

N.A.B.U.

Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires

1996

N°2 (Juin)

NOTES BRÈVES

39) Noch einmal : Wachstum eines Kindes vor der Geburt – In *NABU* 1994/34 habe ich den Abschnitt SBTU 4 173 ii 2-9 behandelt. Dabei habe ich übersehen, daß dasselbe Thema auch in SBTU 2 43 : 13-17 vorkommt. Dort ist zu lesen :

13 LÚ.TUR *u₄-mu šá <ina> ŠÀ AMA-šú DÙ-[ú mi]-šil u₇-ta-at*
 14 *šu-ú 10 1/2 ŠE 10 A-RÁ 3[0 x x] [x¹] GIN-ma*
 15 *5 5 15 : 3 ŠU-SI 5 A-RÁ 10 [x¹] ITU*
 16 *GIN-ma 50 50 1 me 50 ŠE^{meš} 30 ŠU-SI^[meš]*
 17 *[ina] mu₇-hi im-mal-lad*

13 Ein Kind ist am Tage, an dem es im Leib seiner Mutter geschaffen [wird, ein hal]bes Korn
 14 (lang). 10 (entspricht) 1/2 Korn ; 10 multipliziere mit 3[0, der Zahl der Monatstage], und
 15 5,0 (ist es). 5,0 (entspricht) 15 (Korn) : (das ist) 3 Fingerbreiten. 5,0 multipliziere mit 10 Monaten,
 16 und 50,0 (ist es). 50,0 (entspricht) 150 Korn, (das ist) 30 Fingerbreiten.
 17 Daraufhin wird es geboren.

Der erste Satz gleicht dem in SBTU 4 173, schreibt aber «1/2 Korn» syllabisch und erweist meine Auffassung von ŠÚ-ú = *rabû* als irrig ; es handelt sich vielmehr um das Pronomen *šú*.

Anstelle einer Liste der Länge des Kindes an verschiedenen Tagen gibt der vorliegende Text zwei Multiplikationen, um auf die Länge nach einem Monat und nach 10 Monaten zu kommen. Die Einheit ŠE «Korn» ist auch hier = 1/5 Fingerbreite. Für die Rechnung wird außerdem 1/2 ŠE mit 10 Einheiten eines anderen, nicht genannten Maßes gleichgesetzt. Dieses Maß entspricht daher 1/20 ŠE oder 1/100 Fingerbreite. Wie schon das ŠE zu 1/5 Fingerbreite ist mir auch ein solches Maß sonst nicht bekannt.

Noch ein paar Bemerkungen zu SBTU 2 43 : In den Zeilen 1-12 folgen auf die Monatsnamen Wörter, die mit dem entsprechenden Tierkreissternbild zu tun haben : Z. 1 Widder ; Z. 2 Stier ; Z. 3 Mensch (bei den Zwillingen hat man wohl an Menschen gedacht) ; Z. 5 Löwe ; Z. 6 Gerste (dem Sternbild Virgo entspricht in Babylonien eine Saatfurche ; erst in hellenistischer Zeit findet sich das Bild einer Frau, die eine Ähre hält, vgl. E. Weidner, *Gestirn-Darstellungen*) ; Z. 7 Waage ; Z. 8 Skor[pion] ; Z. 10 Ziege (für Ziegenfisch = Capricornus) ; Z. 11 Bild (MUL-GU-LA, Aquarius, konnte sehr wohl als «Bild» bezeichnet worden sein).

In Z. 18 folgt auf ANŠE das Zeichen SIG₇ ; jedem Tier wird somit eine Farbe zugeordnet.

In Z. 20ff. kann ÚŠ meines Erachtens am besten als «Tod» verstanden werden : «Tod in der Familie», «Tod im Kampf», «Tod in Gefangenschaft» usw.

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40) Kassite *timiraš* and *sirpi* as Cattle Designations – Among the specialized vocabulary used in Middle Babylonian horse texts, there are several Kassite adjectives that have traditionally been interpreted as color designations, e.g., *lagaštakkaš*, *minzir*, *pirmaḥ* (*pirmuḥ*), *sirpi*, and *timiraš*. In texts published to date, these words have been unambiguously attested just for horses or other equids. I wish now to call attention to UM 29-15-208, an unpublished Kassite account tablet from Nippur without preserved date, which uses two of these adjectives to describe bovines:

obv.	6'	1 GU ₄ <i>ti-mi-ra-aš ša</i> DUMU ^{mpn} ₁ ...
	7'	1 ÁB <i>si-ir-pi ša</i> ŠU DUMU ^{mpn} ₂
	8'	1 GU ₄ <i>si-ir-pi ša</i> ^{mpn} ₃ ...

Later in the same text, [... *t*]i-mi-ra-aš ša^{mpn}₄ occurs in obv. 11', as the second in a series of three entries whose initial signs are broken away; these three entries are totalled as ʾPAP 3 GU₄.MEŠ¹ ŠU ʾ^{mpn}₅ DUMU^{mpn}₁ (rev. 2).

Since *timiraš* is a relatively rare word, it is also worth noting that CBS 10837, another unpublished Kassite account from Nippur (without preserved date) whose extant portions deal solely with she-asses (EME₅ = *atānu*), has an entry listing [... *t*]i-mi-ra-aš *la-ʾga-aš-tak¹-ka-aš* (obv. 6). Each of the five immediately preceding entries consists of a number followed by EME₅ plus a qualification (*si-ir-pa-me* / SA₅.MEŠ ina ŠÀ 1 *iḫ-ḫi-sa* / GE₆.MEŠ / *mi-in-za-mur* / *pi-ir-mu-uh*), with only a damaged [x E]¹ME₅¹ visible at the beginning of the first of these (obv. 1).

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41) Sin-iddinam in Emar and SU.A = Šimaški – In a collection of legal texts from Emar recently published by D. Arnaud: « Textes syriens de l'âge du bronze récent », *Aula Orientalis Supplementa* 1, there is a minute literary fragment, the only one in the volume, no. 101 (ME 94). It is part of a tablet with the syllabic Sumerian of a letter of Sin-iddinam to the Sun god, published some years ago by W. W. Hallo (*Zikir Šumim* 95-109), whose late bilingual recension was presented in 1991 by R. Borger in *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 1991, 2. On the left, the Emar text, on the right the Old Babylonian one:

1'	ma ¹ -da-bi nu-[	23	ma-da-bi nu-...
2'	ni-in-gur n[u		níg ¹ -gur ₁₁ ¹ nu-...
3'	ši-ma-aš-ki t[<i>i</i>	24	LÚ.SU.KI dingir ...
4'	nu-ki-ik ú-bur [		nu-gig nu-bar [...
5'	e-ri-ma-a-ni [	25	erín-a-ni ...
6'	nu-un-ku-a-ni [		numun-a-ni
7'	za-lam-gar ti-[	26	za-lam-gar ti-la ...
8'	al-du-uš n[u		*al-tuš nu-...
9'	ù-ù-[	27	ú-ma-am ...
rev.			
1	[x] ʾx ¹ -ik [	40	[(x) x] níg-gig-ga ...
2	zag-ti-[	43	hé-ti-le-eš ...
3	[x] x-az hu-[uš	41	[x] huš ...
4	da du-uk-ta ʾx ¹ [	42	ʾda/á ¹ tak ₄ -a-bi ...
5	[x] tu-ku-ut-t[a	44	ʾda/á ¹ tak ₄ -a-bi ...

Remarks. 1') Tablet/copy has SU- instead of ma-. 2') The apparent UD.BI of OECT 5 25 has thus to be read níg¹-GA¹. 3') A confirmation of the brilliant hypothesis of P. Steinkeller in JAOS 108 (1988) 197ff; there are two superfluous wedges between AŠ and KI. 4') Can one read lu¹-bur? Some sources have here lukur; the relation of this word to nu-bar (its Emesal form?) needs investigation, see the reading lagar of SAL.ME in Proto-Ea 437. 6') One more indication of the intervocalic -n- in NUMUN. 8') A divergent text seems to have had something like: uru^{ki}-a al-tuš nu-mu-un-zu-a « (the ones who live in tents) and do not know how to live in towns », a perfectly good sense.

rev. 2) One of the OB sources also has ZAG instead of the more correct hé-, probably some scribe's visual error. 3) Contains the missing word at the beginning of the OB line; I have no suggestions for its interpretation. 4f.) Confirm the reading tak₄ rather than ru.

doubt these two inscriptions are identical although they appear on two different types of object. It may be assumed that they are written with hammer strokes. The use of ŠUNKI / EŠŠENA (Sumerian) « king » makes one surmise an origin in western or southern Iran somewhere under the influence of Elamite writing. The *-na* in the last PN is very likely to be the Elamite possessive suffix. The fact that the objects in questions cannot precisely be determined as having been written under the Elamite influence, but on the other hand one can deduct the following result for the name Am-pi-ri-iš in comparison with the names being pure Elamite and Akkadian i.e. : the name Am-pi-ri-ya² is very much the same as Am-pi-ri-iš except the last syllable which has been identified as Ham-friya / Hamfriya³, since -riš/ri-iš is an Elamite suffix which can be seen also as -ru-iš and -ra-iš⁴ and along with many other occurrences⁵ ending with -ri-iš. These names seem to have been influenced by Akkadian and Elamite as can be observed in the personal names as follows : Ad-da-ir-nu-ri-is, an Akkadian name Attar-nūrī⁶ and Na-pu-it-ri-iš / Naputriš (Elamite)⁷. The names which might have been of Elamite origin are given in Mayrhofer in page 309 (No 11.3..2.5) among which Annukrus 'An-nu-ik-ri-iš (8.71), Ĥal-da-iš (8.421), Ĥal-te-ka-du-iš (8.427), Hi-iš-be-iš (8.518), Ke-ik-du-iš (8.819) are to be mentioned ending with the final -iš. Through the examples we have mentioned above in a few occurrences this final -iš was dropped (i.e. Attar-nūrī may lead us to a reading (H)ampir(i) in Elamite⁸. As for the title ŠUNKI « king » which undoubtedly attributed to Elamite⁹ can be seen as part the personal names : i.e. Šunki-baba, Šunki-na-ki, Šun-kišip (H. Koch, p. 342), Šunkuršip (H. Koch, p. 353) and can also be read *Zunki see especially a name with LUGAL in LUGĀL-na-ki (H. Koch, p. 342)¹⁰. The toponym which occurs as Samaturra otherwise is not attested¹¹ nor father of Ampiriš, Dabala¹² is known and can be compared with the names Da-ba-ra and Dabauša (Mayrhofer, p. 145 Nos.8.317 and 318) and regarded of Elamite origin, but the names An-me-na and Man-za-na are considered to be Elamite by Mayrhofer¹³ thus leads us for a possibility that the last personal name could be spelt as Dabalana. Special mention has to be made also on the occurrences of the names ending with double consonant-components of the deity names composed of -na-na (see note 12) which no doubt makes part of the personal name.

Whatever the correct spelling of the name may have been, there is enough proof that the name must be read as it is inscribed on these silver wares¹⁴. There is, however a few scattered examples of the names ending with the final -ba[-la] and -la¹⁵ which can be used for the argument of the dropping -na of the second name¹⁶ on the assumption that the -na could have been Elamite possessive suffix.

As for the authenticity of the objects under question can be ascertained from the way how the cuneiform signs are made – in this case the variations in overall shapes and proportions of some signs – especially EŠŠENA / ŠUNKI and the place name Samaturra suggests that the person who punched the inscriptions was not completely efficient with the cuneiform script¹⁷. The perfect writing of the sign -ra is a good criterion to date and can suggest a date as late as Achaemenid period and a plausible date would be the period of Medians which falls to the rise of Achaemenids (Neo-Elamite) ca. plus/minus 7th century B.C. Of course the archaeological evidence is also important and should be taken into consideration, to my personal opinion the inscriptions are authentic¹⁸.

1. See Pierre Amiet, « Rhytons du musée du Louvre » (La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France) 2-1983-XXXIII^e année, Revue bimestrielle publiée sous les auspices du Conseil des Musées nationaux, p. 85-88, Plts : 1-10. Prof. W. Lambert has suggested that he had seen similar objects with the similar inscriptions around London.

2. Cf. H. Koch, *Verwaltung und Wirtschaft in Persischen Reinland zur Zeit der Achämenider* (TAVO 8, 1990) p. 313 ; M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana-Das altiranische Namen gut der Persopolis -Täfelschen* (1973) p. 125 (8.56).

3. See note 2.

4. See Mayrhofer, ... p. 79 (2.296 ; 2.308, 2.272).

5. See Na-pa-ri-iš (Koch, 351) ; and Za-a-tar-ri-iš (Koch, 361).

6. See Koch, p. 313.

7. Koch, 351 ; Mayrhofer, p. 211 No 8.1239 as Naputriš. The number of Elamite names ending with ri-iš occurs very frequently and have in their structure Elamite influence i.e. Na-pa-ri-iš (see note 5 also), Na-ap-ri-iš are pure Elamite names (see Mayrhofer p. 210 (No 8.1221 and 8.1232 respectively).

8. The name Am-pi-ri-iš does not occur (see W. Hinz-H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch* (two volumes) CAMI 17, 1989).

9. See Mayrhofer, p.190 (No 8.962) d Man-ŠUNKI and LUGĀL-na-ki (Koch, p. 342).

10. See Mayrhofer, p. 228 and 309 ; Koch, p. 353 (LUGĀL-ši-ip). However in one Elamite cylinder seal Šunki is used part of a PN : m ŠUNKI-šu-ip sak d Šá-maš-ad-da-na (cf. Edith Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections* Vol. 1 No 812).

11. A personal name *Samaezza* (Sa-a-ma-iz-za) does occur (Mayrhofer, p. 229 No 8.1454) and cannot be solved until another example can be observed in the same context).

12. The -na ending of the name can be compared with the following examples and well known in Elamite commonly : i.e. Sun/Su-un-na-na and Sun-qa-na and La-ba-na-na which were constructed with the components of the doubled syllables of the deities (see Mayrhofer p. 306) for the list of such names.

13. Maryhofer, p. 125 (8.69) and 190 (8.962).
14. The fact that the objects vary in size and shape, it has been reported to me that the inscription that was punched was solely this one, therefore one may think of a possibility that these were specially made for Ampiriš who might have been a wealthy authority of Samaturra who was not known yet widely. Still the readers who might have come across such objects should look at them with caution.
15. These names are Du-ib-ba-[la] and Iz-za-la (Maryhofer, p. 32 No 2.153).
16. A complete list of Elamite names ending with -na in M. Maryhofer p. 38 (No 2.215 and 216).
17. i.e. the signs am, pi, sa, ba and especially ŠUNKI show variations in both of the identical inscriptions. So many different ways of writings belonging to day-to-day practice cannot have taken place otherwise. It may imply only when there was a long span of time between the preparation of them.
18. There are speculations about their authenticity but these people would not like to be known.

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44) Cases of ga₁₄ and di – The writing of consonants which distinguish voice, as do the pairs d/t and g/k, in Old-Babylonian Mari and elsewhere was never fully consistent. Still, outside «barbarically» written texts, we can reasonably expect that ka writes *ka* and ti *ti*. In the following a case each is presented where this expectation led interpreters astray.

(1) Slaves for sale. *ARMT* 26 115 describes the basic realities of being a slave. If a slave wanted to walk freely among the people he would have to shave his *abbutum*, break his shackles (*kursū*), and loosen his fetter (*maškanum*). If a free man were to become a slave he would acquire *abbutum*, shackles, and fetter. This is expressed in *ARMT* 26 404 in a sarcastic reply which Atamrum gives to a Babylonian messenger who had asked him for the whereabouts of the troops he promised to Hammu-Rabi. Atamrum replied that if he gave any troops to anybody it would be the lord of the land, Zimri-Lim; and Zimri-Lim could do with such troops as he pleases. He might dispatch them, or *li-ka-li-ip-šu-nu-ti* [...] *li-iš-ku-un-šu-nu-ti*[i]-*ma a-na* kù-babbar *li-di-in-šu-nu-ti* which is translated by F. Joannès as «ou bien. ... ? ..., s'il les placera [...] ou les fournira contre argent.» He noted that a verb *kulluplum* is here attested for the first time and should mean «to refuse.» If we read *li-ga₁₄-li-ib-šu-nu-ti* the passage becomes understandable: «He may shave them, place them [in shackles/fetters], and sell them.»

(2) Happy Hammu-Rabi. Mariotes in Babylon report on several occasions that Hammu-Rabi was very attentive to allied troops arriving in Babylon. He showed himself happy, treated them to a meal, and gave generously. See for example the letter of Ibal-Pi-El which was edited by P. Villard in FM 1, 137-148. Lines 40-41 read: «He was very happy about the arrival of the Hana. He gave presents.» From a letter of Yasim-Hammu: «When the troops of my lord arrived before Hammu-Rabi, Hammu-Rabi was very happy» (*ARMT* 26 383: 4-5). Yarim-Addu reports that Sakirum arrived with a contingent of Mariote troops in Babylon: «Sakirum and [...] entered the palace and met with Hammu-Rabi, and he was very happy about them» (*ARMT* 26 369: 8'-10'). In *ARMT* 26 366 Yarim-Addu reports about the entry of 1.000 Mutiabalean troops from Kasalluk. «They put up at Tilmunpalm orchard. Hammu-Rabi came out to them and *ú-ha-at-ti-šu-nu-ti* [with] words. He served them food, and [they] ate. Their 'generals' received a grand present, their [divisional commanders] received *laharitum*, [...] who were (never) clothed in a garment, were clothed» (18-26). D. Charpin translates the transliterated word «il les a chaleureusement traités» which fits the context well. But a verb *hatûm* is not attested elsewhere. If we read *ú-ha-ad-di-šu-nu-ti* it shows that he spread his happiness: «he made them happy.»

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45) Euristic Dog behaviour – (1) Alfred, B. Groneberg's dog, went a long way in helping to explain the proverb or parable with which Zimri-Lim reacts to the behaviour of one of Bannum's character flaws according to *ARMT* 26 6: 16-19. Following Groneberg's interpretation in *NABU* 1993/44 the lines may be rendered in English as follows: «The bitch lectured her children: 'Do not put your paws on everything!' But she in turn barked and raised the skin on the back and started eating herself.» My dogs may snarl but do not bark when they warn their kind, including, as Groneberg rightly states, their off-spring, to stay away from their food. I would therefore not follow Groneberg's correction *i-bu<-uh>-ma* «she barked» and keep *i-bu-ma* «she strode up», or something in that vein. The real crux of the passage is the meaning of the word *kurrum* or *qurrum*. While Groneberg's explanation fits dog behaviour perfectly, *Kurrum* cannot designate «back» because it may be found on the right and the left side of humans. JoAnn Scurlock treated the relevant passage 3 numbers

further ahead in the same issue of *NABU*. Since I am convinced of the correctness of Groneberg's basic idea and not willing to return to the odd explanations of her predecessors, a body part must be found which fits the bitch and a gravely ill human. Scurlock's identification «fold of the groin» is of no help. It is also not really convincing because it ignores the nature of the ailment. If the section treated a real health problem, of course in the often simplistic binary fashion of right and left which is typical for Babylonian culture, the body parts may not follow the anatomic map that Scurlock proposes and which suggests to her a symmetry of arm and «leg» pits. The apodoses show that the symptoms are those of a life threatening condition. Hurting and being «smitten» in the arm-pits may for example have related to heart disease.

When dogs snarl they raise the skin of their flews and show their teeth. The text says «she raised the skin in the *Kurru*», not «of the *Kurru*», so flews will not do. Also, humans have no flews. I therefore propose to see in *Kurru* the parts of a face with movable skin. The diagnosis would then be somebody who was paralyzed in the right or left side of the face, perhaps by a stroke. If so, derivation from *qarārum* and thus a reading *qurru* is likely. The verb *qarārum* seems to have a basic meaning «to bend», describing among other things meandering rivers and slithering snakes. Something characterized by folds, as are the movable parts of a face, fits easily into this semantic field.

(2) My dog Mocho, whose four feet have tread anything from seashore to snowfields, wandered onto something which must have seemed to her as firm ground but was in fact a carpet of autumn leaves on a pool of a mountain creek and found herself perplexed in water. It may explain the famous word of Dagan about treachery, namely that «water runs beneath straw.» Finet (RA 68 [1974] 42) thought that it referred to straw on the surface of the water in a pit in which the material for mudbricks was mixed. I believe Finet had the right idea. The brick pit, being a pit, may not have been the most typical place where the ancient Mesopotamian stumbled into water. There are other scenarios. When the harvested barley was winnowed the Ancient Near East was swirling with chaff which settled where the wind carried it. If it settled on water and formed carpets canine and homo sapiens alike must have strolled into it in suitable places. These scenarios do not convince J. M. Sasson who stated the incontestable truth «above running water there can only be moving straw» (Water beneath Straw: A Prophetic Phrase in the Mari Archives, in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots*, Z. Zevit et al. eds. [1995] 607). Yet the carpet of leaves onto which Mocho stepped was a pool edging a rushing mountain creek, and while it is correct that the water under the leaves did not run much, the water in the stream as a whole would be characterized as running. Moreover, the phrase «still waters run deep» demonstrates also that the English language allows transfer of the basic meaning of the verb «run» for characterizing the behaviour of water generally even if it does not move. This may not have been different in Akkadian.

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46) *hāšum*, to choke – *ARM* 14 5 and 6 are about a fattened ox which was sent from governor Yaqqim-Addu in Saggartum to the palace in Mari in fulfillment of a tax called *igisūm*. The governor said: «It has become fat, and it *i-ha-aš*. It refuses fodder. Now I am afraid it will drop dead and its meat will spoil (*širšu igallil*)» before reaching the palace in Mari. The ox was in no condition to walk the distance, about 80 km. It was to be transported by boat. Still, the governor was afraid «that ox *i-ha-aš* midway.» So he requested a cook who could kill it, if that became necessary, and dress it, so «its meat will enter the palace» before spoiling. In the companion letter to Šunuh-Rahalu the governor wrote about the same topic. But the wording is different and affords some additional clues. He connected the condition of the ox directly with its size: «I have written to my lord about my ox of the *igisūm* tax which *i-ha-šu* in/through/as result of its size (*ina kubrišu*).» The cook should ride with the ox «so that, god forbid», he can kill it, «when the bull *i-ha-aš-šu*.» The ox obviously had a condition, designated by the verb *hāšum*, which was connected with its size. It had stopped accepting fodder, and it was possible that it would die because of this condition before reaching Mari.

A somewhat similar case is described in the letter *ARMT* 13 25 of Yasim-Sumu to the king. A certain Warad-Ilišu (see for this person for the time being J.-M. Durand's note to *ARMT* 26 122) brought an ox to the king. It was probably also an ox of the tax *igisūm*, but this is not stated. «When he brought it, it *ha-a-aš*.» Yasim-Sumu advised the king: «Maybe it will live. It may stay 2, 3 days and be checked.» Yasim-Sumu's hope proved wrong. «That ox *ih-ta-aš*. If it pleases my lord that ox should be given to a merchant and be replaced.» The form *ih-ta-aš* is a perfect and expresses that the condition had come to an end. The ox apparently died of *hāšum*.

A third case is *ARMT* 27 131. Another ox, again destined for the tax *igisūm*, *i-ha-aš*. The king was informed and ordered to kill it and to conserve (*našārum*) its meat and suet. Time went by and when the governor followed up on the result of the royal order he found to his relief that «that meat has not spoiled» and promised to send it on to Mari.

M. Birot published all the three examples and commented each time on the enigmatic verb. The context of *ARMT* 13 25 suggested to him a designation of a disease or the symptoms of a disease and he translated «malade» in parentheses. In his comment to *ARM* 14 5 and 6 he mistook the phrase describing the method by which the cook was supposed to kill the ox, namely «to turn the throat» (*napištam turrum*), as

designation for a way to alleviate the condition of the ox. This in turn led him to believe that the ox was suffering of shortness of breath. In his comment to *ARMT* 27 131 finally, Birot accepted W. von Soden's explanation of «turning the throat» as description for the method of killing cattle by puncturing a neck artery. He abandoned his earlier translations of *hâšum* and adopted the pale «sich sorgen, to worry» which the dictionaries had proposed. It certainly does not fit the contexts. Oxen do not die suddenly of worry.

The meaning «to worry» was proposed for lexical entries and 3 Old-Babylonian references. CAD based it on lexical material which suggested *hâšum* and *galâtum* «to be afraid» to be synonyms because both were equivalents of one Sumerian word, *buluh*. AHW based it on the assumption that Aramaic and Hebrew *hūs* was a cognate of *hâšum*. Note however that *hâšum* has *ā*, not *ū*, as median vowel as the forms *ihāššū* and *ihātāš* demonstrate. In the 3 Old-Babylonian references of AHW *hâšum* refers to a human condition. All references are problematic. In *ARM* 2 44 : 23 *ha-a-aš* stands isolated after a break in the text, and the contexts of VAB 6 185 : 15 and YOS 2 63 : 13 are not clear enough to guide establishment of the semantic field of the verb. CAD recognized an additional reference, *ARM* 2 39 : 28, now *ARMT* 26 411 : 28. Askur-Addu was afflicted with the condition when «his land was sleepless» of fear (see *NABU* 1995/93) and he was *ha-aš* (*ARMT* 26 411 : 28). When Yasim-El entered the city with Mariote troops «[his land] 'calmed' down. And he has established his base.»

The clue for the meaning of *hâšum* is indeed contained in lexical material, but not in the synonymy of *hâšu* and *galātu* which CAD extracted by assuming identity of the pseudo-Sumerian verb *buluh* which is taken from *palāhu* and a genuine Sumerian verb *buluh*. The latter is contained in Nabnitu IV A 244 = MSL 16, 86 which gives *bu-lu-uh* = *buluh* (HAL) = *ha-a-šu*. It is *buluh* B of PSD = to vomit which is based on *buluh* = *arū*. Under *bu-lu-uh* PSD gives «to belch» and «to burp.» References show that the verb designated at times a harsher reality. Surely the fat oxen did not die of belching, burping, or throwing up, and neither did Askur-Addu do any of these things while his land was sleepless because of fear. I would simply understand the lexical equations and the indications of the references collected in PSD under *bu-lu-uh* as belonging to the semantic field of negatively valued actions of the throat. The oxen probably gagged and choked in extreme shortness of breath brought on by extreme obesity and accompanying heart disease and Askur-Addu's choked in fear, a condition which is expressed in German as «die Angst schnürte ihm die Kehle zu.»

If we assume that *hâšum* means «to choke», we achieve a satisfactory sense for all above passages and gain an immediate benefit in understanding the word *hîšum*. Durand saw in it a sort of necklace, specifically the aggregate of stacked heavy necklaces of Lamassu figurines (*ARM* 21, 237). It is equated with *na₄.HAR-gú-za-gin* «lapis-lazuli neck rings» in Hh XVI 75 = MSL 10, 7. In the forerunner from Ugarit corresponds the entry *na₄.hal-gú-za-gin* = *ha-[al-g]u-ú*. It cannot be coincidence that *hal*, here pronounced *hal*, should be the very sign which writes *buluh* «vomit, belch, burp, choke.» Different readings of one sign often write synonyms. It is therefore likely that *hal* means as much as *hâšum*, and *hal-gú* as much as *hîšum*, and that the first means «to choke» and second a type of necklace which lives on in our «choker.»

Wolfgang HEIMPEL (29-04-96)

47) More light on the dark fate of Qarni-Lim – In *ARM* 6 37 it is told that the corpse of a person whose identity is lost in a break of the text was said to have been dumped into the Habur. A search was unsuccessful. The head of the same person was in the hands of the authorities in Qatṭunan. D. Charpin, *NABU* 1994/59, recognized that body and head belonged to Qarni-Lim, the king of Andarig. According to R. Kupper's interpretation the body was wrapped in clothes before being dumped. As to the head, Bahdi-Lim, the writer of the letter, was unsure whether the head should be buried «dans la règle.» These two points of the interpretation seem unlikely to me. The treatment of the body is described as follows : *ša-ta-am-ta-šu i-na túg.há ú-qa-ab-ru-ma a-na¹⁷Ha-bu-ur i-zi-bu*. The scribe should have written *-la* instead of *-ta* and added *-bi* after *-ab*. The text resulting from these obvious emendations was translated by Kupper : «On a enseveli son corps dans des vêtements et on (l')a abandonné au Habur.» *qubburum* means to bury. Kupper did not comment on his translation. CAD s.v. *qebēru* adopted his translation and defended it by referring to B. Landsberger's excursus on *kapāru* in *Date Palm* (1967) 33. There one of the horrible consequences of Enlil's word are described : *kīma burē ummu marta uqabbar* which Landsberger translates «like a reed mat in which a mother buries the daughter.» The Sumerian text has the verb *gur* «to roll» instead of Akkadian «bury», and CAD, mistaking equivalence for identity, uses the meaning of the Sumerian verb as special meaning of *qubburu*, thus arriving at *qubburu* = «to roll in.» Nabnitu (quoted by Landsberger) was more understanding and stated the relationship between *gur* and *qubburu* clearly : *gur = lawū ša qubburi* «to roll = to wrap around, of burying.» As this reference does not establish the meaning *qubburu* = to wrap a corpse and there is none other which does, we have to reject Kupper's translation and translate instead «they buried his corpse in clothes.» Yet since the corpse was «left for the Habur», they cannot have buried him. If we assume an idiom the difficulty disappears. «To bury in clothes» means then as much as to dump, to forego all ceremony with which one usually treats a corpse, to leave it to the dogs.

The fate of Qarni-Lim's head was in the hands of Bahdi-Lim. He did not know what to do with it:

« Should his head be buried, and in which city should it be buried, and the place where it should be buried, should it be buried outside or inside the city, and when we bury it, should we bury it *i-na te-er-ši-im*, ‘dans la règle’. Heads rolled not unfrequently as can be seen from Charpin’s collection in *NABU*. But that the head was in one place and the body lost cannot have been a situation for which a general rule had been developed. Kupper and CAD identify *teršum* with *taršum*, disregarding the difference between *e* and *a* and between noun and adjective. AHW quotes it under the noun, but in the cryptic form « ein Totenhemd: *ina teršim* begraben wir ihn. » *teršum* designates the position of being stretched out. Bahdi-Lim probably was wondering about the form of the grave for the head. Should it conform to the severed head and be simply a round hole, or « do we bury it (the head) », or « do we bury him (the person in form of his head) in outstretched position? »

Wolfgang HEIMPEL (29-04-96)

48) A past imperative – The imperative expresses the uncompromising determination of a speaker to motivate another to realize the wish of the speaker instantly. Such wish for instantaneous results implies present tense. Referring the imperative to the past goes against the nature of reality. Nobody can motivate another today to have done something yesterday. Of course, in the face of an unwelcome present we often wish that we could still give orders that could change the events of the past which caused the unwelcome present. Occasionally such wish is expressed in the imperative. A magician’s apprentice succeeded in making a broom fetch water but could not stop it. Cutting the broom in two made two water fetching brooms. Fearful about the reaction of his master he tried conjuring the present with an imperative of the past: « Besen! Besen! Seids gewesen. » (Goethe, *Der Zauberlehrling*). Another case is a passage in *ARMT* 26 391, a report of Habdu-Malik to Zimri-Lim on the state of his mission to establish peace between Andarig and Kurda. He brought the gods of Atamrum from Andarig to Kurda, and all that was needed was an oath of Hammu-Rabi. It was not forthcoming. Hammu-Rabi had committed himself to allegiance with Mari’s enemy Išme-Dagan. It excluded peace with Mari’s ally Andarig. When Habdu-Malik realized that his mission had failed, he vented his frustration in a speech to Hammu-Rabi. It is not easy to understand, and the crux, as I see it, lies in the peculiar sentence *i-na u₄-mi-šu-ma a-na be-li-ia qí-bi-ma* (line 25). D. Charpin, who published the letter, translated: « Aujourd’hui même, parle à mon seigneur, ... » Yet *i-na u₄-mi-šu* does not mean « today » but « on that day. » The expression refers to a specific day which is mentioned or implied in a given context. The day is in the past or in the future, but not in the present. The day of the present = today = *ūmam*, or this day = *ūmum annūm*. The context of the letter does not indicate a day in the future to which *i-na u₄-mi-šu* could refer. It does mention a day in the past, a day when Zimri-Lim, Hammu-Rabi, and Atamrum met at a religious occasion and when Hammu-Rabi talked with Zimri-Lim « after church » (*warkat bū ilim*). The sentence must accordingly be understood as: « On that very day » in the past « speak to my lord (*ana bēlija qibi*)! » Habdu-Malik wishes the past of that conversation after church were the present and he still had the chance to prevent the failure of his mission by ordering Hammu-Rabi: « Speak (openly) to my lord, and (= so that) he (my lord) will not swear an oath of god to him (Atamrum) and you need not swear an oath of god (to Išme-Dagan). (Then) my lord will answer you forthrightly. » It did not happen. The reality of the present may be translated as follows: « On that day you should have spoken to my lord, and he (my lord) would not have sworn an oath of god to him (Atamrum). And you would not have sworn an oath of god (to Išme-Dagan). He (my lord) would have answered you forthrightly! »

If this interpretation is correct, we have not only the first case of a past imperative in Akkadian but also a contribution to the understanding of the complex history in the area at the time: Had Mari known that it had to choose between alliance with Andarig or Kurda, it would have preferred Kurda, or so said Habdu-Malik.

Wolfgang HEIMPEL (29-04-96)

49) Enki overseas – HE 529, copied by J.-M. Durand and published by B. Groneberg in *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs*, D. Charpin and F. Joannès eds. 1991, 397-410, restores many lines of the 2nd tablet of Atra-Hasis which were only partly preserved before. Among them is IV 20 which can be read now *qudmiš tāmātīm ūtebrū*. The subject are messengers who are charged to tell Enki about the horrible plight of mankind at the height of the third plague. At the time of the first plague Atra-Hasis communicated directly with Enki. How they communicated in the 2nd plague is not known because the relevant lines are not preserved, but since the course of the 2nd plague, as much as is preserved, was told basically in the same pattern, we have reason to assume that communication was again direct. The circumstances of the interruption of direct communication during the 3rd plague are not known. Line 20 must tell us where the messengers went because in line 21 they already stand before Ea and report their message to him. Groneberg translated lines 20: « (und) durchquerten (das Land) vor dem Meer. » If *qudmiš* can designate a locative, as opposed to a terminative, and if we want to integrate it into the remainder of the sentence we arrive at Groneberg’s translation but we are forced to assume elipsis of an object. Since rivers and seas are the typical objects of *ebēru*, while land never is, the choice of the elipsis is unconvincing, and it seems better to translate « they have crossed the seas. » It then becomes difficult to fit *qudmiš* syntactically into the sentence or the passage of related sentences of lines 19-22. The only other OB reference for *qudmiš* in Etana I 12 shows that the word can be used as a prepositional terminative: « scepter,

crown, ... were placed before (*qudmiš*) Anum. » I propose the following translation : *šiprū ilqū tērtam / qudmiš tāmātim ītebrū / izzazzūma ušannūšu / te-re-x-x ana Enki niššiki* « The messengers took the message. (Having come) before (him) – they had crossed the seas – they were standing and relating it, their (-*sū-nu*?) message, to Enki, the leader. »

If the translation « they had crossed the seas » is accepted, it can serve as a confirmation of J. Klein's elegant restoration of lines rev. II 7 and 29 of text x in *NABU 1990/99* according to which also the messengers of Enlil « [crossed] the wide sea » on their way to and from Ea. It will be interesting to learn why Enki withdrew from the inhabited world and where he stayed.

Wolfgang HEIMPEL (29-04-96)

50) ELAM = halhatamti = high land – It is known that in Sumerian the name of Elam is designated with the sign NIM, which means « high ». In akkadian it is normally written with the expression KUR *elammatum* = land of Elam. In spite of the transcription with « e », we have been aware for a long time that this ought to be with « a », (cf. E. Sollberger, *TCS* 1 p. 115 where is found the Sumerian writing *dumu nim* in the envelope and in the tablet, but *dumu a-la-ma* in the seal), therefore it might be more correct a writing *Alam* or rather better *Yalamt/Ailamt*, in agreement with the Elamite phonetic, (in Elamite one can interchange *ya/a/e/i*, cf. *ELW* passim). On the way such a transcription should explain the different Akkadian spellings to name the Elamites (cf. *LU₂ e-la-ma-a* *ABL 478* : Rs.11, *LU₂ i-la-mu-u₂* F.M.T.. Böhl, *Nieuw-Babylonische Oorkonden* (1936) 49, 787 : 2-3 and *e-la-mu-u₂* *AHw* p. 196 [= *yalamu/ailamu*] = Elamite).

This serve as introduction to the akkadian term *ala'itum* (*a-la-i-tum*), employed in a Mari prophecy to refer to Elam, the interpretation of which according to J.-M. Durand (*AEM* 1/1 p. 438 n. a) is *elitum* (high, upper). This excellent suggestion agrees with the Sumerian denomination and permits to speculate that the Elamite term *halhatamti* is nothing but a syncope of the Akkadian expression *ala'itum mātum* (high land), since in Elamite language the « h » is voiceless or announces a diphthong ; thus instead of *halhatamti*, a transcription *alaitamti* (= *ala'itum mātum*) could clarify things.

In this manner, the indigenous (?) name of Elam, whose earliest attestation corresponds to my knowledge to the inscriptions of Siwepalarhupak, should be a loanword from Akkadian. A correspondance with this could be the fact that in the first millenium, the Elamite word *hal* (land), appears in writing followed by the sign MEŠ (cf. *EKI 74* 4, 13, 14 ; *EKI 79* 7 ; and *EKI 80* 2, 3), which in Elamite is used, among other things, to indicate that the previous word has been taken from a foreign language, in this case Akkadian (the list of Elamite loanwords from foreign languages has at least thirty members).

So we could establish the following equation : $NIM^{ki} = ala'itum mātum/elamtum = halhatamti = high land = Elam$.

It remains the question of the origin of the qualification term « high », inasmuch as we don't know in the third millenium, the Elamite word to designate the land of Elam, although the Sumerian and Akkadian expressions assume a clear reference to the geographical conditions of the Elamite country, owing to the fact of its situation in an upland in connection with Mesopotamia.

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51) On a Sumerian Proverb (SP 1.126) – This proverb, attested also in collection 24 as no. 42, reads : *u₂ dam-gin₇ ze₂-ba edin-na nu-un-mu₂*

It is commonly understood as : « Food sweet like a spouse does not grow in the steppe ». Even foregoing the matters of social function or application – matters notoriously difficult and tricky, as amply illustrated by B. Alster¹ – I am unable to see the point if it is translated thus.

How is the proverb to be understood? Alster sees it as an illustration of the undoubted fact that « fear of starvation and hunger was very real and lies in the background of a number of proverbs » (Alster 1996 p. 9).

Let us suppose that the reality reference is to the fact, or rather the presumption, that 'sweet' (agreeable? pleasant? edible?) plants do not grow in the steppe. But what is the point of the comparison to the husband? To be sure, spouses and lovers generally were (and are) often called 'sweet'. Yet if the intention was simply to point out the threat of starvation and hunger in the steppe almost any other simile directly related to any kind of agreeable foodstuff would do much better. Alster *loc. cit.* points to a parallel proverb (SP 19 Sec. C 6 // SP 22 i 20-21 // UET 6.2 284) :

u₂ dam-da ze₂-eb / u₂ ama(var. dumu)-da ze₂-eb / ^dezinu ^dku₃-su₃ e₂-a ḥe₂-me-da-an-ti.

« The food sweeter than a spouse, the food sweeter than a mother (var. : child), Ezinu-Kusu (i.e. grain) may dwell with you in the house. » (My translation)

Alster's translation « (Let he who is) sweeter than a spouse, (let he who is) sweeter than a mother ... » seems to take *u₂ ... u₂ ...* as the Akkadian particle *u ... u...* denoting alternatives. Still, I have little doubt that his overall interpretation is correct, and an apt illustration of his point about the fear of want.

But this proverb seems to me to be in a way almost opposite to SP 1.126. The point in this second instance (SP 19 sec. C 6 etc.) is surely either that generally food is the prime necessity in a household, or, and much more crudely, that regular and ample provisions (*dwelt* with you ...) are sweeter than family, or conceivably that the 'sweetness' of spouses and children (or parents) tends to become bitter when food is lacking. Although these opinions may not point to a high degree of social conscience or feeling, they are rational enough in themselves. In the case of 1.126 *either* the sweet husband, *or* the steppe is out of place.

Also, the grammar is not altogether unequivocal. The equative -gin₇ can be construed to refer to u₂ ... ze₂-ba; but this is not the only possibility. It can just as well refer to u₂ only. Although the ze₂-ba still refers to both u₂ and dam, the translation becomes then: « A plant, like a husband, in (its) sweetness does not grow in the steppe ». The point is then something like 'sweet plants do not grow in the steppe; nor do sweet (=acceptable? friendly? caring?) husbands', or, alternatively, 'in the steppe neither plants nor spouses can mature into sweetness'. The background is then the well-attested aversion to the steppe. You do find neither sweet food nor sweet spouses in the steppe, or, in other words: life in the steppe is not conducive to fine meals or to conjugal bliss.

1. « Proverbs from Ancient Mesopotamia » in *Proverbium* 10 (1993) pp. 1-20 and now *id.* « Literary Aspects of Sumerian and Akkadian Proverbs » in M. Vogelzang and H. Vanstiphout (eds.), *Mesopotamian Poetic Language: Sumerian and Akkadian*, Groningen: Styx Publications, 1996 pp. 1-20.

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52) « Das ist ja zum lachen! » – Sowohl J.-M. Durand (*NABU* 1995/48) als auch B. Kienast und K. Volk (*Die sumerischen und akkadischen Briefe des III. Jahrtausends aus der Zeit vor der III. Dynastie von Ur*, = *FAOS* 19, 1995) haben die Grundbedeutung « lachen » von *šāḫum* / *šāḫu(m)* wieder in Frage gestellt. Durand möchte in bestimmten Zusammenhängen ein homophones Verbum *šāḫum* « être en colère », « tempêter » ansetzen, das mit hebr. שָׁח « crier » vergleicht (während *šāḫum* « rire » hebr. שָׂח entspräche). Kienast und Volk notieren in ihrem Glossar (S. 279) für *šāḫum* die Bedeutung « (froh oder traurig) bewegt sein ».

Man kommt nun aber überall mit der Bedeutung « lachen » aus, wenn man in Rechnung stellt, daß das Verbum öfters auch ironisch, sarkastisch verwendet wird. So an den altakk. Stellen, die Volk und Kienast neu ediert haben und die zum Teil auch von Durand zitiert werden:

FAOS 19 S. 153 Di 1 : 4 *a-ši-ḫa-mi* [*ašihhammi*] « da kann ich, wie man so sagt, nur lachen! »

S. 160 Di 5 : 4-6 *a-ši-ḫa-mi, da-ni-iš, da-ni-iš-mi* « da kann ich, wie man so sagt, nur lauthals lachen! »

S. 169 Di 11 : 4-5 *da-ni-iš-mi da-ni-iš, a-ši-ḫa-am*; ganz ähnlich noch S. 175 Eš 4 : 6-7, 15-16; S. 198 TB 1 : 2.

Allen diesen Stellen ist gemeinsam 1) die Partikel *-mi*, die eine direkte Rede zitiert oder sich auf allgemeine Redeweisen bezieht; sie muß in der Übersetzung unbedingt berücksichtigt werden; 2) der Ventiv, so daß wir genau übersetzen sollten « da kann ich mir ... eins lachen ».

Es steht nun außer Zweifel, daß den jeweiligen Absendern nicht zum Lachen ist. Sie sind sarkastisch gestimmt, und da erlauben sie sich, « lachen » so zu gebrauchen, wie wenn wir sagen « da ist ja lachhaft », « mais c'est ridicule », « da lachen ja die Hühner ».

Auch bei den anderen von Durand zitierten Stellen sehe ich keinen zwingenden Grund, von einer Übersetzung « lachen » abzugehen. Das hapax legomenon *iš-ḫa-aq* in A.1017 : 54 (ein Amurritismus?) steht für sich und tangiert m.E. die Diskussion um *šāḫum* / *šāḫu(m)* gar nicht.

Das Lachen gehört – wie das Weinen – zu den emotionalen 'Universalien'. Man kann mit Fug und Recht in Sprachen, die Wortart Verbum besitzen, eindeutige Ausdrücke für « Lachen » und « Weinen » erwarten. Daher käme mir eine Sprache, die nur ein Verbum besitzen würde, das (so Kienast und Volk) fallweise eine frohe oder traurige Gemütsart zum Ausdruck brächte, wenig real vor.

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53) *Erra* IV 18

1. This line reads: *āšib bābili šunūti šunu iššūrumma arrašunu attāma*, or « Those that dwell in Babylon – they are the bird; you are their decoy ». At first sight there are no problems in grammar; but this seeming transparency masks a high degree of syntactic subtlety. The form *šunūti* can only be the genitive-accusative of the independent pronoun 3rd masc. pl. If *āšib bābili šunūti*, which has no obvious complement, were taken as a phrase proposed for the purpose of topicalization (as in e.g. *šarrum māršu imraš* « As for the

king, his son became ill»), the case should be the nominative absolute: *šunu*. The form *šunūti* can here only be understood as the genitive, resumed by the possessive suffix *-šunu* in *arrašunu*. Therefore, a « literal » translation might be: « Of the dwellers in Babylon – they being the bird – you are the(ir) decoy ». In this case such a « literal » translation, for once, works out rather well. But we must always remain aware of the danger of « grammatical » translations (*pace* Joachim Krecher). These have generally no sensible mode of existence, and, what is more, they are mostly ungrammatical in the receiving language and very often they do violence to the real grammar of the original language as well.

Be that as it may, this means that in the Akkadian of our line the nominal, or verbless, sentence is inverted, taking the genitive complement as its head, and that *šunu iššūrumma* is a parenthetical clause. I suppose that the regular main phrase would be something like *arri āšib bābili šunūti attāma*, or, at a pinch, *arrūma ša āšib bābili šunūti attā* or even *arri āšib bābili šunūtima attāma*. This operation enables the poet to use */šunu/* three times, and in three different ways, all within the confines of a single line.

2. The meaning seems to be as treacherously simple as the syntax. No recent translation that I know of has been really off the mark.

Cagni (*L'epopea di Erra*, 1969):

Gli abitanti di Babilonia poi – essi l'uccello e tu il loro uccello di richiamo –

Cagni (*The Poem of Erra*, 1977):

The inhabitants of Babylon then – they the bird, you their decoy –

CAD I/J:

As for those inhabitants of Babylon – they are birds and you their fowler

CAD A/II:

These inhabitants of Babylon, they are the birds, you (Era) are their decoy

Dalley (*Myths from Mesopotamia*, 1989):

You are the decoy for the inhabitants of Babylon, and they are the bird.

Bottéro (*Lorsque les dieux ...*, 1989):

Et ces Babyloniens – eux, les oiseaux, et toi, le leurre –

Foster (*Before the Muses*, 1993):

The inhabitants of Babylon themselves – they the bird, you the decoy –

Black (MPL¹, 1996):

Those inhabitants of Babylon – they are the bird, and you are their decoy

Goodnick Westenholz (MPL², 1996):

The inhabitants of Babylon – they the bird, you their decoy

The only hint at dissension is found in CAD I/J's (mistaken) rendering of *arru* as « fowler » instead of the correct « decoy ».

3. As far as I am aware the apparent inconsistency of the imagery in lines 18-19 has not been remarked upon explicitly, still less interpreted, but for two exceptions to be mentioned later.

Line 19 reads *ana šēti takmīššunūtima tābir tātabat qurādu Erra*, or « You gathered them in the net, ensnared and then³ slaughtered them »; Black *loc. cit.* translates: « You drew them into the net, you caught them and destroyed them, warrior Erra ». The point is that line 19 presents Erra as the fowler, whence possibly CAD I/J's mistaken rendering of l. 18. But there he is the decoy, and emphatically so. In fact one perceives a shift from the concept of « decoy » into that of « fowler », with the verb *kamāsu* « to gather in » as the hinge. It is the decoy's function to lure the birds into the net, so that it can be clapped down and thus gather and ensnare the birds. *Kamāsu* therefore can be applied to the decoy as well as to the fowler. Black *loc. cit.* has seen the inconsistency: he writes: « This does not seem a very adroit image: it functions only on the level of « drawing into the net » (for *kamāsu*, H.V.). There are many Babylonians, but only one bird. Otherwise one might expect Erra to be the fowler and the Babylonians the prey. »

The possible objection that this close reading is exaggerated, and that we should take the image as a not very cleverly constructed and indiscrete whole is perhaps somewhat presumptuous. In any case it is met by Black's remark about the lack of adroitness, which is correct as it stands. But the objection seems weak in view of the elaborate construction of the two lines – especially l. 18 – and of the decidedly clever shift from decoy to fowler in l. 19.

Another possible objection might be that we should not worry over Erra being both fowler and one of the fowler's implements. While it is true that this identification of a craftsman or warrior with his tool or weapon occurs frequently, Black's objection still stands. What is more, why did the poet make no use of the very common identification of the warrior/fowler with his *net*? The net is expressedly presented as the *implement* of the fowler here.

4. I propose that the distich is highly important for the passage as a whole; that it means exactly what it says; and that therefore the shift from decoy to fowler is precise and intended. The distich is to be taken seriously in stating that Erra is both decoy and fowler. How can this be?

Bottéro *loc. cit.* p. 715 (my second exception) contains a useful hint. He writes: « À Babylone, il (Erra)

avait causé un soulèvement des habitants contre leur souverain..., provoquant d'abord une féroce et meurtrière guerre civile..., puis, *à la suite d'une trahison...* (my italics), une terrible répression, qui avait ensanglanté la ville... ». He puts the point of the treason precisely at lines 18-22.

I suggest that this is the correct interpretation of the composite image as well as of the shift from decoy to fowler. Erra had first lured the Babylonians into civil war, probably by instigating them personally to rebellion. As birds do they have gathered around the decoy: the best bait is often a bird of the same species (see Hans Bub, *Bird Trapping and Bird Banding*, Cornell UP, 1991). But then Erra becomes the fowler, in that he mercilessly puts down the rebellion. The whole passage has this distich 18-19 as its pivotal point, as can be easily verified from the text.

In fact, the first 50 lines of song IV thus are divided elegantly into three almost exactly equivalent parts, marked off by two distichs explicitly mentioning the roles played by Erra and Marduk: The rebellion instigated by Erra (ll. 1-17); Erra's duplicity as being both decoy and fowler (ll. 18-19); the scourging of Babylon by Erra (ll. 20-35); Marduk's wrath and grief (ll. 36-37); and finally, Marduk's complaint (ll. 38-49).

1. MPL = M. Vogelzang and H. Vanstiphout (eds.), *Mesopotamian Poetic Language: Sumerian and Akkadian*, Groningen: Styx Publications, 1996, p. 27 fn. 13. Black's contribution is entitled « The Imagery of Birds in Sumerian Poetry » (pp. 23-46).

2. See preceding footnote; the quote is there on p. 185; Goodnick Westenholz's contribution is entitled « Symbolic Language in Akkadian Narrative Poetry » (pp. 183-206).

3. Taking *tātabat* as a very apt perfect.

Herman L. J. VANSTIPHOUT (03-05-1996)

54) On a passage in *The Marriage of Martu*¹

1. Lines 32-33 of *The Marriage of Martu* reads as follows:

32 giš-šub us₂-sa dirig ku-li-ma₃-še₃
33 maš dug₃-[sa] ḫbi₂ḫ-dab₅ dirig dug₃-sa-ma₃-še₃

1.1. E Chiera (1924 p. 17), the first student of the text, understood the lines as:

« (Thus) the portion standing is bigger for my friend,

A kid for the neighbor, an additional sheep for my neighbor »

reading l. 33 maš du₁₀-sa-ne uru diri du₁₀-sa-gá-šè instead of dug₃-[sa] ḫbi₂ḫ-dab₅ dirig dug₃-sa-ma₃-še₃ as the tablet actually has².

1.2. C. Wilcke (1969) reads l. 33 as

X ḫI X NE DAB₅ diri-du₁₀-sa-gá-šè,

and translated the couplet as

« erlege ein Los auf[?], über meiner ... hinaus

... über das meiner Kameraden hinaus! ».

He notes that Chiera (1924) reads the line as cited above, and quotes Gordon *SP* 1 145 (*BiOr* 17 130) for giš-šub--us₂, meaning « accept your lot ». I cannot follow Wilcke's reasoning in rejecting Gordon's translation of giš-šub us₂-sa-ab as « Accept (lit 'follow') your lot » on the grounds that « us₂ ist hier transitiv » (Wilcke 1969 p. 73 n. 39a)!

1.3. The translation proposed in J. Bottéro-S.N. Kramer (1989) p. 432:

« Et pourtant j'ai reçu [...] la même ration que mes amis mariés;

J'ai obtenu autant que mes compagnons qui ont une épouse! »

does not seem to be borne out by the text. There is not even the reflex of a verb in l. 32, nor is the married status of friends and companions mentioned at this point, while the first word in l. 33 remains untranslated. Still, the translation correctly supplies a verb in the first person sg., as is required by the first person possessive pronoun used in both lines.

1.4. In the same year W. Römer understood the lines as saying (Römer 1989 p. 322 and 324):

« ein auferlegtes Los über meine Gefährten hinaus,

die H[äl]f[te] (des Loses) der Kame[raden] habe ich erhalten über meine Kameraden hinaus! ».

reading l. 33 as m[a]š-du₁₀-s[a] ḫb₂-dab₅ diri-du₁₀-sa-gá-šè, and understanding maš as *mišlu* « half ». He suggests « Die Hälfte des Loses eines verheirateten über das eines Ledigen hinaus gemeint? » (ibid. p. 328) – which is very nearly right, as I shall argue below.

1.5. In 1990 Kramer read line 33 as

maš ḫI ...-NE-KU-dirig du₁₀-sa-mà-šè, translating

« Greater is (my) ...-share than(?) (that) of my friend,

Greater is my ...-levy(?) than(?) that of my companion. »

noting (p. 23) that « The crucial lines 32-33 are difficult to translate and interpret. The attempted rendering is based on the fact that, judging from the context, they might in some way be expected to express Martu's unhappiness at his unfair treatment – i.e., of having to provide as many bread-offerings as his married friends and companions. » This can hardly be correct; our reading is precisely that Martu, and the companions are

receiving rations, not giving them out.

1.6. Klein (1993) does not comment on the line; neither did he in Klein (1990), which seems to imply that he agrees with Kramer's understanding and his interpretation as quoted above.

2. The couplet is manifestly constructed as two parallel verses; see the almost perfectly rhyming second half verses (dirig ku-li-ma₃-še₃ // dirig dug₃-sa-ma₃-še₃), reinforced by the assonance between us₂-sa in 32 with dug₃-sa in 33, and by the repetition of the latter in that same verse.

2.1. Since giš-šub us₂-sa opens the first verse, the maš dug₃-sa of 33 should be somehow parallel to giš-šub us₂-sa. Now giš-šub is well known as = *isqu* « lot, share etc. ». It is assumed by Wilcke (1969), Römer (1989) and Kramer (1990) that us₂-sa means here « to assign », from *šūmudu*; but it might be just as well = *šutēmudu* « to unite with, to add (up) » or *nenmudu* « to border on, to be joined (to) ». Or again it might be = *redū* « to follow », as already indicated by Gordon (cf. supra), which in the Dt means « to be added (to) », as in *ruddū* « added, expanded, made bigger ». The reference is then to a *second* share Martu did not expect, or was not even entitled to, but which he received anyway. Therefore a translation as « additional » seems more appropriate.

2.2. This implies that l. 33 should have at least a comparable meaning. Therefore I propose to understand maš dug₃-sa bi₂-dab₅ as an expanded parallel to giš-šub us₂-sa. As often happens, the expansion consists of using a finite verb (bi₂-dab₅) whereas the first half of the distich³ uses a non-finite form (us₂-sa). With Römer (1989 p. 324 and 328), I take maš as *mišlu* « half ». Although he does not say so expressedly, Römer must have rejected the other possible meaning of maš (« gazelle », as in l. 18) for the reason that maš should somehow repeat giš-šub, which is correct. But this leaves us apparently with Martu getting half of his companions, not double! This difficulty is met by taking dug₃-sa here as referring to the *share* a companion is entitled to. Admittedly the verbal complex bi₂-dab₅ for a first person seems awkward, but it is not impossible. The construction would then be: *I* (i.e. Martu) *took/received* (bi₂-dab₅) *half* (maš) *of (my) companion's share* (dug₃-sa) *more than* (dirig - - še₃) *what my companions* (dug₃-sa-ma₃) *(received)*. The companions receive only one ration, so half of Martu's ration (of two portions) is also one ration; and this is in excess of what the others get.

3. I propose therefore to translate:

« (My) added portion is in excess of (the portion) of my friends;

Half of the companion's share I received is in excess of the share of my companions. »

1. Note these references: Chiera 1924 = *SRT*; Wilcke 1969 = *ZA* 59 pp. 72-3; Bottéro-Kramer 1989 = *Lorsque les dieux ...*; Römer 1989 = *UF* 21 319-34; Kramer 1990 = *Festschrift Artzi* pp. 11-25; Klein 1990 = *Addendum apud Kramer 1990* (pp. 25-7); Klein 1993 = *Festschrift R. Kutscher* pp. 93-106.

2. Collated by the present writer in April 1996.

3. Which, by the way, is very nearly an inverted distich in the classical sense: the second line has just one syllable more than the first one. Second line expansion seems to be usual in Sumerian poetics. I wonder whether this would be a fruitful approach to analysis of the micro-units of Sumerian versification. By what means do they expand their « first » lines into « second » ones? The principle of « progressive identification » is well known by now; but how rich is the collection of tactics they use?

Herman L. J. VANSTIPHOUT (28-05-1996)

55) Il termine eblaita « giš-dug-túm » – Si intende avanzare qui l'ipotesi di traduzione per l'espressione « giš-dug-túm » come « (in occasione della) / (per la) festa, cerimonia », espressione che si ritrova in modo relativamente frequente nella documentazione amministrativa, nonché lessicale, eblaita. Questa interpretazione si basa sulla glossa eblaita dei VB, I.sin. 449, giš-dug-gíd-túm, qá-ra-tù-um/-tum, che vorrei far derivare dalla radice **qry* « invitare, offrire » (cfr. W. Leslau, *CDG*, p. 445 s.v. *qaraya* III; acc. *qerû*, con lo stesso significato, e *qerîtu* – varr. *qarîtu*, *qarêtu*, « banchetto, festa », cfr. *CAD Q*, p. 240 sgg. – cfr. differentemente *MEE* 2, p. 50 ad r. III, 5), anche se l'entrata « giš-dug-túm » è altresì attestata nelle stesse fonti, ma senza glossa (I.sin. 448). L'espressione sumerica, che non conosco dalla tradizione mesopotamica, si traduce alla lettera: « portare il vaso (lungo) » – da questa interpretazione la lettura « túm » di « DU ». Il termine « festa, ovv. cerimonia » è ovviamente neutro, laddove la *nuance* che il lemma possiede non viene evidenziato chiaramente dalle attestazioni (v. oltre): l'ipotesi è che si tratti comunque di una celebrazione religiosa in cui vengono coinvolti alti dignitari e personale di culto.

Questo significato sembra accordarsi bene con le attestazioni amministrative del termine, si veda *ex.g.* *MEE* 7, testo 44 (= *OrAn* 18, p. 129 sgg.), v. VII, 5-8: 1 udu / giš-dug-túm / ^dNI.DA.KUL / a-ru₁₂-kà-tù^{ki}, « 1 ovino / (in occasione) della festa / (per il dio) NIDAKUL / (della città) di Arukatu »; *ibid.*, testo 47, v. XIII, 27-XIV, 7: 10 gín-dilmun / kù : babbar / 4 ti-ša-nu 2 BU.DI / ni-ba / dingir kà-na-na / in ud / giš-dug-túm/ al₆, « 10 s.-d. / d'argento / (valore di) 4 ... [v. *NABU* 1992/11] e 2 spille / (come) offerta / (per il) dio di Cana'an / nel giorno / della festa / prima? (ovv. il primo giorno della festa?) » – si veda il comm. al passo nel vol. cit.; *ibid.*, testo 50, r. VII, 15-VIII, 2: (stoffe 1; 1) sa-sa-ma-nu / ir-i-[tum^{ki}] / giš-dug-túm / en, « (beni) per

Sasamanu (della città) di Ir'i[tum] (in occasione) della festa del sovrano»; ancora in *MEE* 2, 43, r. IV, 4-7 (= *ARET* 7, 16): 1 ma-na kù: babbar / *i-da-il* / giš-dug-túm / izi-gar, «(1 mina d'argento / (per) Ida-II / (in occasione) della festa / (del mese) I.»; *ibid.*, 6, r. IV, 7-V, 3 (= *ARET* 7, 17): šušana_x g.-d. kb / maškim-sù / in ud / izi-gar / giš-dug-túm, «20 s.-d. d'argento / al suo funzionario / nel giorno / del mese I. / (stabilito per) la festa»; si veda quindi *ARET* 4, 11, v. VI, 8-VII, 6: 1 túg-NI.NI 1 zi-rí-síg / 10 gín-dilmun kù: babbar / 2 bu-di 2 ti-sa-na / ni-ba / dingir kà-na-na / 6 kul-síg / 2 du-rúm / 2 dumu-nita / giš-dug-túm-sù / 1 túg-NI.NI / pa₄: šeš-sù / 2 sal-túg 2 fbx3-túg: dar 2 na₄: síg / 4 guruš / šu mu-tag_x-sù / 16 na₄: síg / dumu-mí ne-di, «(stoffe, lana, argento, oggetti) offerta per (la cerimonia del) dio di Cana'an; (lana, tessuti) per 2 addetti alla sua cerimonia; (stoffe, 1) per il suo sacerdote; (stoffe, lana) per 4 lavoranti come sua (= relativa alla cerimonia) consegna; (16 gomitoli di lana) per le addette ai cantori».

Un significato originario della radice («invitare») si può forse ritrovare, infine, in TM.75.G.1444 (= D.O. Edzard, *SEB* 4, 1981, p. 36; già *ARET* 4, p. 297, indici s.v. GIŠ.DUG.DU – *ibid.*, bibliografia precedente, cui si aggiunga *ARET* 7, p. 213, indici s.v.), r. I, 1-9: NP₁ / wa / NP₂ / wa / NP₃ / giš-dug-túm / en / ší-in / é-sù, «(tre persone) / hanno invitato / il sovrano / (ad emettere verdetto riguardo?) alla loro casa» (la traduzione è molto ipotetica, essendo il testo in questione di assai difficile comprensione). Un oggetto, connesso con la cerimonia, sembra indicare poi il termine in *ARET* 4, 7, v. VII, 15.

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56) Sul significato di «túg-MU» ad Ebla – In questa breve nota si vuole proporre la traduzione di «túg-MU», che compare in connessione con tessili e quale motivazione di transazione, come «(stoffa) lavata, usata per cerimonia», e per metonimia la cerimonia stessa, interpretando i VB, l.sin. 1142/0213, túg-MU (MU-túg), *ši-díb-tum*, come forma nominale dalla radice *šfp, attestata in eb. col senso di «inondare, lavare» (cfr. ar. *stf*; eb. *šet/šef* «diluvio», per cui v. *HELOT*, p. 1009; cfr. anche W. Leslau, *CDG*, p. 519, s.v. **saṭma* – la radice acquisisce in accadico il significato di «salvare, mantenere in vita», per cfr. *AHW*, p. 1203, e rappresenta uno sviluppo peculiare del sem. orientale, per cui si veda già G. Pettinato, *StSem* NS 9, ad II, 2, B, pp. 269 sg. per le attestazioni di *sa-díb-tum*, *sa-da-bí-iš* e *maš-da-bù*); proprio i paralleli con il *Rituale* permettono di specificare che si tratta probabilmente di stoffa usata per qualche tipo di cerimonia relativa ai tessili (lavaggio o simili). Sono state proposte però anche differenti interpretazioni del lessema, per cui cfr. *ex.g.* *ARET* 1, p. 306 *sub* indici («assegnazione di tessuti», dove implicitamente si accetta l'equivalenza di «mu» per **mu*₄ proposta da *MEE* 2, p. 46, ad r. VI, 2; *idem* *ARET* 7, p. 236); *ARET* 3, p. 326, indici, s.v.

Ultimamente G. M. Urciuoli, *UF* 25, 1993, pp. 407 sgg., senza offrire soluzioni etimologiche per la glossa eblaita del termine e fondandosi sull'equazione proposta in *MEE* 2, cit., intende il lessema in questione come la specifica di utilizzo dei tessili («for dressing») ed amplia la sua sfera semantica anche ai passi in cui l'espressione non compare: per la verità, proprio il fatto che lo scriba usi «túg-MU» solo in certi casi, e non in tutti, fa ritenere che *non* la intendesse sottintesa in tutti (e questo, ovviamente, fino a prova contraria, che nell'articolo di G. M. Urciuoli non si evidenzia). Uno studio sulle cerimonie descritte nei testi di Ebla è comunque in preparazione, nel quale si troveranno maggiori dettagli.

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57) Suppelttili domestiche ad Ebla – Un'ipotesi di traduzione del termine eblaita «giš-uštil» come «sedia, trono» è stata avanzata recentemente da P. Fronzaroli in *NABU* 1992/2, pp. 45 sg.; a riprova della giustezza di questa ipotesi interpretativa si possono citare le occorrenze dei VE, ll. sin. 369-373 (nella stessa sequenza nelle fonti A_{4,6}, B, U e V): giš-šilig / giš-banšur / giš-uštil / giš-nú / giš-nú-suḫuš (tutti senza traduzione), che possono essere interpretate come riferentesi tutte a suppellettili domestiche e mobili:

1. giš-šilig, «sgabello» (cfr. A. Salonen, *Möbel*, p. 33 *sub* giššilig-tur e giššilig-zà-gu-za, con rif. ad *UET* V, 264, 15-18; si veda ancora *nigsiliqqu* = *paššūrum*, «a table or tray», *CAD* N/2, p. 217). Nel *Rituale* si trova in un passo parallelo giš-šilig con «giš-banšur», per cui cfr. fonte B, v. IV, 13' = fonte C, v. VI, 8 – si cfr. comm. al passo, *StSem* NS 9, p. 210; ancora P. Steinkeller, *RA* 74, 1980, p. 6; J. Bauer, *Altorient. Notizen* 35, 1987; H. Waetzoldt, *OrAn* 29, 1990, pp. 23 sg.; si veda da ultimo, su questa alternanza, *MEE* 7, testo 17, comm. ad r. VI, 4.

2. giš-banšur, «tavolo» (cfr. acc. *paššūrum*, *AHW*, p. 845 sg.; A. Salonen, *Möbel*, p. 176 sgg.; si veda inoltre *TIE* B, s.v.);

3. giš-uštil, «sedia, trono?»;

4. giš-nú, «letto» (acc. *eršu*, *CAD* E, p. 315 sgg.; *AHW*, p. 246, *sub* *eršu* IV);

5. giš-nú-suḫuš, «zoccolo del letto, base del letto» (cfr. A. Salonen, *Möbel*, p. 98 *et passim*; ancora *CAD* I, p. 218 sgg., *sub* *išdu* 3).

Per « giš-uštil » sono state offerte altre interpretazioni, per cui si veda ultimamente G. Pettinato, *StSem* NS 9, comm. ad § 16, pp. 192 sgg. (qui si troverà una bibliografia completa e i passi in cui il lessema compare nei testi economici): « stele »; differentemente, H. Waetzoldt, *OrAn* 29, 1990, p. 32, pensa ad uno « standardo ».

Franco D'AGOSTINO (29-05-96)

58) A proposito di « pseudo-logogrammi » nella grafia eblaita – « sig₄-ki » è una delle specificazioni del lino che si ritrova nella documentazione di Ebla, scritta anche « sig₄-gar », per cui cfr. *ex.g.* *ARET* 1, p. 282, indici s.v. gada-TÚG. Quest'ultimo termine, in una forma ampliata, risulta attestato nei VB, I.sin. 146, sig₄-tuš-gar, *li-ba/-bi-tum*, « mattone » (cfr. *ex.g.* da ultimo G. Conti, *QdS* 17, p. 87 – la forma scempia, ma senza traduzione eblaita, si ritrova negli *Estratti*, I.sin. 0358), la cui glossa può facilmente essere fatta derivare dalla radice semitica comune *lbn, « fare mattoni ». Questa radice, però, possiede nel semitico occidentale il significato di « (essere) bianco » - cfr. *ex.g.* *HELOT*, p. 526 s.v. *lāvēn* e *HAL*, p. 492, s. v. *lbn* I, per cui ci chiediamo se non sia forse questo secondo valore della radice *lbn che è (sott)inteso quando il sumerogramma viene utilizzato in connessione con il « gada-túg », valore che è espresso però mediante i segni ideografici con cui si esprime l'altro valore della radice; sulla base di questa interpretazione propongo di considerare di conseguenza il termine come uno pseudo-logogramma e di tradurre quindi « di colore bianco » – è qui indicato forse un particolare procedimento per la colorazione delle stoffe di lino.

Su questa stessa linea interpretativa, inoltre, è poi da notare che in sem. orientale la stessa radice ha il valore di « essere umile » (cfr. *CAD* L, p. 10 sgg., s.v. *labānu* B), per cui potrebbe anche essere questo il significato ultimo dell'espressione - benché la presenza nei contesti di personaggi assai elevati, quali il sovrano, nei passi in cui questa speciale tipo di stoffa di lino è citata, ci fa propendere, pur con ogni cautela, per l'altra interpretazione. Per un'ipotesi interpretativa differente si veda *MEE* 5, indici, s. v.

Franco D'AGOSTINO (29-05-96)

59) Osservazioni sulla redistribuzione di beni ad Ebla – Che almeno una parte dei beni acquisiti dal Palazzo venisse reimpiegata per delle uscite è tesi che pare verosimile. Le prove però sono individuabili solo in rarissimi casi data l'omogeneità delle entrate, che si riducono a quantitativi di metalli pregiati o ad un numero molto limitato di oggetti, consegnati da alcuni pochi funzionari e provenienti da un numero limitato di località. I documenti poi sono poverissimi di dati che permettano di seguire il movimento dei beni all'interno del Palazzo; in particolare solo raramente si specificano le occasioni delle acquisizioni¹. Soltanto l'accurato studio cronologico dei documenti interessati può offrire ulteriori conferme².

Intanto però alcuni testi relativi a beni in uscita qualche volta specificano che quel certo bene è stato acquisito attraverso una consegna (mu-DU ...) ed ora esso è « girato » (*wa* ì-na-sum ...) a quel tale destinatario. Si vedano come esempi questi passi in due R(endiconti) M(ensili) di T(essuti), *ARET* I 8 (72): mu-DU NG ... *wa* ì-na-sum NP ...; III 628 V: mu-DU NP₁ *wa* ì-na-sum NP₂.

Nei due casi che qui di seguito si propongono, si è potuto individuare la registrazione dei beni in entrata in un testo mu-DU. Manca invece un riscontro nei Rendiconti Annuali di Metalli in uscita, forse perché quei beni vennero redistribuiti saltando il passaggio che contabilizzava tali beni come presenti nel tesoro.

mu-DU : TM.75.G.2341

v. IV 8 :

2 *gu-zi*-TÚG 3 'à-da-um-TÚG-II

5 aktum-TÚG 5 fb+IV-TÚG-sa₆-dar

v. IV 4-7 :

tar kù-gi

1 fb-lá 1 *si-ti-tum* 1 gír kun

1 *ma-ḥa-NE-lum ra-'à-tum* kù-gi

1 gír mar-tu kù-gi

v. IV 9-V 5 :

níg-ba

en

en

[NI-ra-ark_i]

ì-na-sum

in u₄

šu-ba₄-ti

RMT : *ARET* I 8 (74)

1 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 1 aktum-TÚG

1 fb+IV-sa₆-dar

1 fb-lá 1 *si-ti-tum* 1 gír kun kù-gi

mu-DU

NI-ra-ark_i

éš

šu-ba₄-ti

Íl-wu-um^{ki}

Íl-wu-um^{ki}
wa
ì-na-sum
Ìr-am₆-da-mu
lú Íl-zi-da-mu
in u₄
hú1-sù
I-bí-zi-kir
š-u-mu-taka₄

Questo primo esempio trova riscontro nell'esplicito richiamo all'occasione della consegna: un dono del re di Nírar al re di Ebla (Išar-Damu) come atto di congratulazione per la presa eblaita della città di *Íl-wu-um^{ki}*, ed è databile al terzo anno del visir Ibbi-Zikir in base al colophon del testo mu-DU TM. 2341 v. XI 4-6: DIŠ mu / ug₇ / ama-gal en, anno al quale appartiene anche il RAM: TM.75.G. 10088+³, dove però non troviamo traccia dell'uscita di questi beni. Dal confronto tra il testo mu-DU e il RMT si evidenzia che soltanto una parte della consegna originale venne ridistribuita nel RMT, fatto che rende ancora più difficile l'individuazione di passi similari.

mu-DU: MEE II 15 r. II 1-4
 6 ma-na bar₆: kù (= a₁ + a₂)
 mu-DU
Ig-na-da-mu
 UL.KI

Mari: MEE II 13 r. I 1-III 1
 a₁) 5 ma-na bar₆: kù
 mu-DU
Ig-na-da-mu
 UL.KI
 b) 1 gú-li-lum [... kù]-gi
 tar 5 gín DILMUN kù-gi
 mu-DU
Ti-ir
 è
 níg-ba
En-na-^dDa-gan
 lugal
 2 šu-mu-taka₄
 r. V 4-VI 7
 a₂) 1 ma-na bar₆: kù
 mu-DU
Ig-na-da-mu
 è
 u₅
U₉-ra-na-a^{ki}
Ib-dur-i-šar
Iš₁₁-da-mu
 lú
 BAD: É
 šu-mu-taka₄
 iti MAXGANA-tenû-sag

Il secondo esempio ci mette di fronte al discusso problema sull'indirizzo delle transazioni. Il passo di MEE II 13, per la presenza del termine amministrativo sumerico «è», deve essere interpretato come riguardante delle uscite per Mari: «(metalli) provenienti dalla consegna mu-DU di NP₁ NF + (metalli) provenienti dalla consegna mu-DU di NP₂, che sono in uscita come dono a NP₃, re (di Mari): 2 consegne». In questo caso viene ridistribuita in due destinazioni diverse l'intera consegna mu-DU di Igna-damu ma soltanto una piccola parte di quella di Tir⁴. Tutti e due i documenti sono datati al mese iti MAXGANA-tenû-sag, ma mentre MEE II 13 si riferisce al primo anno del re di Mari Enna-dagan, il testo mu-DU porta la formula: «mu-DU lugal-lugal 6 mu», facendo riferimento probabilmente al sesto anno di governo del re Irkab-damu di Ebla, il che ci offrirebbe un nuovo e importante sincronismo tra Ebla e Mari (Irkab-damu 6 = Enna-dagan 1).

L'esempio più chiaro di questi «testi di redistribuzione» resta TM.75.G.1353⁵ il cui colophon esplicita: dub-gar / e₃ / mu-DU / en / 3[+x] mu, e cioè: «rendiconto di uscita delle entrate del re; anno 3+x». In questo documento troviamo tre sezioni: una prima che elenca delle uscite in argento (1)-(23), una seconda (24)-(37), dove si registrano delle entrate mu-DU di argento e di oro che costituiscono le uscite di argento della sezione precedente; una terza (38)-(43), con delle uscite in oro che corrispondono alle entrate in oro della

sezione precedente. L'errore nel bilancio è di soltanto mezzo ciclo d'argento!

1. Sulla prassi amministrativa a Ebla: M.G. Biga et F. Pomponio. « Critères de rédaction comptable et chronologie relative des textes d'Ebla », *MARI* 7, Parigi 1993, pp. 107-128; A. Archi, « Les comptes rendus annuels de métaux (CAM) », in: J. M. Durand (éd.), *Actes du colloque Mari, Ebla et les Hourrites*, Amurru 1, Parigi 1996 (in stampa); I. de Urioste, *La praxis administrativa en Ebla*, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1995 (in stampa).

2. Sulla cronologia interna dei testi di Ebla: A. Archi. « Chronologie relative des archives d'Ébla », in: J. M. Durand (éd.), *Actes du colloque Mari, Ebla et les Hourrites* (in stampa).

3. V. Archi, « Comptes rendus annuels ».

4. Il corrispondente mu-DU di *Ti-ir* nel documento MEE II 15 si conserva purtroppo in modo frammentario: « 1 *mi-at* 20 ma-na bar; kù / 20 ma-na kù-gi / 60 [gú-li-lum (?) ...] / 20 ma-na zab[ar] / 30 ma-na urudu / 30 gfr-gfr / 32 šu-gur zabar / 16 šu-gur urudu / mu-DU / *Ti-ir* ».

5. L. Milano, *SEb* III/1, pp. 1-21. La mia ricostruzione della contabilità differisce però di quella dello studioso nell'interpretazioni del paragrafo (10); v. A. Alberti, *OA* 20 (1981), pp. 37-49.

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ESPAGNE

60) The Akkadian word for « moustache » – Ever since H. Zimmern drew attention in *ZA* 33 (1921), p. 21, to the lexical entry t ù n . b a r = *šap-tu šap-li-tú*, « lower lip », in the section on *šapālu* and *šaplu* in the MB Akkado-Sumerian glossary *Nabnītu* XXVII 78 (now *MSL* XVI, p. 235), it has been accepted that the word *sapsapu* (or *sapsāpu*) also refers to the bottom lip (see the dictionaries, *CAD* S, p. 167: « lower lip »; *AHW*, p. 1027: « Unterlippe »). This is because in the Sumerio-Akkadian vocabulary *Urra* XV 18 *sa-ap-sa-pu* corresponds to u z u . t ù n . b a r (*MSL* IX, p. 6, followed by *appu*, « nose »).

The word *sapsapu* is best known from the literary account of Sennacherib's eighth campaign, in which the Assyrian king boasts of the treatment meted out to the fallen Babylonians and Elamites on the battlefield of Hallulê (*OIP* 2, p. 46, 10-11): *sa-ap-sa-pa-te ú-na-kis-ma bal-ta-šú-un a-bu-ut*, « I cut off their *sapsapu*'s and destroyed their virility ». This passage reveals that the mutilation in question was an affront to a man's dignity. The word also occurs, written t ù n . b a r, in a list of prodigies which records the existence of a bearded woman (*CT* 29 48, 4 // E. Weidner, *AfO* 16 (1952-53), p. 262, Rm 286): *sinništu* (munus) *ziq-na zaq-na-at ù t ù n . b a r kaz/s-rat*. A third attestation is in *Šumma ibzu* XII 94', which deals with a foetus born with its tongue joined to its *sapsapu*: [BE *iz-bu*] *lišān(eme)-šú ina sa-ap-sa-pi-[šú] raksat(kešda)*. In none of these three passages is « lower lip » an impossible translation for *sapsapu*, though one would like to see other evidence for the removal of the bottom lips of those fallen in battle. (The severing of the bottom lip is the punishment meted out in the Assyrian Laws to an offender who compounds fondling a married woman with kissing her (§ 9), but this is a penalty to fit a specific offence, and does not compare with the mass mutilation of enemy casualties).

Less easily reconcilable with the dictionaries' opinion is a physiognomic omen from Susa, which deals with a carbuncle (*kurāru*) in the area of the right nostril (R. Labat, *Suse*, p. 178, 23): *Dīš elēn(an.ta) sà-ap-sà-ap imitti(15)-šu ana(šè) ši-id na-ḫi-ir imitti (15)-šu šakin(gar)*, « If it is located above his right *sapsapu* at the side of his right nostril, ... ». If *sapsapu* is the bottom lip it makes an odd point of reference for something near the nose. Labat saw this problem and surmounted it by translating « S'il est en haut de sa lèvre supérieure droite vers le côté de sa narine droite » (*ibid.*, p. 188; my italics).

An occurrence of the word that came to light too late to appeal in the dictionaries is in the Crimes of Nabû-šuma-iškun where this king sacrilegiously enters the cella of Marduk in E-sagil at Babylon (ii 15-16). This passage is difficult to read and has been given variously by E. von Weiher (*BagM* 15 (1984), p. 202; *Uruk* III 58), Steven W. Cole (*ZA* 84 (1994), p. 228) and G. Frame (*RIMB* 2, p. 119), with no consensus of reading and interpretation emerging. From the photograph in *BagM* 15, pl. 22, I read as follows: *pe-er-tú šá-kin sap-sa-pi-šú* (so already W. von Soden, *OLZ* 82 (1987), 458) *ú-gaš-šiš in-šab-tú¹ hurāši (kù.GI) šá-kin ù ana pa-paḫ^d bēl i-ru-um-ma¹ nap¹-tan¹ ú-qar-rab*, « wearing a full head of hair, he clipped his *sapsapu*'s and, sporting a golden ear-ring, he entered Bēl's cella and began to serve a meal (?) ».

By pairing *sapsapu* with *ziqnu*, « beard » the lexical lists confirm what has already been hinted in the list of prodigies, that the *sapsapu* is hairy:

[e-me]	e m e (KA×ME) =	<i>li-ša-nu</i> , « tongue »
nun-du-um	n u n d u m (KA×NUN) =	<i>šap-[tum]</i> , « lip »
[...]	KA×X =	[.....]
su-um	s u m ₄ (KA×SA) =	<i>zi-iq-nu</i> , « beard »
ūm-bar	s u n ₄ (KA×SA). b a r =	<i>sap-sa-[pu]</i>

MSL III, pp. 118-19, S^b I 259-62a

nun-du-um	n u n d u m (KA×NUN) =	š[a-ap-tum], « lip »
su-ul	s ù l (KA×SA)	zi-[iq-nu], « beard » sa-[ap-sa-pu] dar-rum, « bearded »

B. Landsberger, *JAOS* 88 (1968), p. 144, b [= UM 29-13-644 ii] 8-11

Nevertheless, the *sapsapu* is not the same as *ziqnu*, as we learn from Sumerian, in which *s u 6* or *s ù l* (and its variants *s u m 4* and *s u n 4*) is a regular beard (*ziqnu*), but *s u n 4 . b a r* (var. *t ù n . b a r*) is clearly something else. A literal approach to this word is not obviously helpful: *s u n 4 / t ù n . b a r* apparently means « outer beard », or, if one follows the tradition of *Ea* « outer lip » (OB: *MSL* XIV, p. 134, iii 13: ^{tu-um} *t ù n = ša-ap-[tum]*; SB: *ibid.*, p. 492 A VIII/1 112, = *šá-ap-tum.*) . Neither interpretation discounts absolutely a meaning « bottom lip », but a less philological approach yields better results. The bottom lip may be hairy, but a hairy bottom lip is not naturally distinct from the beard. It does not obviously divide into right and left, as does the *sapsapu* in the physiognomic omen from Susa, nor is it close to the nostril. If this is enough to cast doubt on the accepted equivalence *sapsapu* = « bottom lip », we have to consider a more appropriate meaning for the word.

Taking into account the location of the carbuncle in the omen passage and the association with facial hair in the list of prodigies and the lexical lists, I would suggest that what is meant by *t ù n . b a r = sapsapu* is not exactly either lip, but the hair of the top lip, that is, a moustache. Accordingly the carbuncle in the omen is very plausibly situated « above his right moustache, alongside his right nostril ». In the list of prodigies it is likewise a case of a « woman with a beard and a curly (or joined-up) moustache ». The exact significance of Nabû-šuma-imbī's trimmed moustaches is uncertain, since as Cole notes, to have any hair was sacrilegious in the context. However, the mutilation of Sennacherib's fallen enemy that so impugned their manhood – the hacking off of their moustaches – is a traditional dishonour in the Near East. To this day in Iraq, Kurdistan and elsewhere the forcible shaving of a man's moustache is considered to strip him of manly dignity.

The distinction between the two types of facial hair, beard and moustache, is also clearly seen in the use of the derivatives *ziqnānu* and *sapsapānu* to denote two different types of carp or barbel :

<i>s u ḫ u r . s u n 4 . l á</i> ^{ku6} , « barbelled carp » = <i>ziq-na-nu</i>
<i>s u ḫ u r . t ù n . b a r</i> ^{ku6} , « moustachioed carp » = <i>sap-sa-pa-nu</i>

MSL VIII/2, p. 96, *Urra* XVIII 6-7

The MB personal name *Sapsapānu* similarly means « Mister Moustache ».

The identification of *sapsapu* as a moustache makes it easier to understand how the word comes also to mean a woollen trim for a garment, as it does in *VAS* XIX 24, 11 : 1/2 *ma-na* ^{sik} *argamannu*(za.gin.sas) *a-na sa-ap-se-pe*, « 30 shekels of purple wool for the *sapsapu*-trim » (MA). As *CAD* already saw, this is likely to mean « fringe ». It is tempting here to seek the solution to the problematical entry *t ù n . b a r = šaptu šaplītu* in the section of *Nabnītu* that deals with *šapālu-saplu*. For the *šaptu* of a garment also seems to be a kind of trimming (as in *sūn šapti*, see *CAD* Š/1, p. 486). However, since in *A* VIII/1 101 ff., the word *t ù n* corresponds to *šuplu*, *šaplu*, *šapālu* and *šuppulu*, as well as *šaptu*, it is more likely that the appearance *t ù n . b a r* opposite *šaptu šaplītu* in the Akkado-Sumerian glossary is the result of an unfortunate double interpretation of *t ù n*.

As noted in *CAD* S, p. 191 there may be a connection between *sapsapu* and the lexical entry *Urra* XVI 91 (*MSL* X, p. 7): ^{na4} *m á / m a . d a . l á . z a . g ì n = pa-ap-pat i-ni*, var. *sa-sap-t[um]*; cf. *Igituḫ* I 402 (*VAT* 10270 vi 9 // 10485 v 51; *AHw*, p. 824, *CAD* I/J, p. 156): ^(im) *m a . d a . l á = pap-pat i-ni*. Whether *pappat* (or *pappāt*) *īni* is « eyebrow » (*CAD*) or « eyelashes » (*AHw*) it is again a case of hair that fringes a body part. The variant *sa-sap-t[um]* is presumably something similar, and as such it can very probably be understood as *sassaptu* < *sapsaptu*, the feminine form of *sapsapu*.

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61) L'archivage public des contrats de vente d'immeubles d'après les *Lois assyriennes* – Selon le § 6 de la tablette B des *Lois assyriennes* (*VAT* 10 001 = *KAV* 2 : iii 1-50), l'acheteur qui souhaitait acquérir un champ ou une maison devait faire procéder à trois criées par le héraut, au cours du mois précédant la transaction, pour que d'éventuels ayants droit puissent se manifester. Cette formalité accomplie, une commission se réunissait pour établir que l'acheteur avait bien respecté la procédure. Les juges rédigeaient alors « trois tablettes (attestant) de la crieée du héraut » (3 *ṭup-pa-a-te ša sa-su* lú-íl, *VAT* 10 001 : iii 48), qui devaient faire office de contrat définitif.

L'un des problèmes soulevés par ce paragraphe concerne la destination de chacun des trois exemplaires du contrat. En VAT 10 001 : 50, la restitution 1 [*tup-pa qē-pu*]-*ú-tu*, impliquant qu'une tablette était conservée par les *qēpu*, semble la plus vraisemblable et a été retenue par la plupart des traducteurs du texte (voir en dernier lieu M. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 1995, p. 177-178). À l'époque médio-assyrienne, les dignitaires-*qēpu* semblent avoir été des représentants du roi, chargés en particulier de vérifier la validité des opérations administratives. On peut donc supposer que l'exemplaire qui leur était remis était destiné aux archives de l'État.

La suite du manuscrit, où il devait être question des destinataires des deux autres exemplaires, est malheureusement perdue en totalité. Les auteurs qui ont commenté ce passage ont en général estimé que ces documents étaient remis aux deux parties impliquées dans la transaction soit l'acheteur et le vendeur. On trouve notamment cette opinion dans G. R. Driver et J. C. Miles, *The Assyrian Laws*, 1935, p. 320 et plus récemment dans l'étude fondamentale de G. Cardascia, *Les lois Assyriennes*, LAPO 2, 1969, p. 275.

Bien qu'elle paraisse *a priori* logique, cette interprétation pose néanmoins problème, car on comprend mal pourquoi un exemplaire aurait été remis au vendeur. Selon les usages communs des droits mésopotamiens, le contrat enregistrant une transaction était toujours rédigé du point de vue de l'acheteur, pour lui servir de titre de propriété. Et lorsque l'on peut déterminer l'origine précise des contrats, on constate qu'ils proviennent des archives des acheteurs, non de celles des vendeurs. Or rien n'indique par ailleurs qu'Aššur ait pu constituer une exception dans ce domaine.

Afin d'aller plus loin que ce simple constat négatif, il faut peut-être prendre en considération la composition de la commission chargée de confirmer la validité de la vente. Dans les villes de province, elle était simplement formée du « maire » (*haziānu*) et de trois notables (VAT 10 001 : iii 35). Mais à Aššur, elle comprenait « l'un des *šukkallu* (qui sont) devant le roi, le scribe de la ville, le héraut et les *qēpu* du roi » (VAT 10 001 : iii 30-32). C'est ce qui fondait l'ancienne suggestion de P. Koschaker, selon laquelle les trois copies du contrat auraient pu être remises au « ministre », au scribe de la ville et aux *qēpu*, pour l'enregistrement officiel des titres (*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* XLI, p. 295). Discutant cette proposition, G. R. Driver et J. C. Miles (ouvrage cité, p. 320) l'ont rejetée en jugeant qu'elle ne s'accordait au texte que par l'omission quelque peu arbitraire du héraut. Depuis, l'idée semble avoir été abandonnée.

Il est cependant possible que P. Koschaker ait eu une bonne intuition en supposant que le scribe de la ville gardait une copie de l'acte de vente. On constate en effet que les membres de la commission représentent en fait deux autorités distinctes : celle du roi (le *šukkallu*, le héraut, les *qēpu*) et celle de la municipalité d'Aššur (le scribe de la ville). Il se pourrait donc qu'un exemplaire du contrat ait été remis au représentant des autorités municipales, pour être conservé dans les archives de la ville, alors que les deux autres copies étaient prises par les agents du roi et par l'acheteur.

Il ne s'agit bien sûr que d'une hypothèse, mais l'intervention de la municipalité d'Aššur aux côtés des fonctionnaires royaux n'est pas en soi très étonnante. À l'époque paléo-assyrienne, le pouvoir était partagé entre le prince et la « Ville » (au sens institutionnel du terme) et il n'est pas inconcevable que l'assemblée des notables ait conservé une partie de ses prérogatives au cours des siècles suivants. On notera à ce propos que le « scribe de la ville » (*tupšar āli*) était présent lors du « rituel du couronnement » et recevait en cette occasion un vêtement d'apparat (K. F. Müller, *Das Assyrische Ritual*, MVAG 41/3, 1937, p. 12 : ii 41).

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62) A last gasp of nunation in Akkadian – GAG Ergänzungsheft ¶ 63 c lists the few known cases of nunation in Akkadian : feminine and plural forms of the possessive pronoun, plural forms of the demonstrative pronoun *annûm*, including its rare by-form *anummûm*, the numerical expressions *ûmakalâtun* and *erbettin*, and the divine name *Šarra-Mātin*. The references are OB, nunated forms of the possessive pronoun survive sporadically to SB, and the name *Šarra-Mātin* is OA. After GAG Ergänzungsheft, which appeared in 1969, H. Limet published in *ARMT* 19 texts from Mari which stand in the Old Akkadian scribal tradition. They contain further cases of nunation. « In the morning » was regularly written *in šè-er-te-en*, « in the evening » occasionally *in li-le-en*, a name of month in the genitive occasionally *Ma-al-kà-né-en*, and the feminine ending in the genitive exclusively with the sign *tin* (the sign was « normalized » to *tim*, by Limet, see his footnote 16). Considering the small amount of syllabically written words in these texts, these examples may represent the tip of an iceberg of nunation. Note that the cases of nunation, with the exceptions of the rare writings *li-le-en* and *Ma-al-kà-né-en*, follow /t/ and are thus limited to a phonetic environment.

Nunated forms of the plural of *annûm* come in three clusters : (A) Protocols of statements before witnesses start with a namelist of the witnesses and introduce the statements with the formula « these are the witnesses before whom PN spoke/swore ... », or « before these witnesses PN spoke/swore ... » The word « these » was occasionally nunated and written *an-nu-tu-un* in the first and *an-nu-ti-in* in the second formula in texts from Sippar and Dilbat in the early Old Babylonian period and down to Hammu-Rabi. The references can be easily found in W. F. Leemans' collection of « textes paléo-babyloniens commençant par une liste de

personnes » in *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs*, D. Charpin and F. Joannès éd., (1991) 307-331. Outside of this group of texts, a nunated demonstrative pronoun in the plural occurs in the letter of Hammu-Rabi LIH 13. As in the protocols it is found in a phrase which resumes a list of persons : « these (*an-nu-ti-in*) 8 persons, whom Sin-Puṭram will show you, install as guardsmen. »

(B) The inscription of Yahdun-Lim for the Šamaš temple in Mari includes three plurals of *annûm*. All are nunated. The nominative is written *an-nu-tu-un* (RIME 4, 606 : 74), the oblique case *an-nu-ti-in*, respectively *an-nu-ut-ti-in* (lines 56 and 84). It may be noted that the writing *an-nu-ut-ti-in* with length of /t/ instead of the preceding vowel parallels many writings of nunated forms of the possessive pronoun, such as *ia-at-ti-in* and *ka-at-ti-in* in TIM 2 16 : 24-27, and the demonstrative pronoun (see presently).

(C) The word *annêtân* or *annettân*. A large group of references are indignant questions :

1 ARMT 26 5 : 3-5 Bannum complains about Asqudum : « Are these things good (*an-né-ta-an da-am-qa-a*) that Asqudum keeps placing 'unbecoming' things into your hands, and you keep listening to his words? » *annêtân* here, down to reference 11, and 18, is used in the well attested nominal use of the feminine plural.

2 ARMT 26 6 : 3-5 More complaints of Bannum : « Are these good things ([*dam*]-*qa-a an-né-ta-an*) that [my lord] painfully 'wrote' to me about the majordomo of Šuprum? »

3 ARM 1 15 : 5-8 Samsi-Addu scolds his son Yasmah-Addu : « Are these actions of yours good (*epšētūka an-né-et-ta-an dam-qa-[a]*) that you held up the Qatanean messengers until now? »

4 TCL 17 45 : 5-10 Context not known. « What are these things which keep reaching me (*mīnum an-né-et-ta-an ša iktanaššadāninni*)? Do not enlist the troops of Taribatum under any circumstance! »

5 A.1025 : 46-47 = J. R. Kupper MARI 6, 337-347 Beginning of an accusation of Zaziya against Zimri-Lim : « What are these things (*an-né-e-ta-an*) which Zimri-Lim seized upon? »

6 ARMT 26 435 : 8 Šukru-Tešub starts his complaint about seizure of one of his cities : « What are these things (*an-né-et-ta-an*) which you did? Do you not know that my mayor stays in that city and (that) the city Amaz is mine? »

7 A.1285 : 14-15 = Iraq 39, 152 Zimri-Lim reacts to a request of Mukannišum to use Babylonian wool for a special garment : « What are these things (*an-né-et-ta-a¹-an*) that you (plural) take this position on Babylonian wool and pressure me? In the past, at the time of Yahdun-Lim, Samsi-Addu, and Yasmah-Addu, did they pay attention to Babylonian wool? »

8 ARMT 26 176 : 22-23 Bahdi-Lim reacts to potential danger to his king : « And what are these things (*an-né-e-ta-an*) that my lord walks among lightly armed [troops] ? »

9 ARM 10 118 : 7-8 The writer has been invited by her correspondent in one letter to visit her, in another not to come : « What are these things (*an-né-et-ta-an*) that you keep writing to me? »

10 ARMT 27 2 : 27-28 Zakira-Hammu complains about reassignment of his house in Mari : « Do these things please my lord (*an-né-et-ta-an in belīya mahrā*) that I stay at the front, and they give the house to somebody else? »

11 A.3935 : 60-61 = Joannès FM 1, 81-92 Altiš-Qalu recalls the siege of his threshing floor by Mubalašaga : « I put these matters and the fact that our lives were threatened before Sumiya (saying) : "Are these things (*an-né-et-ta-an*) (the things) on which my lord assured me?" »

12 ARMT 26 422 : 5-7 Yasim-El quotes a concern of the king about sheep of the crown : « Are those not in danger, these sheep, which strayed into enemy territory (*dannā šina immerātum an-né-et-ta-an ša ina libbi eqel nukurtim ihhabtānim* [F. Joannès' interpretation differs])? »

The question is not indignant :

13 ARMT 26 237 : 5-7 « Never did I see such a dream. Were these my signs from before (*ittātūwa ša pānānum [an]-né-et-ta-an*)? In my dream ... »

There is no question :

14 ARMT 13 39 : 6'-8' « If my lord releases land of the Yamina these plows will idle (*epinnātum an-né-et-ta-an iriqqā*). »

15 ARMT 13 21 : 3'-8' « Among the booty which ... are 13 [...], 2 girls etc. These (*an-né-et-ta-an*) are withdrawal. »

16 ARMT 26 468 : 3'-4' « Since 4 years these matters (*āwātum an-né-e-ta-an*) have not been cleared up between Zimri-Lim and me (Hammu-Rabi). »

17 A.1025 : 65-66 = Kupper MARI 6 (1990) 337-347 : « These words of his (*āwātūšu an-né-e-ta-an*) which he spoke are deceptions. »

18 ARM 4 70 : 19 « And not many stay before you and advise you on these things (*ana an-né-ti-in il imallikū-ka*). »

19 ARMT 26 454 : 7'-9' : « Send these extispicies (*[tēr]ētīm an-né-ti-in*) to your lord ! »

The list shows that *annêtân/annettân* occurs most frequently in indignant questions but can also be found in totally banal contexts where the mimated form is the rule (most clearly in example 27). The references show that the word is not an adverb as the dictionaries classify it. One could replace all references of

annētān/annētān with *annētum* and the few references of *annētīn* with *annētīm* without any change of meaning. This was already clearly understood by A. Finet in his treatment of the form in ALM ¶ 19 j. Of course, the nominative should be *annētun*. The ending *-an* looks like a dual, but it does not have this meaning. Finet said: « L'emploi de ces formes à nunation est étranger à tout concept de dualité. » W. von Soden asked « Dual feminin als Adverb? » in AHW sub voce *annittān*. Many references, which were not yet known when ALM and AHW A were written, have *an-né-e-ta-an*. Accordingly the form was derived from the Mari plural *annēt-*. This conforms to the fact that they are semantically plurals. But duals are formed by adding the endings */ān/* and */īn/* to the singular. So *annētān* is not even formally a clean dual. On the other hand, the ending *-an* in the nominative only occurs in the dual. I propose that the solution is found in the fact that nunation was not understood anymore. Nunated forms survived as alternative to mimated forms in some isolated pockets of the language, retaining some strength in possessive and demonstrative pronouns, but were restricted to the position after */t/* and then further to feminine plurals. Nunation as principle had died out, the ending had become odd, and it was reinterpreted as dual: *annētun* was transformed to *annētān*.

Wolfgang HEIMPEL (16-05-96)

63) *qadu, qadūma, clearly* – The word appears in ARMT 26 411 : 46 and ARM 14 111 : 22 in contexts which exclude a preposition or subjunction. In 14 111 it stands as last word of a speech. It is preceded by a sentence into which it does not fit: *hurāšum šū ša Qarni-Lim qa-du annētam apulšunūti*. M. Birot, disregarding the fact that statements of the type « this I answered/said to... » always follow immediately upon the end of a speech, understood *qa-du* as subjunction: « Que je leur avais fait cette réponse, ... » He noted that the verb does not stand in the subjunctive as his interpretation demands. The final position of *qadu* means that it cannot be preposition or subjunction. In 26 411, formerly 2 39, *qa-du-ma* is the first word of a speech. It cannot be a preposition because the next word, *a-la-ak-ka* « your going », is no genitive. AHW read the predicate of the sentence *lupputu* and thus could list *qaduma* as subjunction. The edition of F. Joannès shows that we must read *lupput*. Joannès translates *qa-du-ma* nevertheless as subjunction, « puisque ». But the predicate is in the indicative. We come to the same result: *qaduma* here cannot be preposition or subjunction. It follows that it is a variety of adverb. I propose as translation of 14 111 : 19-22 « There is no gold in the district of Qatṭunan. The effects of Qarni-Lim have been confiscated in that district. That gold is that of Qarni-Lim, no doubt/clearly. » And of 26 411 : 45-47 « I saw that the decision on [his] trip [was being sidestepped] (*[p]ussulu*), and I spoke to him, thus I: “No doubt/clearly, your trip to your father is postponed.” »

Wolfgang HEIMPEL (16-05-96)

64) *hātum, to observe* – In ARMT 26 291 is found twice the form *i-HA-DU-nim*. D. Charpin, who edited the text, read *i-'a₄-du-nim* and translated it with the verb « connaître » as if it derived from *edūm* « to know. » Forms showing a radical and two different vowels before the */d/* of *edūm* are not otherwise attested. I suggest to read *i-ha-tū-nim* instead and to link it with the form *ni-ha-ṭam*. The latter is attested in ARMT 26 517 : 8' and translated by B. Lafont « (mais) nous ne pouvons nous prononcer(?) ». In comment b) Lafont refers to another occurrence of *ni-ha-ṭam* in ARM 14 109 : 24 which M. Birot translated « nous ne le discernons pas » and which he derived from « *hātum* examiner. » A third one is ARM 2 107 : 18 translated by C. Jean « nous ne trouvons pas. » A. Finet, in ARMT 15 sub voce *hātum* = « surveiller », changed this translation to « nous ne pourrions pas surveiller. » The derivation of Finet and Birot from « *hātum* » is problematic because the */a/* vowel of the forms is incompatible with AHW *hiātum* = « überwachen, überprüfen ; wägen. »

The contexts of the attestations point clearly in one direction: the verb expresses attestation of the factuality of a fact or an event. 26 291 : 15-26: « Up to now when (*ša* « that ») they brought the tablet of my lord to me and *i-ha-tū-nim* the whereabouts of my lord, I did not [know] (*ú-ul i-[de-e-ma]*) [where] [my lord] stayed, [and] (so) I did not send my tablet to [my] [lord]. Now, after they *i-ha-tū-nim* the whereabouts of my lord in Qabara, the (confirmation of) the safety of the palace and my tablets will go continuously to my lord. » 2 107 : 13-19: « We are sent in matters of the tower of which the king wrote. They brought out the tower. We departed. The loading of the tower on the boat *ú-ul ni-ha-ṭam*. » 14 109 : 17-26: « “Hammu-Rabi, the man of Kurda, and Hatnu-Rapi were assembled against him (Qarni-Lim) to do battle, thus: ‘Withdraw from Zurra, and we [shall] make peace.’ After [these things], whether it was battle or peace [between them] *ú-ul ni-ha-ṭam*.” This story they told, and I wrote (it) to my lord. » 26 517 : 3'-10' : « The Turukkum army crossed (the Tigris) in [Ade]. [And] Zaziya [...] in Ninive (cf. W. Yuhong NABU 1994/38), thus (they): “The troops crossed, the crossing of Zaziya *ú-ul ni-ha-ṭam*.” I have written [to] my lord [the news] which I heard. » In the negative formulation the best fit is « observe. » In 26 291 the fit is less exact but tolerable if we allow the meaning « communicate an observation. » It seems then that there are two verbs, *hātum* « to observe » and *hiātum* « to check. » While there are no obvious context references for the first verb in the article *hiātum* in AHW, the equation *igi-du₈-a = ha-a-tū šá da-ga-li* clearly refers to it, and so do the derivations *hājṭu* « observer » and *hā'īṭu* « night watchman. »

Wolfgang HEIMPEL (16-05-96)

65) **The location of Gubin** – While the location of Gubin remains undetermined, the suggestion that it was located in Bactria (e.g. Lambert and Tournay, *RA* 45 : 58 ; Grégoire, *La province méridionale de Lagash*, p. 35 ; *RGTC* 1 : 62) should be henceforth eliminated from the literature. Lambert and Tournay originally attributed the idea that Gubin = Bactria to F. W. König, citing his article ‘Elam’ in the *RIA*. This would be slanderous if it weren’t so funny. König located Gubin in ‘das heutige Bachtiarenggebiet’, i.e. in the Bakhtiari mountains of southwestern Iran, not in Bactria. Obviously Bachtiaeren was mis-read for Bactria. Given the quantity of interesting and important archaeological material which has come out of Bactria in recent years (see e.g. Hiebert and Lamberg-Karlovsky, *Iran* 30 [1992] : 1-15), it would be well to spell out clearly that this does not equate to the historic entity known in cuneiform sources as Gubin lest someone return to the secondary literature cited above and decide that Gubin had at last been identified archaeologically.

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66) **Textes judiciaires néo-babyloniens, collation et réédition** – Dans le cadre d’une étude des archives judiciaires de la Babylonie récente actuellement en préparation, j’ai été amené à réétudier des textes édités par J. Kohler et F. Peiser dans la série *Aus dem babylonischen Rechtsleben* I-IV (Leipzig, 1891 = *BR*), en transcription continue et traduction. Si les collations effectuées ont en général confirmé les lectures de F. Peiser, une présentation modernisée des transcriptions s’avérerait utile. Je remercie les conservateurs du Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities du British Museum grâce auxquels cette étude a été rendue possible.

BM 77345 (84-2-11, 79) [*BR* II 16]

kù-babbar nu-dun-nu-ú šá fli-’a-a-tu₄-^dnin-lil
2 dumu-mí šá Idamar-utu-numun-dù dumu Idé-a-lu-mur ù mi-šil nu-dun-nu-ú
šá fhi-ib-ta-a ama-šú šá lú-di-ku₅-meš tup-pa-a-nu
4 iš-šu-ru-ma a-na Idamar-utu-numun-dù dumu-šú šá Idamar-utu-gar-mu
dumu Id₃₀-tab-ni mu-ti šá fli-’a-a-tu₄-nin-lil
6 id-di-nu ina lib-bi 3 gur še-numun i-na bi-rit
r x x l é-<l>numun-ú-tu ù du₆ nu-qa-bi 14 gi-meš i-na ki-tì eri-du₁₀^{ki}
8 [ù] ri-ih-tu₄ kù-babbar a-ki-i tup-pa-a-nu šá lú-di-ku₅-meš
[Idamar-u]tu-numun-dù u fli-’a-a-at-^dnin-lil áš-šá-ti-šú
10 [ina šu^{II}] Idnà-taq-bi-si-sá eṭ-ru-’u
[ù] [gaba-ri] tup-pa-a-nu šá lú-di-ku₅-meš Idamar-utu-numun-dù
12 ù fli-’a-a-at-^dnin-lil áš-šá-ti-šú a-na Idnà-taq-bi-si-sá
it-ta-an-nu-’u [dib-bi] šá ra-šu-tu ù nu-dun-né-e
14 it-ti a-ha-meš qa-tu-ú a-na la e-né-e
1+en-ta-àm šá-ta-ri il-qu-ú lú mu-kin-nu
16 Idugud-dingir-dingir-^damar-utu dumu-šú šá Imu-gin dumu lú-ad-gub₅
Iden-ú-ša^{sic}-lim <dumu-šú šá> Igi-mil-lu dumu Idù-eš-dingir
18 Idnà-na-šir dumu-šú šá Idamar-utu-gar-mu dumu Id₃₀-tab-ni
Idnà-bul-liṭ-su dumu-šú šá Idé-a-din-iṭ dumu lú-šu-ha
20 Idamar-utu-mu-šá-lim dub-sar a-šú šá Idugud-dingir-meš-^damar-utu
dumu Isu-ha-a-a tin-tir^{ki} iti zíz u₄ 6-kam
22 mu 3-kam Iku-raš lugal tin-tir^{ki} lugal kur-kur

L’argent (représentant) la dot de fLé’at-Mullissu, fille de Marduk-zêr-ibni, descendant d’Ea-lumur, et la moitié de dot de fHibtaia sa mère, (à propos duquel) les juges avaient rédigé des tablettes et les avaient remises à Marduk-zêr-ibni, fils de Marduk-šâkin-šumi, descendant de Sîn-tabni, l’époux de fLé’at-Mullissu, là-dessus, Marduk-zêr-ibni et fLé’at-Mullissu son épouse ont reçu en paiement 3 gur de terre agricole, (située) entre [.....] du Bît-Zêrûtu et Til-nuqabi (ainsi que) 14 arpents dans le district d’Eridu, et le solde en argent, selon les tablettes des juges, des mains de Nabû-taqbi-lîšir ; puis Marduk-zêr-ibni et fLé’at-Mullissu son épouse ont donné à Nabû-taqbi-lîšir un duplicat des tablettes de juges. L’affaire judiciaire concernant créance et dot est close entre eux. Pour qu’il n’y ait pas de modification, ils ont pris chacun un exemplaire.

Témoins : Kabti-ilâni-Marduk, fils de Šum-ukîn, descendant du Vannier ; Bêl-ušallim, <fils de> Gimillu, descendant d’Epeš-ili ; Nabû-nâšir, fils de Marduk-šâkin-šumi, descendant de Sîn-tabni ; Nabû-bullissu, fils de Ea-uballiṭ, descendant du Pêcheur ; Marduk-mušallim, scribe, fils de Kabti-ilâni-Marduk, descendant du Suhéen.

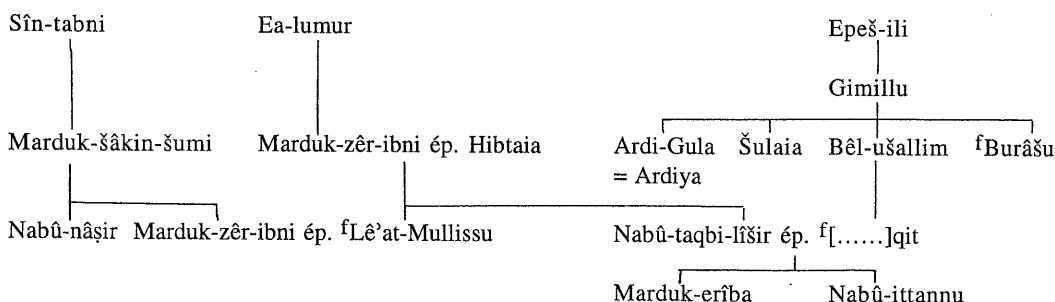
Babylone, 6-xi de l’an 3 de Cyrus, roi de Babylone, roi des pays.

Outre sa valeur juridique propre, ce texte fournit plusieurs indications prosopographiques. Il évoque en effet un conflit d'intérêts entre les deux enfants de Marduk-zêr-ibni de la famille Ea-lumur : Lê'at-Mullissu, épouse de Marduk-zêr-ibni (homonyme de son père, mais descendant de Sîn-tabni) et Nabû-taqbi-lîšir. Si Lê'at-Mullissu n'est pas attestée par ailleurs, Nabû-taqbi-lîšir se retrouve, lui, en *Cyr* 111, comme l'avaient déjà noté J. Kohler et F. Peiser. Mais l'interprétation qu'ils proposaient (*BR* II p. 12-13) est à revoir : ils faisaient de Lê'at-Mullissu une descendante d'Epeš-ili, épouse de Nabû-taqbi-lîšir puis seulement 8 mois plus tard de Marduk-zêr-ibni. Pour comprendre la situation, il convient de citer également *Cyr.* 111 :

Cyr 111

- [.....a-me]-[lut¹-ti ù ù-de-e é
 2 [šá Id^{en}-gi a-šú šá] Igi-mil-lu dumu Idù-eš-dingir
 [it-ti f.....]-qí-it dumu-mí-šú a-na nu-dun-nu-ú
 4 [a-na Id^{nà}-taq-bi]-li-ši-ir dumu-šú šá Id^{amar}-utu-numun-dù
 [a Id^{be}-lu-mur id-din]-nu ù fbu-ra-šú a-ha-ti
 6 [Id^{en}-gi x gur še-nu]mun zaq-pu ù 3-ta a-me-lut-tu₄
 [a-na f.....qí-i]t dumu-mí šeš-šú a-na
 8 [u₄-mu ša-a-tú] id-di-nu ár-ki nu-dun-nu-ú
 [.....] a-na Id^{nà}-taq-bi-si-sá
 10 [.....] 3-ta a-me-lut-tu₄
 [.....] nu-dun-nu-ú
 12 [.....ina šu^{II}]d^{en}-ú-šal-lim e-ši-ir
-
- [lú mu-kin₇ NP a-šú šá] Id^{en}-šú-nu dumu lú ka-ni-ku ká
 14 [NP a-šú šá IdND]-ri-man-ni dumu Isu-ha-a-a
 [NP a-šú šá I.....]-mu dumu lú šá mun-há-šú
 16 [NP a-šú šá I]mu-še-zib-^damar-utu dumu lú ka-ni-ku ká
 [Id^{amar}-utu-mu-ša]-[lim¹] dub-sar dumu lú ad-gub₅
 18 [Id^{amar}-utu-mu-ša]-lim dub-sar dumu Isu-ha-a-a
 [ká-dingir-ra^{ki} iti] sig₄ u₄ 11-kam mu 3-kam Iku-ra-áš
 20 [lugal ká-dingir]-ra^{ki} lugal kur-kur
 na₄-kišib Id^{amar}-utu-mu-ša^{sic}-lim dub-sar

Bêl-ušallim, fils de Gimillu, de la famille Epeš-ili, a marié sa fille à Nabû-taqbi-lîšir, fils de Marduk-zêr-ibni, de la famille Ea-lumur. La dot qu'il lui a constituée est grossie d'une donation faite par la tante de la jeune épouse, Burâšu. Dans le courant de la même année, Lê'at-Mullissu, sœur de Nabû-taqbi-lîšir réclame à son frère le versement de sa propre dot, constituée d'une partie des biens de leur père Marduk-zêr-ibni et de leur mère Hibtaia. Devant les obstacles mis par Nabû-taqbi-lîšir à s'exécuter, Lê'at-Mullissu et son mari Marduk-zêr-ibni portent l'affaire en justice. Les juges obligent alors Nabû-taqbi-lîšir à effectuer l'attribution des biens. Il reçoit ensuite de sa sœur et de son beau-frère une copie de la décision judiciaire, qu'il inclut dans ses archives, avec le texte *Cyr.* 111, qui concerne son propre mariage. Les relations familiales peuvent être présentées ainsi :



Un autre élément prosopographique remarquable de ces deux textes est la présence parmi les témoins ou comme scribes de deux personnages déjà évoqués dans une note de *NABU* (cf. F. Joannès, « Un lettré néo-babylonien », *NABU* 1988/55). Il s'agit de Kabti-ilâni-Marduk, descendant des familles Sûhaia et Atkuppû (« le Vannier ») et de son fils.

Le premier témoin de *BM* 77345 est en effet Kabti-ilâni-Marduk, bien attesté comme scribe dans des textes de l'époque de Nabonide ; on apprend qu'il est fils de (Nabû)-šum-ukîn, et c'est très probablement lui qui est également cité comme scribe de *Nbk* 328, l. 17 : [lú-umbisag I^{kab}]-tu-dingir-m[eš-^damar-utu] dumu-šú

ša Idnà-mu-gin dumu lú ad-gub₅ (Kiš, an 37 de Nabuchodonosor II) ; son fils Marduk-mušallim est le scribe de BM 77345 et de Cyr 111. Il reprend la curieuse pratique de son père d'indiquer à la fin de l'acte non seulement son ancêtre paternel, mais aussi son ancêtre maternel. Leur présence s'explique très probablement par la communauté professionnelle créée avec Nabû-zêr-lišir, descendant de Nabunnaia et Šamaš-bâri (cf. *NABU* 1988/55), et Bêl-ušallim, fils de Gimillu descendant d'Ea-êpeš-ili, qui est le beau-père de Nabû-taqbi-lišir, impliqué dans cette affaire de partage d'héritage. On les retrouve d'ailleurs tous trois en *Nbn* 687 (24-xii-Nbn 12), mentionnés comme scribes :

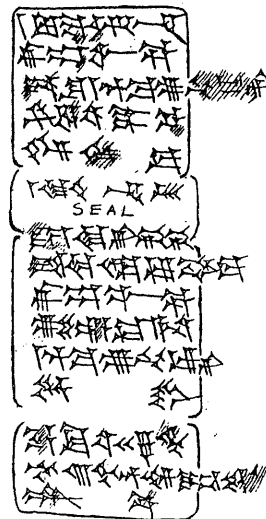
Idnà-numun-li-ši-ir dub-sar dumu Idutu-ba-a-ri
 Iden-ú-šal-lim dub-sar dumu Idé-a-dù-eš-dingir
 Idamar-utu-mu-ša^{sic}-lim dub-sar dumu Isu-ha-a-a

Francis JOANNÈS (15-06-1996)
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67) A Second Isin Dynasty Economic Text – Economic texts from the Second Dynasty of Isin are still comparatively rare, fewer than fifteen having been published to date. I am publishing here CBS 8074, copied more than a dozen years ago, and wish to call attention to other tablets from the same reign in Philadelphia and elsewhere which have come to my notice and are still awaiting publication.

CBS 8074

2 mlu-da-ri-EN
 sa-ap-pe-e
 i-na ŠU^{md}ba-ba₆ -[NUMUN-ib-ni]
 4 LÚ.ŠA.TAM TUR/DUMU(?) E(?)
 im-hur-ma
 6 mki-din-EN.MEŠ
 [DUMU] mki-ir-ga-ga
 8 id-di ù ip-ṭur-ma
 sa-ap-pe-e
 10 ú-tir-ma a-na
 mdba-ba₆-NUMUN-ib-ni
 12 SUM-in
 ITI.DU₆ U₄.27.KAM
 14 MU.13.KAM dIM-IBILA-SUM-[n]a
 LUGALE



Translation : Lū-dāri-Bēl received containers from Baba-zēra-ibni, the šatammu . . . and Kidin-bēlē son of Kirgaga deposited (them) ; and he reclaimed (them) and returned the containers and gave (them) to Baba-zēra-ibni. Month Tašritu, 27th day, 13th year (ot) Adad-apla-iddina, the king.

The tablet is impressed with an unusual seal published by Donald N. Matthews, *The Kassite Glyptic of Nippur*, no. 127, where the style is characterized as « coarse » and described as portraying as its main motif « a sphinx behind a man in martial? posture. »

Other texts from this reign have come to light in recent years : two from Nippur in Philadelphia and two in the Yale Babylonian collection (the latter two kindly called to my attention by Mark Cohen). The texts in Philadelphia are :

(a) N 4512—fragmentary legal text, dated X-3-year 8, with the theophoric element in the RN slightly damaged ;

(b) UM 29-15-598—damaged legal text, dated V-year 5(+) (with 5 or 15 the only possibilities) ; sale of a very young child from [KUR] lul-lu-mu-[ú] ; the text parallels other well-known sales of youngsters from Babylonia in the later second millennium (e.g., *BE* 14 1 and 128a ; *MSKH* I 383-384 no. 9 ; *UET* 7 2, 21, 23-25 ; *Bagh. Mitt.* 13 [1982] 57-60 no. 1 from Imlihiye) ; in most of these texts the child being sold is described as a native of Karduniaš ; but here the child is from KUR *Lullumá*, in the Imlihiye text from KUR *kašši*, and in an unpublished text from Babylon (B. 143) from KUR *aš-šur* ; this is the first attestation of a post-Kassite text of the type. The texts from Yale are :

(a) NBC 11468—account text dealing with grain, dated at Huradu in year 18 (no month or day) ;

(b) NBC 11469—account text dealing with grain, dated X-28-year 19.

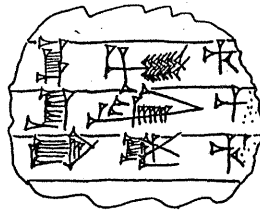
To update the last comprehensive bibliography for contemporary economic texts from the reign of Adad-apla-iddina which appeared in *AnOr* 43 (1968) 337, one should also add that : (a) HS 156 (no. 8.2.8) has since been published as *TuM* NF 5 45 and edited by Bernhardt in *AOAT* 25 (1976) 29-32 (dated in year 10, without month or day) ; (b) L74.100, an extensively damaged text—perhaps administrative—dated in [MN]-

30-year 5, has been published by Arnaud, *Syria* 53 (1976) 79 and 81. For a bibliography of kudurru materials from the reign which is still up-to-date, see Frame, *AOF* 13 (1986) 206 n. 2; only one kudurru bears a year date (VA 5937 = *AOF* 13 [1986] 206-211, year 1), one without preserved date clearly belongs to the reign (*BBS* no. 26), and the other kudurrus either mention Adad-apla-iddina in equivocal context or preserve an RN in damaged or ambiguous form.

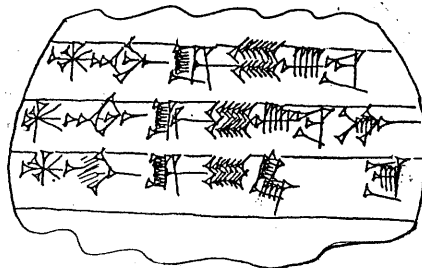
J. A. BRINKMAN (10-6-96)

68) Three Sumerian Student Tablets – The three lenticular school exercise tablets copied herewith are the property of Justin Schiller of New York City, to whom go my thanks for permission to study and publish them. Copies show the flat side, with traces on the curved side of No. 2.

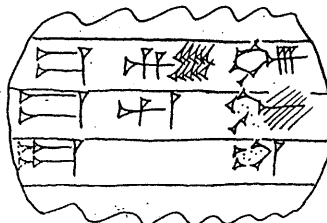
No. 1. diameter ca. 70 cm. Three names of birds. For the e-sig₁₇^{mušen}, see Owen, *ZA* 71 (1981), 37; Civil, *MEE* 3, 276. Lexical data for the šu-lú^{mušen} are cited CAD s.v. ḫūqu. The GA.KAD₄^{mušen} may be taken as a variant of the KAD₄^{mušen} known from the ED bird list 79 (see Pettinato, *OrAn* 17 [1978], 171) with an Eblaite « reading » or « name » ka(k)-dum^{mušen} and an Eblaite gloss *ba-gi-lum* in the Ebla Vocabulary (*MEE* 4, 310: 1004); also in the extract *MEE* 3 41 I 5'. Civil, to whom my thanks, suggests to me that GA may be a phonetic indicator and draws my attention to KAD₄-ga^(mušen) in Deimel, *Fara* II 12, a list discussed briefly by Civil and Biggs, *RA* 60 (1966), 11 IV.



No. 2. diameter 78 cm. Inscription on flat side, with traces on the curved side unrelated. Name and epithets of Ašgi. For the writing, Biggs, *JCS* 24 (1971/2), 1-2. TÛR as an epithet raises interesting problems. In recent scholarship, the sign is generally taken to stand for šilam 'cow' when applied to deities (Römer, *Königshymnen*, 264 note 14), but this does not seem appropriate for a presumably male deity. Falkenstein once proposed an "eigenartige Verwendung" of TÛR in Inninšagurra 183 (*ZA* 49 [1949], 85 note 4): dingir-an-ki-a a-na-[m]e-a-bi TÛR-gal-bi-me-en: "grosse 'Hürde' bist du (= Inanna)" but Sjöberg, *ZA* 65 (1975), 196 reads šilam 'cow' in this line. Perhaps here TÛR refers to the paddock as one of Ašgi's concerns (for these, see Sjöberg, *TCS* 1, 121), but the epithet remains hard to explain.



No. 3. diameter 78 cm. Reed objects, badly written, with erasures.



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69) In his introduction to the book *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, SAA X 1993, p. XVIII, Prof. Simo Parpola comments upon the difference between the legendary *apkallu* («sages») and the historical *ummanu* («scholar») as reflecting the Mesopotamian concept of progressively deteriorating quality of human being, as pointed out by H.S. Kvanvig, *Roots of the Apocalyptic*, Vol. I, pp. 210 & 217. It may be of interest to quote a rabbinical saying (Shabbath p. 112b) «R. Zera said in Raba b. Zimuna's name: If the earlier scholars were sons of angels, we are sons of men; and if the earlier scholars were sons of men, we are like asses, and not even like asses of R. Hanina b. Dosa and R. Pinchas Ben Yair, but like other asses».

B. ODED (12-01-96)
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N.A.B.U.

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*N.A.B.U. est publié par la Société pour l'Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien, Association sans but lucratif
(Loi de 1901). Directeur de la publication : D. Charpin. ISSN n° 0989-5671.*

Dépôt légal : Paris, 06-1996. Reproduction par photocopie