at the site of Tell 'Ubaid. In conclusion, I wrote: « If Nutur was located in the city of Kuwara, then Kuwara is Tell 'Ubaid. Alternatively, if Nutur was a separate sacred district, located outside of Kuwara, then Tell 'Ubaid is Nutur and Kuwara is one of the neighbouring sites ».

Since the publication of that article, I have become aware of the existence of a datum that has important bearing on the location of Kuwara. The datum in question is UET 1 33 (= U.6336), an inscription of Ur-Namma commemorating the building of a temple of Ninsun<sup>2</sup>. This inscription is found on a diorite door-socket, which, as stated by C. J. Gadd, came from « the site called Radhibah, near Ur<sup>3</sup> ».

The information that there existed an Ur III temple of Ninsun in « Radhibah » is of obvious significance for the question of Kuwara. The reason is that, first, Ninsun is known to have had a temple in Kuwara during that period<sup>4</sup>. Second, it appears that, at least in Ur III times, the main deity of Kuwara was actually Ninsun, and not Asaluhi, who is usually associated with Kuwara in later (primarily magical) sources. This is demonstrated by the Drehem records of offerings to the gods of Kuwara, in which Ninsun is always listed before Asaluhi<sup>5</sup>.

Since it is theoretically possible that Ninsun was worshipped not only in Kuwara but also in a number of other satellites of Ur, the case for « Radhibah » being the site of Kuwara would not have been overwhelming if not for the location of the former place. It is quite certain that Gadd's « Radhibah<sup>6</sup> » is identical with either Rejibah Jinub or Rejibah Shamal, the twin tells situated almost exactly halfway between Ur and Eridu<sup>7</sup>, that is precisely where Kuwara ought to be sought according to the testimony on ancient sources<sup>8</sup>.

In his description of Rejibah Jinub and Rejibah Shamal, H. T. Wright notes the presence of remains dating to the 'Ubaid?, Uruk?, Jemdet Nasr, Early Dynastic, and Late Larsa periods<sup>9</sup>. Although he makes no mention of Ur III evidence at either site, such evidence undoubtedly had been there, as is shown by the following statement of C. L. Woolley's: « ... Rejibeh, a site which I had visited several times, some six miles

SSW of Ur, and knew to be predominantly at least, of the date of the Third Dynasty of Ur ...<sup>10</sup>». And then, of course, there is the Ur III door-socket discussed earlier.

All these facts, namely : (a) the presence at Rejibah of an Ur III temple of Ninsun, (b) the situation of Rejibah in relation to Ur and Eridu, and (c) the presence at this site of archaeological remains belonging to the Jemdet Nasr through the Isin-Larsa periods, make it virtually certain that Rejibah is Kuwara. Of course, the conclusive proof could only be supplied by the excavations of this site.

As for the relationship between Kuwara and Tell 'Ubaid = ancient Nutur, it is now clear that Kuwara cannot be identical with Tell 'Ubaid. Assuming, as I speculated in ASJ 17, p. 281, that Nutur enjoyed a special connection with Kuwara, a possibility still exists that Manishtushu's temple of Ninhursag said to be situated « in Kuwara » is actually Nutur. However, given the fact that the distance between Nutur = Tell 'Ubaid and Kuwara = Rajibah is about 10 km, this possibility now seems considerably less attractive. An alternative – and simpler – solution of course is that there existed a temple of Ninhursag at Kuwara in the Sargonic period, which either did not survive into later times or is not mentioned in the surviving Ur III sources.

1. F. N. H. Al-Rawi and J. A. Black, *Iraq* 55 (1993) 147-48.

2. For the most recent edition, see H. Steible, *FAOS* 9/2, pp. 94-95 Urammu 2.

3. *UET* 1, p. xi.

4. See Steinkeller, *ASJ* 17, p. 277.

5. See *ibid.*, p. 277 n. 11.

6. In other publications of Ur excavations, the same toponym is alternatively transcribed « Reijibeh » (*UE* 4, p. 10), « Rajibah » (*UE* 7, p. 10), or « Reijebeh » (*UE* 9, pp. 104, 130).

7. Nos. 4 and 5 in H. T. Wright's survey of the area of Ur and Eridu. These two sites are situated roughly 14 km south-west of Ur and 11 km north-west of Eridu. See Wright in R. McC. Adams, *The Heartland of Cities* (Chicago, 1981), p. 338. Wright considers Rejibah Janub and Rejibah Shamal to have been parts of the same settlement, in which he also includes site no. 93, located immediately to the east. According to him, in the Jemdet Nasr period the three sites covered about 23 hectares. See *ibid.*, p. 327, p. 326 fig. 18.

8. See F. Carroué, *ASJ* 15 (1993) 48-50.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

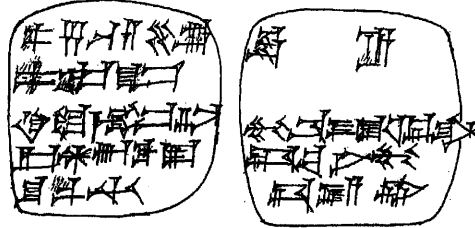
10. *UE* 4, p. 10.

Piotr STEINKELLER (30-09-95)

Dept. of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations  
Harvard University, 6 Divinity Ave.  
CAMBRIDGE, Mass. 02138, USA

**92) One More šu-ba-ti Tablet from Umma** – The following small Ur III tablet is published here by the permission of Renana Zer-Kavod from Jerusalem, who received it from her grand father, the late Bible scholar Mordechai Zer-Kavod. It is a šu-ba-ti receipt of cereals, dated to Šulgi 41 XIII. Note 1. 2, which is poorly written and damaged, as well as the abbreviated year date, which were read by the help of Marcel Sigrist.

Obv.	1	25 sila <sub>3</sub> eša
	2	20 sila <sub>3</sub> KA <sup>2</sup> zì-sig <sub>15</sub>
	3	ki-nin-me-lám-ta
	4	ur- <sup>d</sup> nun-gal-ke <sub>4</sub>
	5	šu ba-ti
Rev.	6	iti-diri
	7	mu-ús-sa é-Puzriš(PUZUR <sub>4</sub> )-Da<-gan> ba-dù mu-ús-sa-a-bi



Jacob KLEIN (06-10-95)

Samuel Noah Kramer Institute of Assyriology  
Bar-Ilan University, RAMAT-GAN 52900, ISRAËL

**93) Salālum, to be sleepless** – A.319+A.472, joined and edited by D. Charpin in *MARI* 7 (1993) 197-203, tells about a siege of Razama which did not go very well. Sorties from the city proved deadly, and the rumor that Zimri-Lim was on the way to relieve the city was taken seriously. The result : *ina šāt mūšim ina karāšim* 2-[š]u *ummānātum isallulā* « during the course of the night the troops *isallulā* twice in the camp » (lines 46-47), and a little further on in the text in more general terms, *ina karāšim šātu šābum šū salil bēlī itanaddar* « in that camp these men *salil* ; they were in constant fear of (the arrival of) my lord » (lines 52-53). Charpin noted that the verb *salālu* « to flap one's wings » does not fit semantically and grammatically, referred to J.-M. Durand's connection with *musallil* « tourmenteur », suggested the meaning « être dans le trouble », and understood the first context as describing the precaution of alerting the troops twice during the first night watch (*šāt mūšim*), and the second context as describing the general stage of alertness of the troops in camp. It would be strange if the troops were alerted twice in the first night watch only. I therefore assume the meaning « throughout the

course of the night » for *šāt mūšim* (see AHw *mūšu* 5a), and I guess that the men were woken up twice. If we posit a verb *salālu* which designates the state of being awake, or sleepless, the opposition between stative and present tense should be that of state and ingression, i.e. *salil* « was awake », *isallul* « wakes up » (GAG ¶ 78a). Accordingly the men « wake up twice », and they were generally awake, or sleepless, because of their fear of the arrival of Zimri-Lim. This state is mentioned also in ARM 26, 411. It describes the situation in Karana under Aškur-Addu as reported by Yasim-El : « Before men of my lord arrive (*ikaššadam*, why present tense?) in Karana, his land was ZA-*al-la-[a]t* and he was afraid (*hāš*). Since the day I [arriv]ed before him, [his land] recovered (« calmed ») and he gained confidence (« established his base ») ». F. Joannès derives ZA-*al-la-at* from *šalālum* and translates « prostré », referring to a passage which will be published in AEM I/3 and following Durand's comments in ARM 26/1, p. 235, note 22. He translates *hāš* with « inquiet » and derives it from *hāšum* « se faire du souci ». This verb has a more drastic meaning. See for example the bull who *ihāš*, a behaviour which was felt as potentially ominous (ARM 27, 131). If Aškur-Addu acted like this bull, his land was not so much prostrate as in acute fear, or, as I propose, sleepless because of it, i.e. *sà-al-la-at*. According to ARM 26, 521 « the entire land of the Numha was sleepless, *sà-a[l-la-at]*, because Išme-Dagan had taken one of its cities and Aškur-Addu did not dare challenge him ». See further the remarkable description of the land of Larsa gripped by fear in ARM 27, 161 : 8-12. The verb is finally attested in a passage in ARM 26, 519 in which Iddiyatum tells an episode of Išme-Dagan on campaign : *ù ina Saphi is-lu-ul*. B. Lafont reads *iš-lu-ul* and translates « s'est arrêté pour la nuit », without commentary.

Derivation from *šalālu* is impossible because the preterit of that verb is *išlal*. We know that the present of *salālum* was *isallul*, and this means that the preterit must have been *islul*. We can now translate « and he could not fall asleep in Saphum », which may have caused his ungracious remark and motivated the nasty edge to his reaction to the insult suffered there : « He said : « How is it that Aškur-Addu, the small (man), gives you orders these days? » And they answered : « Should you, a cripple, give us orders? » The 2 persons who answered him thus, their dwelling he set on fire ».

W. HEIMPEL (27-10-95)  
Department of Near Eastern Studies, UC  
BERKELEY CA 94720-1940, USA

**94) The Chief Cupbearer, his daughter, the king, and the eponym official for 860 B.C.** – In an inscription found in her tomb at Kalhu Mulissu-mukannišat-Ninua is described as the daughter of Aššur-nirka-da<sup>in</sup>, the *rab šāqê* of Ashurnasirpal, and the wife both of Ashurnasirpal II and of Shalmaneser III (Fadhil, BaM 21 [1990], pp. 471-82). Grayson (SAAB 7 [1993], p. 30 n. 42), trying to explain how a gold bowl inscribed with the name of the *turtanu* Šamsi-ilu entered the tomb, suggested that « she could still have been living around 800 ... if she married at about 12 years of age, late in Ashurnasirpal II's reign, say c. 860 ». When we consult the eponym list to discover what was happening in 860, we find that the name of the eponym for 860 is preserved on a single exemplar only (Millard, SAAS 2 (1994), p. 26) that reads

A1 ii.3                    <sup>md</sup>*nergal<sub>4</sub>-nir<sub>2</sub>-ka-da<sup>in</sup>*

a name similar in form to that of the father of the queen. His title is not preserved. The name of the eponym for the previous year is preserved on three exemplars

A1 ii.2                    <sup>m</sup>*aš+šur-ila-aya*  
A8 i.42'                    <sup>md</sup>*nergal<sub>4</sub>-ila-aya*  
A7 vi.12                    <sup>md</sup>*ninurta<sub>2</sub>-il[a-aya]*

The variant *Ninurta-il[aya]* is probably not correct as this is the name of the eponym for 863 and it is unlikely that the same name would be given to years so close together. The eponyms for 863 and 862 on tablet A7, <sup>md</sup>*ninurta<sub>2</sub>-il[a-aya]* and <sup>md</sup>*ninurta<sub>2</sub>-ēfir* [ ], start with the same three signs as the entry for 861 and the signs at the beginning of *Ninurta-il[aya]* may have been copied from one of the preceding lines. If the variant *Ninurta-il[aya]* is to be rejected, which of the two names *Aššur-ilaya* or *Nergal-ilaya* is more likely to be correct? Grayson (ARI 2 p. 210 n. 905) read the traces preserved in A7 as <sup>d</sup>MAŠ-a(?)-[...] and he suggested emending the entry <sup>d</sup>MAŠ-M[AŠ-...] as in A8, favouring the view that the name should be *Nergal-ilaya*. The names *Aššur-ilaya* and *Nergal-ilaya* occur elsewhere in the eponym list, but *Nergal-ilaya* is more common. On balance then *Nergal-ilaya* is more likely than *Aššur-ilaya* and this is the view given by Millard who lists both names in the English translation but gives preference in the catalogue of eponym dated texts to the name *Nergal-ilaya*.

If this is correct, we still have to explain how *Aššur* came to be written instead of *Nergal* in text A 1. A possibility is that the scribe interchanged *Aššur* and *Nergal* in the entries for the years 861 and 860 writing <sup>m</sup>*aš+šur-ila-aya* and <sup>md</sup>*nergal<sub>4</sub>-nir<sub>2</sub>-ka-da<sup>in</sup>* instead of <sup>md</sup>*nergal<sub>4</sub>-ila-aya* and <sup>m</sup>*aš+šur-nir<sub>2</sub>-ka-da<sup>in</sup>*.



In this case it would be reasonable to identify the eponym of 860 with the father of the queen.

When Aššur-nirka-da" in became *rab šāqê* of Ashurnasirpal is uncertain. Grayson (SAAB 7, p. 40) has suggested he was *rab šāqê* in c. 880 (surely a misprint for 860!), but this is unlikely. The *rab šāqê* was normally eponym in the 2nd or 3rd year after the king (Millard SAAS 2, p. 9) and Aššur-nirka-da" in's name is not recorded as that of the eponym for 880 or 879. The *rab šāqê*, like the *turtanu*, the *masennu*, the *nagir ekalli*, and the *šakin mati*, was normally eponym early in the king's reign, but on occasions a new high officer would become eponym later in a king's reign, presumably because the previous incumbent had died and a new official had been appointed. The assumption must be that the new official was selected as eponym not long after he had been appointed to the office. If Aššur-nirka-da" in was eponym in 860 and was also *rab šāqê*, he had probably been appointed not long before this date. In any case he did not survive long into the reign of Shalmaneser, for in 855 Aššur-bunaya-ušur was the *rab šāqê*.

Aššur-nirka-da" in may have been made *rab šāqê* because his daughter had caught the eye of the king or his position as *rab šāqê* may have provided the opportunity for the king to become acquainted with his future bride, but whatever the circumstances it is likely that his appointment as *rab šāqê* and the marriage of his daughter were related events. If he was the eponym for 860, it is likely that the marriage took place close to this date (as already suggested by Grayson for other reasons). In 860 Ashurnasirpal had already been on the throne for more than twenty years. The great difference in the ages of the king and queen, the death of the king in the following year, and the subsequent marriage of his widow to her stepson suggest possibilities about which one can only speculate.

Michael ROAF (31-10-95)

Institut für Vorderasiatische Archäologie

Feldmochinger Str. 7, D-80992 MÜNCHEN, ALLEMAGNE

**95) The Deified Ibbi-Sin in the Tenth and Eleventh Month (iti Ezen-An-na) of ŠS 9, Based on the Accounts of Puzur-Enlil, Šulgi-ili and Urkununna of Drehem** – Sollberger in JCS 7 48-50 concludes that Ibbi-Sin became king on ŠS 9/x/1 (iti Ezen-mah) since he had his coronation in Nippur on that day according to MAH 19352 (*I-bi-dŠin* àga šu ba-an-ti-a). We are not certain whether Ibbi-Sin, now the king of Ur, was deified on that day or before. Sigrist in *DUMU-E<sub>2</sub>-DUB-BA Honor of Sjöberg* 499ff investigates the actions of Ibbi-Sin and the officials of Puzriš-Dagan during the tenth month of ŠS 9 based on Schneider AnOr 7 108 and related tablets. He believes that after Šu-Sin died just before the 1/x/ŠS 9 Ibbi-Sin went to Nippur, Ur and Uruk for his coronation and the funeral procession of Šu-Sin during the tenth month of the Ur/Drehem calendar from the first day to the last day (for iti Ezen-mah was no longer the ninth month but was rather the tenth month in Puzriš-Dagan where the month order had become the same as that of Ur from ŠS 4, see Gomi, ASJ 1, lff.). MAH 19352, concerning the disbursement of 13 fattened oxen to the gods on ŠS 9/x/1, belongs to the disbursement account of Puzur-Enlil. AnOr 7, 108, belonging to the accounts of Urkununna, is a ba-zi ledger about the grass-fattened (ú) animals, mainly sheep (25 oxen/cows, 736 sheep/goats), as sacrifices for the statues in the temples of Nippur (day 1, 6, 13) and of Uruk (day [2], 26, 29) required by the king or cupbearers, and for the kitchens as the food of the palace servants in Ur (day 11, [14]), Uruk (day [22], 25, 27-29) and Nippur (day 30). Both are via (gir) Nur-Sin, titled as šà-tam in the former and as dub-sar in the latter. According to AnOr 7, 108, on ŠS 9/x/1 the king who was in Nippur went to Ur, but the following day ([2]) he was in Uruk not in Ur. Moreover, the king going to Uruk from Nippur on ŠS 9/x/1 is mentioned in MAH 19352. AnOr 7, 107 dated to ŠS 9/x/4 records that three fatten oxen from Puzur-Enlil were taken for the offerings of the throne rooms (ki g<sup>š</sup>gu.za) of Ur Nammu, [šà é]-Enlil, Šulgi and Amar-Sin in Ur. Nies UDT 100 (ŠS 9/x/3) mentions that the sacrifices for the gods were given in Ur during the coronation of Ibbi-Sin, so the king must have passed Uruk on x/2 and arrived in Ur on x/3. Two misprints are made by Sigrist in his article. He correctly put «day 11 in Uruk» (of AnOr 7 108: 34-45) in his table of ŠS 9/iti Ezen-mah (!misprinted as ŠS 1) on p. 499, but on p. 502 he mistakenly assigns the lines 34-45 (!misprinted as 34-35) to day 9 (day 11 in Schneider's copy) together with CTS 453. «Day 30 in Nippur» is correct in his table, but he gives «day 30 in Ur» in p. 505 by error.

Note that AUCT I, 3, a damaged tablet of Urkununna dated to [ŠS 9?]/[ix?]/26, is exactly similar to the lines 1-7 (ŠS 9/x/1) of AnOr 7 108 of Urkununna, except the date: [20 udu ú alan-didli, šà é] <sup>d</sup>En-líl-[lál], 1[7 u]du ú ala[n-didli], šà é <sup>d</sup>Nin-líl-lál, uzu-a-bal siskur gu-la lugal ku<sub>4</sub>-[ra], (37 udu zi-ga lugal) ... Moreover, the two disbursements of Urkununna, on ŠS 9/x/27 (AnOr 7 108) and on ŠS 9/xi/27 (BIN 460), were both sent to the kitchen for the food of soldiers (agà-uš), who entered the palace for the lustration of the gate (ka=ká) of the palace, and for the food of the lancers (? lú-šukúr (ŠUK)-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>-ne = lú-šukur (IGI.KAK)-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>-ne «the men of spear»). The similarity may mean funeral event took place in the two succeeding months. Otherwise, it shows that some offerings and meat for soldiers in ŠS 9/x may have been routine disbursements.

A problem is that in AnOr 7 108 only the disbursements on day 1 and 2 were required by the king (lugal ku<sub>4</sub>-ra), and Nies UDT 100 on day 3 and PDT 563 on day 21 mention the king, but on the other days the animals were required (maškim) by Puzur-Ištar šagi (6 in Nippur), Lugal-magurre (11 in Ur; [22], 23 (BIN 3 581), 25-29 in Uruk, 30 Nippur), Šu-Sin-la-mahar šagi (13 in Nippur) and Aradmu, (sukkal-mah?), ([14] in Ur)

and Sin-abušu šagi (29 for Inanna) so we are not sure if the king was with these maškims in the given cities or not. However, the account of day 29 mentions that king was to go to Nippur and the account of day 30 records that Lugal-magurre is in Nippur so the king was together with Lugal-magurre in Uruk and Nippur, which may prove that the king was also with other maškims in Nippur and Ur. Hence, the itinerary of the divine Ibbi-Sin in ŠS 9/x given by Sigrist was from Nippur (x/1) → Uruk (x/2) → Ur (x/3-4) → Nippur (6) → Ur (7 (TRU 291), 9 (CST 453), 11) → Nippur (13) → Ur ([14]) → Uruk (21 (PDT 563), [22], 23 (BIN 3 581), [24], 25-29) → Nippur (30).

Puzur-Enlil disbursed (ba-zi) fattened oxen and sheep to the gods and king from Šu-Sin 7: **SETDA** 177 (udu to Enlil and the gods, ŠS7/[ ]/7); **BIN** 3 : 252, 578 (to Iškur of Muru, ŠS 9/xii/2[6], 28), 580 (to Ninsun coming to the temple of Enlil, ŠS 8/vi/4), 585 (as the *sá-dug<sub>4</sub>* of the king, ŠS 9/v); **TENS** 280 (to the kitchen for *kas<sub>4</sub>*, ŠS 8/vi/16); **AUCT** I 856 (udu *sá-dug<sub>4</sub>* lugal, ŠS 9/xi); **AUCT** II 308 (IS 1/vii/4, 7 : *gu<sub>4</sub>-niga* for Nin-Šubur of Kua and Nanna in the Akitu, *gu<sub>4</sub>-ú* for other gods in Kua, Eridu and for the kitchen in Ur); **AUCT** III 100 (udu to Inanna, ŠS 9/ii/13), 391 (to the kitchen for *kas<sub>4</sub>*, ŠS 7/iv/7); **PDT** II 1112 (for the great sacrifice, ŠS 7/vi/28). Like Puzur-Enlil, Šulgi-ili also disbursed fattened sacrifices mainly to temples from ŠS 7 (see below), and both are called « travelling officials » (from ŠS 7) of Drehem by Jones/Snyder (SET p 236-7) and its « accounting officials 2 » by S. Oh'e (ASJ 5). Puzur-Enlil transferred some surplus fattened sheep to Urkununna, the keeping and breeding official from ŠS 7, every month during ŠS 9/x-xii (AUCT III 57, 14, 59). In AUCT III 4 (ŠS 8/ix), Urkununna was once called fattener (*kišib* Ur-kù-nun-<na> *kurušda*) with his seal naming him the scribe and the son/agent of Lu-Ningirsu the fattener. He took charge of animals from the receiving official/accounting official 1 (Intaea), fattened and kept them but he only disbursed grass-fattened animals, so he may have been a sheep fattener with grass. A Šulgi-ili was also a fattener in AS 1 (PDT II 1215). Urkununna's office was probably near the office of Duga, the son/agent of Lu-Ningirsu the head (*sipa*) of the *Nakabtum* corral/pens (seal on AUCT III 36), since Duga sometimes rolled his seal on the receipts of Urkununna on taking grass-fattened animals and lambs (AUCT III 49, 53, 55-59, 62, 77), mainly from Intaea (49 ŠS 4/x/6, 53 ŠS 9/xi/9-11, 58 ŠS 9/xii/25, 62 IS 1/xi/, 77 ŠS 9/xi/18.22). This may mean that Duga brought the animals for Urkununna, with or without his own, to their place. Note that the boss/father of both was named Lu-Ningirsu but with the different titles. If this is the case, the office of Urkununna was also located in *Nakabtum*.

In addition to from MAH 19352, another tablet mentioning the divine Ibbi-Sin in ŠS 9 is a disbursal tablet of Šulgi-ili, AUCT (*Andrews University Cuneiform Tablets*) III (Sigrist and Gavin, 1988) no 489, in [Uruk]. This Drehem text is dated to Šu-Sin by the year name *mu<sup>d</sup>Su-[<sup>d</sup>Sin ...]* and the sealing of Lu-Nanna (*gir* in the tablet), the son of Ur-B/Gilgameš, a *ša-tam* of Šu-Sin. The year is considered as ŠS 9 and the month is restored to *iti Ezen-An-[na]* since it is unlikely that Ibbi-Sin was elevated to the status of god before he became king on ŠS 9/x/1. The month may neither be thought as *iti Ezen-<sup>d</sup>[Me-ki-gál]* (month xii) of ŠS 9 since AUCT III 507 is the disbursal account (ba-zi) of Šul[gi-ili] (*gir* another Lu-Nanna) during *iti Ezen-Mekigal* (day 3, 5, 6, 23 and 25) of ŠS 9, nor as *Ezen-<sup>d</sup>[Šu-<sup>d</sup>Sin]* (ix) since AUCT III 197 is his disbursal account on ŠS 9/xi/25, which shows Šulgi-ili was in Nippur and Puzriš-Dagan. Hence, our tablet may be his account for day [20?], 21, 22, 25 and [22]+4 of *iti Ezen An-[na]* (month xi) in Uruk. AUCT III 196 about his disbursing a fat ox for the bed of a bride is on xi/17 via Nanna-mada and Šu-Erra, and BIN 3 462 is his disbursal account on xi/6 and 14 in *Nakabtum* again via Nanna-mada and Šu-Erra, who also checked the disbursal of Šulgi-ili on ŠS 9/ix/25 (AUCT III 197).

According to AUCT 489 Ibbi-Sin seemed to be in Uruk during xi/2x-26 since it records the offerings to Inanna (day [20?], 21, 25) and An in the temple of Inanna (lines 6-10 day [20]), to Gula (day [20], 21, 26) Ningišzida ([20], 22), Ninsun, Lugal-banda ([20], the gods of Uruk) and [ša Unug]<sup>ki</sup>-ga (Line 50). Lines 22-27 read : 1 udu niga 4-kam ús, <sup>d</sup>Gu-la, ud en Eridu<sup>ki</sup> a-ra-zu <sup>d</sup>I-bí-<sup>d</sup>Sin-ka-šè pàd-da é <sup>d</sup>Gu-la-šè ì-in-ku<sub>4</sub>-ra-a, ud-21kam, « (one fat sheep of the third grade for Inanna and) one fat sheep of the fourth grade (disbursed by Šulgi-ili for) Gula on the day when the en priestess of Eridu chosen by the arazu offering of the divine Ibbi-Sin entered the temple of Gula, the 21st day ». Lines 43-47 read : ud en Eridu<sup>ki</sup>, ki-DU.DU(lah<sub>5</sub>)-šè ìb-ta-è-a, a-rá-1-kam, mu en Eridu<sup>ki</sup>, a-ra-zu <sup>d</sup>I-bí-<sup>d</sup>Sin-na pàd-da ba-hung-gá-šè, [ud-22?]+4-kam, « (one fat sheep offered at the gate of the *gipar* room of the en) when the en priestess of Eridu went out (of the *gipar* room of the temple) to perform the ritual for the first time ; (all the sacrifices) because the en priestess of Eridu, chosen by the arazu sacrifice of the divine Ibbi-Sin, has been installed, the [2]6th? day ». Note that in Amar-Sin 7 an en-priestess of Eridu was already installed (year name 8) and she may have died or retired in Šu-Sin 9. For *ki-du-du* is written as *kidudu* in SB, see CAD K. In PSD A/1, a-ra-zu means « prayer » but from its reference 15 we know that *siskur* is offered on the day but a-ra-zu is given in the night, so a-ra-zu may be a sacrifice offered by a prayer. From the year name of Ibbi-Sin 2, we learn the en-priestess was chosen by a kid sacrifice (*máš-e ì-pàd*) so a-ra-zu may have been a kid sacrifice according to our text. *Siskur* is written AMAR × niga, « a fattened calf », and a-ra-zu may be a fattened kid. In ancient China, fattened bulls/oxen were specified for the sacrifices of kings but common oxen or sheep were the sacrifices of low ranking persons.

SET no 87 is Ur-kununna's disbursal ledger of dead oxen and grass-fattened sheep to Šulgi-urumu of

é-dub-ba, Puzur-Enlil II of the kennels and Lukalla for the whole year of Šu-Sin 9. It shows us that in the month of iti Ezen-mah Ur-kununna of Puzriš-Dagan disbursed 384 dead animals and 236 in the month Ezen-Anna, but in other months of that year much less animals were disbursed: from 10 in iv to 157 in month i. Jones/Snyder suggest that the largest disbursements in the tenth (ninth before ŠS 4) month may have been for the coronation of Ibbi-Sin.

WU Yuhong (11-11-95)  
Institute for History of Ancient Civilizations  
Northeast Normal University, CHANGCHUN 130024, CHINE

**96) Could Šu-Sin become King Amar-Sin 7? and a Note on the Two Šu-Sins** – Recently when I investigated the high ranking scribes and the intellectual ensis of Umma during the Ur III period (to appear in JAC vol. 10, 1995), I was puzzled by the seal of Gududu, the scribe, son of Dadaga (the ensi of Umna), dedicated to Šu-Sin the king, said by Kang to be rolled on SETUA 46, a tablet dated to Amar-Sin 7 (mu BÍ-tum-ra-bí-um<sup>ki</sup> ba-hul). Tohru Maeda in ASJ 12 (1990) p. 74 mentions that this seal of Gududu dedicated to Šu-Sin was used on the document written in Amar-Sin 7 without questioning its plausibility. I consider that since Šu-Sin could absolutely not become the king of Ur in Amar-Sin 7, the seal on SETUA 46 must be another seal of Gududu, the first line of which possibly reads Amar-Sin rather than Šu-Sin. I hope that a scholar who has access to the tablets in the University of Illinois could make a collation of the seal impression on SETUA 46 and confirm or deny this. If Kang's reading of the seal legend is not a mistake, we need other explanations for this puzzle.

Šu-Sin, dumu lugala, is mentioned in PDT II/FAOS 16 (Yıldız and Gomi) no 959 vi 3, the dating of which is broken but the office period of Šara-kam, the ensi of Girsu, occurring in col. iv 22 indicates that the tablet was written within Amar-Sin 5-7. However, a Šu-Sin, the šakkinu of Uruk, was the son of Šulgi according to his seal in IRSA IIIA22x dedicated to Šulgi, which would mean that he was the brother of Amar-Sin the king. If the «dumu lugala» (lit. the son of the king) title did not include the sons of the previous king, there were two Šu-Sin: one the son of Šulgi and general of Uruk and another the son and successor of Amar-Sin. The Sumerian King List refers to king Šu-Sin as the son of Amar-Sin.

WU Yuhong (11-11-95)

[Sur la première de ces questions, voir désormais l'article de B. Lafont, «L'avènement de Šu-Sin», à paraître dans la RA 88, 1994, p. 97-119. *La Rédaction*]

**97) urruru (D stem of arāru B) « to frighten » in TCL 18 90** – The D stem of the verb *arāru B* is only attested once in Angim II 30 presented in CAD A 2 236 lexical part. The meaning of *arāru B* given by CAD is « to become fearful, agitated, panic stricken », so that *urruru* is « to cause fear, panic; to frighten », which is confirmed by Angim II 30: <sup>d</sup>Anunnaki *ina šubat ukkin la tu-ra-ar* « do not cause the Anunnaki to panic in the assembly ». TCL 18 90 is an OB letter and its line 34 has the verb *urruru*, which means « to frighten » according to the context, but is missed by the editors of the two dictionaries. I hope that this note could remind the editors of the Old Babylonian Dictionary of this reference. The letter was sent from Ili-iddinam, the city and the elders to Šega-Enlilla, possibly a judge. In the letter, the city wants to prove the innocence of the son of the doctor/Azu, who did not go to steal barley with a slave and a man, and Ili-šarrani, who never committed a crime. In the last two lines, the city sarcastically says to Šega-Enlilla who suspects the two innocents of the city: « While you wish to help the city (in these two cases), you will **frighten** the city! »

G. Dossin TCL 18, 90

	<i>a-na še-ga-dEn-líl-lá</i>		<i>i-nu-ma <sup>m</sup>U-bar-rum a-na Larsa<sup>ki</sup></i>
	<i>qí-bí-ma</i>	15	<i>aš-šum wa-ar-dí-im il-li-ku</i>
	<i>um-ma Ì-lì-i-dí-nam</i>		<i>wa-ar-as-sú ki-a-am i-ša-al-ma</i>
	<i>a-lu-um ù ši-bu-tum-ma</i>		<i>um-ma šu-ma ma-an-nu-um it-ti-ka</i>
5	<sup>d</sup> Šamaš <i>šanātim(mu-kam-kam) li-ba-al-li-iṭ-ka</i>		<i>mār Nu-úr-dEn-líl it-ti-ia</i>
	<i>i-nu-ma wa-ar-du-um i-na bi-tim iṣ-šà-ab-tu</i>		<i>mār A-zu ú-ul il-li-ik</i>
	<i>a-lu-um i-ša-al-šu-ma</i>	20	<i>i-na-an-na <sup>m</sup>U-bar-rum ša-al</i>
	<i>mār Nu-úr-dEn-líl ih-sú-us</i>		<i>[...] i-na pa-ni-ka</i>
	<i>mār A-zu ú-ul ih-sú-us</i>		<i>[a-nu-um-m]a i-na-hi-is i-na še-e ša-ra-[q]ú-tim</i>
10	<i>ù iti-4-kam ik-ka-li-ma</i>		<i>ú-ul ih-ha-sí-is</i>
	<i>ú-uš-ší-ba-šu-ma mār Nu-úr-dEn-líl</i>		<i>aš-šum Ì-lí-šar-ra-[n]i?</i>
	<i>ih-sú-us a-na pi-i wa-ar-dí-im</i>	25	<i>a-wi-lum <sup>sag</sup>árad bît <sup>d</sup>Šamaš</i>
	<i>ma-ar a-pa-li it-ta-na-ad-d[i]-nu</i>		<i>iš-tu i-na a-li-ni wa-aš-bu</i>

*i-na sà-ar-tim ma-ti-ma šu-um-šu  
 ú-ul ha-sí-is  
 a-wi-lum pa-na-nu-um ú-ul ha-sí-is  
 30 i-na-an-na ma-an-nu-um ih-sú-sà-ku-uš-šu*

*šum-ma ta-ša-pa-ra-am!  
 a-lu-um ka-lu-šu li-il-li-ka-ma  
 ki-ma at-ta tap-pu-ut a-li-im  
 ta-al-la-ku a-la-am! tu-úr-ra-ar*

Speak to  
 Šega-Enlilla,  
 thus says Ili-iddinam,  
 the city and elders, May Šamaš  
 preserve you well for many years!  
 When the slave was seized in the  
 house, the city asked him and  
 he mentioned the son of Nur-Enlil.  
 He did not mention the son of Azu.  
 While he was imprisoned for four months and  
 (the city) gave to him an additional (month),  
 he only mentioned the son of Nur-Enlil.  
 According to the testimony of the slave  
 the responsible person has been given up.  
 When Ubarrum went to Larsa  
 for the sake of the slave,  
 he asked his slave, saying :

« Who was with you? »  
 « The son of Nur-Enlil was with me.  
 The son of Azu did not go ».  
 Now, ask Ubarrum !  
 [He] will go back to you  
 [with this letter]. He has not  
 been implicated in barley stealing.  
 As to Ili-šarra[n]i  
 a man, the slave of the temple of Šamaš,  
 since he lived in our city  
 his name has never been  
 mentioned in any crime.  
 Formerly, the man has not been mentioned.  
 Now, who mentioned him to you?  
 If you could send a man to here, all  
 the city will come (to the testimony for him).  
 While you wish to come to the aid  
 of the city, you will **frighten** the city!

Wu Yuhong (11-11-95)

**98) Zahl und Zeit, Ergänzungen und Korrekturen** – (Michael P. Streck, *Zahl und Zeit. Grammatik der Numeralia und des Verbalsystems im Spätbabylonischen* [= Cuneiform Monographs 5], Groningen 1995):

**S. xxviii f.** : die Übersicht über die publizierten spätbabylonischen Briefe läßt sich ergänzen :

1994 Arnaud BBVOT 3 Nr. 54 : 1 Text.

1995 MacGinnis, *Letter Orders from Sippar* (alle mit Ausnahme von 2, 36 und 136f. ; 1-2 und 9 schon früher publiziert und ohne Briefeinleitung) : 183 Texte.

Die Gesamtzahl der publizierten spätbabylonischen Briefe steigt damit auf mindestens 1190.

**I § 31c** : der syrische Beleg für Genuskongruenz zwischen Kardinalzahl und Gezähltem ist zu streichen (Hinweis Prof. Dr. R. Degen), da *yawmāṭā* trotz des formal femininen Pluralsuffixes als Maskulinum behandelt wird. Laut T. Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik* § 82, ist *yawmāṭā* damit ein Sonderfall innerhalb des Syrischen.

**I § 33i** : Dr. W. Sallaberger weist mich darauf hin, daß meine Analyse des Stativs als Status absolutus des Adjektivs in prädikativer Funktion (II § 39) die von mir vorgeschlagene Interpretation der Zehnerreihe als Status absolutus-Formen des Plurals stützt (und vice versa) : die Suffixe von *šalāšū* und *šalāšā* sind dieselben wie in *parsū* und *parsā*. Die ersten zweieinhalb Sätze von Anm. 108 (S. 44) sind damit gegenstandslos.

**II § 6a** : S. 91 letzte Zeile lies « § 35c » statt « § 5c ».

**II § 11c** : die Graphik S. 104 ist entsprechend der unmittelbar folgenden Beschreibung so zu korrigieren, daß sich b und d decken.

**II § 31b** : S. 146 letzter Beleg lies *akk[annu]* statt *akk[ammu]*. Für das S. 147 mit Anm. 334 zitierte Šamši-Adad-Spruchwort s. a. M. P. Streck, ZA 84 (1994, erschienen 1995) 171f. 3.1.3.2.

**II § 39** : s. jetzt auch J. Tropper, *Die semitische « Suffixkonjugation » im Wandel. Von der Prädikativform zum Perfekt*, AOAT 240 (1995) 491-516. Tropper gelangt in wichtigen Punkten unabhängig von mir zu ähnlichen Schlußfolgerungen, besonders S. 492-495 : der Stativ ist eine « nominale Prädikativkonstruktion » und kein finites Verbum. Ebenso bekräftigt B. Kienast in AOAT 240, 120, seine schon früher geäußerte Ansicht zum Stativ, er sei « nichts anderes als die prädikative Form des Nomens, gegebenenfalls mit einem enklitischen Subjektspronomen, also keine Verbalform ». K. Jansen-Winkeln, *Das ägyptische Pseudopartizip*, OLP 24 (1993) 5-28, besonders 22-25, stellt eine « historische Identität » (S. 22) zwischen ägyptischem Pseudopartizip und akkadischem « Stativ » fest ; ebenso wie der « Stativ » sei das ägyptische Pseudopartizip keine finite Verbalform, sondern « eine deverbale Nominalform » (S. 28) in prädikativer Funktion.

**II § 39f** : Zwei weitere Argumente für eine Analyse von *paris* der 3. P. als Status absolutus-Formen des Adjektivs in prädikativer Funktion (S. 182-184 unter Punkt 2) habe ich mir entgehen lassen : zum einen

lautet der Status constructus von Nomina auf *-ūtu* oder *-ātu* bisweilen auf *-ū* oder *-ā* aus (s. jetzt dazu GAG<sup>3</sup> [1995] § 64m mit Nachträgen) und bietet damit denselben Auslaut wie *parsū* und *parsā*; zum anderen passen die selten belegten Dualformen des Stativs (s. GAG<sup>3</sup> § 75b mit Nachträgen) perfekt in die Argumentation: der Status absolutus zum Status rectus *parsān* und *paristān* lautet erwartungsgemäß *parsā* und *paristā* mit Elision des *n* (vgl. auch hier die analoge Status constructus-Bildung GAG<sup>3</sup> § 64k). Auch Tropper stellt in dem oben genannten Aufsatz fest (S. 493f.), daß « eigentliche » enklitische Personalpronomina der 3. P. gegen Huehnergard nicht existieren, sondern vielmehr « Deklinationsendungen » vorliegen.

Als Stütze für meine These (S. 184f.), *šarrāku* sei Analogiebildung zur sumerischen Kopula-Konstruktion *l u g a l - m e - e n*, läßt sich z. B. *e n - m e - e n = bēlēku* Lugale 474, dito in Angim III 20, anführen. Zu Recht stellt Tropper fest (ib S. 494), daß das prädikative Element vor dem enklitischen Personalpronomen der 1. und 2. P. (und entsprechend im Sumerischen vor der Kopula) nicht dekliniert werden muß, weil Genus und Numerus ausreichend durch das Pronomen (bzw. im Sumerischen durch die Kopula) markiert sind.

Dr. P. Attinger weist mich darauf hin, daß als Ausgangspunkt für transitives *paris* (s. dagegen meinen Vorschlag S. 185) auch das sumerische « Konjugationspräfix » /a/ in Frage kommt.

II § 49e: Die provisorische Behandlung von *iparras* für die Vergangenheit in der akkadischen Epik Anm. 546 (S. 242) wird nun ersetzt durch M. P. Streck, Or. 64 (1995) 33-91.

M. P. STRECK (05-12-95)  
 Institut für Assyriologie und Hethitologie  
 Geschwister-Scholl-Pl. 1  
 D-80539 MÜNCHEN, ALLEMAGNE

99) *Ma'sapu*, « cuscino », nei testi di Ebla<sup>1</sup> – Nei testi amministrativi eblaiti editi ricorre, per ora solo due volte<sup>2</sup>, il termine *ma-za-bù*. Questo termine si riferisce ad un oggetto realizzato in lana, assegnato assieme a « feltri » (*túg-du<sub>8</sub>*) e posto in connessione con il *giš*-« *ušti(n)* », « seggio ; trono » (per questa lettura) si veda P. Fronzaroli, *NABU* 1992/59).

Proprio sulla base di questo particolare legame del *ma-za-bù* con il *giš*-« *ušti(n)* », si ritiene possibile che il lemma in questione rappresenti l'equivalente semitico del termine sumerico individuato dalla grafia (*ú*-)su, traducibile come « vello ; cuscino »; termine che, sempre nei testi amministrativi eblaiti, si riferisce ad un oggetto pure realizzato in lana, esattamente negli stessi quantitativi impiegati per il *ma-za-bù* (per lo più 2 misure « KIN » o 1 misura *na<sub>4</sub>* per ciascun capo), e che appunto può essere ugualmente connesso al *giš*-« *ušti(n)* ». Inoltre, come *ma-za-bù*, anche (*ú*-)su è sovente assegnato assieme a « feltri » (*túg-du<sub>8</sub>*)<sup>3</sup>. Oltre che nei testi amministrativi, il sumerogramma *ú-su* è presente anche nella lista lessicale eblaita (*VE* 293), ma senza essere provvisto della rispettiva glossa semitica.

In base al raffronto sopra proposto e conformemente alle regole fonetiche del sillabario eblaita, è quindi possibile proporre per *ma-za-bù* un'interpretazione come sostantivo a schema *mal2a3-* derivato dalla radice \**sp*, attestata in accadico, ugaritico ed ebraico con il significato di « riunire, ammassare, accorpare, raggruppare » (cfr. D. Cohen, *DRS* I, p. 27). In tal caso, infatti, il vocabolo si riferirebbe all'oggetto – probabilmente un piccolo sacco – dove o con cui la lana veniva raggrupata per formare il « cuscino », compatibilmente al significato del sumerogramma (*ú*-)su.

L'interpretazione qui proposta è del resto sostenuta anche dalla relazione di *mu-za-bù* ed (*ú*-)su con *giš*-« *ušti(n)* », « seggio ; trono », una componente del mobilio a cui è logico si accompagnasse proprio un « cuscino ».

Va, infine, sottolineato che l'eblaita *ma-za-bù*, « cuscino », sembra essere un termine di tradizione semitica occidentale ed assente con questo sviluppo semantico in accadico, che pure attesta la radice \**sp*; infatti, in un testo economico ugaritico (*KTU* 4.166: 4-5), in cui sono elencati vari prodotti tessili, vengono citati tra gli altri « 5 *m'spt* di lino » (*h<sub>1</sub>mš m'ispt qt*): il termine *m'spt* è riconducibile alla stessa etimologia qui proposta per l'eblaita *ma-za-bù* e l'intera frase potrebbe tradursi come « 5 cuscini di lino » (cfr. da ultimo J. Sanmartín, *AuOr* 10 [1992], p. 98, « especie de saco o envoltorio »).

1. Questa nota fa parte di un lavoro più ampio sulla terminologia semitica dei tessuti nei testi di Ebla previsto per *Miscellanea Eblaitica* 4.

2. In *MEE* 2.11 v. IV: 2 ed in *TM.75.G.1537* v. XII: 11-16 (in Archi, *MARI* 4 [1985], p. 75, n° 39).

3. I testi in questione sono: *ARET* 1.5 v. XIV: 4-10; *ARET* 1.14 v. VI: 17 - VII: 3; *ARET* 3.108, II; *ARET* 8.522 (21); *ARET* 8.529 (53); *MEE* 2.40, v. VI: 7-10; *MEE* 2.40, v. VI: 14 - VII: 2; *MEE* 12.18 v. I: 11 - II: 4 (in G. Pettinato, *Il rituale per la successione al trono ad Ebla*, Roma 1993, p. 193); *TM.74.G.132* r. I: 2 [in G. Pettinato, *MEE* 2 (1980), p. 12, ad r.III: 9-10].

Jacopo PASQUALI (25-11-95)  
 via degli Alfani n° 77  
 I-50121 FIRENZE, ITALIAE

**100) Samaria 1825 = Fi. 16. Zum Verbleib einer nA Urkunde aus Sāmīrīna (Samaria)** – Bei den Ausgrabungen der Universität Harvard 1908-1910 wurde das Fragment einer neuassyrischen Urkunde mit der Registrierungsnummer 1825 geborgen. Als Fundort wird die Fundamentgrube einer Mauer des hellenistischen Forts angegeben<sup>1</sup>. Zum Aufbewahrungsort der Tafel war bislang nichts bekannt.

V. Donbaz<sup>2</sup> wies in seiner Publikation von sechs neuassyrischen Urkunden aus dem Gebiet von Girnavaz in einer Anmerkung auf eine Tafel aus Palästina hin, die im Archäologischen Museum von Istanbul unter der Inventarnummer Fi. 16 aufbewahrt wird<sup>3</sup>. Vergleicht man Donbaz' Umschrift des Textes mit der Kopie und Fotografie des Textes Samaria 1825 im Ausgrabungsbericht, so wird klar, daß es sich bei Fi. 16 um eben diese Urkunde handeln muß.

Der Text Samaria 1825 = Fi. 16 lautet in Umschrift und Übersetzung:

1. [š]um-ma ina ša-bi u<sub>4</sub>-10-kám
2. ša itu.ne<sup>PN</sup> u.gur-šal-lim
3. sag.du<sup>1</sup> PN a-a-pap.meš
4. a-na lú\*-gal uru.meš
5. [la i]d-din gu<sub>4</sub> 16 udu sum<sup>2</sup>-an<sup>?</sup>

Rest weggebrochen.

« Wenn Nergal-šallim das Kapital des Aja-ahhē dem Verwalter der Dörfer am 10. Tag des Monats Abu (v) [nicht] geben wird, [wird er] einen Ochsen (und) sechs Schafe [geben.] »

Kommentar:

Es gibt eine Reihe von rechtskräftigen Vereinbarungen, die auf diese Weise formuliert sind.<sup>4</sup> *ina libbi* <Datum> statt *ina* <Datum> kommt öfters vor, so zum Beispiel in TIM XI 13.

Z.3 Der Anfang der Zeile ist nach der Kopie sag.bi zu lesen, Donbaz' Umschrift hat lú-gu<sub>4</sub>, beides ist nicht sehr wahrscheinlich. Mit ercheint die Lesung sag.du die beste Möglichkeit zu sein.

1. « *Fragment of a letter tablet. Found in the construction trench of the Greek Fort Wall at the eastern angle in S2 S.* » (G. A. Reisner et al. (Hrsg), Harvard Excavations at Samaria 1908-1910. Bd. I (1924) 247 (B.1), Fotografie des Textes im Tafelband Bd. II Tf. 56b)

2. V. Donbaz, SAAB II (1988) 6 Anm. 13.

3. Auf den von Donbaz erwähnten Text hat jüngst M. Cogan, IEJ 45/2-3 (1995) 155 in einer kurzen Auflistung von neuen Keilschrifttexten aus Israel im Zusammenhang mit der Bearbeitung eines Lamaštu-Reliefs aus der Shephalah hingewiesen: « *a cuneiform tablet 'from Palestine' (from the original Macalister excavations at Gezer?)* ».

4. ADD 167 = ARU 223 = NALDK 159 = SAA VI 215, ND 2091 = Iraq 16 (1954) 54 Tf. v, ND 7002 = CTN III 7, BT 131 = Iraq 25 (1963) 99 Tf. xxv, TIM XI 23.

Karen RADNER (20-11-95)  
Institut für Orientalistik  
Universität Wien, Universitätsstr. 7/V  
A-1010 WIEN, AUTRICHE

**101) A problem in Middle Elamite seal inscriptions** – E. Reiner, in E. Porada, *Tchoga Zanbil IV, La Glyptique* (MDAI 42, Paris, 1970), p. 137 no. 81, published a seal inscription from two copies, which can be combined:

gar<sup>na</sup>kišib ne  
ina é-gal DU.DU  
lu KAK+BAR-ma-šu

One copy leaves off the last sign of each line, and one writes LU with three vertical strokes only, but these are the sort of errors found in Middle Elamite seal inscriptions. The sign KAK+BAR is in fact SAL, see M.-J. Steve, *Syllabaire Elamite*, Neuchâtel-Paris, 1992), p. 130-131 no. 554. Thus the translation must be:

May the one equipped with this seal  
have free access to the palace,  
may things go well with him.

The reading *šal-ma-šu* is sure, but uncertain as to its grammar. Is it a fem. pl. subject (*šalmāšu*) or a masc. sing. (*šalmaššu*) with *-aššu* for the dative suffix? Unfortunately there seems to be no Babylonian example of this line to compare, but that too, if ever found, might have equally ambiguous grammar.

W. G. LAMBERT (11-12-95)  
Dept. of Ancient History and Archaeology  
University of Birmingham  
BIRMINGHAM B15 2TT ANGLETERRE

**102) The writing of the name Šuqamuna** – S. M. Maul in *NABU* 1995/74 read the personal name on a Middle Babylonian sword <sup>m</sup>Ú-zib-<sup>d</sup>šū-qa-mu-na though the sign ŠU is written with two wedges only. It is argued here that the sign is in fact šú, with a horizontal instead of a winkelhaken at the bottom. This in itself is a trivial point, but it bears on a problem which deserves stating. First, this deity is not rarely written <sup>d</sup>šú-qa-mu-na in Middle Babylonian boundary stones (*MDP* 2 (1900) p. 113 ii 10 = *BaghMitt* 4 (1968) p. 24 no. 14 and pl. viii; *MDP* 14 (1913) p. 35 = *BaghMitt* 4 (1968) p. 30 no. 38; *BBS* t. 68 iv B 2) and Middle Babylonian documents (*BE* 14 116 4). The unusual form of the sign ŠU in the sword inscription is in fact paralleled by its form of ZIB. Out of context the sign would be read EŠ, and C. Fossey, *Manuel d'Assyriologie* II pp. 781-782 offers no parallel. Similar unexpected sign-forms occur on bronzes said to have come from Iran with Middle Babylonian inscriptions. To take one example only, the arrow-point in the Foroughi collection published by G. Dossin in *Iranica Antiqua* 2 (1962) 161 = pl. xxviii no. 21b reads šá <sup>d</sup>PA-GUB-A lugal šár (*ša Nabû-mukîn-apli šar kiššati*), but the last sign is engraved exactly like the first, vertically instead of diagonally. Two questions are involved in this kind of 'bad' writing.

First, were all these bronzes with Middle Babylonian inscriptions in fact found in Iran (they have normally appeared on the fine art market), and if so were they made and inscribed in Iran, or did they reach Iran in the ancient world as exports from Babylonia? This is no place to discuss all the issues involved in these questions, but the relevance of the 'bad' writing is being presented. The parallel with Middle Elamite seal inscriptions is relevant (see the preceding note). These are beyond dispute products of Iran, and their cuneiform writing is often defective. But if it is assumed that the bronze inscriptions were put on the objects in Iran, there must have been Babylonian inscribed objects around in Iran to have been copied. Surkh Dum-i-Luri has provided two examples of such, in a bead and a eye-stone naming Kurigalzu (E.F. Schmidt et al., *The Holmes Expedition to Luristan* (OIP 108) pp. 476-477). These are definitely Babylonian type objects. This evidence is thus consistent with the idea that these bronzes were made in Iran and had Babylonian inscriptions copied onto them.

W. G. LAMBERT (11-12-95)

**103) UCLMA 9-3029 : Un prêt de briques à Nuzi** – J. W. Carnahan, K. G. Hillard et A. D. Kilmer ont publié dans *JCS* 46 (1994), p. 105-122, huit textes de Nuzi conservés au P. A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley. Parmi ceux-ci, UCLMA 9-3029 est ainsi transcrit et traduit (p. 114) :

« 2 ma-at ANŠE.MEŠ, ša É.GAL-lim la-bi-ru, <sup>m</sup>Ut-ha-a-a DUMU E-hé-el-te-šub, a-na UR<sub>5</sub>.RA il-qì, ina EGIR e-bur<sub>14</sub>-ri, 2 ma-at ANŠE.MEŠ, ú-ta-ar, NA<sub>4</sub> <sup>m</sup>ut-ha-a-a

200 donkeys from the old palace, Uthaja son of Ehel-Tešub, took as a loan. At the end of harvest 200 donkeys he will return. Seal : Uthaja ».

En fait, il faut probablement lire aux l. 1 et 6 : 2 ma-at SIG<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ, « 200 briques ». Les signes ANŠE et SIG<sub>4</sub> à Nuzi peuvent se ressembler : le signe copié pour ANŠE à ces lignes est assez proche du SIG<sub>4</sub> qui figure par exemple dans EN 9/2 393 : 1.

Ce texte trouve un parallèle dans un document du palais, HSS 13 4 (W. Mayer, *UF* 9, p. 192; provenance : R 76), qui fait intervenir les mêmes contractants, le palais et Uthaja fils d'Ehel-Teššup : « 1 ma-at 50 SIG<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ, ša É.GAL-lim <sup>m</sup>Ut-ha-a-a, DUMU E-hé-el-te-šup a-na MÁŠ<sup>2</sup>-ti<sup>3</sup>, a-na UR<sub>5</sub>.RA il-qì, ina EGIR e-bu-ri, a-na SAG.DU-šū-ma, a-na bá-ab É.GAL-lim, i-na-an-din, NA<sub>4</sub> <sup>m</sup>ut-ha-a-a ». Sur Uthaja, cf. M. Morrison, *SCCNH* 2, p. 187-188.

K. Deller, *NABU* 1995/76, a déjà rapproché un texte de la collection de Berkeley d'une tablette issue des fouilles régulières de Nuzi, trouvée sur le tell principal. Il y en a ici un second exemple.

Brigitte LION (23-12-95)  
10, rue du Docteur Paquelin  
75020 PARIS

**104) A new Samsu-iluna inscription** – Christie's New-York, on Friday June 10, 1994, Antiquities, lot 72, sold a mace-head of white stone, a slightly squeezed sphere in shape, 40 × 53 mm., with an inscription in four columns, written around the sides of the sphere, i.e. not in the direction of the hole. A photograph was given in the auction catalogue, and a translation, but no transliteration. Since the present location of this object is apparently not known, the needs of scholarship are met with a transliteration, which is given here :

<sup>d</sup> nin-šubur	For Nin-shubur,
dilmun gal an-na	the great aristocrat of heaven,
dingir níg-kal DU-DU	the god who ... precious things,
lugal-a-ni-ir	his lord,
5. nam-[t]i	for the life of
sa-am-su-i-lu-na	Samsu-iluna

	lugal ká-dingir-ra <sup>ki</sup>	king of Babylon,
	lugal ke-en-gi ki-uri	king of Sumer and Akkad
	na-bi- <sup>d</sup> en-líl	Nabi-Enlil
10.	dumu da-mu-ú-a	son of Damū'a,
	<sup>na</sup> sag-tukul	fashioned
	me-te nam-dingir-ra-na	a mace-head
	mu-na-an-dím	a thing fitting his divinity,
	ír ní-tuku-ni	and gave it to him
15.	a mu-na-ru	as/for the servant who worships him.

Note : 3 is difficult. The auction catalogue renders « the god who rivals any power », apparently taking DU-DU as *šanānu*, which is possible.

W.G. LAMBERT (28-12-95)

**105) Misprints!** – In *RLA* VII/3-4 (1988) 163-164 the present writer contributed the article *Lulal / Lātarāk*, in which he cited the Emesal form of <sup>d</sup>lú-lāl as mu-lu-lil, at least in the MS he submitted and as it appeared in the proofs he corrected. However, the editor in a last-minute change corrected the sign lil to lāl, wrongly because the ancient scribes always write lil in the Emesal form, and this is important since the reading of the sign TA × 𒀭 in this name in the main dialect is thus proved to be lāl. At the time, in 1988, the present writer drew the editor's attention to this error, and received a courteous reply accepting responsibility for the error. Unfortunately in the latest fascicle to appear, *RLA* VIII/5-6 (1995) 415, not only is there a cross-reference under *Mulu-lal*, but the editor himself in the article *Mulu* also quotes Mu-lu-lāl. All readers in the position to do so are urged to correct their copies of this work to avoid further proliferation of the error.

W.G. LAMBERT (28-12-95)

**106) OBCT Hamrin Basin no. 21** – The OB letter published as text no. 21 in A. K. Muhamed *Old Babylonian Cuneiform Texts from the Hamrin Basin* (London: Nabu Publications, 1992) presents a number of orthographic and grammatical difficulties as transliterated by Muhamed, such as the dubious precativ *li-iš<sup>1</sup>-ku-ni* in a relative clause in l. 5, the unlikely form *a-na-da-nam* in l. 9, and the alleged writing « 1(GUR) 2(PI) ZÌ » (with simple vertical wedges for « 1 » and « 2 ») in l. 10. The fine copy of the tablet on pl. 29 allows for a number of alternative suggestions that result in a problem-free reading. A new edition is offered here :

Obv.	<i>a-na im-gur-<sup>d</sup>UTU</i>
	<i>qí-bí-ma</i>
	<i>um-ma e-ri-ib-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU-ma</i>
	<i>an-né-tum dam-qa-a</i>
5	<i>ša ši-bu-ti tu<sup>1</sup> (LI)-ša-de-ni</i>
	<i>aš-šum 5 GUR ŠE-em</i>
L.E.	<i>ṛa<sup>1</sup>-na i-bi-<sup>d</sup>ša-ḥa-an</i>
	<i>i-na AN.ZA.GĀR</i>
	<i>[n]a-da-nam</i>
Rev. 10	<i>1-šu 2-šu aš-pu-ra-kum-ma</i>
	<i>ú-ul ta-ad-di-in</i>
	<i>ù ši-bu-ti</i>
	<i>tu-uš-ta-ad-de-en-ni</i>
	<i>i-na-an-na a-na AN.ZA.GĀR</i>
15	<i>a-li-ik-ma</i>
	<i>5 GUR ŠE-am</i>
U.E.	<i>a-na É i-bi-<sup>d</sup>ša-ḥa-an</i>
	<i>i-di-in</i>
	<i>la ta-ka-al-la</i>
Lft 20	<i>ši-bu-ti</i>
	<i>la tu-ša-da-an-ni</i>

<sup>1-2</sup>Speak to Imgur-Šamaš ; <sup>3</sup>thus Erib-Šîn. <sup>4</sup>Are these things proper, <sup>5</sup>that you made me abandon my plan? <sup>6</sup>Concerning the 5 kor of barley : <sup>7-10</sup>I wrote you once, twice, to give (it) to Ibbi-Šaḥan from the *dimtum*, but <sup>11</sup>you have not given (it). <sup>12-13</sup>And so you have made me abandon my plan. <sup>14-15</sup>Now go to the *dimtum* and <sup>16-18</sup>give the 5 kor of barley to Ibbi-Šaḥan ; <sup>19</sup>do not withhold (any). <sup>20-21</sup>Do not make me abandon my plan.



Commentary :

4. The realization that this text exhibits the Mari-like contraction *ia* > *ê* resolves a number of difficulties. Here we have the pl. *annêtum*, as the predicate *damqā* (with extra vowel sign in interrogative) makes clear.

5. Rather than Muhamed's problematic *li-iš'-ku-ni* we read a form of *šuddûm*, as in lines 13 and 21. The forms here and in 13, preterite and perfect, respectively, also exhibit *ê* < *ia* : *tuš(t)addênni* < *tuš(t)addianni*. The form in 21 is of course the durative in a prohibition : *tušaddânni*.

9. The copy suggests that there is room only for *[n]a-da-nam*, not Muhamed's *a-na-da-nam*. The latter form is unexpected in an OB text ; further, the syntax requires an accusative infinitive as the complement of *šapārum*.

10. The second and fourth signs in the line are not perfect *šu*'s, but this seems the most likely reading.

13. Muhamed reads *tu-uš-ta-ad-di-aš-šum*, but a 3ms dative pronoun would have no obvious referent ; further, in view of the forms in lines 4 and 5 we expect contraction of *ia*. The signs permit a reading *-en-ni* rather than *-aš-šum* at the end of the line.

John HUEHNERGARD (07-12-95)  
Harvard University, 6 Divinity Avenue  
CAMBRIDGE, MASS. 02138 USA  
huehnerg@fas.harvard.edu

**107) No šukunu at Ras Shamra** – CAD Š/III p. 233, like AHw p. 1266a, lists a word *šukunu* «(an administrative term)» found in texts from Nuzi and Ras Shamra. The Ras Shamra forms, however, occur in contexts in which the meaning «total» readily suggests itself, and they are almost certainly to be read ŠU.NIGIN<sub>2</sub>.NA, i.e., *napharu*. Note that ŠU.NIGIN<sub>2</sub> occurs in similar contexts in PRU 3 191c (RS 15.179) : passim and PRU 3 192a (RS 15.183) : 11,12 (originally read *šu-ku* by Nougayrol, but later corrected by him, following Virolleaud, to ŠU.NIGIN<sub>2</sub> ; see PRU 3, p. 270 with n. 1), and that it is not uncommon for logographic writings in Ugarit texts to exhibit an «extra» CV sign (always C+A). Finally, manuscripts of a Ugarit lexical text (MBGT II) even give the equations ŠU.NIGIN<sub>2</sub>, ŠU.NIGIN<sub>2</sub>.NA = *na-ap/nap-ḥa-rù*, MSL SS 1 78ff.A,P (RS 20.230, 22.396) : 236-237. See in general my *Akkadian of Ugarit* (1989), pp. 73ff. The form *šukunu* does not occur at Ugarit.

John HUEHNERGARD (07-12-95)

**108) Korrekturen zu D.O. Edzard, *namir* «er ist glänzend» (ASJ 16 [1994] 1-14).** – W. Sommerfeld (Briefe vom 23.5. und 5.9.1995) verdanke ich, daß der Belegkatalog für *nawārum / namārum* und die zugehörige Diskussion von einigen suspekten Formen entlastet werden kann : S. 3 und 5 (mit Anm. 5) streiche *Ettawram*, *Ettawrašši*, *Ettawraššum*. Zu lesen *e-ta-wi-ra-am* (etc.) = *ē tawīram* «geh nicht (strafend) an mich heran !» (zu *wārum*). – S. 3 und 5 *Immir(-ilī)* vielleicht eher zu *immerum* «Schaf(bock)». – S. 6 Anm. 9 : Statt *mir* lies *n i m g i r* «Herold». – S. 7 Anm. 11 : *Ad-da-na-pī-ir/-pīr* ist elamisch. – S.12 : *e-bi-ir* (vielleicht elamisch) hat nichts mit *i-wi-ir* zu tun.

D.O. EDZARD (01-11-1995)  
Institut für Assyriologie und Hethitologie  
Geschw.-Scholl-Platz D-80559 MÜNCHEN  
ALLEMAGNE

**109) On the Existence and Meaning of a Term *šimūtu* in Early Neo-Babylonian** – In 1990, A. Cavigneaux and B. K. Ismail published a group of inscriptions that were uncovered more than fifteen years ago in the course of salvage operations in the Ḥadītha region (see «Die Statthalter von Suḥu und Mari im 8. Jh. v. Chr. anhand neuer Texte aus den irakischen Grabungen im Staugebiet des Qadissiya-Damms,» *BaM* 21, 1990, pp. 321-456 + plates). The bulk of the inscriptions narrate the exploits of one Ninurta-kudurrī-ušur, governor of Sūḥu and Mari. They can be dated with confidence to the middle of the eighth century BC, based in part upon the mention of Sīn-šallimanni, governor of Rašappa, who served as eponym in Assyria in 747 BC (ibid., p. 344 no. 2 i 33 ; for the eponym, see A. Millard, *SAAS* 2, p. 43). One of the better-preserved texts recounts the arrival at Ḥindānu of an Arabian caravan of at least two hundred camels led by merchants from Taymā' and Saba', which the ruler of Sūḥu subsequently ambushed after it had departed from Ḥindānu, plundering its loads of iron, blue-purple wool, and other goods (see Cavigneaux and Ismail, *BaM* 21, 1990, p. 346 no. 2 iv 27-38). The episode contains an expression – *ši-mu-su-nu áš-mé-e-ma* – which is otherwise unattested. The purpose of this communication is to illuminate the meaning of *ši-mu-su-nu*, the first of these terms. For ease of reference the entire passage is reproduced below, with the phrase in question highlighted in bold :

- iv 27'. ... LÚ *Te-ma-a'-a-a* LÚ *Šá-ba-a'-a-a*  
 iv 28'. *šá a-šar-šú-nu ru-qu* LÚ.A.KIN-šú-nu *a-na muḫ-ḫi-ia ul DU-ku*  
 iv 29'. *ù a-na muḫ-ḫi-ia ul it-ti-qu-ú-nu a-na muḫ-ḫi ma'-mu*  
 iv 30'. PÚ *Mar-tu u PÚ Ḫa-la-tu<sub>4</sub> a-lak-ta-šú-nu TE u it-ti-iq-ma*  
 iv 31'. *u a-na URU Ḫi-in-da-a-nu ir-ru-bu ina URU Kar-<sup>d</sup>A-<sup>d</sup>IM i-na*  
 iv 32'. AN.BAR<sub>7</sub> *ši-mu-su-nu áš-mé-e-ma* ni-ri *aš-mid ina GI<sub>6</sub> ÍD*  
 iv 33'. *e-bir-ma ina šá-ni-i u<sub>4</sub>-me a-di la AN.BAR<sub>7</sub> a-na URU Az-la-a-a-nu*  
 iv 34'. *ak-šu-ud-ma 3 u<sub>4</sub>-mi ina URU Az-la-a-a-nu ú-šib-ma ina 3-šú u<sub>4</sub>-me*  
 iv 35'. *ik-šu-du-nim-ma 1 ME-šú-nu bal-ḫu-su-nu ŠU<sup>II</sup> ik-šu-ud 2 ME gam-ma-lu-šú-nu*  
 iv 36'. *a-di GÚ.UN-šú-nu SÍG ta-kil-tu<sub>4</sub> SÍG.KASKAL AN.BAR NA<sub>4</sub><BABBAR>.DILI.MEŠ*  
*mim-ma mi-reš-ti DÙ.A.BI*  
 iv 37'. *ik-šu-ud ŠU<sup>II</sup>-a-a NAM.RI-su-nu ka-bit-ti áš-lu-lam-ma*  
 iv 38'. *ú-še-rib a-na qé-reb KUR Su-ḫi MU.7.KÁM*  
 iv 39'. <sup>d</sup>MAŠ-NÍG.DU-PAP LÚ.GAR.KUR *Su-ḫi u KUR Ma-ri da-ba-ba*  
 iv 40'. *an-na-a da-bi-ib*  
 iv 41'. *ba-a-ri*

The people of Taymā' and Saba', whose homeland is far away, their messenger did not come to me nor did they cross over to me. Their caravan approached but bypassed the water of Martu Well and Ḫalatu Well, and they entered Ḫindānu. In Kār-Apladad, at midday, **I heard about their ..., and** I harnessed my yoke. I crossed the river (th)at night, and before midday of the next day, I reached the town of Azlayānu. I stayed three days in Azlayānu, and they arrived on the third day. One hundred of them I captured alive. I captured two hundred of their camels, together with their cargoes: blue-purple wool, 'caravan' wool, iron, ...-stones – consignments (= *mēreštu*, sg.) of every description. I took heavy booty from them and brought it back into the land of Sūḫu. This report was made in the seventh year of Ninurta-kudurrī-ušur, governor of the land of Sūḫu and the land of Mari. Collated.

Cavigneaux and Ismail, the original editors, translated *ši-mu-su-nu áš-mé-e(-ma)* as « vernahm ich die Nachricht » (*BaM* 21, 1990, p. 351). Others who have translated or quoted this passage afterwards have followed the lead of Cavigneaux and Ismail and rendered the phrase in question as « j'en reçus la nouvelle » (Ch. Robin, ed., *L'Arabie antique de Karib'il à Mahomet*, 1992, p. 50); « I got the news » (M. Liverani, *Yemen : Studi archeologici, storici e filologici sull'Arabia meridionale* 1, 1992, p. 112); or « I heard a report about them » (G. Frame, *RIMB* 2, p. 300). All have understood the term *ši-mu-su-nu* to be a construct form of an abstract noun \**šimūtu* (based upon the verb *šemū*, « to hear ») + the 3d m. pl. pronominal suffix *-šunu*. It is possible, however, to understand *ši-mu-su-nu* as deriving instead from the verb *šāmu/ša'āmu*, « to buy, » which itself probably derives from Sumerian *sa<sub>10</sub>* or *sām* (see P. Steinkeller, *Sale Documents of the Ur-III-Period*, *FAOS* 17, 1989, 156-57). If so, the term in question would be *šimūtu*, meaning « purchasing, » « trading, » or the like; and the expression *ši-mu-su-nu áš-mé-e(-ma)* would be translated « I heard about their purchasing. » This translation is perhaps preferable to « I heard a report about them, » since it provides an additional motive for Ninurta-kudurrī-ušur's plundering of the caravan: it had by-passed his territory, avoiding his tolls and rejecting his merchandise.

The reader will note that the abstract noun *šimūtu* is closely related in meaning to Old Assyrian *šī'amātum*, especially in the phrase *ana šī'amātim*, which, when qualifying terms for metals such as *kaspum* (« silver »), *werium* (« copper »), or *annukum* (« tin »), is best translated « for making purchases » (see K. Veenhof, *Aspects of Old Assyrian Trade and its Terminology*, *SD* 10, 1972, 387-88; also M. T. Larsen, *Old Assyrian Caravan Procedures*, 1967, 44 and 153). Old Assyrian *šī'amātum* apparently goes back to Pre-Sargonic Sumerian /(*níg-*)*sám-ak/*, « merchandise, purchasing-capital, » also « purchases, » a term which is manifested in Old Akkadian as *SÁM-ma-at* PN (see Steinkeller, *FAOS* 17, 1989, 162; and compare MA *šī'amātu* and OB *šimātum*, both of which apparently denote « property acquired by purchase » — see *CAD Š/II* p. 370 sub *šī'amātu* 2, and Veenhof, *Aspects*, p. 359 n. 481 and p. 365 n. 490).

Because the caravan episode in the inscription of Ninurta-kudurrī-ušur deals with Sabaeans, the reader will perhaps also find it interesting to note that the Old South Arabian term *s<sup>2</sup>mt*, which in form closely resembles both *šimūtu* (the abstract noun) and *šī'amātum* (the fem. pl. tantum noun), has a similar meaning in the passage *kl s<sup>2</sup>mt w'qy' ys<sup>2</sup>mnn ws<sup>1</sup>tq'n*, « all the purchases or exchanges which they may make or carry out » (*RÉS* 3910: 2, see J. C. Biella, *Dictionary of Old South Arabic*, 1982, p. 509; A. F. L. Beeston et al., *Sabaic Dictionary / Dictionnaire sabéen / al-Mu'jam as-sabā'i*, 1982, p. 130; and compare S. D. Ricks, *Lexicon of Inscriptional Qatabanian*, *Studia Pohl* 14, 1989, 164).

In Babylonian texts, the term *šimūtu* is also found now in the idiom *šimūta alāku*, « to go and make purchases, » which occurs in a letter from mid-eighth century Nippur, soon to be published. The letter is one of 113 such texts stemming from an archive which dates between c. 755 and 732 BC (see S. W. Cole, *The Early Neo-Babylonian Governor's Archive from Nippur*, *OIP* 114 [in press], No. 49: 11-15). The caravan trade

figures prominently in these letters (see Cole, *Nippur in Late Assyrian Times, c. 755-612 BC*, SAAS 4 [in press], chap. 4). In fact, a number of the principals bear names which are identical with, or closely related to, names found in Šafāitic, Thamūdic, Liḫyānic, and Sabean inscriptions from the Syrian and Arabian deserts – that is, from the very regions through which the caravan from Saba' and Taymā' would have passed to reach Ḥindānu (most probably via Chaldea, and perhaps even Nippur). Moreover, the letters from Nippur reveal that Ḥindānu was an important market in a extensive commercial network in which camel caravaneers at this time regularly hauled their consignments (*mēreštu*, sg.) of iron and blue-purple wool. It is not surprising, therefore, that the term *šimūtu* (and the term *mēreštu*) should occur both in Ninurta-kudurri-ušur's account of his plundering of an Arabian caravan along the middle Euphrates and in an archive of contemporary letters from southern Babylonia, inasmuch the entire region was linked in a vast commercial network. It is also not surprising that the Sabeans should have possessed a cognate of the term under consideration here. They may have even borrowed it from the merchants of the Euphrates. (Acknowledgments to C. Bae, J. A. Brinkman, and P. Steinkeller.)

Steven W. COLE (17-11-95)

Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations  
Harvard University, 6 Divinity Avenue, CAMBRIDGE MA 02138 USA

**110) pizzer or upinšir : Creepy Medicine** – *AHW* 871-872, 1423b lists a « plant » *pizzer(ium)* with a cross reference to a « tent caterpillar » *up/binzer*. Both entries are however, somewhat odd. Not only is the « caterpillar »'s name written consistently with an *ú* but its Sumerogram, if literally translated, would mean something like « spitting plant » (Ú.SUR.SUR).<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the « plant » is equated in Uruanna with « field caterpillar plant » (Ú *mūni eqli*)<sup>2</sup> and characterized as « moving about » (*muttalliku*)<sup>3</sup> or even « winged, flying » (*muttaprišu*)<sup>4</sup> not, one would have thought, particularly appropriate descriptions of a plant. The obvious explanation for these anomalies is to read *upinšir* and to class it, not as a plant, but as a medicament consisting of a flying insect. Without an edition of the medical texts, it is impossible to give a complete listing of the medical uses ; however, a preliminary survey yields the following :

*ú-pi-in-ši-ir* : pulverized, mixed with sheep fat, and formed into an acorn-shaped anal suppository for DÚR.GIG ; followed by a rub (*BAM* 96 ii 10)

*ú-pi-šir* : ground, mixed with sheep fat and formed into a finger-shaped anal suppository for *qerbēnu* GIG (or) *umšātu*-lesions (*BAM* 96 iii 5'//*AMT* 53/1 iv 3)<sup>5</sup>

*ú-pi-in-šur* : mixed with caul fat from an ox, exposed to heat and put on [the sore spot] for greatly suppurating *lamšātu* lesions (*BAM* 580 iii 27')

*ú-pi-zer* DU.DU : dried, ground, mixed with sour wine and used for skin problems (*BAM* 580 v 12')

*ú-pe-en-ši-ir* : dried, ground, made into a dough with water and used in a three-day bandage for getting rid of *ibāru*-lesions (*CT* 44 36 : 10)

*ú-pi-in-šir* : dried, crushed, sifted, made into a dough with *kasū* juice and used in a two day bandage for getting rid of *ibāru*- lesions (*BAM* 417 r. 6')

*ú-pi-šir* : ground, mixed (with water), redried, crushed, mixed with sheep fat and used in a bandage for *ibāru*-lesions(?) if other bandages have not worked (*BAM* 417 r. 4')

*ú-pi-šir* to be put on the sore spot for skin problems(?) on the head (*BAM* 297 : 13')

All of these uses suggest a medicament which was relatively infrequently used, perhaps somewhat poisonous (to judge from the absence of references to use in potions or aliments) and intended primarily to treat skin lesions. There are six insects known to Indian medicine,<sup>6</sup> of which only one is appropriate. The leech (*Hirudo medicinalis*) is excluded for the obvious reason that these are invariably used live, whereas the *upinšir* was used crushed, if not dried as well. *Coccus Lacca is* used externally to treat ulcers, but is primarily used for rotten teeth, epilepsy<sup>7</sup> and fever.<sup>8</sup> *Coccus cacti* (cochineal) is used internally for whooping cough<sup>9</sup> and neuralgia.<sup>10</sup> *Hemiptera is* also used internally for such conditions as hysteria, gout, gonorrhoea and chronic cough.<sup>11</sup> *Mutilla occidentalis* is used externally for swollen feet but, again, its primary use is internal, for such conditions as paralysis and colic.<sup>12</sup>

*M. pustulata*/*M. trianthema* (cantharis : Blister beetle), however, is described as follows : « They should be killed by heat, and thoroughly dried in the sun ... As a vesicant it is very powerful and acts without pain ... it is generally used in the form of a plaster for its counterirritant, rubefacient and vesicant properties.<sup>13</sup> »

Local irritation, whether produced by a plant or by heat lamps, increases circulation to the injured part and relieves pain. It may also encourage the skin to peel off.<sup>14</sup> A vesicant would, therefore, be appropriate to the uses indicated in ancient Mesopotamian medical texts. The reluctance to use the medicament internally, as well as the comparative rarity of attestations is also consistent with the known dangers of cantharides (when taken orally, it can cause vomiting, purging, abdominal pain, and shock).<sup>15</sup>

The only difficulty with this equation is that cantharis is most notorious in ancient Greek and later Western medicine as an aphrodisiac (Spanish Fly), a use which seems to be absent from our texts. However, it should be noted that the aphrodisiacal effects of the drug are due to priapism resulting from irritation of the urethra, and that large amounts can cause extensive damage to the kidneys.<sup>16</sup> Since there was no shortage of aphrodisiacs in the ancient Mesopotamian repertoire, and since priapism was probably considered a medical problem by ancient Mesopotamian healers,<sup>17</sup> it is perhaps not surprising that they would not have been quick to recommend this particular use of their dried insect.

1. Hh 14 334-335 (MSL 8/2 36, 334/5a, apud *AHw* 1423b).
2. Landsberger, *Fauna* 43, apud *CAD* D 27.
3. Uruanna II 60, apud *CAD* M/2 306; *BAM* 580 v 12'.
4. Uruanna II 61, apud *CAD* D 27; Uruanna IIIb comm. (*CT* 41 45 BM 76487 : 13), apud *CAD* M/2 308.
5. The restoration of the symptoms is based on the further parallel *BAM* 104 : 42-44.
6. K.M. Nadkarni, *Indian Materia Medica*, 3rd ed. (Bombay : Popular Press 1954), vol 2 : 148-150, 232 (*Coccus lacca/Tachardia lacca*); 155-156 (*Coccus cacti*); 166-167 (*Hemiptera*); 167-170 (*Hirudo medicinalis*); 206 (*Mutilla occidentalis*); 206-207 (*M. trianthema*).
7. Nadkarni, vol 2 : 150 (*Coccus lacca*).
8. Nadkarni, vol 2 : 150 (*Coccus lacca*).
9. Nadkarni, vol 2 : 156.
10. Nadkarni, vol 2 : 156.
11. Nadkarni, vol 2 : 166-167.
12. Nadkarni, vol 2 : 206.
13. Nadkarni, vol 2 : 206-207.
14. L.S. Goodman and A. Gilman, *The Pharmacological Basis of Therapeutics*, 2nd ed. (New York : Macmillan Company, 1956), pp. 1021-22.
15. Goodman and Gilman, p. 1022.
16. Goodman and Gilman, p. 1022.
17. See, for example, *BAM* 161 v 24 // *BAM* 159 i 14; *BAM* 116 r. 8' // *BAM* 164 : 20; *BAM* 161 v 15.

JoAnn SCURLOCK (12-10-95)  
5000 S. Cornell 16-C  
CHICAGO ILL. 60615 USA

**111) M.A. Powell, Metron Ariston : Measure as a Tool for Studying Beer in Ancient Mesopotamia, « Drinking in Ancient Societies », Padova, 1994, 102-103 and 108** reaches the conclusion that according to the Akkad (metrological) reform the *SADUG* consisted of 24 *SILA*. He rejects his former view about the 18 *SILA SADUG* (RIA, 7, 506ff). We have here a striking coincidence with the ug. *kd*, akk. *karpātu* (*DUG*) from Ugarit (XIV-XIII cent – Heltzer, UF, 21 195-201 and 203-204); the Phoenician *kd* (Heltzer, UF, 21, 205-208), as also the Biblical Hebrew 'ēfā or *bat* (Heltzer, Shnaton, 7-8, 159-161, Engl. summary, IX) which had the volume of ≈ 22,5 litres. We see here the dependency of the West-Semitic measure from the Akkadian. This demands a reexamination of the *karpātu* in the Mari texts, which scholars estimate as ca. 10 litres (Gates, *BASOR*, 270, 71; Bottero, *ARMT* VII, p. 351; Birot, *ARMT* IX, p. 250; Durand, *ARMT* XXI, p. 192).

M. HELTZER (26-05-95)  
University of Haifa  
HAIFA 31905 ISRAËL

**112) Notes on the Dates of Late Seventh-Century Babylonian Economic Texts** – In *ZA* 81 (1991) 244 nn. 3-4, N. Na'aman remarks on discrepant readings of dates on Neo-Babylonian economic texts from the late seventh century – the divergences occurring between the British Museum catalogues (Leichty et al., *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, vols. 6-8) and the lists of dated texts published by Brinkman/Kennedy (*JCS* 35 [1983] 1-90; 38 [1986] 99-106) and by Kennedy (*JCS* 38 [1986] 172-244). Na'aman offers a set of collations, obtained by letter, to resolve the discrepancies.

Since Kennedy had access to the British Museum catalogues in manuscript before any of the above-cited *JCS* articles was published (mentioned for his final article in *JCS* 38 [1986] 174) and checked all divergences in dates, it is not surprising – though unremarked – that the collations presented by Na'aman confirm the *JCS* readings in all but two cases. These two cases merit review.

In the first instance (BM 67313), Na'aman changes the king's name in the date from *Sîn-š[ar-iškun]* to *Sîn-šu[mu-lišir]*, reading the middle element of the RN as -M[U]-. This is a miscorrection, as the subjoined copy of the pertinent line (Fig. 1) illustrates. The RN reads <sup>md</sup>30-LU[GAL-...]; and the reading can readily be verified by comparing the full forms of MU and LUGAL which occur earlier in the line. It should be noted that the two wedges at the upper left of each LUGAL in this line are quite close together and that the second LUGAL is slightly more compact than the first; but the upper wedges in the second sign are much too far to the left to support a reading -M[U]-.

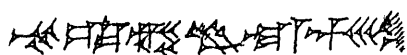


Fig. 1. BM 67313



Fig. 2.  
BM 79253

In the second instance (BM 79253), Na'aman changes the day number in the date from « 25 » to « 24. » This divergence in units is more difficult to resolve, since only three of the wedges among the digis have prominent heads (Fig. 2). Nonetheless « 5 » (in « 25 ») may be considered to be preferable because of the differing angles of the farthest-left tail in the top and in the bottom rows of the sign.

In the case of the duplicate texts BM 54153 and BM 54608, it should be noted by way of clarification (to ZA 81 [1991] 244 n. 3) that the place name, year, and RN in the date formula of BM 54608 can be read with reasonable assurance, but that the month and the day are damaged beyond recovery. The duplicate BM 54153 has traces of the GN, month, day, year, and RN; but all of them, except the day, [15(?)], are very worn and could hardly be established without reference to BM 54608.

It may also be worth remarking, pace Na'aman, that dates B.C. are usually given in terms of the Julian calendar, not the Gregorian (the latter affecting dates only in A.D. 1582 and later).

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to C. B. F. Walker (the collator of these texts for Na'aman in 1989) who was kind enough to sit with me in the British Museum, reexamine the date formulae dealt with above, and confirm the readings presented here.

J. A. BRINKMAN (20-12-95)  
Oriental Institute, University of Chicago  
1155 East 58th St., CHICAGO IL 60637 USA

**113) Niau(nû)/nûm/nîtu, na'u and nua'u/nuwau in OA** - The meanings given for the above mentioned terms vary according to CAD N II 305 under *nû* « belonging to us, our » and under *nû'u* (*nuā'u, nuwā'u*) « rude, uneducated, brute, stupid (2) native (designation of the Anatolians in OA) » in *ibid.* p. 356. The examples quoted for the terms are very limited to get an exact insight for a proped designation. Besides, *nuā'ū* has been studied in detail by D.O. Edzard (cf. Tahsin Özgüç'e Aramagan-Anatolia and the Ancient Near East; Studies in Honor of Tahsin Özgüç. Eds: Kutlu Emre - Machteld Mellink - Barthel Hrouda - Nimet Özgüç, Ankara 1989) 107-109. The term, in general, was attributed as « natives » for a meaning.

In addition to the available material quoted, we would like to present new attestations of the term gleaned from the unpublished documents housed at Ankara with occasional references which were quoted or used earlier.

1) *ni-a-im*: *nû* as specified by CAD 305a, and occurs in the following manners, with the initial *ni* or *nu*; the middle element being *-u, a/wa*, and the final *-im/um/e*. The most frequent one is *ni-a-im* and follows mostly immediately after a PN which one may think of a professional implication as familiar to us: KIŠIB PN + a title. Here are some examples for *ni-a-im* used in the same manner:

- 1) ..A-mur-A-šûr *ni-a-im* (ARK 168-9476,9)(Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, Istanbul).
- 2)[KIŠIB *Ú-šur-š[a-l]star* (2)[KIŠIB A-šû]r-ta-ak-la-ku (DUMU Šu-<sup>d</sup>En-líl (4) KIŠIB I-na-a *ni-a-im* Kt n/k 1942,1-4 (see Donbaz, RA 85-1991, 101; C. Michel Innāya II, 1991, p. 344 no. 277).
- 3) ..(6) A-mur-DINGIR *ni-a-im* (Kt n/k 1950,6)
- 4) KIŠIB Šu-Be-lim *ni-a-im* (Kt n/k 1948,1)
- 5)[KIŠIB La-]qé-ep *ni-a-im* (Kt 88/k 1071,1)
- 6) KIŠIB A-šûr-ba-ni *ni-a-im* (Kt 88/k 1060,1)
- 7) [...]-re-ší *ni-a-u[m]* (KTS II 61,8)
- 8) (24) 5 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR *i-li-bi<sub>4</sub>* (25) *Hi-pá-a ni-a-im* (TC I 81,25 « three shekels of silver under the responsibility of Hipa, the n. »)
- 9) ...KI Šu-Ištar *ni-a-im* (ARK.169-9477,9)

All these examples simply indicate that, the PNs mentioned above are shown with their associations when applying their seals or being witness for the transactions completed. The fact that J.G. Dercsen, briefly commented on the words *tamkārum* and *nu'ā'um* both occur with the meaning « creditor » (in Kt 88/k 1050, published in transliteration by S.Bayram, *Bulleten* 55, 300-301; J.G. Dercsen, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* XLIX No. 5/6,1992, 793-94) the other occurrences differ in meaning than creditor or the Anatolian counterpart of Assyrian merchants (see Dercsen, in *ibid.* p. 793). Here are some examples:

- 10) ...šé-ip-kà-at (5) Šu-A-nim *ni-a-im* (6) ša a-na Šál-ma-A-šûr (7) ša-áp-ku. (TC 2 20,4-7) « The

investment of Šu-Anum, the n. has been deposited for (the share of) Šalma-Aššur ».

11) ..É nu-a-im a-na (24) šī-ib-tám a-lá-qí.. (Kt n/k 567,23-24) « (from) the office of n. I shall take against the interest ».

Apart from the above mentioned references (10-11) where nu-a-im/um mentioned having taking active part in investment, or perhaps being the owner of house or firm, he seems to have been in the position of an authority to whom the other party should not claim anything.

12) Lá-wa.... (11) a-ša-at Il<sub>5</sub>-ba-ni (12) a-na nu-wa-e (13)[ú-]ul É<sup>bi</sup>-tim (14) ú-lá i-tù-ar šú-ḥa-ar-tum (15)[e-ru-ub-]ba-tum ša E-na-aḥ-DINGIR (Kt 88/k 1096-10-15) « Lawa... wife of Il-bāni shall not claim anything against the n. and the household. The slavegirl is the pledge of Enah-ilī ».

13) (23) ma-ma-an i-na be-el<sub>5</sub> ḥu-bu-ul-lim (24) nu-ú-um šu-um-šu la i-tù-wa-ar (Kt 88/k 1050, 23-24 (see S. Bayram, Belleten 55, 300-301) « noone, shall claim anything to the creditor, named nûm by profession ».

14) (66) Wa-la-li-a-šû-e (67) a-na nu-a im šī-ip-ri ša A-lim<sup>ki</sup> (Kt 88/k 970, 66-67) « Walaliašu'e ... against nua'u, the envoy of the city (of Ashur). »

15) .. I-ku-num nu-i (15) pá-šé-er a-wa-<sup>1</sup>tám<sup>1</sup> (Kt 88/k 1059,14-15) « Ikunnum, the nû is arbitrator ».

16) ... KÛ.BABBAR a-nim (20) a-na nu-a-im a-šû-mì-šû-nu áš-qúl ..(Kt 88/k 1062,1920) « This silver I paid to n. on their account ».

17) 10 ma-na URUDU iš-tí (10) nu-a-im mì-ma (11) a-ni-im .....(13) e-zi-ib.. (TC I 109,9-10) « ten minas of cupper with the nua'u, all these ..... I left ».

18) ..15 GÍN KÛ.BABBAR (6) a-na pí-ri-kà-ni (7) a-na nu-a-im (8) ni-iš-qú-ul (TC I 60-5-8) « we paid 15 shekels of silver to the nua'u for the pirikannû-textiles »

19) .. um-ma A-šur-i-dì-ma (12) nu-a-e ta-al-bu kà-i-ni (13) ú-[q]á-ku-nu.. (EL 241 11-13) « Aššur-idī spoke thus : (then) circle around the nua'u, and confirm me, I shall wait for you ».

As it can be ascertained from the examples (12-19) the term nua'u, although has been spelt variably as nu-ú-um, nu-a-im, and nu-i, is seen with a professional and a functional aspect : creditor (be-el<sub>5</sub> ḥu-bu-ul-lim nu-ú-um šu-um-šu) who is named nûm ; and the envoy of the city of Ashur (.. a-na nu-a-im šī-ip-ri ša A-lim<sup>ki</sup>) and also a person who solves the conflicts (nu-i pá-šé-er a-wa-<sup>1</sup>tám<sup>1</sup>). Especially important is that he is nicknamed as nûm-creditor and his being an envoy for the city of Ashur, is surely against the hitherto suggested meaning « native » (designation of Anatolians) and suggests that he is a citizen of Ashur. The example given in 19 is a court verdict between Ennum-Aššur and Aššur-idī, and Aššur-idī had to swear by the city (.. ša ni-iš A-lim i ta-mu-ú) and he asks that the nu-a-e had to be kept away (lamû/lawû) until he can prove that he is not indebted (see EL 241 1-13) and the allusion is again with the city of Ashur (.. ni-iš A-lim<sup>ki</sup>..) not Anatolia or Kanesh. By the examples adduced in 16-18, the nu-a-im is a kind of person to whom goods are entrusted, and debts are paid, which one can think of a « trusty » who conducts business on behalf of others (still having a duty (13-15).

On the other hand, there does not seem to be a possibility to separate two different terms under nuā'u and niā'u « belonging to us » (cf. CAD N II p. 305) since the term occurs in variety of different spelling : nu-wa-e (12), nu-a-e (19) the fact that in EL 241 the term was taken a personal name and it is not completely wrong see below), nu-ú-um šu-um-šu (13) and in two examples quoted in CAD N II p.305a šabam nu-ú-um šalim and ālum nu-ú-um innaddi for the OB period with the meaning « our » for nu-ú-um. Also see LÚ nu-um (ibid.p. 305) surely implies the nûm profession. The spelling under nu-a-im (11,14,16,17-18), and once nu-i (15), all the other attestation ni-a-im (2,3,4-6,8) and ni-a-um (1,7). There seems to be some personal names which have been driven from this term i.e : Nu-a-DINGIR (Kt 86/k 41,7) ; Nu-u-i-lí (TC II 77,7) ; Nu-a-at (Kt 86/k 41,11) ; Nu-at-Ištar (Kt 88/k 1062,9) also supports our opinion that the term may denote a confirmative meaning to match with the following theophorus part. Besides in two occurrences the merchants are mentioned with nuā'ū (lū tamkārū lū nu'ā'ū see J. Dercsen, BiOr XLIX 5/6, 794) ; and .. me-eḥ-ra-am ša tup-pí-a lu ša nu-a-e (6) lu ša tám-kà-ru-tim a-na PN e-zi-ib.. (Cécile Michel, Innāya II 157 4-6) « the copy of my document, be it of nuā'u or merchants, I left to PN .. ». The nua'u does business similiar to merchants, and mention of a É nu-a-e ( see 11 here, and Innāya II 157 18 É nu-a-e ḥa-bu-lu-tim...) « money borrowing-office of n. » clearly shows that he is very much like a creditor or trusty who owns an office.

Veysel DONBAZ (16-11-95)  
Arkeroloji Müzeleri, Sultanahmet  
34400 ISTANBUL, TURQUIE

114) The NA Eponym Šarru-mītu-uballīt – The Post Canonical Neo-Assyrian eponym date Šarru-mītu-uballīt was considered to be equal to Šamaš-mītu-uballīt. in Alan Millard, *State Archives of Assyria Studies* Volume II - *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire 910-612 BC*, 1994, 121 and 119 respectively. In one of the unpublished

Assyrian text A.2689 (Ass.11701a Ph. Ass. 2649) we came across the following date :  
 L.Ed.1')[.....]-ka-a LÚ ur-ki-u (2')[...]ri-te-ša-lim GÊME MAN (3')[ITI.x lim-m]e <sup>m</sup>LUGAL-ÚŠ-TI.LA  
 (4')[.....] ša KUR za-mu-u.

This example clearly shows that the eponym is Šarru-mītu-uballiṭ. Three references quoted under <sup>m</sup>Šarru-mītu-uballiṭ; in *ibid.* p.119 remain and the three references written with <sup>m</sup>XX should be read <sup>m</sup>MAN (cf. SAAS II p. 119). The text preserved mentions only [...]kayu the surety (l.1) and probably a female name [MÍ.....]rite-šalim slave-girl of the king (l.2) and the month name is not preserved and the eponym date <sup>m</sup>LUGAL-ÚŠ-TI.LA/Šarru-mītu-uballiṭ (l.3) The beginning of fourth line is missing and ends with ..« of the land Zamua ». Despite the fact that the references cited for the name with the initial <sup>m</sup>Šarru- and <sup>m</sup>Šamaš<sub>2</sub>- in SAAS II p. 121 do not give any clue for his title, governors of Zamua are known to have been eponymy for the years 810 (Bēl-qātē-šabat) and 712 (Šarru-ēmuranni) in *ibid.* pp. 32 and 47, the last one being written « ditto » <sup>m</sup>ai Zumu[a]. It is plausible that another governor of the land *Mazamua* (sometimes written as *Zamua* as it is here and for the year 712 BC) can be suggested for the year around 637.

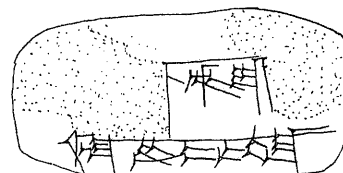
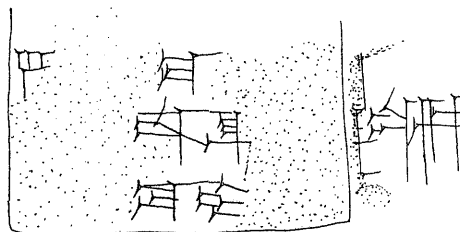
The last reference in *ibid.* p. 119 <sup>m</sup>Šamas-zēr-uballiṭ does not seem to belong to this category if it is written with the UTU sign and the second sign can again be the ÚŠ sign instead of NUMUN.

Veysel DONBAZ (17-11-95)

**115) Une nouvelle mention de Šulši-kudur à Mari** – C'est par le recoupement de deux documents administratifs que la mystérieuse dénomination d'un souverain de Suse, Šulši-kudur, a été réhabilitée dans *NABU 94/102*. Il est néanmoins évident que ce nom n'est qu'une variante de Kudu-šuluš, bien connu des élamitologues sous la forme Kudu-zuluš.

Cette idée n'est pas infirmée par une nouvelle mention de Šulši-kudur dans un troisième document qui n'appartient pas au domaine de la vaisselle précieuse, comme les deux autres (A.4684, M.8807), mais à celui des étoffes. En voici la transcription ainsi que la copie partielle (M.11396) :

	[...]
2	[...]
4	[túg] ma-[az-zu ...]x
4	[mu]-DU šu-[ul-ši-k]u-du-ur
[x	túg] ma-az-[zu ...]x
6	[mu-D]U ti-ia
	ù lú tap-pí-šu
8	「u <sub>4</sub> 」 18-kam
1	túg ia-am-ha-du-ú
10	1 mar-da-tum
1	ma-si-la-tum
12	mu-DU ap-la-ha-an-da
	te-er-di-tum a-na mu-ka-a[n-ni-ši-im]
14	[i]ti ma-al-ka-nim



La mention d'Aplahanda, roi de Carkémish, indique que les apports d'étoffes ont eu lieu avant vii/ZL 10', date de sa disparition et celle de Šulši-kudur, qu'il ne faut pas remonter en deçà de l'année ZL 7', puisque c'est seulement à partir de ce moment que se sont nouées des relations diplomatiques patentes entre Suse et Mari (le rapprochement entre l'Élam et Mari a débuté à la fin ZL 6' ; cf. ci-dessous). Ces rapports sont cependant interrompus par l'agression élamite dans le courant de ZL 9'. Puisqu'il s'agit d'un mois ii, le texte ne peut donc avoir été écrit qu'entre ZL 7' et ZL 9'.

Les habits *mazzum* constituent sans doute un argument décisif pour une datation précise. Bien que le déterminatif d'étoffe ait disparu pour les présents de Tia et de Šulši-kudur, la cohérence du texte ne fait pas de doute : il s'agissait d'un petit récapitulatif de réception d'étoffes convoyées dans le service de Mukannišum.

La restauration de *ma-aZ*-[...] (l. 5), peut faire hésiter entre *mazzum* et *massilatum*, une étoffe courante. Mais cette dernière porte toujours la graphie, quand elle n'est pas défective, de *ma-ás-si-la-tum*, de sorte que son occurrence dans notre texte n'est pas envisageable.

La restauration du cadeau de Šulši-kudur, quant à elle, peut paraître sujet à caution, mais est rendue possible d'une part par la comparaison de la l. 3 avec la l. 5 dont l'arrangement est similaire et d'autre part par la commune origine ethnique de Šulši-kudur et de Tia. Ce dernier n'est encore en effet documenté que par une liste de récipiendaires de l'année ZL 9'. Son nom porte alors la mention « elam-ma » soit « l'Élamite » (M.5726, col. VI : l. 14').

On pourrait donc à partir de sa présence à Mari, proposer de dater le texte administratif de l'année ZL

9'. Une autre hypothèse peut être néanmoins avancée. L'habit *mazzum* (à lire *massum* ou *mašsum* ; cf. CAD M/1), connu par deux autres textes paléo-babyloniens (cf. CAD et AHw) n'apparaît que dans une dizaine de textes de Mari, ce qui montre assez qu'il s'agit d'un type peu fréquent.

Parmi ceux-ci seulement trois textes ont une date complète : deux sont de l'année ZL 8' (M.7309, M.11288) et le dernier du vi/9' (ARM XXIV 277). Un autre porte la mention « lorsque le roi est allé au Yamhad » ce qui le date de la fin de l'année ZL 8' (M.10515). Une tablette comprend une grande liste d'étoffes qui doivent faire partie « de la suite du roi qui est en route » (*ša wa-ar-ki lu gal, [š]a a-na ha-ar-ra-nim, [il]-la-ku* ; M.11892+12499-b : l. 35'-37'). C'est certainement encore une allusion au voyage au Yamhad.

Enfin, ARM XXIV 211, liste fragmentaire de textiles, devrait faire aussi partie du dossier des habits emportés en expédition.

Vu l'homogénéité du dossier, il est très vraisemblable que l'ensemble de ces habits provenaient de la *šûrubtum* élamite, qui aurait eu lieu si l'on tient compte du mois, forcément au début de l'année ZL 7'. Cette idée est tout particulièrement confortée par le texte M.7309, daté 2/i/ZL 8' :

3 túg *ma-az-zú-ú, ša iš-tu e-la-am-tim, ub-lu-nim, šu-ti-a da-ri-iš-li-bur, it-ti mu-ka-an-ni-ši-im*

« 3 habits-*mazzum* qui ont été apportés depuis l'Élam, confiés à Darišlibûr d'auprès de Mukannišum. »

Ce billet n'indique pas quand s'est produite la réception de ces habits mais enregistre un simple transfert de service (sans doute provisoire) identique à celui de M.10515 mentionné ci-dessous ; ce pourrait donc être une allusion aux présents de l'année précédente (contra F. Joannès, « L'étain, de l'Élam à Mari », RAI XXXVI<sup>e</sup> Gand, 1991, p. 69). Si l'on rassemble l'ensemble des informations, on obtient la circulation des habits *mazzum* depuis leur réception de la part des Élamites, en passant par leur lavage, leur emploi dans l'expédition au Yamhad jusqu'à leur retour dans des coffres d'osier<sup>a)</sup> (réf. tirées de MDPP I, en préparation) :

18/ii/[7']	apport de l'Élam transmis à Mukannišum :	5 <sup>?</sup> <i>mazzum</i> (4 + 1 <sup>?</sup> m.)	M.11396
2/i/8'	transfert de Mukannišum à Darišlibûr :	3 m.	M.7309
11/vi/8'	lessive à la charge de Mukannišum :	5 m. (4 + 1 <sup>b)</sup> )	M.11288
27 <sup>?</sup> /xi/8'	transfert de Mukannišum à Darišlibûr (en exp.) :	x m.	M.10515
6/vi <sup>?</sup> /[9'] <sup>c)</sup>	inventaire des habits de l'expédition :	x m.	M.11892 <sup>+</sup>
6/vi/9'	inventaire de coffres à Qaṭṭunan (retour) :	5 m. (4 + 1 m. <i>sakkum</i> )	XXIV 277
sd (ZL 9'?)	inventaire (fragmentaire) :	[1] m. (de 1 <sup>ère</sup> qualité) <sup>d)</sup>	XXIV 211

a) On apprend donc que la caravane chargée des bagages du roi se trouvait à Qaṭṭunân au mois hubur, lors du retour.

b) habit employé pour l'expédition à Humzân.

c) Une lecture pour la date « [iti igi-ku]r u<sub>4</sub> 6-kam » (l. 36') conviendrait le mieux d'après la place qu'il reste dans la cassure et la fin du signe encore visible. Ce texte est alors peut-être parallèle à ARM XXIV 277, qui compte néanmoins plus d'habits ou d'étoffes. Il y aurait eu le même jour à Qaṭṭunan une réorganisation des bagages.

d) Cela reviendrait-il à dire qu'un *mazzum sakkum* est un *mazzum* de première qualité? On se rappellera d'ailleurs la mention dans F.R. Kraus, *AbB* 5 31, p. 14, des *ma-az-zi qá-at-nu-tim* (fins) à côté des *ma-az-zi ús*<sup>!</sup> (de seconde qualité ; au lieu de DU (?), traduit dans le CAD M/1, p. 344 « of normal quality »).

Passages où sont mentionnés les habits-*mazzum* :

M.7309 :	(cité ci-dessus)
M.11288 (l. 1-8) :	1 túg <i>ma-az-zu-ú, a-na mé-si-im, i-nu-ma</i> [lu]gal, <i>a-na hu-um-za-an<sup>ki</sup>, il-li-ku, 1 túg ma-az-zu-ú<sup>!</sup>, a-na mé-si-im, si-lá mu-[k]a-an-n[i-š]i-im</i>
M.10515 (l. 4-11) :	(liste d'habits), x túg <i>ma<sup>!</sup>-az-[z]u-ú, šu-ti-[a], da-ri-[iš-li-bur], [it-t]i mu-ka-[an-ni-ši-im]</i>
M.11892 <sup>+</sup> (l. 3') :	[x túg] <i>ma-az-[zu-ú]</i> (dans une longue liste d'étoffes)
XXIV 277 (l. 6-5) :	4 túg <i>ma-az-zu-ú, 1 túg ma-az-zu-ú sa-qum sumun</i>
XXIV 211 (l. 6') :	[1] túg <i>ma-az-zu s[ag]</i>

Un autre motif qui me pousse à dater M.11396 de l'année ZL 7', vient de ce que le nom aberrant de Šulšikudur apparaît dans un billet écrit justement au même mois, A.4684, lequel est la source de la reproduction de ce nom dans la tablette M.8807 de ZL 8', cf. NABU 94/102. Un seul et même scribe pourrait être de ce fait le responsable de la variante (ce que ne contredit pas le fait que A.4684 concerne la vaisselle et M.11396 les habits, puisque certains services du palais étaient polyvalents comme celui de Mukannišum ou de Darišlibûr) ; il faut ajouter que l'on se trouve au moment où se sont nouées de véritables relations entre Suse et Mari et que l'on pouvait ne pas être familier à Mari avec le nom du sukka de Suse.

On notera enfin, que ce texte (M.11396) donne la trace de l'une des plus anciennes ambassades élamites connues du règne de Zimrí-Lîm. Il se pourrait que Tia, accompagné d'un groupe sans doute constitué



d'Élamites, ait joué le rôle de messenger. Il faut mettre cette ambassade sûrement en relation avec les luxueux présents de Mari de ce même mois (cf. notamment A.4684) dont l'une des heureuses conséquences pour Mari fut l'arrivée d'étain, à bon prix, quelques mois plus tard (cf. F. Joannès, « L'étain, de l'Élam à Mari », *RAI XXXVI<sup>e</sup> Gand*, 1991, p. 69-70).

Mais l'ambassade élamite de ce début d'année ZL 7' ne fut pas en réalité la première, car au mois x/ZL 6' un messenger élamite du nom d'Apil-ilî se trouvait à Mari. Le 3/x, ce messenger reçut comme présent un âne « lagu » :

« 1 anše la-gu *a-na a-pil-î-lî*, dumu *ši-ip-ri-im* lú *e-la-am-tim* » (*ARM IX 149* : 13-14) (dont voici le parallèle dans un duplicat inédit presque parfait : « 1 anše la-gu *a-na a-pil-î-lî*, dumu {MEŠ} *ši-ip-ri ša e-la-am-tim* » ; M.10542 : 17-18).

Ce messenger n'est pas tout à fait un inconnu car il est cité dans une liste d'Élamites (*ARM VII 221*), aux côtés d'Innerri et de Kuyaya, les intermédiaires pour le commerce de l'étain, bien connus, entre l'Élam et Mari. La partie de ce texte qui nous intéresse mérite analyse (pour des améliorations de lecture cf. D. Charpin & J.-M. Durand, « Relectures d'*ARMT VII* », *MARI 2*, p. 92) :

	kù-babar	túg-há	
2	1 ma-na	4 túg	<i>ku-ia-a-ia</i>
	2/3 ma-na	3 túg	<i>in-ne-er-ri</i>
4	5/6 ma-na	3 túg	<i>a-pil-î-lî</i>
			3 lú <i>e-la-mu-ú</i>

Deux remarques préalables s'imposent : d'une part, il devrait s'agir d'un récapitulatif des présents en habits, donnés à des étrangers, convertis en valeur argent ; d'autre part, la valeur de chaque lot devrait donner un renseignement sur le rang du récipiendaire.

Nous avons donc la trace ici d'une expédition élamite effectuée conjointement par Kuyaya et Innerri, qui dans d'autres cas ont effectué le voyage séparément (cf. F. Joannès, *ibidem*). Kuyaya occupe une fonction plus haute qu'Innerri, comme le suggère sa conséquente rétribution. Cela en fait manifestement le principal représentant élamite à Mari. Apil-ilî, de son côté, n'est qu'un subalterne, en raison de sa simple fonction de messenger. Mais son rôle n'est pas à négliger pour autant puisque dans *ARM IX 149*, il fait partie de récipiendaires, dont les uns sont des rois et les autres des personnalités importantes du royaume.

Sa présence dans la liste d'*ARM IX 149* et son duplicat est donc un indice pour dater cette mission élamite de la fin ZL 6' (d'après M.10542), non pas une preuve. Mais la mention dans ce même récapitulatif d'*ARM VII 211*, d'Iškur-mansum le général babylonien, est plus significative, car lui aussi est présent à Mari à cette époque. Le mois ii de l'année ZL 7', au même moment que la *šûbultum* pour Suse et pour Anšan (M.4684 évoqué ci-dessus), il reçoit un vase précieux (c'est dans cette période qu'il faut sans doute situer *ARM XXXVI 273* où il est question de ce même personnage). *ARM VII 221* et *ARM IX 149* pourraient faire référence à une seule et même visite élamite datée de ix ou x de ZL 6'.

On peut ajouter à ce dossier la mention datée du 3/ix/ZL 6' (M.5260<sup>+</sup>) d'un habit élamite (túg *e-la-mu-ú*), type d'une extrême rareté dans la documentation de Mari (seule autre occurrence : *ARM XXIV 220* non daté), dans un inventaire de garde-robe (túg-ba) du roi. C'est probablement l'indice d'un don élamite plus ancien. On en conclut que les relations diplomatiques entre l'Élam et Mari ont débuté dans la seconde moitié de l'année ZL 6'. On peut faire l'hypothèse plus précise que cet « habit élamite » ait été l'un des présents amenés par Apil-ilî, le messenger élamite. L'attestation de ce dernier doit se situer à la fin de son séjour à Mari, vu le don qu'il reçoit d'une bête de somme au début du mois x (*ARM IX 149*). Si toutefois Kuyaya et Innerri se sont bien trouvés à Mari en cette fin d'année ZL 6', cela suggère un envoi d'étain directement d'Élam dès cette époque et cela rend certaine l'existence de contacts antérieurs.

Michaël GUICHARD (10-01-95)  
60, rue Baudricourt  
75013 PARIS

**116) Fox on the Run : Catch a Lamassu by the Pun** – A long-standing crux in the Assyrian dream book has been the relationship between the protasis and apodosis of the following dream.

DIŠ KA<sub>5</sub>.A *iš bat* <sup>d</sup>LAMMA DAB-bat

DIŠ KA<sub>5</sub>.A *iš-bat-ma ina ŠU-šú È* <sup>d</sup>LAMMA TUK *u ina ŠU-šú È* (B rev. iii :9f.)<sup>1</sup>

« If he seizes a fox, he will seize a Lamassu, but if he seizes a fox in his hand, and it escapes, he will have seized a Lamassu, but it also will escape from his hand. »

The dreamy connection between the fox and the Lamassu caused Jean Bottéro to ponder :

« There is a total assimilation between the fox (in Akkadian *šēlibu* ; in Sumerian ka<sub>5</sub>-a) and the *Lamassu* (in Sumerian, Lamma ; written AN.KAL). But what is the intermediary term, what is the relationship between them, what is the symbolism, what is the phonetic or graphic-even iconographic-“pun”<sup>2</sup> »

What I would like to suggest is that there indeed is an iconographic connection between the two items. In particular, I note that if we write the word « fox » syllabically as *še<sub>7</sub>-līb-u* the same signs could be read as (A).AN.KAL-*u*, i.e., « Lamassu<sup>3</sup> ». Though the reading *še<sub>7</sub>-līb-u* as far as I am aware, is unattested, and the reading (A).AN.KAL is not exactly equivalent<sup>4</sup>, the coincidence of the reading, the scribal hermeneutic propensity for polyvalency in the dream book and elsewhere<sup>5</sup>, and the fact that puns need not be grammatically perfect to be effective, suggest that such a correlation would have been possible. Moreover, the snippet from the dream book repeatedly mentions the dreamer's ŠU (= *qātu* « hand ») which seizes the fox. The presence of the seizing « hand » (ŠU) in the dream may have bolstered the connection between the <sup>d</sup>LAMMA and the fox, for as we find in LTBA 2 2 :285 and 4 iv 16, <sup>d</sup>LAMMA = <sup>d</sup>ŠU<sup>6</sup>.

1. A Leo Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 46/3 [1956]; Philadelphia, PA.: American Philosophical Society, 1956), pp. 281, 326.

2. Jean Bottéro, *Mesopotamia: Writing, Reasoning, and the Gods* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 122.

3. For the reading *še<sub>7</sub>* as (A).AN, see R. Labat, *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne*: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1976), pp. 147, 239; Rykle Borger, *Akkadische Zeichenliste* (AOAT, Num. 6; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag Butzon & Bercker Kevelaer, 1971); p. 94; P. Anton Deimel, *Sumerisches Lexikon*. Vol 1, pt. 1 (Romae: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1947), p. 184.

4. However, there also is the possibility that the first sign of *še<sub>7</sub>*, (i.e., A), could be read separately as a demonstrative pronoun, i.e., « the aforementioned Lamassu ». On this use of A see CAD A/1, 1, s.v. a

5. See, e.g. Alasdair Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

6. As noted in CAD A/1 1, s.v. a.

Scott B. NOEGEL (12-07-95)

**117) DUB.NAGAR in Ebla: « Meißel, Stemmeisen, Beitel », nicht « Hammer »** – F. Pomponio und P. Xella deuteten in AfO 31, 1984, 25f. DUB.NAGAR als « martello, mazzuolo ». Sie stützen dies auf die eblaitische Entsprechung *ma-qá-NI* (MEE 4 VE 763), die sie *ma-qá-bu<sub>x</sub>* lesen und mit dem westsemitischen Wort *maqqa/ibu* (AHw 607) « Hammer » (CAD M/1, 252) « hammer or pick » verbinden. Sie lehnen die von G. Pettinato in MEE 3, 211 zu III 3 vertretene Deutung, *ma-qá-lí* mit *maqqaru* « chisel » (CAD M/1, 253) zu verbinden, ab. A. Archi übernimmt z.B. in AOAT 240, 8ff. die Übersetzung F. Pomponios und P. Xellas, ebenso wie ich selbst in OA 29, 25 Anm. 141.

Das Vorkommen von Hämmern aus Bronze wäre kulturgeschichtlich sehr überraschend, denn man fand bei Ausgrabungen nur äußerst selten Metallgegenstände, die als Hammer gedient haben könnten (vgl. J. Deshayes, *Les outils de bronze de l'Indus au Danube II*, p. 122 und pl. XL). Hämmern waren aus Stein und sicher auch aus Holz, von denen allerdings keine Spuren blieben (Holzhämmer werden noch heute z.B. von Schreibern und Bildhauern benutzt). Zudem sind die in den Ebla-Texten genannten Gewichte von 7,9 bzw. 31,6 Gramm bis maximal 158 Gramm für normale Handwerker-Hämmer viel zu gering (s.u.). Meißel, Stemmeisen oder Beitel<sup>1</sup> kamen dagegen bei Ausgrabungen häufig ans Tageslicht (J. Deshayes, *ibid.* p. 36-53 und pl. IX-XII).

DUB.NAGAR (Schreibvariante UM.NAGAR, MEE 12, 37 XIX 10 und wohl auch Rs. xm 1-3<sup>2</sup>) begegnet in den Ebla-Texten stets mit Schneid- und Trenninstrumenten (*tūn/gín*, *šum*, *ḥa-zi*) für Holz-Handwerker (*nagar*) und Pfeilhersteller (*lú-giš<sub>ti</sub>*): MEE 12, 35 Rs. VIII 5-15; 37 Rs. XII 36-xm 11; AOAT 240, 7ff.; MEE 10, 20 XIII 29-XIV 3. Auch für einen Arzt werden DUB.NAGAR-(*sal*) und Sägen aus Bronze neben anderen Instrumenten hergestellt (MEE 12, 37 XIX 417 = A. Archi, AOAT 240, 10). Aus 61 Sekeln Bronze hatte man insgesamt 23 Instrumente gefertigt. Daraus ergibt sich ein Durchschnittsgewicht von nur 2,65 *gín* oder ca. 20,9 Gramm. Es muß sich folglich um feine Instrumente für medizinische Eingriffe handeln.

Wie oben erwähnt, wird DUB.NAGAR<sup>ur<sub>du</sub></sup> in VE 763 (MEE 4, S. 285) mit *ma-qá-NI* geglichen. Falls man *ma-qá-bu<sub>x</sub>* liest, ist die Form von der Wurzel *NQB* abzuleiten (AHw 743 *naqābu* « (durchbohren), deflorieren »; D. Sivan, AOAT 214, 254 « to pierce »). Bei der weniger wahrscheinlichen Lesung *ma-qá-lí* wäre von einer Wurzel *NQR* auszugehen (AHw 743 *naqāru* « einreißen, herauskratzen »; AOAT 214, 254 « to bore, pick, dig »). Als Übersetzung für DUB.NAGAR kommt nach dem bisher Ausgeführten « Meißel, Stemmeisen, Beitel » oder – weniger wahrscheinlich – « Bohrer » in Frage; dies sind alles Instrumente, die für die genannten Berufe von Wichtigkeit sind.

Folgende Typen von DUB.NAGAR (abgekürzt D.N.) sind mir aus den Ebla-Texten bekannt; in der rechten Spalte findet man die jeweiligen Gewichtsangaben:

		Gewicht <sup>3</sup>
D.N.- <i>al<sub>6</sub>-gar<sup>zabar</sup></i>	ARET 2,54 I 4	—
D.N.- <i>gur<sub>4</sub></i>	MEE 4 VE 765 lex. (statt <i>gur<sub>4</sub></i> vielleicht <i>nígin</i> zu lesen als Abkürzung für <i>šu-mu-nígin</i> , s. jedoch Anm. 5)	—
D.N.- <i>máh</i>	MEE 12, 35 Rs. VII 37	—
	MEE 12, 37 Rs. XIII 1	20 <i>gín</i> = 158 g

D.N.-sal <sup>4</sup>	MEE 4 VE 764 lex. ARET 4, 22 VIII 6, MEE 12, 37 XIX 10 MEE 12, 37 Rs. XIII 3 MEE 12, 35 Rs. XIII 9 MEE 12, 35 Rs. VIII 8 ; AOAT 240, 7 XII 8,25 MEE 12, 35 Rs. VIII 7 ; AOAT 240, 7 XII 6,23	— 4 gín = 31,6 g 10 gín = 79 g 15 gín = 118,5 g 20 gín = 158 g
D.N. <sup>1</sup> -sal ša <sub>11</sub> , an-dùl-máḫ	A. Archi, Fs. Kupper 207 : 69 (dort dub-ti-SAL lú 1 an-dùl al <sub>6</sub> umschrieben)	—
D.N.-šu-mu-nigin <sup>5</sup>	AOAT 240, 7 XII 5, 22 ; MEE 12, 35 Rs. VIII 6	20 gín = 158 g
D.N.-tur	MEE 10, 20 Vs. XIV 2 AOAT 240, 7 XII 13, XIII 4 MEE 12, 37 Rs. XIII 2	1 gín = 7,9 g 4 gín = 31,6 g 15 gín = 118,5 g
D.N. <sup>zabar</sup>	MEE 2, 13 Rs. II 3f. (ARET 3, 95 I 5)	20 gín = 158 g
D.N.-10	AOAT 240, 7 XII 9, 26 ; MEE 2, 7 X 1 ; MEE 10, 29 IV 27 ; MEE 12, 36 Rs. XX IV 4	10 gín = 79 g
D.N.	MEE 2, 6 (= ARET 7, 17) III 6	20 gín = 158 g

Ohne nähere Bezeichnung oder Gewichtsangabe : ARET 3, 526 I 1, m 3, VI 2 ; 570 I 1 ; MEE 2, 43 (= ARET 7, 16) m 4, 50 Rs. I 8 ; MEE 12, 35 I 31 ; SEB 4, 145 I 7, m 2.

Das Gewicht eines DUB.NAGAR liegt nach obiger Zusammenstellung zwischen 1 und 20 Sekeln (7,9 und 158 g) ; auch dies spricht – wie bereits erwähnt – gegen die Übersetzung « Hammer », da so leichte Hämmer besonders für die Holz-Handwerker nicht sinnvoll wären. Mit D.N.-sal, D.N.-tur und vielleicht auch mit D.N.-šu-mu-nigin muß jeweils ein etwas anderes Werkzeug gemeint sein und nicht die unterschiedliche Größe eines Werkzeuges bezeichnet werden, denn es gibt davon jeweils ganz leichte und damit feine Ausführungen, aber auch die schweren von 15 bzw. 20 Sekeln.

Nach den Verwaltungstexten wird DUB.NAGAR stets aus Bronze hergestellt (ARET 2, 54 I 3 ; MEE 2, 6 III 6f. ; 43 III 4 ; MEE 12, 35 I 28ff., Rs. VIII 2-9 ; ibid. 36 Rs. XXIV 1-4 ; ibid. 37 XIX 4-10, Rs. XII 33 - XIII 3 ; AOAT 240, 7 XI 32 - XII 26). Der Zinn-Anteil in den Bronzen beträgt 9,09% (MEE 12, 35 I 28ff.) ; 10% (ibid. 36 Rs. XXIV 1ff.) ; 12,5% (ibid. 35 Rs. VIII 2ff., 37 Rs. XII 33ff.) ; 13,93% (ibid. Vs. XIX 4ff.) und 14,21% (AOAT 240, 7 XI 32-XII 2, 17ff.).

In Mesopotamien wird DUB.NAGAR bzw. die Variante UM.NAGAR (CAD G 137 *gurgurru* A la) m.W. nur für die Schreibung der Berufsbezeichnung *tibira* benutzt. Diese begegnet auch in einem lexikalischen Text aus Ebla (MEE 3, S. 36 :19), nicht jedoch in Verwaltungstexten. Die Übersetzung von *tibira* ist schwierig<sup>6</sup>, da dieser Handwerker Metall, Stein, Holz, Wachs<sup>7</sup> und Elfenbein verarbeitet (CAD G 137ff. ; D. Loding, A Craft Archive from Ur, 41f., 57ff.) und Statuen und andere Objekte herstellt oder verziert (z.B. CT 7, 16 II 22f. ; HSS 4, 3 X 19f. ; UET 3, 1498 I 1-41). Nach ITT 5, 6870 :1ff. muß ein *tibira* zwei Tage lang kupferne Sichel und Hacken beschriften (1 *tibira* u<sub>4</sub>-2-šè<sup>urudu</sup> gur<sub>10</sub><sup>urudu</sup> ha-bù-da mu-sar). Möglicherweise benutzte er dazu einen « Grabstichel (für) Beschriftung » (bulug<sub>4</sub>-mu-sar<sup>zabar</sup>, UET 3, 752 II 10'). Bulug<sub>4</sub> zur Beschriftung von Lapislazuli-Siegeln nennen UET 3, 399 :2, 617 :1ff. und 666 :1f.

In sumerischen Verwaltungstexten aus Mesopotamien begegnet mehrfach ein Gegenstand, der zum Teil *tibira* gelesen wurde (z.B. PDT 1, 179, 624). Dieses URUDU. NAGAR oder NAGAR.ZABAR geschriebene Gerät wird demzufolge aus Kupfer (Nik. 41S :5 ; PDT 1, 179, 624 ; UET 3, 735 1ff.) und Bronze (DCS pl. 74 Schn. 237 :3 ; UET 3, 735 :1f.) hergestellt.

Die Lesung ist wohl <sup>urudu</sup>bulug<sub>4</sub> bzw. bulug<sub>4</sub><sup>zabar</sup> (PSD B 175f.), die akkadische Entsprechung *pulukku* (AHw 879). In MVN 5, 1SS IV 4f. finden wir folgende Eintragung : 2 bulug<sub>4</sub><sup>zabar</sup>, 2 ma-an-gára<sup>zabar</sup>. In Enki und die Weltordnung 40Sff. erhält die Göttin Ninmug diese beiden Geräte neben einem Steinmesser (Obsidian?), möglicherweise um diese bei der Herstellung von Krone (men) und müš zu verwenden (ibid. Z. 409f.). Ninmug wird in Z. 408 als « *tibira*-Handwerkerin des Landes » bezeichnet. Ma-an-gára ist Lehnwort aus dem Akkadischen (*maqāru* AHw 607, CAD M/1, 2S3). In Hh XII 72 findet man dazu den Eintrag BULUG<sup>ma-qa-ar</sup>.zabar = *ma-aq-qa-ri* (MSL 9, 205). Da dieses Gerät neben bulug<sub>4</sub><sup>zabar</sup> vorkommt, müssen sich beide im Aussehen und in der Verwendung unterscheiden.

Das bulug<sub>4</sub> genannte Gerät (<sup>urudu</sup>bulug<sub>4</sub>, bulug<sub>4</sub><sup>zabar</sup>) kommt ebenso wie DUB.NAGAR in Ebla zusammen mit anderen Schneid- und Trennwerkzeugen vor : (präargonisch) RTC 22 I 1ff. vor Axt und Säge ; DP 343 I 1f., 478 I 3f. neben Säge ; und Ur III : MVN S, 155 IV 4, UET 3, 735 :1ff. vor oder nach Säge ; Limet, Métal 282, 6 :1ff. nach Dechsel (Querbeil). Wir müssen folglich davon ausgehen, daß DUB.NAGAR in Ebla dem mesopotamischen bulug<sub>4</sub> entspricht. Für diese Schlußfolgerung spricht ebenfalls das Gewicht von bulug<sub>4</sub>, wenn es auch insgesamt etwas höher liegt.

bulug <sub>4</sub> <sup>zabar</sup>	UET 3, 73S :1ff. DCS pl. 74 Schn. 237 :3f.	17 bzw. 20 gín (= 142,8 bzw. 168 g) 30 gín (= 252 g)
<sup>urudu</sup> bulug <sub>4</sub> -ašgab	SA LXXX :61 :15ff. 5 bis	7,5 gín (= 42-63 g) <sup>7</sup>

urudu bulug <sub>4</sub>	PDT 624 :2 ; Nik. 41S :S	10 bzw. 28,5 gín (=84 bzw. 239,4 g)
urudu bulug <sub>4</sub> -ni-kal-ga	UET 3, 735 :3	135 gín = 1134 g) (dieses Gewicht fällt völlig aus dem Rahmen ; Kollation notwendig).

Das bulug<sub>4</sub> genannte Werkzeug wird von Holz-Handwerkern (nagar DCS pl. 74 Schn. 237)<sup>8</sup> und Leder-Handwerkern (ašgab ŠA LXXX :61 :15f.) benutzt. Es ist sicher kein Zufall, daß dieses Werkzeug mit demselben Zeichen geschrieben wird wie der Beruf des Holz-Handwerkers. Denn nur unter Verwendung dieses Geräts kann er Zapflöcher, Nuten, Zinken usw. machen, um Holzteile fest und dauerhaft zu verbinden<sup>9</sup>.

Die Verwendungsweise von DUB.NAGAR in Ebla und von bulug<sub>4</sub> in Mesopotamien spricht dafür, daß es sich dabei um Oberbegriffe für Werkzeuge handelt, die entweder sehr spitz sind oder ein geschärftes Ende aufweisen. Sie werden für spezielle Anwendungsbereiche hergestellt, z.B. zum Eingravieren einer Umschrift oder für einen Leder-Handwerker (Ahle/Pfriem?). Am häufigsten nachweisbar ist der Gebrauch durch Holz-Handwerker und den tibira. Auch die lexikalischen Texte weisen in diese Richtung. Bereits die auch in Ebla bezeugte sogenannte NAGAR-Liste listet sieben verschiedene Typen auf (MEE 3, S. 79f. : 28-41, statt nagar jeweils bulug<sub>4</sub> zu lesen. Ähnlich viele Eintragungen findet man auch in Hh XII (MSL 9, 20S, 209 und s. PSD B 17Sf.).

In Ebla bezeichnete m.E. DUB.NAGAR Meißel/Stemmeisen/Beitel. In der neusumerischen Zeit umfaßte das Wort wohl auch die Bedeutungsgebiete Ahle/Pfriem/Grabstichel.

In Ebla benutzte man die sumerische Zeichenkombination UM/DUB.NAGAR, mit der in Mesopotamien die Berufsbezeichnung tibira geschrieben wurde, zur Bezeichnung von Meißel/Stemmeisen/Beitel, einem Werkzeug, das in Mesopotamien nur mit dem Zeichen bulug<sub>4</sub> (NAGAR) geschrieben wurde. Dies muß als weiterer Hinweis darauf gewertet werden, daß die Eblaiter zwar bei den lexikalischen Texten in der Tradition des sumerischen Kernlandes stehen, ihr Schriftsystem aber nicht direkt von dort, sondern aus dem nordmesopotamischen Raum übernommen hatten<sup>10</sup>.

1. Beitel wird in Brockhaus-Wahrig, Deutsches Wörterbuch Bd. 1 (1980) 58 folgendermaßen definiert : « Ein dem Stemmeisen ähnliches Werkzeug zum Ausstemmen von Nuten, Zinken, Zapflöchern, Ansätzen usw. » Zu « Stemmeisen » findet man in Bd. 6, 50 : « meißel- oder messerartiges Werkzeug, Stechbeitel ».

2. Der Text war, als das vorliegende Foto gemacht wurde, noch nicht überall gereinigt. Daher ist nicht sicher zwischen UM und DUB unterscheidbar. G. Pettinato danke ich herzlich für die Überlassung der Umschriften der hier verwerteten, noch unpublizierten Texte (MEE 12, 35 = MEE 1,1867 ; Nr. 36 = ibid. 1868 ; Nr. 37 = ibid. 1947) und für die Kollation.

3. Bei den Gewichtsangaben aus Ebla wird mit 7,9 Gramm je gín und für Ur III mit 8,4 Gramm gerechnet.

4. Die Lesung sal ist durch die Schreibvariante sila gesichert (MEE 3, S. 80 : 30f. nagar jeweils bulug<sub>4</sub> zu lesen) und s. MSL 9, 205 : 73.

5. In MEE 3, S. 80 : 36f. kommt bulug<sub>4</sub>-šu-gur vor. Daher ist zu fragen, ob nicht statt šu mu-nigin DUB.NAGAR šu mu-gur<sub>4</sub> zu lesen ist. Hierzu auch MSL 9, 205 : 74 bulug-šu-KIN (gur<sub>10</sub>?).zabar = *nappašu* (AHw 740 « ein Brecheisen »)

6. G. Müller, BiOr 50, 1993, 440 erwägt die Möglichkeit, ob das Wort tibira nicht hurritischen Ursprungs sei. Die akkadischen Entsprechungen *gurgurrul qurqurru* und *tabīrula* werden AHw 929, 1298 mit « Metallarbeiter, Kupferschmied », CAD G 137 « craftsman working in wood and metal » übersetzt. Frankena, AbB 2, 56 :5 übersetzt dagegen « Holzarbeiter » und CAD M/1, 253 s.v. *maqquaru* denselben Beleg mit « carpenter » (ebenso S/2, 440 s.v. *sikru*). H. Neumann, Handwerk in Mesopotamien S. 35f. übersetzt « provisorisch » « Bildhauer ».

7. Gewichtsangabe unvollständig erhalten : 1 urudu gír-ašgab, 3 urudu bulug<sub>4</sub>-ašgab, ki-lá-bi 1/3 m[a-na gín?]. Bei 20 Sekeln wäre das Durchschnittsgewicht 5 gín ; bei einer Ergänzung von [9 gín] ergibt sich 7,5 gín.

8. Der im Text genannte Šarakam dürfte ebenso wie sein Vater (s. das Siegel) diesen Beruf ausüben.

9. Für weitere Belege s. PSD B 173ff. s.v. bulug A. Dort wird das Material eingeteilt in 1. « chisel », 2. « needle, pin, splinter », 3. « latch », 4. « axis » (metaphorical use) und 5. « border (?) ». Zu Farmers Instructions Z. 19, wonach der Bauer Querbeil, Beitel und Säge in Ordnung bringen soll, um notfalls den Pflug reparieren zu können, s. jetzt M. Civil, *Aula Orientalis-Supplementa* 5, p. 28, 41 (und Kommentar S.73). Er übersetzt allerdings « drill ».

10. I.J. Gelb, in Ebla 1975-1985 (ed. L. Cagni) 49 schreibt : « Ebla ... received its writing system from Kish in the heartland of the Kish Civilization », doch gibt es dafür keine schlüssigen Beweise. Das Schriftsystem tritt uns voll ausgebildet entgegen ; doch erst, wenn die Vorläufer gefunden werden und der nordmesopotamisch/syrische Raum besser erforscht ist, wird man diese Frage möglicherweise beantworten können.

Hartmut WAETZOLDT (07-12-95)

Seminar für Sprachen und Kulturen des Vorderen Orients

Assyriologie Sandgasse 7 D - 69117

HEIDELBERG, ALLEMAGNE

**118) Der Wert des Fischmaßes ÈŠ-ba-an** – [1] Vom Wert des altsumerischen « Fischmaßes » ÈŠ-ba-an war bislang nur bekannt, daß es eine Unterabteilung der gú « Traglast » darstellte. Nach meinen Unterlagen ist es bezeugt in : DP 40 3 :6, 4 :8, 8 :4, 57 3 :6, 7 :7, 283 1 :6, 5 :1, 284 1 :4, Fö 172 1 :4, 4 :1, 7 :2, 8 :6, 9 :1, AWAS (= FAOS 15/2) Nr. 83 = BIN 8, 356 1 :3, 3 :5 und AWAS Nr. 66 = FLP 2658 (alt : 1648) 3 :4, 5 :1.2, 6 :5', 7 :3'. Das auch als èš-ba-an, šú-ba-an und zír-ba-an umschriebene Maß hat nach meinem Wissen noch keine gesicherte Lesung.

[2] Der Wert des Maßes könnte bereits nach AWAS Nr. 83 = BIN 8, 356 3:5 und DP 284 1:4 mit höchstens 1/6 **gú** vermutet werden. Bisher alle Autoren, die sich mit diesem Maße beschäftigt haben (s. zuletzt G.J. Selz AWAS S. 569 mit Verweis auf A. Deimel Or 12, 207, M. Lambert RIA 3, 69, J. Bauer AWL S. 468 und A. Salonen *Fischerei* S. 80f.), übersahen dabei die Bedeutung von DP 283 für die Bestimmung von **ÈŠ-ba-an**. Der Text lautet vollständig:

20 lá 2 **gú** ŠE+SUḪUR<sup>ku6</sup> / 15<sup>1</sup> gir<sup>ku6</sup> / 30 ba / 1 dug ì-ku<sub>6</sub> / lugal-ša-lá-tuku / 7 **gú** 3 ÈŠ-ba-an // ŠE+SUḪUR<sup>ku6</sup> / 1 gur<sub>4</sub>-gur<sub>4</sub> ì-ku<sub>6</sub> / é-men<sub>x</sub>(GÁ-EN)-eden-na / 12 **gú** ŠE+SUḪUR<sup>ku6</sup> / 3 **gú** gur<sub>10</sub>ku<sub>6</sub> / 10 ba // 1 dug ì-ku<sub>6</sub> ne-saḡ / 3 **gú** ŠE+SUḪUR<sup>ku6</sup> / 10 ba / lugal-piriḡ (Rs.) 5 **gú** ŠE+SUḪUR<sup>ku6</sup> / 10 ba / lugal-tigi<sub>x</sub>(É.BALAG)-ni-du<sub>10</sub> // šu-niḡin 50 lá 3 **gú** 3 ÈŠ-ba-an ŠE+SUḪUR<sup>ku6</sup> / 3 **gú** gur<sub>10</sub>ku<sub>6</sub> / 10 tar<sup>ku6</sup> // 50 ba / 2 dug 1 gur<sub>4</sub>-gur<sub>4</sub> ì-ku<sub>6</sub> / ku<sub>6</sub>-ÍL- / šu-ku<sub>6</sub>-ab-ba-ke<sub>4</sub>-ne / dim-tur / dam-en-èn-tar-zi / ensí- / lagaš<sup>ki</sup>-ka 2.

« 20 minus 2 Traglasten *Meeresbarben*, 5 *Schweinefische*, 30 Schildkröten, 1 Krug Fischtran (von) Lugal-šala-tuku; 7 Traglasten 3 *Stränge Meeresbarben*, 1 Vase Fischtran (von) E-menedena; 12 Traglasten *Meeresbarben*, 3 Traglasten Sichel-Fische, 10 Schildkröten, 1 Krug Fischtran (von) Nesaḡ; 3 Traglasten *Meeresbarben*, 10 Schildkröten (von) Lugal-piriḡ; 5 Traglasten *Meeresbarben* (von) Lugal-tigini-du. **Zusammen** 50 minus 3 Traglasten (und) 3 *Stränge Meeresbarben*, 3 Traglasten Sichel-Fische, 10 Stachel-Fische, 50 Schildkröten, 2 Krüge (und) 1 Vase Fischtran: Fischabgabe der Hör-Fischer; Dimtur, die Frau des En-entarzi, des Stadtfürsten (von) Lagas. 2. (Jahr). »

[3] Die Addition der angegebenen Menge an *Meeresbarben* bestätigt also die Vermutung der Gleichung: **1 gú** = **6 ÈŠ-ba-an**. Da die «Traglast» /**gu(n)**/ auch hier sicher ein Gewichtsmaß darstellt, werden wir als ihren absoluten Wert auch hier rund 30kg anzusetzen haben. Mit anderen Worten 1 **ÈŠ-ba-an** entspricht etwa 5kg = 5000g, d.h. etwa **10 ma-na** «Minen», d.h. etwa **600 gín** «Sequel» (vgl. dazu M.A. Powell RIA 7, 508).

[4] Es fällt auf, daß wir uns mit dem erschlossenen Gewichtswert des **ÈŠ-ba-an** von 5kg größenordnungsmäßig im Bereich des Feststoffhohlmaßes **ban**, **ba-an** bewegen, das im as. Lagaš etwa 6 **silà**, d.h. rund 6 Litern, entspricht. Da **ba-an** auch Bestandteil des Wortes **ÈŠ-ba-an** zu sein scheint, dürfte ein Zusammenhang ziemlich sicher bestehen. Vielleicht ist also **ÈŠ-ba-an** zu lesen und wörtlich eine Bedeutung «Seil-Ban», d.i. «Strang» oder ähnliches, anzunehmen.

[5] Nicht erklären kann ich allerdings die Tatsache, daß statt der **5 gir<sup>ku6</sup>** aus 1:2 im Summenvermerk in 1:3 **10 tar<sup>ku6</sup>** genannt werden. Ist eine Wertrelation zwischen den beiden Fischarten impliziert? Ist die Kopie korrekt?

G.J. SELZ (18-12-95)  
Orientalisches Seminar  
Albert-Ludwigs-Universität  
D-79085 FREIBURG, ALLEMAGNE

## VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

**119) XLIII. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale** – Prague (Czech Republic) from the 1st to the 5th July 1996. At Prague the chief theme originally proposed was Spiritual culture of the Ancient Near East with the following sections: (1) Rationality and irrationality in Ancient Near Eastern thought; (2) Scale(s) of values of the ancient Mesopotamians; (3) Computers and Ancient Near Eastern languages.

At the last RAI in 1995 it appeared that the original heading did not meet with unequivocal reactions and for this reason we thought it best to modify it together with the individual sections for which we welcome paper applications. We now propose after the discussion in Louvain as theme of the 43rd RAI the *Intellectual Life of the Ancient Near East* with contributions from all fields of research (philology, history, archaeology, literature, religion, etc.).

Further division into sections will be announced in April 1996.

The section *computers and Ancient Near Eastern languages* remains as originally suggested.

We have been overjoyed by the enormous response to our first appeal to those who might be interested in taking part in the Prague-RAI. We wish to disseminate now the following information:

1. According to the proposal of the organisation Women in Ancient Near Eastern Studies (WANES) we have decided to provide a discussion platform to it. Those who are interested in the WANES activities will please contact Dr. (Ms.) Jana Pecirkova (The Oriental Institute, Pod vodarenskou vezi 4, CZ-182 08 Praha 8, Czech Republic, e-mail : pecirko@orient.cas.cz).

2. For the discussion group of young Assyriologists, as proposed at the last RAI (workshop Assyriology in the 3rd millenium AD) please suggest themes and agenda to Furat Rahman (e-mail : furat.rahman@ff.cuni.cz) and/or Lukas Pecha (email : lukas.pecha@ff.cuni.cz) of the Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Charles University, Celetna 20, CZ-110 00 Praha 1, Czech Republic.

3. Our possibilities of putting up posters are somewhat limited. Please suggest them as early as possible and on no account later than the end of February 1996.

4. All our future guests are strongly advised to secure some form of health insurance before taking off to Prague.

5. Museum specialists and archaeologists of ancient Mesopotamia and its vicinity are invited to participate in Naprstek museum session, hosted by Dr. (Ms.) Jana Souckova, Director of the said Museum, on Sunday 30th June 1996 (The Naprstek Museum, Betlemske nam. 1, CZ-110 00 Praha 1, Czech Republic). Please indicate your interest to Dr. Souckova on the above mentioned Museum address and do not forget to fill in appropriate arrival dates in your hotel-accommodation forms in case you intend to take part.

6. We intend to publish the summaries of papers, which the RAI participants will receive upon registration. Please send in summaries of your papers not exceeding 250 words not later than March 31, 1996. Only those summaries which will be delivered to us before this date can be printed in the materials of RAI. You may supply the summaries either on paper as manuscripts or on diskettes written in one of the text editors for IBM-compatible PC's (preferably WordPerfect 5.1). Please give your name and identify the text editor on the diskette label. Kindly address your summaries sent in by mail to : prosecky@orient.caz.cz or by snail mail to : Jiri Prosecky, The Oriental Institute, Pod vodarenskou vezi 4, CZ-182 08 Praha 8.

7. Information concerning the 43rd RAI is at this very hour available on Internet under the following addresses :

WWW-Server : <http://anes235-1.ff.cuni.cz/rai/rai.htm>,

Gopher : <gopher://anes23-5-1.ff.cuni.cz>,

Anonymous FTP : <ftp://anes235-1.ff.cuni.cz/pub/rai>.

Here you can also register your application to the 43rd RAI, download the accommodation form or the booking form for social and spouse programme. The network information will be continuously brought up to date.

Further more detailed information will be sent to the registered participants in April 1996.

Congress fee :

	before April 30, 1996	at registration
Congress fee	80,- USD	95,- USD
Student fee	55,- USD	65,- USD

Accompanying persons wishing to take part in the social programme organised by the convenors of the Congress will pay 50,- USD at registration. Payment is possible via cheque, bank wire or credit card (VISA, Mastercard). Please note that for the payment in advance you have to send the appropriate form by snail mail since payment regulations in our country require the signature.

THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE OF THE XLIII. RAI  
Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Charles University, Celetna 20  
CZ 110 00 PRAGUE, RÉPUBLIQUE TCHÈQUE

**120) *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, IV<sup>e</sup> Section*** – Les *Annuaire*s de la IV<sup>e</sup> Section (Sciences Historiques et Philologiques) de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études sont en vente pour un prix d'environ 100 FF. Pour tout renseignement ou commande, vous pouvez vous adresser à M. Laurent DUBOIS, Directeur d'Études à l'EPHE, Bibliothèque de l'EPHE IV<sup>e</sup> Section. L'adresse postale de la Section est la suivante :

*École Pratique des Hautes Études*  
*IV<sup>e</sup> Section (Sciences Historiques et Philologiques)*  
*à la Sorbonne*  
*45-47 Rue des Ecoles* *75005 Paris*

Les **Livrets** de la IV<sup>e</sup> Section, édités à partir de 1978-79, peuvent également être commandés au Secrétariat de la IV<sup>e</sup> Section, à la même adresse.

# N.A.B.U.

1995

## INDEX

### A) NOMS GEOGRAPHIQUES

ADKirum	82
<sup>d</sup> A-MÛški	81
Ampihābi	5
(uru) Ap-pi-ha-bu	5
(uru) Bît-Ahhê-šulum	36
(uru) Bît-Idiya	36
Biddah	23
Chypre (début IIe millénaire)	88
Crète (relations avec l'Anatolie)	88
Dilbat	4
Dûr-Katlimmu	3
Egée (début du IIe millénaire)	88
Elam	115
Elam (rois néo-élamites)	44
Gú-nu/num <sup>ki</sup> (partie du palais d'Ebla)	89
Ha-a <sup>ki</sup>	91
Habur	86
Haburâtum	19
Halabât	86
Hana (royaume)	23
Hanat	86
Harbû	86
Haute Mésopotamie (rituels d'alliance)	17
Hindânu	109
Humadešu	54
Ilân-šurâ	31
Kahat	31
Kaniš	88
Kit(ta)qa*	30
(uru) Ki-x-(x)-qa	30
KTK	30
Kumme	19
Kurdâ	18
Kuwara (= Rejibah)	91
Lahiri	5
Larsa	40
Larsa (date de la prise de L.)	65
Lasqum	86
Lutpiš	19
Mar <sup>ki</sup>	33
Masuwari (nom hourrite de Til Barsip)	30
Mêdes	21
Mgdl/Ma-ag-da-la	3
Mulhân	86
Nagar	51
Ninsun	91
Nippur	7, 109
Nutur (= Tell 'Ubaid)	91

Qaşâ	86
Rahatum	86
Rejibah (= Kuwara)	91
Rejibah Jinub	91
Rejibah Shamal	91
Saba'	109
Sapîratum	86
Sippar	56
Sippar (archives récentes de l'Ebabbar)	35
Sûhu	109
Suhûm elûm	86
Suhûm šaplûm	86
Su-qâ-qî-im <sup>ki</sup> *	47
Suse	1
Šakumme*	19
Šamaš-mîtu-uballit	114
Šegibbu	19
Tâdum	31
Taymâ'	109
Tehrân	86
Tell al-Ĥamîdiya	31
Tell Farfarâ'	31
Tell Barrî	31
Tell Šarîsi	31
Tell 'Ubaid (= Nutur)	91
Terqa (rois)	23
Til-Barsip	30
Tillâ	31
UD.ME <sup>ki</sup> (= Sippar')	56
Umma	64, 92
Ura'u	19
Uruk	77
Û-šur-ma-ta-t[im] (muraille de Nippur OB)	7
Yabliya	86
Yarihéens (clan benjaminite)	51
Zanipatum	86
Zaslum	19
Zibnatum	86
Zikum	19
Ziniyân	47

### B) NOMS DE PERSONNES

A+A-na- <sup>d</sup> EN	6
A-dar-ri-ia	6
A-ga-ba-te	6
<sup>d</sup> AG <sup>i</sup> -a-a-ta	6
Ah-šû-hu-šû (= Xerxès)	35
Ah-zi-iâ-a-u	3
Apil-ilî	115

Ashurnasirpal II	94	Salmanasar III	30
Aššur-nirka-da''in	94	Sa-me-'-iá-a-u	3
A-ti-iq	6	Samsu-iluna	7, 104
Attapuni	1	Shalmaneser III	94
Bardiya	55	Šûra-Hammû	51
Bardiya II (Vahyazdâta)	54	Šamaš-balâssu-iqbi, fils de Bêl-eriba,	
Bel-uballiš (šangu de Sippar)	56	descendant de Kur'i	77
Bunû-Eštar (roi de Kurdâ)	18	Šamaš-iqîša, fils de Šamaš-ah-iddin, rab bûli	34
Cyrus	58	Šulgi	41
Dada (Elam)	45	Šulgi-ili	95
Datukka	46	đŠûl-man-šangâ-ušur	3
Ebabbar-šadunu	5	Šu-Sin	95, 96
Enmebaragesi, sœur de Gilgameš	29	Šutruk-Nahunte	44
Enmebaragesi roi de Kiš	29	Šutur-Nahunte	44
Gilgameš	29	Taššak	45
Gududu fils de Dadaga (sceau)	96	Teḫiya	76
Ha-an-š/za-ru-ru	3	Til-ab-nu-ú	47
đHAR-i-lu-ú	6	Tu-ri-x-te-e	76
Hašuar, fils de Šimikatal	76	Uraš-ana-bîti-šu	4
Hazib-Teššub (roi de Haburâtum)	19	Uraš-le'i	4
Huban-kitin	44	Urkununna	95
Ia-še-'-ia-a-ma	3	Ur-sila(-sír-sír-ra)	16
Ibbi-Sin	95	Urukagina	27
Ìl-i-ši-mu	6	Uthaya fils d'Ehel-Teššup	103
Ilušu-našir	18	Uzib-Šuqamuna	74, 102
Innerri	115	Xerxès	35
Isih-Dagan (roi de Hana)	23	Yašim-El	90
Kab-di-i	3	Yatârum	47
KAT-nu-nu	3	Yumraš-El	51
Kudur-Naḫhunte	10	ZA-an-ga-ri-DÛ	3
Kuk-Našur	1	Zhn	3
Ku-kur-ra-áš (Cyrus)	58		
Kukusanit	1	<b>C) NOMS DIVINS</b>	
Kummeni-adal	19	Bêlet Nagar	51
Ku-re/iš (Cyrus)	58	Ea (temple à Uruk)	77
Kušinuya	46	đEn-líl-bàn-da	68
Kušiya	19	Hanat	51
Kuyaya	115	Hišamîtum	51
Lugalanda	16	Huwawa	29
Mašiya	19	Lamassatum ša ašta'i	22
Mullissu-mukannišat-Ninua	94	Lamaštu	70
Mutapuh	51	đLAMMA	116
Na-an-qí-ia	6	Lulal/Lâtarāk	105
Nabi-Enlil, fils de Damû'a	104	Nazi (= Nanše)	71
Nabuchodonosor III	55	đNin-mar-ki-ga	33
Nabuchodonosor IV	34, 55, 56	Rasap de Gunu	89
Nabu-nâdin-aḫḫi, fils de Uzib-Šuqamuna	74	Sîn	71
Naririda	1	Šuqamuna	102
Nergal-ilaya	94	Teššub	19
Nidintu (sêpiru)	56		
Nidintu-Bêl, fils de Šamaš-iddin	35	<b>D) SIGNES CUNEIFORMES</b>	
đnin-gír-su-za-mi	50	10-SAR	12
Ninurta-kudurri-ušur	109	ANŠE*	103
Nukupema	46	EŠŠANA	44
Nu-qu-e-a	6	GÁN	63
Pí-di-AN	80	KAB-di-i	3
Pí-di-đsig <sub>4</sub>	80	KAK+BAR*	101
Puzur-Enlil	95	N <sub>1</sub> (signe numéral)	38
Qannuttum (épouse de marchand assyrien)	37		
Sa-ka-ha-a	3		



N <sub>8</sub> (signe numéral ; = 1/8 ou 1/10 N <sub>1</sub> ?)	38	parak šîmâti	9
PAD (= šur <sup>1</sup> )	81	pîdum	80
SAL	101	pizzer(ium)	110
SIG <sub>4</sub>	103	rab šâqê	94
ŠÚ	102	rapiqâtum	89
ŠUR (Mari)	81	rasâbum	28
TA×HI (LÂL)	105	ru-bu-i-tu <sub>4</sub>	75
Ú (Mari)	80	sakânu	42
URU × GAR	32	sâkinu	42
		salâlum (u)	93
<b>E) GLOSSAIRE</b>		sekêrum	82
<b>a) akkadien</b>		ša'âqum	48
		šâhum	48
		šalâlum (a)	93
allâku	61	šimittu	75
arâru II	97	širimtum	90
arki	61	šal-ma-šu	101
aštû	22	šangûm (de Bêlet Nagar)	51
banûtu	20	še <sub>7</sub> -lîb-u	116
erib tâmti	15	šeršerratu	67
erpêtum	49	šêrtu	67
errešûtu	77	še-ša-tu <sub>4</sub>	75
garbânûtu	20	ši'amâtum	109
gû-(un-nu)	66	šihuru (Nuzi)	80
(gîš)halwatru/halmadru	75	šîmûta alâku	109
hulîlum	51	šimûtu*	109
hullum	59	šîmûtu	109
hu-lu/li (Ebla)	59	šuddûm	106
hur(up)patum	49	šukênu	72
idam* šakânum	68	šukunu	107
ilittu	15	šum-šu	48
ilîtu	15	te/îrdu	40
il-la-at	48	up/binzer	110
išittu, pl. išnâtu (šn) 'storehouse'	32	upinšîr	110
k/qanânum	37	urpatum	49
kannûtum	37	uššuštu/uššuštu	40
kanûm	37	(w)uššušu(m)	40
kapasum	80	zabâlu IV/1	2
kapšušihuru*	80	zamrum	80
karpatu	111	zamu/artum	80
lakû	87	zaqîpu	27
lakûm	87		
lamassatum	22	<b>b) sumérien</b>	
madârum	47		
malâku « gouverner »	42	(A).AN.KAL-u	116
ma-qâ-bu <sub>x</sub>	117	a-du <sub>10</sub> -ga	43
maqquâru	117	a-gar <sub>5</sub> -(gar <sub>5</sub> )	13
mašallu	49	a-ra-zu	95
maškabum	49	ban	118
maš'altu	40	bulug <sub>4</sub>	117
ma'sapu	99	bur-sağ	8
(tîg) ma-aZ-Zu-um	115	dub-nagar	117
muškênu(m)	72	DU-DU = šanânu	104
napharu	107	du-du-ru (erreur scribale)	2
naw/mârum	108	du <sub>6</sub> -kû (dans les temple babyloniens tardifs)	9, 66
ni-a-um/im	113	dumu la-la	11
nû	113	dumu-nîg-la-la	11
nû <sup>2</sup> u (nuâ <sup>2</sup> u, nuwâ <sup>2</sup> u)	113	èrim	32
pa-da-qat/kat <sub>6</sub> -tu <sub>4</sub>	4	ès-sâ-ab-du	11
pa-da-šu-tu <sub>4</sub>	61	ÈŠ-ba-an	118

gír mar-tu	14	<b>i) ugaritique</b>	
gú	117	gn (nom de lieu et de mois)	89
gur-saḡ-ḡál	8	kd	111
gur-saḡ-ḡál-bur-saḡ-ḡá	8		
gur-saḡ-ḡál-si-sá	8	<b>j) hébreu</b>	
ku-ku-ru	2	ʾāsām 'storehouse'	32
ku <sub>5</sub> -ru	2	š <sup>c</sup> q	48
qíú-làl	105	šḥq	48
maš-en-kak/dù	72		
maš-ka <sub>15</sub> -en	72	<b>k) sud-arabique</b>	
mu-lu-lil	105	s <sub>2</sub> 'mt	109
ru-ur-ra (za <sub>6</sub> -bar)	27		
sá-du <sub>11</sub>	79	<b>l) autres</b>	
sadug	111	Animaux mis à mort (rituels d'alliance)	17
sag-šu za <sub>6</sub> -bar	27	Argent (du Laurion à Aššur)	88
šu-nigin <sub>2</sub> (-na)	107	Argile à tablettes	9, 66
tibira	117	Barbier (prébende à Ur nB)	20
udu (niga) sá-du <sub>11</sub>	79	Briques (prêt, Nuzi)	103
um-nagar	117	Bronze (trésors et dépôts), PHD	25
urudu-kak za <sub>6</sub> -bar	27	Bronzes inscrits provenant d'Iran	102
(ù)-su	99	Cantharide	110
giš <sup>u</sup> šti(n)	99	Cheval blanc (rituel d'alliance)	17
zabar-dab <sub>5</sub>	11	Colophon	9, 66
zú-aka	14	Commerce arabe au 8e siècle	109
<b>c) hittite</b>		Cuivre (prix à Ebla)	13
še-ir-du-kán	67	Cunéiforme babylonien en Iran	102
<b>d) hourrite</b>		Disques en plomb (poids)	88
du-um-na-du	75	Ebabbar de Sippar (détruit par Xerxès ?)	35
šâhari	80	Epée inscrite mB	74
<b>e) perse</b>		Eponymes (863-860)	94
pāda-š(y)ut- (vieux-perse)	61	Espace (délimitation)	86
tokhm-e sag (farsi)	43	Ethno-linguistique (répartition en Babylonie et en Assyrie)	3
<b>f) élamite</b>		Index of Akkadian Lexical Systems	83
kit-da-da*	45	Insectes (usage en médecine)	110
lu-da-da	45	Insultes	43
giš <sup>u</sup> ru-ir	27	Interrogatoire policier (nB)	40
ru-ru-meš (médioélamite)	27	Janus Parallelism	15, 39, 90
šak (graphie)	44	Lépreux	20
<b>g) sémitique</b>		Lettre élamite en Urartu	46
gann-	89	Marteau	117
ḡll	59	Masse d'arme votive paléo-babylonienne	104
sôkēn	42	Mesures de capacité présargoniques	8
<b>h) éblaïte</b>		Mois intercalaires (Mari)	65
ga-ba-lu-um	14	Mur de Médie	21
ri-gi-tum	14	Onomastique (Dûr-Katlimmu)	3
		Partage d'héritage	77
		Plomb (poids)	88
		Priapisme	110
		Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (43e)	119
		Rituels d'alliance (Chine ancienne)	17
		Rituels d'alliance (Mari)	17
		Roues de chars	75
		Routes commerciales (entre l'Anatolie et l'Egée)	88
		Service royal (achéménide)	61
		Standard égéen (poids)	88

Statif/Permansif	98	BM 79253	112
Trône (décoration à Mari)	22	BM 79699	58
Étain (d'Elam à Mari)	115	BM 83526 (83-1-21, 689)	58
Étain (prix à Ebla)	13	BM 122691 :5'	70
		BRM 1 43	55
		CTS 453	95
		Descente d'Ištar 89-92	39
		DeZ 2521	31
		EAH 197	9, 66
		Enmerkar et Ensuĥkešdanna 173-174	73
		Enuma eliš I 99-102	15
		Epopée de Gilgameš (élamite)	46
		Epopée de Gilgameš II col. vi	78
		Epopée de Gilgameš XI 16-20	39
		Šulgi O	41
		Gilgameš et la Forêt des Cèdres	29
		Gilgameš et Huwawa version B	41
		Hecker I 736	37
		HT 14	31
		HT 25	31
		Hymne à Šamaš 171-173	15
		IM 90648 :12	70
		IM 95317	71
		Kt 86/k 41, 7, 11	113
		Kt 87/k 386	37
		Kt 88/k 970, 66-67	113
		Kt 88/k 1050, 23-24	113
		Kt 88/k 1059, 14-15	113
		Kt 88/k 1060, 1	113
		Kt 88/k 1062, 9	113
		Kt 88/k 1071, 1	113
		Kt 88/k 1096, 10-15	113
		Kt n/k 567, 23-24	113
		Kt n/k 1948, 1	113
		Kt n/k 1950,6	113
		Kurkh Monolith	30
		L87-1317	51
		MAH 19352	95
		N 4319	6
		NCBT 1029	77
		NCBT 1067	77
		Nies UDT 100	95
		RIH 77/11	89
		RS 18.252	63
		Samaria 1825 = Fi. 16	100
		SH.809	19
		SH.887	19
		SH.894	19
		SH.906+	19
		SMN 1166	76
		The Three Ox-Drivers from Adab	2
		TM.75.G.1560 v. X 9-17	89
		UCLMA 9-302	103
		UCLMA 9-3023	76
		UR <sub>5</sub> .RA = hubullu XV 192-197	60
		Urukagina's reform	27
		VAT 4717	16
		VAT 4917	8
<b>F) TEXTES : NUMEROS D'INVENTAIRE</b>			
<b>a) Mari</b>			
A.319+	93		
A.362	80		
A.472+	93		
A.877	47		
A.1017 : 51-55	48		
A.1056	87		
A.1234	86		
A.2053	86		
A.2594	47		
A.3591	18		
A.4018	86		
A.4684	115		
M.5620+	115		
M.5734	80		
M.6216	51		
M.6546	81		
M.6765+	51		
M.7309	115		
M.9518+	86		
M.10515	115		
M.10542 : 17-18	115		
M.11288	115		
M.11351	47		
M.11892+12499b	115		
M.12435 :11'	81		
M.12491	51		
M.12499b+11892	115		
<b>b) autres</b>			
83-1-18, 32 (= Nbk 2)	57		
83-1-18, 1311 (= Nbn 979)	57		
Arg. 1	46		
Atra-hasīs p. 88 : 28 (TUAT p. 637 l. 28)	49		
BM 32620	66		
BM 33388	6		
BM 41455	54		
BM 49718	4, 61		
BM 54153	112		
BM 54608	112		
BM 60009 (82-9-18, 32B)	57		
BM 61337 (82-9-18, 1311B)	57		
BM 62644 (82-9-18, 2613)	58		
BM 63282	56		
BM 63891	6		
BM 63911	6		
BM 64424	6		
BM 67313	112		
BM 74458	6		
BM 74500	6		
BM 74610	6		

**G) TEXTES : PUBLICATIONS**

**a) Mari**

ARM III 46	47
ARM VII 87 : 3	47
ARM VII 123	22
ARM VII 215	47
ARM VII 221	115
ARM VIII 7	47
ARM VIII 68 : 13	47
ARM IX 149 : 13-14	115
ARM XI 37	51
ARM XIII 117+	86
ARM XIV 8	47
ARM XIV 83 : 29	47
ARM XIV 88 : 7, 18	47
ARM XIV 114 :15	47
ARM XXI 7 :7	80
ARM XXI 370	51
ARMT XXII 3 ii 1	80
ARMT XXII 123 (= FM II p. 195 n°103)	82
ARMT XXII 276i : 7	81
ARMT XXII 291	80
ARMT XXII 294 : 4	80
ARMT XXIII 222	47
ARMT XXIII 507	47
ARM XXIV 45 : 51	80
ARM XXIV 211	115
ARM XXIV 277	115
ARMT XXV 79	22
ARMT XXV 148 :16	22
ARMT XXV 676	22
ARMT XXVI/1 103	81
ARMT XXVI/1 154-bis	86
ARMT XXVI/1 167	86
ARMT XXVI/2 392	31
ARMT XXVI/2 411	93
ARMT XXVI/2 419 : 10'	90
ARMT XXVI/2 462	47
ARMT XXVI/2 519	93
ARMT XXVI/2 521	93
ARMT XXVII 19	18
ARMT XXVII 115	87
ARMT XXVII 117	47
FM II p. 195	82
MARI 7 p. 165 sq.	17
MARI 7 p. 185	87
MARI 7 p. 197-203	93

**b) autres**

AbB VII 110	28
AbB X	28
AbB X 192	28
AcSum 15, 1993, p. 105	6
ADD 469	62
AfO 31, 1984, p. 25sq.	117
AJSL 16 p. 71 n°10	20

AnOr 7 108	95
AnSt 10 p. 126 : 10	48
AnSt 33 1983	30
AOST 70+71	60
ARET I 6 v. X 29	89
ARET IV 13 v IV 7	89
ARRIM 8 1990 p. 47	7
Arts Asiatiques 26 1973 p.36	1
ASJ 16, 1994, p. 1-14	108
ASJ 17 p. 281	91
AUCT I 3	95
AUCT III 489	95
Babylon, 1979/1986 (J. Oates)	72
Bagh.Mitt. 21, 1990, p. 559-621	77
BaM 21, 1990, p. 321-456	109
BBVO 3 54	40
BE 17 89 : 9	48
BiMes 24 (collations)	69
BSOAS 55	29
CAD Š/III p. 233	107
Catalogue of Babylonian Tablets VIII	57
CCT 1 37	37
CT 15 5-6	71
CT 39 1 : 79	49
CT 42 32	68
CT 44 82	36
CT 50 69 :5	48
CT 55 79	55
CT 57 118	34
Dalley Edinburgh n°72	35
Documents de la période d'Agadé, 1973	50
DP 59	16
DP 173 5 : 2-6	16
DP 175 7 : 2-8	16
DP 283	118
Drinking in Ancient Societies, p. 102/3, 108	111
Excavations at Nuzi IV 457 : 10	80
Festschrift von Soden, p. 43-56	28
Frühe Schrift	12
GC 2 395 : 3-5	21
HS 2003	37
HSS 13 4	103
HSS 13-283 SMN 283	75
HSS 15-167	75
HSS 15-207	75
I Studied Inscriptions from before the Flood : Ancient Near Eastern, Literary, and Linguistic Approaches to Genesis 1-11, 1994, p. 96-113	24
Inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré	30
Iran 14, 1976, p. 70	54
Iraq 47, 1985, p.96 n.55	19
KTU 1.106	89
KTU 4 166 :4-5	99
KTU 4.219	89
JAOS 103	29
JCS 24 1972	43
JCS 35, 1983, p. 1-90	112
JCS 38, 1986, p. 172-244	112
JCS 38, 1986, p. 99-106	112
JCS 43-45, 1991-93, (W.G. Lambert)	11

JCS 43-45, 1991-93, p. 27-38	2	VS 4 126	61
JCS 43-45, 1991-93, p. 53-62	23	VS 26 162	37
JCS 46 1994 p. 105-122	103	WO 25, 1994, p. 66-70	60
JCS 46, 1994, p. 105-122	76	YBT 10 47 : 71	49
MAD 1 298	48	YOS 17 286	34
MDAI 42, p. 137 n. 81	101	ZA 80, 1990, 102-123	46
MDAI 43 n°2015	1	ZA 81, 1991, p. 244 n. 3-4	112
MDP 9 5 : 10-11	44	ZA 83, 1993, p. 219-236	46
MDP 28, 1939, p. 33 n°17 C	45	ZA 85, 1995, p. 8-18	79
Mél. De Meyer, p. 67-72	10	Zahl und Zeit. Grammatik der Numeralia und des	
Mél. De Meyer, p. 82sq.	71	Verbalsystems im Spätbabylonischen, 1995 –Ajouts	
Mél. De Meyer, p. 85sq.	70	et corrections	98
Mél. Sjöberg, p. 499sq.	95		
MEE 7 29 v. VIII 12-13	13	<b>H) AUTEURS</b>	
MEE 7 34 r. XII 9-12	13	Anbar M.	64, 65
MEE 7 47 r. XV 1-7	14	Attinger P.	33
MEE 10 29 r. III 17-19	14	Bjorkman J.	25
MEE 10 29 v. XV 10-11	13	Borger R.	7
MEE 12 37 v. XXI 13-16	13	Brinkman J.A.	112
MEE 13 29 r. I 1-2	13	Castle E.W.	88
MEE 137 v. XV 3-7	13	Charpin D.	23, 28, 82, 86
MMA 86.11.362	66	Cole S.W.	109
MSVO 1 n°2	12, 38	D'Agostino F.	13, 14
NABU 1995/4	61	Dandamayev M.	34, 35, 36
NABU 1995/64 (Ur III)	64	Donbaz V.	113, 114
NABU 1995/92 (Ur III)	92	Doty L.T.	69
NABU 1995/104 (inscription de Samsu-iluna)	104	Durand J.-M.	48, 49, 50, 80
Nbk 12 (Nabuchodonosor IV)	34	Edzard D.O.	108
Nik I 25	16	Ellis R.S.	85
NSTROM 13 : 6	79	Englund R.K.	38
OBCT Hamrin Basin n°21	106	Frahm E.	9
OECT 10 406	34	Ganter A.	41
OIP 114 n°49 :11-15	109	George A.R.	68
OPBF 2, Philadelphie, 1979	73	Gesche P.D.	66
RA 88 1994 p. 59-63	9, 66	Glassner J.-J.	1
RIM OBP 1990 p. 373 n°2	7	Guichard M.	22, 51, 81, 115
RIA 7 163-164	105	Heimpel W.	11, 12, 87, 93
RIA 7 457-517 « Maße und Gewichte »	8	Heltzer M.	111
RIA 8 415	105	Hillard K.	79
RTC 401	11	Horowitz W.	15
SAAB 7	3	Huehnergard J.	106, 107
SAAB 2 p. 6 n. 13	100	Joannès F.	19, 20, 21
SAT I p. 228	79	Jursa M.	61
SETUA 46	96	Katz D.	29
Sh.A.2	19	Klein J.	92
SpTU II 30 (joint)	78	Lambert W.G.	2, 10, 24, 32, 101, 102, 104, 105
SpTU IV 123 (joint)	78	Lion B.	18, 47, 103
Strassmaier, 8e Congrès n°23	36	Livingstone A.	67
Sumer 44, p. 135-150	30	Na'aman N.	42
TC 3 202	37	Noegel S.B.	39, 90, 116
TCL 18 90	97	Pasquali J.	59, 99
TEO 1 p. 166	63	Paul Sh.	15
TPR 7 5 : 4''	23	Pongratz-Leisten B.	60
TuM 2/3 238 : 50	20	Potts D.T.	43
UET 1 33	91	Quintana E.	27
UET 4 48	61	Radner K.	62, 100
UET 4 57	20	Roaf M. 0	94
UET 4 58	20	Rowe I.M.	63
UET 4 109	61	Sanmartín J.	83, 84
VS 4 90	55		

