

N.A.B.U.

Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires

1996

N°4 (Décembre)

NOTES BRÈVES

98) Was there an Anatolian multiple mining centre in *Šalahšuwa*? – Recently I discussed the Anatolian town *Šalahšu(w)a*, attested in the Old Assyrian documents, in my paper in *SHIKAN* (The Historical Review), No. 134 (Waseda Univ., Tokyo, March 1996), pp. 52-63, under the same title as above. Since this article is in Japanese, without an abstract in an European language, I summarise here the main points of my discussion. Although the references to this town are still limited in number, they acquaint us with the fact that the town had, rather exceptionally, a strong connection with several mineral sources – namely gold (originally discussed on pp. 54b-56a as §3), silver (p. 56a as §4), lead (pp. 56b-57b as §5), and *suā'um* (pp. 57b-58a as §7). Probably it was a mining centre, possibly located somewhere in or near a mountainous area (pp. 53a-54b as §2 and p. 58b as §8). The discussion depends not only on the sources already known (cf. K. Nashef, *TAVO B 7/4*, p. 99f.), but also on some unpublished references (kt. 89/k 222: 17; 267: 2, 10; 91/k 416: 17), and on the result of the collation of LB 1283 (cf. Nashef, *Rekonstruktion*, p. 39f.; M. Forlanini, *FS S. Alp* (1992), p. 175; *idem.*, *Hethitica 10* (1990), p. 122, n. 15).

Hence I want to present the references of *Šalahšuwa* in connection with each mineral source and some additional remarks for its location under five paragraphs. Then I would like to demonstrate by means of those remarks that the town could have been a mining centre in the Old Assyrian period.

1) « Gold of *Šalahšuwa* (*hurāšum ša Šalahšua*) »¹ is newly attested in the unpublished contract kt. 89/k 267, that reads: « One third mina and two shekels of gold of extra quality of Š., B. will weigh out to Ikuppī-[Aššur?]. (Then) he will release to him the bond of 1/3 mina of gold under his seal. If he did not send the gold of Š., he will weigh out to him 3 minas and 6 shekels of silver (instead of the gold). (4 witnesses) ... »⁽¹⁾ 1/3 ma-na 2 [GÍN]²⁾ KÛ.KI ša Š[a¹-lá-aḫ-šu-a]³⁾ SIG5 DIRIG | Bu-[...] ⁴⁾ a-na I-ku-pi[-A-šur?] ⁵⁾ i-ša-qál | DU[B¹-pá-am ša] ⁶⁾ 1/3 ma-na K/Û.K[I] ⁷⁾ ša ku-nu-ki[-šu] ⁸⁾ ú-ša-ar-šu[-um] ⁹⁾ šu-ma KÛ.GI ¹⁰⁾ ša Ša-lá-aḫ-šu-a ¹¹⁾ lá uš-té-bi₄-lam ¹²⁾ 3 ma-na 6 GÍN K[Û.BABBAR] ¹³⁾ i-ša-qál-šu-um). This attestation now definitely helps us to understand the situation described in the business letter TuM 1 3b, that runs in translation: « Twenty days ago, he (i.e. Šū-Ḫubur, hereafter ŠḪ) came to *Hurama*. (Then) he continued his journey toward *Šalahšuwa* for the sake of gold. (Later on) I (i.e. Šumm(a)-libbi-abia, hereafter ŠI) heard that he had returned to *Hurama* (empty handed), since there was nothing else but lead (in *Šalahšuwa*!). If he still stays there, make him weigh out the 28 minas of silver and the price of 9 minas of copper » (lines 9-19) (cf. P. Garelli, *AC* p. 110f.; E. Bilgiç, *AfO 15*, p. 27; *CAD A/I*, 36b). My interpretation of the situation is as follows: at their last meeting in *Hurama* twenty days earlier, ŠI allowed one of his agents, ŠḪ, to go to *Šalahšuwa*, since there was good reason for both of them to expect gold to be obtained over there – this was in fact the « gold of Š. » – and ŠḪ could have paid off his debt through the gold transaction. But, after leaving *Hurama* (*ētiq* in line 13 is without ventive contrary to *illik-am* in line 10) and on being informed that ŠḪ had failed to obtain gold, ŠI now started to worry about his silver due from ŠḪ, which may be the reason why he asked his representative to make ŠḪ pay his debt immediately.

2) The reference to «lead» (*abārum*) in TuM 1 3b : 14 translated above, seems to have been rather accidentally mentioned in the letter belonging to an Assyrian merchant. It is actually one of only two occurrences – the other is AKT 1 30 : 12 – of lead in the Kültepe tablets.² One cannot, however, ignore the fact that neither lead nor gold was available in *Hurama*, but both could be obtained in the town of *Šalahšuwa* (TuM 1 3b).

3) We know already from KTS 1 12 the existence of «silver of *Šalahšuwa*» (*kaspum ša Šalahšuwa*). Thus *Šalahšuwa* became one of the only two towns whose names are used to designate both silver and gold in the Kültepe tablets.³

4) Although a connection between «sū-stone» (*suā'um*) and *Šalahšuwa* is not proven, an unpublished letter, kt. 89/k 222, provides us with the interesting information that there lived a special sū-stone cutter (**awilum ša suā'am išarramušini*) in *Šalahšuwa*, who was not so easily found in the other places. The passage in question reads: «As for the fact that the sū-stone has not yet been cut up, the man is still staying in Š. I have written to him ten times, (asking) him to come here and cut it, so that I can leave for *Hattum*»⁽¹⁴⁾ *a-dī*⁽¹⁵⁾ *sū-ū-um lá šar-ma-at-ni*⁽¹⁶⁾ *a-wi-lum i-na*⁽¹⁷⁾ *ša-lá-aḥ-šu-wa*⁽¹⁸⁾ *ú-ša-áb a-dī*⁽¹⁹⁾ *10-šu*⁽⁹⁾ *áš-ta-par-šu-um i-lá-kam*⁽²⁰⁾ *i-ša-ra-am-ši-ma*⁽²¹⁾ *a-na Ḥa-tim a-ta-lá-ak*.⁽⁴⁾

5) *Šalahšuwa* whose exact location is unknown,⁵ could be expected to lie almost at the end of the main trade route between *Timilkia* and *Kaniš*. It is obvious, too, that two other towns, *Hurama* and *Luhusaddia* (ICK 1 61 ; VS 26 109 = EL 252), were the nearest to it. Of the two, *Hurama*, as proven by a travel account (CCT 6 40b) and a letter (KTS 1 7b), was located on the main route, most likely as the last station before *Kaniš*. But it is doubtful whether *Šalahšuwa* was also located on that route, since *Hurama* does not occur in the travel account LB 1283 (lines 11f. : ⁽¹¹⁾ *iš-tù ša-lá-aḥ-šu-a*⁽¹²⁾ *a-dī-EN*⁽¹⁾), where it should occur if *Šalahšuwa* was somewhere on the route either between *Timilkia* and *Hurama* (Nashef) or between *Hurama* and *Kaniš* (Forlanini)⁽⁶⁾. I now rather believe that there existed a route from *Hurama* to *Šalahšuwa* (TuM 1 3b ; KTK 64), but that it was part of the by-route to *Luhusaddia*,⁽⁷⁾ and from there perhaps direct by further north (possibly reaching the *Kuššara* (cf. VS 26 22 ; TC 3 74) and *Hattum* (-land) (cf. ICK 1 1) area ; cf. J. Lewy, *ArOr* 18/3 (1950), p. 426, n. 333, *idem.*, *HUCA* 33 (1962), p. 48f.) without passing *Kaniš*. Whether *Hurama* should be located somewhere in the mountain valleys south-east of *Kaniš* (cf. M. T. Larsen, *OACC* p. 237) or somewhere near the modern *Elbistan* (cf. P. Garelli, *op. cit.* p. 111)⁽⁸⁾, *Šalahšuwa* should in either case be looked for somewhere closer to the mountain area north to *Hurama* (Š. possibly in the modern Binboğa Mountains). This, then, might well explain why some texts (ATHE 62 ; ICK 2 337 ; KTK 64 ; OIP 27 5 [Ib] ; TC 1 81) mention *Šalahšuwa* and *Luhusaddia* in connection with «smuggling» (*puzzur(tum)*), that occurred most frequently in this particular area (cf. K. R. Veenhof *AOATT*, pp. 312f. [BIN 4 48], 317, 329, 332-336).⁽⁹⁾

I would like once again to draw attention to the fact that both silver and lead are now connected with the same place (*Šalahšuwa*). It can be quite important not only as a philological information but from an archaeological viewpoint as well, since all silver samples from ancient Anatolia, without exception, is categorised as 'argentiferous galena (Bleiglanze)',⁽¹⁰⁾ that means that any silver mines in ancient Anatolia must have been (by-)producing much lead as long as suitable quantity of silver was contained in its ore. We know now also about that there was such amount of gold available in *Šalahšuwa* as being well-known to some merchants and being named after the place. It seems no mineralogical problem for there to have been both gold and silver available at the same mine. Another remarkable fact is that there occurs no proof for a particular connection between all these mining products and *Hurama* or *Luhusaddia*, but only with *Šalahšuwa*, on condition that these towns were located to be close one another. This result might quite confuse us since, for instance, *Hurama*, as a main caravan station, could have been of great advantage to be such a metal market in this area, unless *Šalahšuwa* should have the considerable function as a kind of depot of those mineral sources. Certainly, the implication would not deny the traditional assumption that this whole area were actually a mountain range, just to the south of the so-called *libbi mātim* «the inner land» (CCT 2 48 : 7f., 18, 24) and that, as already discussed by several scholars,⁽¹¹⁾ the land could be closely connected with (the production of) meteorite iron (*ašī'um*) which is attested to have been available sometimes in any town of that area. But, consequently, we may now be required to consider the possibility that *Šalahšuwa*, just like the position of *Purušhattum*, functioned not only as a metal market, but also as a mining centre, being located somewhere to the south east of *Kaniš*, near unknown mines in the mountain area.

After completing my paper (Japanese one), Professor Veenhof kindly informed me of the existence of kt. 91/k 148 (unpublished), which is a verdict of *kārum Šalahšuwa*. The fact itself is quite interesting and raises the question whether that *kārum* could be identical to the *kārum Hurama* (cf. EL 252 : *kārum Hurama ša-lá-aḥ-šu-a*) or is a different, new *kārum*, and next whether both towns at same time formed a 'twin city'.

1. P. Garelli suggested that the place name in «(metal) of *GN* (*X ša GN*)» could indicate the local market (*AC*, pp. 267f, 295). As for copper and its production in connection with topographical names in Anatolia during the period, see J. G. Dercksen, *The Old Assyrian Copper Trade in Anatolia* (Leiden 1996), pp. 15-17, 43-47.

2. It does not surprise us that the Assyrian merchants had no intention to trade in lead, when one reminds oneself of the fact that lead is too heavy and too cheap (i.e. costs of its transport are too high) to be profitable. It is, however, also true that a lot of lead objects are continually being unearthed not only in Kültepe but also in other sites in Anatolia (cf. T. Özgüç, *Kaniš II*, p. 77f.; K. Emre, *Anatolian Lead Figurines ...* (Ankara, 1971), esp. p. 116; K. Bittel, *Bogazköy III*, p. 31; R. B. Böhmer, *Bogazköy X*, p. 37a; H. H. von der Osten, *The Alishar Hüyük I*, pp.198, 270, *II*, pp. 264-273. Hence, the trade in lead, most likely by the local merchants, went on, whether Assyrian merchants were involved in it or not.

3. The other town is *Purušhattum*, which appears in combination with silver, gold, and copper (cf. Nashef, *TAVO B 7/4*, pp. 29-31). As already suggested by M. T. Larsen, it is obvious that the town was the most important centre of silver production, possibly located close to the silver-mines in the Taurus Mountains (M. T. Larsen, *OACC* p. 104; *idem*, *OACP* p. 94f. & n. 47). The town in which Aḫ-šalim looked for either gold, silver, or copper, for the sake of Imdilum (TC 2 37; cf. J. G. Dercksen, *op. cit.* pp. 124 and 128), seems possible to have been *Purušhattum*, but there is no further information available on it for this moment. I recall also the mention, in the Hist. Inscription A of Šū-Sin (= Šūsuen 20b of *FAOS* 9,2, Teil 2, p. 271), of *Ḫabura* and *Mardaman* (both located near modern Mardin?), whose people were forced to mine silver and gold over there (?) by the king (Col. VI 10-18) (cf. D. O. Edzard, *AfO* 19 (1959-60), p. 4ff.). But it is uncertain whether the mine in question was located near those places (cf. R. Kutscher, *The Brockmon Tablets*, (Haifa, 1989), pp. 80, 90f., 97.).

4. As for the general information about *suā'um*, see M. Stol, *On Trees, Mountains, and Millstones ...* (MEOL, Leiden, 1979), pp. 94-96. It is known that whetting stones was a task of the *nappāhum* (*ibid.* p. 90), but no texts mention stone cutters as a distinct occupational group. Besides references of *CAD* S 337f.; Š/II, 48f., see also: Dercksen, *op. cit.*, p. 239 (*su'un*); J.-M. Durand, *Mélanges J.-R. Kupper* (1990), p. 168, ARMT 22 203+ : III : 31 (ref. Professor M. Stol).

5. The place appears also in texts belonging to the later periods (cf. *TAVO B 7/6*, p. 332; *B 7/6/2*, p. 134).

6. The proposal was once suggested by M. Forlanini *Hethitica* 6 (1986), p. 64, n. 81 & p. 67 (map), but now also see *idem.*, *ASVOA* 4.2 (Roma 1992), Tav. X, p. 16 (map) & p. 17 cf.

7. The town was already suggested to have been an important centre of wool production in OA period, see H. Hirsch, *RIA* 6, pp. 433-435 «*Lu(lju)wazantijalLuḫuzattia*»

8. In his recent article, M. Forlanini has defined its location in *Zamanlı Su* area; see *idem.*, *op. cit.* (FS S. Alp, 1992), p. 175; *idem.*, «The Kings of Kaniš», *O. Carruba et al. (eds.), Atti del II congresso internazionale di Hittitologia [= Studia Mediterranea* 9], (Pavia 1995), p. 124, n. 5

9. Besides the main caravan route (*Ḫaḫḫum – Timilkia – Ḫurama – Kaniš*), one may now expect the following (by-) roads passing through in this area: *Ḫaḫḫum – Šalahšuwa – Turḫumit* as opposed to *Ḫaḫḫum – Timilkia – Turḫumit* (kt. 91/k 416 courtesy Prof. K. R. Veenhof); *Ḫurama – Šalahšuwa – Luḫusaddia* (KTK 64; TuM 1 3b); *Timilkia – Luḫusaddia*, the by-road (?) without passing either *Ḫurama* or *Šalahšuwa* (KTK 64!); *Ḫurama – Šalatuwar* (BIN 4 2; 48; TC 3 13; cf. Veenhof, *op. cit.* p. 48).

10. Cf. P. S. de Jesus, *The Development of Prehistoric Mining ...* (Oxford, 1980), p. 63f.; K. A. Yener, *Anatolica* 10 (1983), pp. 1-15; J. D. Muhly, *RIA* 8 1/2, p. 130.

11. See references in: W. Röellig *RIA* 4, p. 502 «*Ḫurama*».

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99) Bürgschaft – Das Dossier YOS 6, 102. 132. 197 (BR 6, 101. 25. 21; s. die Literatur dort auf p. 34) kann durch Sack, *Cuneiform Documents from the Chaldean and Persian Periods* (1994), Nr. 76 erweitert werden. Es geht um folgendes: Amurru-bān-ahi schuldete dem Eanna, vertreten durch Šamaš-ah-iddin, 28 Kor Gerste, zahlbar am 25.8.(10 Nabonid). Zahlbürge war Nabû-zēr-ukīn. Eine Sklavin wurde als Pfand gestellt (YOS 6, 102; 11.8.10 Nabonid). Amurru-bān-ahi konnte seine Schuld nicht begleichen, denn etwas mehr als zwei Monate später wurde der Bürge Nabû-zēr-ukīn zur Zahlung herangezogen. Nabû-zēr-ukīn verkaufte zwei trainierte Pflugrinder gegen 27 Scheqel Silber an Šamaš-ah-iddin (YOS 6, 132; 22.10.10 Nabonid). Das Silber ist «der Gegenwert von Getreide ... zu Lasten des Amurru-bān-ahi ..., für das Nabû-zēr-ukīn ... gebürgt hat». Es handelt sich also um eine *datio in solutum*. Daß mit den Rindern im Wert von 27 Scheqel noch nicht die ganze Schuld des Amurru-bān-ahi abgedeckt war, zeigt Sacks Text, WHM 1708. (* bezeichnet von der Erstausgabe aufgrund der Photos abweichende Lesungen; Zeichen am rechten Rand, die auf den Photos nicht zu sehen sind, werden nach Sacks Transkription in () gegeben).

- 1 ud.26.kam šá iti.ab* I^dag-numun-du
a-šú šá I¹man-na-da-am-mu-ú a-na unug^{ki}
il-lak-ma it-ti I^dutu-šeš-mu
a-šú šá I^du.gur-da-nu šu-un(Text: uš)-qu-tú
- 5 šá 1/3 ma.na 6 gín kù.babbar ina še.bar níg.ga
d^{ga}šan šá unug^{ki} u d^{na}-na-a šá ina muh-hi
I^dkur.gal-dù-šeš a-šú šá I^dkur*.gal*-numun-^rdù¹
šá I^dag-numun-du pu-ut e-ḫè-ru na-(šu-ú)

- Rd. a-ki-i ki.lam šá ina unug^{ki}
 10 kù.babbar a₄ 1/3 ma.na 6¹ gín ina še.bar-šú
 Rs. ú-šá-an-qa-at* ʾki*-i* la¹* it-tal-ka
 a-ki-i ki.lam šá še.bar šá ina iti.ab kù.babbar a₄ (1/3 ma.na 6 gín <u>?)
 ʾur₅¹*? <ra> ú-il-ti-šú¹ Idutu-šeš-mu ina šu^{II} Idag-numun-du (i-nam-din ; lies i-mah-har o.ä.)
 lu¹mu-ki[n₇] I]na-din a-šú šá Iden-ʾda¹* a Id₃₀-ti-ér
 15 Idna-na -ʾa-mu¹ a-šú šá Iden-šeš^{meš}-su
 I]la*-b[ʾa*-a-ši a-šú šá I]ʾeri*-ba¹*-a Idag-ʾe*-ki¹*-(im*)
 a*-šú* [šá I]ha-nu-nu lu¹umbisa]g* ʾI¹*[b]a*-ʾI]a¹*-ʾI]u]*
 a*-[šú šá Idù-d¹inanna uru¹il-li-a-gur-ru^{meš}]
 [š¹i-i]-ʾhu* sá¹* [dgašan šá unug^{ki}]
 20 ʾiti.ab¹ ud.ʾ22*.kam mu.10*.kam dag¹-n¹.ʾtuk¹
 Rd. lugal tin.tir^{ki}

4) -uš- ist im Licht von 11 zweifellos ein Schreibfehler für -un-. Für *šunqutu* s. CAD Š/3, 282 s.v. **šunqutu* « adjustment, deduction ». *šunqutu ušanqat* (s. auch CAD M/1, 251) bedeutet hier etwa « (ab)zahlen » mit der Konnotation einer Teilzahlung – Nabû-zēr-ukīn soll nicht die gesamte von Amurru-bān-ahi geschuldete Gerste auf diese Weise begleichen.

10) *ina* še.bar-šú « von seiner Gerste », d.h. von der Gerste, für die er gebürgt hat und die er nun schuldet ; eher nicht « mit(tels) seiner Gerste », was eine erneute Konvertierung der Schuld von Silber in Gerste bedeuten würde.

12f.) Die letzte Klausel ist problematisch, unser Lösungsvorschlag vorläufig ; das Original müßte kollationiert werden. Am Ende von 13, das auf den Photos nicht zu sehen ist, kann u.E. Sacks *i-nam-din* nicht richtig sein ; man erwartet *mahāru* oder *eṭēru*. Das Zeichen am Anfang von 13, am Photo leider nicht gut zu erkennen, ist sicher nicht *u* mit Sack (auch eher nicht *ù*). HAR erscheint möglich. Ergänzt man am Ende von 12 *u* und emendiert HAR zu ur₅.<ra>, ergibt sich ein einigermaßen plausibler Sinn. Für *hubul u'ilti* vgl. z.B. YOS 7, 150 : 11.

14ff.) Es sind dies dieselben Zeugen und derselbe Schreiber wie in YOS 6, 132.

« Am 26. Ṭebet wird Nabû-zēr-ukīn, der Sohn des Mannu-damû, nach Uruk kommen und bei Šamaš-ah-iddin, dem Sohn des Nergal-dān, eine Abzahlung in der Höhe von 26 Scheqel Silber von der Gerste aus dem Besitz der Herrin von Uruk und Nanāja, die zu Lasten von Amurru-bān-ahi, dem Sohn des Amurru-zēr-ibni, ist und für die Nabû-zēr-ukīn gebürgt hat – gemäß dem in Uruk gültigen Kurs wird er (also) diesen Silberbetrag, 26 Scheqel, von seiner Gerste abzahlen. Wenn er nicht kommt, wird Šamaš-ah-iddin von Nabû-zēr-ukīn dieses Silber, 26 Scheqel, nach dem Gerstekurs des Ṭebet und den Zins seines Verpflichtungsscheins erhalten.

Zeugen ; Schreiber. [Til-agurrēti] ; 22. Ṭebet, Jahr 10 Nabonid, König von Babylon. »

Wir rekonstruieren den gesamten Vorgang folgendermaßen : Als Amurru-bān-ahi seine Schuld von 28 Kor Gerste nicht zahlen konnte, wurde diese wahrscheinlich zum aktuellen Kurs in 53 Scheqel Silber konvertiert (etwas weniger als zwei Scheqel für ein Kor Gerste ; wesentlich mehr als der angebliche Durchschnittspreis von einem Scheqel pro Kor, s. dazu zuletzt G. Müller, *AfO* 42/43, 163ff., mit Literatur, besonders 165 und Abb. 7 auf 174) und dem Zahlbürgen angelastet. 27 Scheqel konnte Nabû-zēr-ukīn mit den zwei Pflugrindern am 22. Ṭebet begleichen (YOS 6, 132) ; für 26 Scheqel erhielt er am selben Tag noch einen Aufschub von vier Tagen (WHM 1708). Wenn von uns richtig verstanden, bestimmt die letzte Klausel in diesem Text einfach, daß die Schuld sich verzinsen würde, wenn Nabû-zēr-ukīn den Termin nicht einhalten können würde.

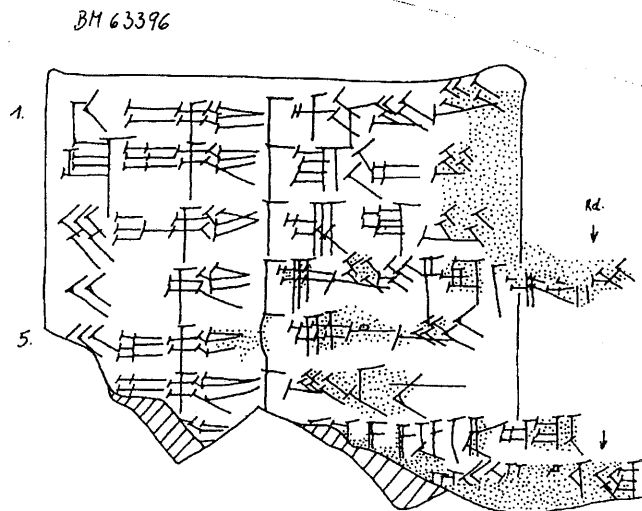
Am 25(?). Ṭebet 10 Nabonid verkaufte Nabû-zēr-ukīn die in YOS 6, 102 verpfändete Sklavin gegen 37 Scheqel Silber an Šamaš-ah-iddin (YOS 6, 197). Sacks Text zeigt, daß Nabû-zēr-ukīn zum fraglichen Zeitpunkt (das Datum in YOS 6, 197 könnte eventuell auch 26¹.10.10 Nabonid sein, womit man genau den in WHM 1708 stipulierten Termin hätte) noch Schulden gegenüber dem Tempel und dessen Vertreter Šamaš-ah-iddin hatte. Es ist daher naheliegend, auch in diesem Verkauf eine *datio in solutum* zu sehen (mindestens teilweise, da der Preis der Sklavin Nabû-zēr-ukīns Schuld übersteigt), obwohl das in der Urkunde nicht explizit gesagt wird. Für die von Petschow, *Neubabylonisches Pfandrecht* (1956), 90²⁶³ und San Nicolò, *Or.* 23, 376f.^{+Anm.} diskutierte Frage, ob die Sklavin ursprünglich dem Schuldner oder dem Bürgen gehörte (in YOS 6, 102 sind grammatikalisch beide Möglichkeiten denkbar), hilft dies allerdings nicht weiter.

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100) BM 63396 – Esel – Bei meinem letzten Besuch im British Museum fiel mir folgender interessanter Text auf, den ich mit der freundlichen Erlaubnis der Trustees hier präsentieren möchte.

| | | | |
|-----|----|--------------|--|
| Vs. | 1. | 72 anše | Idutu-šeš-ùru |
| | 2. | 66 anše | I ^{su} -lum-še[š] |
| | 3. | 54 anše | Id ^{en} -ad-ùru |
| | 4. | 20 anše | Id ^{ag} -šeš-mu šá ina? é? Id ^{ag} -fšeš [?] 1-mu |
| | 5. | 36 anše | Id ^{ag} -aš-ùru |
| | 6. | [x+2+]4 anše | I ^{šeš} -šú-nu |
| | 7. | [x a]nše | [I ^{kal-b}]a-a a-šú šá I ^{ha} -ab-ba-šú |
| | 8. | [x anše | I a-šú] šá I ^x x ri [?] -tu |

Der Rest der Vs. ist abgebrochen.
Rs. unbeschrieben.



Maßstab 1 : 1,2

Es handelt sich hierbei um einen Verwaltungstext aus dem Ebabbar-Archiv, wobei leider die Unterschrift abgebrochen ist.

Die erwähnten Personen sind aus dem Tempelarchiv gut bekannt, es handelt sich um Tempelbauern, *ikkaru*, die zum Teil auch Pflugteamführer, *rab epinni*, sind und in den einschlägigen administrativen Texten aufscheinen; der Text ist aufgrund dieser Personengruppe in die Regierungszeit Nabonids oder in die ersten Jahre Kyros' zu datieren. S. hierzu in M. Jursa, *AFO Beih.* 25 (1995) das Kapitel über die Tempelbauern pp. 7ff. und ihre Prosopographie, p. 25ff.

Worum geht es aber, was beschreibt der Text? Handelt es sich um Lieferungen der Bauern von Gerste in 'imēru' berechnet oder um eine Zuteilung von Eseln an die genannten Personen oder Lieferungen in « Eselladungen »?

Ersteres wäre ungewöhnlich für diesen Ort und diese Zeit. Als Volumsmaß sind *emāru* nur im Norden Mesopotamiens in Verwendung. Die Notierung der Zahlen macht aber stutzig: Sie sind mit waagerechten Keilen für die Einerstellen geschrieben, wie bei der Notierung von gur; dies würde also eher für eine Volumsangabe sprechen.

Zweiteres wäre bemerkenswert, da im Archiv Esel bis jetzt nur immer vereinzelt auftauchen; das Ebabbar scheint keine eigene (große) Herde gehabt zu haben. Wenn es sich um eine Zuteilung von Eseln handelt, wäre dies aber gut zu erklären: Die Ernte mußte ja von den Feldern zu den Speichern etc. gebracht werden, was sowohl zu Land als auch zu Wasser geschah. In Transportkostenabrechnungen finden wir selten, aber doch, Posten für Miete oder Futterrationen von Eseln (s. z.B. YOS 6, 171 : 13). Die hohe Anzahl der Tiere überrascht aber dennoch. Nimmt man jedoch an, daß es sich um Lieferungen von Gerste handelt, die man in « Eselladungen » berechnet, könnte man die Anzahl der tatsächlich vorhandenen Esel niedriger ansetzen.

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101) Two notes on Ekallatum – (1) W. W. Hallo found that an Old Babylonian itinerary listed Ekallatum one day's travel north of Aššur. Since circumstantial evidence pointed to a location by the Tigris, he suggested identification of Ekallatum with a ruin called « Hākal, Haichal, or Hekal » 25 km north of Aššur on the left side of the Tigris. About the location on the left side Hallo remarked in JCS 18 (1964) 72 « Since there is a ford in the river at this point it (Ekallatum) could presumably have been easily reached from Aššur in a day's march if, indeed, the travellers did not simply encamp opposite it. » M. Birot thought he could confirm the location on the left side with a passage from the letter TH 72-2 which he quoted in Syria 50 (1973) 4. Wu Yuhong improved interpretation of the passage in the note *NABU* 1994/38. Accordingly, the writer of the letter advised Yasmah-Addu (so according to D. Charpin apud P. Marelli, *MARI* 7 [1993] 279) to communicate with Išme-Dagan by sending his messengers by way of Gadašum Village, and then by night to Ade where they would cross the Tigris *à a-lum-ma Ni-ne-elet!* « and the city there is Ninive » (so Yuhong). The messenger was now on the east side of the Tigris. But since nothing is said about the route to Išme-Dagan in Ekallatum, no deduction of the location of Ekallatum can be drawn.

In ARMT 26 522 the head of the Mariote garrison of Karana writes: « 4000 Turukkum crossed, and they are headed for Ekallatum. » That Turukkum « cross » was repeatedly reported by Mariote functionaries speaking from points west of the Tigris, namely from Karana as here and in 26 517, and from Andarig in 26 404 : 89. The crossing was from east to west as is implied in the interest which it aroused in points west of the Tigris. It is implied in 26 517 where it is stated that Turukkum were seen crossing and that Zaziya, their king, was last seen in Ninive and it was not sure whether he too had crossed (see Yuhong's note). If then 4000 Turukkum crossed the Tigris from the east and were headed for Ekallatum, this city must have been located on the right side of the river. 26 425 shows that Turukkum who are not said to have crossed the river raided « the land of Ekallatum on the other side of the river, » leading again to the conclusion that Ekallatum was on the right side.

According to 26 432 « 300 Assyrians and 300 donkeys with them went out from Ekallatum » and came to Karana. Some of them went on to Andarig where they were detained by Beltum who substituted for her absent husband Atamrum. As reported in 26 433 the ruler of Karana protested this action. Beltum defended it by saying: « As an announcement of passage came to you from the city Aššur, and those men crossed the border into your land, why did an announcement of passage not come to me in the same manner? » If we put the information of both letters together it appears that the caravan originated from Aššur, went to Ekallatum, and from there to Karana etc. It is quite inconceivable that the 300 Assyrian merchants risked their merchandise and donkeys in a Tigris crossing, ford or not. They may have camped opposite Ekallatum, as Hallo suggested. I prefer to take the sentence « went out from Ekallatum » literally which puts the city again on the right side of the river.

It seems then that the incidence of similar geographical names in the same region, i.e. Ekallatum = ruin Hākal, Haichal, Hekal, needs another explanation. Could the course of the Tigris have shifted from east to west of the ruin since antiquity? Did the name linger in the area and not on the precise spot of the ancient city?

(2) In ARMT 26 342 Yamsum reports from Karana: « All the Numha of Ekallatum wander about without barley. And [troops transport] barley of Karana. » How should the statement be understood? Are the Numha a segment of the population of Ekallatum which wandered about without barley whereas inhabitants of other tribal or ethnic affiliation, for example Assyrians, Hana, or Yamutbal, perhaps also some naturalized Quteans and Turukkum, had barley. Or is « all the Numha of Ekallatum » a characterization of the general population of the city? Or is there a third possibility to understand the statement? Adoption of the first scenario leads immediately to an oddity. Was Ekallatum a welfare state in which troops transported barley for the impoverished Numha? Surely not. Later on in the letter we learn that Assyrian merchants established a trade monopoly in Karana: « the foreman of the merchants [of Aššur] brought in a contribution to Aškur-Addu. And all of Aššur monopolized (so I understand the verb *uštallaṭ* "it gave itself the power to manage") trading in Karana. » A link between the hungry Numha and the Assyrian trade monopoly does not seem to be expressed in the letter – some lines intervening between the two topics are unintelligible – but it is natural to assume that the Assyrians planned to sell barley to the hungry Numha. The hunger of the Numha apparently motivated the mobilization of resources of state in Ekallatum. The second scenario fits this situation clearly better: the general population of Ekallatum could be described as Numha.

It seems then that Ekallatum lay on the right side of the Tigris and was populated by Numha.

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102) Details of Atamrum's siege of Razama – The Mari letters ARM 14 104 + A.472 = D. Charpin, MARI 7 (1993) 197-202, ARM 14 103, 26 318, and 27 132 tell about the siege of Razama by Atamrum in ZL 9'. In the letter ARMT 27 89 Zakira-Hammu, the governor of Qaṭṭunan, quotes the opinion of Ulluri that Atamrum « will take down Razama. » It did not prove to be so simple. Atamrum, having just displaced Qarni-Lim of Andarig and thus ruptured the triple alliance between this ruler, Zimri-Lim of Mari, and Šarraya of Razama, went to lay siege to the strategically important city with Elamite and Ešnunakean troops. As soon as they arrived, the troops of Šarraya made a sortie and beat (*idūk*) the 700 Elamites and 600 Ešnunakeans. After this feat the Razameans did nothing for 10 days. Then they sent out their elders to propose peace. Atamrum should move his camp half a mile away from the city, and they would « bring silver. » It was probably at this moment that Atamrum wrote a letter to the vizier of Elam which is reported in 14 103. Atamrum says: « *ālam ú-hi-iš*. Write to me if I should quit (the siege) and I shall receive tribute of the city, [and] I shall quit (the siege). Otherwise I shall [...] the city. » M. Birot left the verb *ú-hi-iš* untranslated. I believe it is the D stem of the verb *hāšum* for which I have proposed the meaning « to choke. » Accordingly I translate here « I put a chokehold on the city. » It was that chokehold which motivated the elders to ask him to move his camp. The vizier apparently told him not to quit the siege and Atamrum refused the offer of the elders as reported in 14 104+. He threw up earthworks, that is an earthen ramp, which would allow him to ascend the wall. « And he was heaping up earthworks going toward the city. The front of the earthworks reached the *ZI-tum* of the wall of the lower town, and the townspeople *iprusū* the city, and the wall – they made two holes, right and left toward the front of the earthworks. [At] night they (i.e. troops) entered [that] *pirsum* at the front of the earthworks, and in the early morning the troops of the city [came] out and beat [...] of those troops. They made them drop the bronze lances and their shields, and they brought them inside the city. » Charpin believes that *ZI-tum* = *šitum* and designates the location where the wall « comes out » from a slope which leads up to it. I believe that *ZI-tum* = *situm*. This word is borrowed from Sumerian *si* « horn » which is used in compound with *bād* « wall » as *bād-si*, more seldom *si-bād*, and designates part of a wall which served as habitat for pigeons and which may be « carried » by the wall itself, in other words an elevated part of the wall, or according to the convincing translation in PSD a parapet. It is obvious that a critical phase of the siege was at hand when Atamrum's earthworks reached the parapet of the wall of the lower town of Razama. Charpin believes that the Razameans responded by making a tunnel in the city, that they entered that tunnel at night, that in the morning they made a sortie through the two holes which they had made in the walls, and that they finally killed one half of the besieging troops. I cannot follow the idea of a tunnel because *parūsum* does not designate the making of a connection but on the contrary the cutting of one. The object of that cutting action was the city. It seems that they separated, or cut-off, the city from the area where the earthworks had reached the parapet of the wall and the besiegers were poised to breach the defenses of the city. The place which the Razameans entered at night, the separation or cut-off, was, in my view, the space between the section of the wall that was threatened and that with which the Razameans had separated, cut-off, isolated the city from the threatened area. What that was is not said in this letter. I agree with Charpin on the two holes in the wall which were used for the sortie in the morning. I do not agree on the killing. Charpin believes the besiegers were killed and their weapons were brought into the city. I believe they were forced to drop their weapons and were brought as prisoners of war into the city.

Confirmation of my view comes from ARMT 26 318, written by Yamšum, the head of the Mariote garrison in Andarig. He reports on a later stage of the siege when Šarraya had just succeeded in burning down a siege tower of Atamrum. Yamšum then says: « And the wall inside the city ... » A break in the text prevents us from learning more. The wall inside the city might well be that by which the Razameans cut off the city from the wall section which Atamrum had gained with his earthworks. They apparently had reckoned early on with the ultimate success of the assault by earthworks and tower and had used the time when the earthworks were laboriously heaped up to construct a wall inside the city isolating the endangered section of the city wall. The *pirsum* from which the sortie was launched was the space between the outer and the newly constructed inner wall. After the break in the text Yamšum quotes a message of Atamrum to Šarraya: « “[Give tribute to me] and release to me the troops which you brought inside!” He did not give him tribute and he did not release to him the troops which he had brought inside. » These are clearly the troops which were not killed in the action after the sortie from the two holes but brought into the city.

ARMT 27 132 is written by Zimri-Addu, the successor of Zakira-Hammu who earlier had so confidently quoted a prediction that Atamrum would « take down » Razama. Atamrum was still besieging the city (line 5). M. Birot read the following statement [o] x x *a-lim ra-ki-ib* and translated « il maîtrise le [...] de la ville. » J.-M. Durand, NABU 1993/113, read ¹IA1-[ta]m-rum a-lam(ŠI) ra-ki-ib and translated « A. domine la ville. » I saw ¹a-da1-aš a-lim on the photo and communicated this to Durand. Upon renewed collation (1/6/96) he considered reading ¹e-li1 a-lim, arguing that the lower ends of the verticals of the *a-* are set too far to the right for it to be the first sign of the line and that a sign *da-* does not fit the traces. I retain my reading because immediately before *a-lim* a clear single horizontal is visible which can hardly be anything but *aš*. Atamrum was accordingly « astride the lower city. » But the Razameans were resisting, « doing battle continuously. » The fear was now that the city would fall and all of Ida-Maraš would change sides from Mari to Elam. So the « eyes of

Yamut-Bal and its entire land are on my lord (i.e. Zimri-Lim). » The Mariote general Ibal-Pi-El was charged to come to the rescue of the beleaguered city. His preparation and statement show his conviction that Atamrum was in command of at least the lower town : « And about the battering ram – Ibal-Pi-El took the lead of the Hana and the troops which are under my authority, and he spoke as follows : “Ahem! If I am able I will evict him. Otherwise I will burn him.” »

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103) Šumma Izbu at Nimrud – Nos. 86 and 87 in D. J. Wiseman and J. A. Black, *Literary Texts from the Temple of Nabû*, included among unidentified omens, can be identified as Šumma Izbu. The obverse of No. 87 has lines from Tablet I. The fragment is too poorly preserved to identify every line, but lines 7-8 correspond to line 82 of Erle Leichty's standard edition (TCS 4), with line 16 (with variant *ár-bu-[tam]* for *kar-mu-tam*) corresponding to line 89 (intervening lines are identifiable as well). Lines 27-28 correspond to line 98, with the following two lines corresponding to line 99. The reverse of No. 87 is from Tablet III. Identifiable lines correspond to lines 15-32. Lines 3-4 seem to be variant traditions corresponding to line 16 of the standard text. Line 9 has KUR BI UR.BI ZÁĤ, « that land will be entirely destroyed » for the standard version's *milik māti isappaĥ*. (No attempt is made here to establish the other textual variants from the Nimrud text.) In line 13, read *sa (!)-a-^rar¹* (= end of line 22). Note that the Nimrud text's lines 12 and 13 correspond to lines 23 and 22 of the established text, that is, it has the lines in reverse sequence.

The identification of this fragment confirms the authors' observation (see No. 31 in the catalogue) that the pieces they had identified as Šumma Izbu probably belonged to the same two-column tablet and that it contained Tablet I on the obverse and subsequent tablets on the reverse. No. 87 is therefore the upper right corner of column ii of the obverse and the lower right corner of the reverse. Col. ii of the obverse of No. 33 should fit just below the obverse of No. 87, and No. 32, whose col. ii begins with line 108, should fit just below No. 33. The beginnings of lines on the reverse of No. 32 should, it would seem, be near the beginning of Tablet III, but the protases all begin with identical wording, and the only part of an apodosis that is preserved (iii 2') cannot be reconciled with any apodosis in Tablet III. If No. 35 belongs to the same tablet (note that it has a double ruling between columns, while only a single ruling is copied on the reverse of No. 32), it should fit somewhere between Nos. 32 and 87. The bottom line of No. 87 rev. is Tablet III 32. It is followed immediately by the top of No. 86 (the authors had in fact suggested that Nos. 86 and 87 were parts of the same tablet). Not all the signs and traces copied in the first two lines of No. 86 can be reconciled with lines 33-34, but the following lines fit well (lines 6-7 correspond to line 38, reading EN]-šú [GAZ¹ KUR a-ši[b(!)-tum ...] KL.MIN [SU].^rKÚ¹ [GÁL-šⁱ]; line 8 corresponds to line 39, reading GÁ]L GIŠ.TUKUL LUGAL i-rab-bi(!)-su]; SIG₅ in the following line belongs to line 40, and the signs in the following two lines are consistent with their being lines 41-42). The few signs preserved of column iv No. 32 rev. and No. 31 rev. are not recognizable as any part of Tablet III, though I suspect that the damaged signs copied in No. 31 rev. preceding the colophon may represent lines 66-68. From what it has been possible to reconstruct from these fragments, it is doubtful that Tablet II was represented at all. It seems likely that the colophon would have indicated (by NU AL.TIL) that Tablet III was not complete. As reconstructed at present, the Nimrud Šumma Izbu text is represented by Nos. 31 + 32 + 33 + 34 + 35 + 86 + 87 (joins – direct or indirect – not confirmed on the originals, partly in Baghdad, partly in London). I have not been able to identify any other fragments in this volume as possibly belonging to our text (one omen fragment was inadvertently published twice, as Nos. 3 and 84).

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104) Observations on enclitic -ma – When the enclitic particle *-ma* is found after a finite verbal form which constitutes the predicate of a sentence, it is supposed to connect the sentence which it concludes with the sentence which follows. This is function alpha in the inventory of functions of the particle in GAG ¶ 123 1 and meaning B in AHW. Under # 7 of meaning B one can find examples for the use of *-ma* after verbal predicates which exclude the possibility of connective function because the verbal predicate with the enclitic is not followed by another sentence, as in (a) the formula *qibīma* in letter heads and (b) several « poetical, partly unclear, » references. Under (c) AHW gives one example from Enuma Eliš where *-ma* seems to connect a dependant clause with its main clause which it should not do because it is not a subjunction. W. von Soden suggested that this case of *-ma* may have been an error.

A. Finet discussed the use of the enclitic particle *-ma* and the conjunction *u* together in ¶ 82 of ALM. Under k he struggled with the cases in which *-ma*, suffixed to a finite verbal form which constitutes the predicate of a sentence, is followed by *u* « and » and stated: « L'influence de la conjonction *u* y est prépondérante et souligne en général la dépendance de la deuxième proposition à l'égard de la première. » Later in the paragraph he characterized the sequence *-ma u* as « double coordination. »

In the course of translating the letters in ARMT 26/1-2 into English I found a good number of cases where *-ma* after verbal predicates cannot function as conjunction. They are presented here.

(1) *-ma* in final position

In 530 the very last written word of the letter is such a verbal predicate with *-ma*. In 521 : 12-15 *-ma* is found at the end of a speech : « And they speak as follows : “Ahem, he attacked once, [twice]¹, and he brought out (prisoners of war), he did not bring out (prisoners of war) (*ušēši-ma*).” Aškur-Addu wrote to me for 30 Mariotes and Suheans, and I dispatched (them). »

(2) *-ma* after verbal predicate of a dependant sentence

(a) The dependant sentence is not found before or after but embedded in the main sentence.

37 : 7'-8' *u anāku adi meher ṭuppiya iturram-ma 2 mētim šābam ina Harbe ezzibam* « And I, until a response to my letter returns, leave 200 troops in Harbe. »

176 : 28-30 *u ina ālāni iqbūnim-ma šābam ša kīma imurūnim ušahhid u aṭrudam* « And in the cities where they told me (about the presence of quitters) I alerted and dispatched (to their post) as many troops as they saw. »

372 : 31-32 *u ša kīma ittanpapūnim-ma utterrūnim* « And, as often as they were getting through, they have brought back (something). »

373 : 7-9 *dumu.meš šiprī elam.meš ša ištu mahar sukkal elam-tim ana šēr Hammu-Rabi illikūnim-ma inanna ina bāb ekallišu wašbū* « The Elamite messengers, who came from the vizier of Elam to Hammu-Rabi, stay now in the gate of the palace. »

433 : 39-40 *Hišriya šarram panēm ša udappirūšu-ma [inann]a utēršu* « The former king Hišriya, whom he [had chased away]¹, he returned him [now]. »

438 : 16'-18' *u lū.meš Ká.diğir.ra^{ki} ša ūmiša lāma tirik šadī ana mahrišu itenerrubū-ma fēmam ina birišunu uštābbalū-ma ...* « And the Babylonians who enter before him daily before crack of dawn, exchange news among themselves, and ... »

489 : 26-28 *aššum fēm Qutēm ša bēlni Habdu-Malik ana šēr Lu-Nanna išpuru-ma Lu-Nanna ul ikšud-ma nēti uwa²erannēti* « About the message on the Quteans with which our lord sent Habdu-Malik to Lu-Nanna – he did not reach Lu-Nanna, and he instructed us. »

496 : 3 *ṭupam ša bēlī ušābilam-ma ešme* « the tablet which my lord sent to me, I heard. » In other examples of this formula *-ma* is missing. See 7 : 4 *ṭuppāti-ka ša tušābilam ešme* « Your tablets which you sent to me I heard. »

(b) The dependant sentence is found before its main sentence.

253 : 11'-13' *kīma annitam ušaqbū-ma ana libbi ilim imqut* « As they had made (her) say this, she fell into the god. »

524 : 21-25 *inūma mar šiprim Išnukkam rākib anše.há ša itti mār Išme-Dagan ana paṭār lū Èš.nun.na^{ki} ilēm ana Razamā ikšudam-ma ina Razama imurūšu-ma šibittum ina ālim šāti itbi* « When the Ešnunakean [messenger]¹, a rider of donkeys, who came up with the son of [Išme-Dagan] to relieve the Ešnunakeans, arrived in Razama, and they saw him in Razama, the prisoners rose up in that city. »

(c) The dependant sentence is found after its main sentence.

6 : 7-9 *mīnum nikkassūšu ša innepšūma u mīnum ribbātum ša iršuma tanassahšu* « What are his accounts that were done and what the arrears that he incurred, (that) you remove him from his office? »

While it is easy to see that *-ma* cannot be translated with « and » in all these cases and thus does not function as connective conjunction, it is difficult to understand what its real meanings or functions are. For the time being I have the impression that the meaning or function in other syntactic environments too is so slight that non-translation seems more appropriate than translation. Take for example a case of the so-called identifying, or isolating, or stressing, function of *-ma* after PN. In 236 a dream is told in which a group of people exclaims : « Kingship, scepter, throne, reign, upper and lower land, is given to Zimri-Lim. » A second group exclaims : « It is given to Zimri-Lim. » In the second exclamation Zimri-Lim is followed by the particle *-ma*. W. Moran, ANET³ 630o, translates « To Zimri-Lim alone have they been given, » rendering *-ma* with « alone. » But the idea that kingship, scepter, throne, and reign could have been distributed to different persons is grotesque and was surely not intended by Moran or the writer of the letter.

It will be an ungrateful and tedious, but ultimately interesting, task to unravel the meanings or functions of this ubiquitous particle. My impression is that it converged on Sumerian *-am* and festered in Akkadian language and/or writing.

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105) Un ugula e un dub-sar infiltrati nel *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Eblaicarum** – Tra i non numerosi lemmi del primo fascicolo, recentemente apparso, del *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Eblaicarum* (TIE), Roma 1995, contro le intenzioni degli Autori, che hanno riservato ai nomi di persona un volume separato, si è infiltrato qualche antropónimo. Uno è rintracciabile sotto la voce A×ĤA di p. 46, attribuito al passo di MEE 2, 37 v. II 4-8. Tra l'altro, il segno è qui da leggere *ḥa-a*, come chiaramente risulta dalla fotografia di MEE 2/A, tav. LI. Il passo in questione :

1 *gu-zi-tum ḥa-a ḥu-ti-mu^{ki} 5 túg-NI.NI maškim-sù*

è da mettere in parallelo, come già notato in ARES 2, p. 276, con quello di ARET 4, 13, 73-74 :

1 giš-KIN_x siki *ba-ra-i ha-la hu-ti-mu*^{ki} 9 giš-KIN_x siki 6 maškim-sù.

Dal raffronto è evidente che in entrambi i passi i destinatari dei beni sono l'ugula di Hutimu, dal nome di Hala (con la variante Haa per il fenomeno ben noto della elisione grafica della *l*) e i suoi commissari, dal numero che varia da 5 a 6. MEE 2, 37 e ARET 4, 13 sono due registri mensili di uscita di tessili che appartengono alla fase iniziale dell'amministrazione di Ibrium. In particolare, MEE 2, 37 può essere assegnato al primo anno di questa, dal momento che vi è menzionata la cerimonia dell'unzione del capo della moglie di Arrulum (v. VI 12-VII 1), che deve fare riferimento alla dipartita del predecessore di Ibrium a capo della amministrazione eblaita¹. Allo stesso periodo è da datare il testo di mu-ku_x TM.75.G.1586 che menziona l'apporto di Hala, ugula di Hutimu (r. VIII 1-2).

Il secondo passo in cui sarebbe menzionato A×HĀ secondo TIE, p. 46 è tratto da un testo inedito, citato come MEE 12, 35 r. III 47-51. Il documento, il cui numero di inventario è TM.75.G.2428, è un rendiconto annuale di uscite di argento, da assegnare all'incirca all'8° anno dell'amministrazione di Ibzi-zikir (cf. A. Archi, *Les comptes rendus annuels de métaux (CAM), Amurru 1* [1996], p. 90), e quindi alla seconda parte del regno di Iš'ar-Damu. Anche in questo caso, il segno A×HĀ è invece da leggere HĀ.A. Il passo: 1 'à-da-um-túg-1-tur 1 nì-la-gaba TAR il-'à-ak-da-mu wa A×HĀ en, così come dato da TIE, è di ardua interpretazione, considerando che in esso un completo di due tessili sarebbe assegnato a due individui e che HĀ.A en come nome di professione costituirebbe un *hapax*. Sarebbe da aggiungere l'eccezionalità dell'assegnazione di tessili in un registro annuale di uscite di argento. In realtà, il passo da prendere in considerazione nella sua interezza è il seguente:

1 ma-na ku₅ kù-bar₆ šu-ga-du 1 ma-na kù-bar₆ nì-ba wa-ru₁₂-tum 2 ma-ri^{ki} šu-mu-tag_x 1 'à-da-um-túg-1-tur 1 nì-la-gaba TAR il-'à-ak-da-mu wa ku₆-a en (MEE 12, 35 r. III 40-51), da rendere: « 1,5 mina di argento (dono) per Šugadu e 1 mina di argento dono per Warutum, 2 (funzionari) di Mari, per la consegna di un mantello piccolo a tessitura semplice e di una fascia per il petto di 30 sicli (?) per l'ak-Damu e di pesci freschi (?) per il sovrano² ».

Il terzo testo in cui sarebbe menzionato A×HĀ è costituito da ARET 2, 16, un registro di uscite di cereali, nel quale sono elencate assegnazioni di diverse decine di gú-bar di orzo (e nel primo caso di dicocco) a 5 gruppi di A×HĀ (la lettura del segno è questa volta esatta). Ognuno di questi gruppi è caratterizzato da un toponimo, tutti verosimilmente appartenenti allo stato eblaita e di scarsa importanza: due non sono menzionati altrove, uno è un centro agricolo dei possedimenti di Napḥa-il (Amisadu: cf. ARES 2, p. 106) e il più rilevante è Garaman, sede di un ugula e di un culto di Kamiš (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 231-232). Non comprendiamo perché nel lemma di TIE non sia citato anche il passo di MEE 2, 32 v. I 9-11, dove parimenti il segno A×HĀ si riferisce a una persona ed è seguito da un toponimo: 1 sal-túg 1 f̄b-3-túg-dar A×HĀ kur^{ki} sa-za^{ki}. In un caso e nell'altro non vi sono elementi per respingere una lettura zàḥ e un'interpretazione come « fuggitivi, rifugiati », che designerebbe individui dislocati in vari centri destinatari di razioni di cereali, nel caso di ARET 2, 16, o operante nella « Tesoreria » e beneficiario di un modesto completo di due tessili, nel caso di MEE 2, 32³.

Così, delle tre menzioni di A×HĀ in TIE, p. 46 la prima sarà con ogni verosimiglianza da leggere zàḥ, « fuggitivo », la seconda è da leggere ha-a, ed è un nome personale, e la terza è da leggere ku₆-a e designa un bene alimentare. Nessuna delle tre naturalmente indica una « professione di rango elevato » come il lessema è tradotto in italiano (per le traduzioni in inglese, francese, tedesco, spagnolo e arabo rimandiamo senz'altro a TIE, p. 46a). Tralasciando i pur eccessivi errori di interpretazione, è auspicabile che nella stesura dei prossimi fascicoli del *Thesaurus*, sia prestata maggiore attenzione almeno alla lettura dei lemmi elencati. A tale riguardo si noti anche che tutte le tre menzioni di a-UR₄(LAK 472) dei testi amministrativi citati in TIE, p. 44a sono in realtà da leggere a-UR_x (con un cuneo aggiunto alla fine di UR₄), come si ricava dalle fotografie (MEE 10, tavv. XLIV, N.38 v. VII 8' e XLV, N.39 r. IV 4. v. IV 2), e da aggiungere, quindi, alle frequenti menzioni del secondo lessema.

Oltre all'ugula di Hutimu, anche il nome di un dub-sar sembra essersi insinuato in TIE. Qui (p. 150a) tra i passi in cui è menzionato il lessema AB.NE, considerato dubitativamente « una motivazione di spesa », è citato il breve testo ARET 7, 108: si tratta della registrazione di 6 vasi an-zam_x e di 6 bastoni (*ma-ti-a-um*) di bronzo della casa di un personaggio, il cui nome è letto, nella traslitterazione di TIE, x-[x]-hu-[x], seguendo quella di ARET 7, p. 136, e che noi proporremmo di reintegrare come *du-bù¹-hu-[-^d'à-da]*, il nome dell'alto funzionario destinato a succedere al nonno Ibrium e al padre Ibzi-zikir a capo dell'amministrazione eblaita, e del quale in molti altri passi è menzionato l'è (cf. ad es. ARET 3, 375 III; 4, 21, 23; 9, 36 r. I 4; 68 r. II 12; 77 r. III 7). Il testo continua con l'indicazione AB.NE dub-sar šu-ba₄-ti, che deve indicare il funzionario che ha ricevuto i beni, e si conclude con il nome del I mese dell'anno. Per quanto riguarda AB.NE dub-sar, notiamo che: a) in tutti i passi dei testi eblaiti che citano il nome di professione dub-sar questo è preceduto dal nome proprio dello scriba in questione⁴; b) tra le menzioni di AB.NE di TIE, p. 150b manca quella di TM.75.G.2224 v. I 5-II 3 (= A. Archi, *Wovon lebte man in Ebla?*, AfO Bei. 19 [1982], p. 185): 4 ma-na ku₅ lá-1 kù-bar₆ tag_x [á]š-da AB.NE. Il passo, facendo parte di un rendiconto di uscite annuali di argento, deve registrare la quantità di argento consegnata presso AB.NE. E' da aggiungere che la preposizione *áš-da* è di norma seguita da un nome di persona o da quello della sua carica o, più raramente, da un toponimo o da un elemento temporale⁵, ma mai da un termine amministrativo. Appare, quindi, certo che AB.NE di ARET 7, 108 e di TM.75.G.2224, che, a nostro

parere, sono entrambi da assegnare all'ultimo periodo del regno di Iš'ar-Damu, rappresenti un nome di persona e molto probabile che si riferisca al medesimo funzionario. Ed è verosimile che AB.NE delle altre menzioni di TIE, p. 150a, tutte provenienti da testi dell'Archivio di assegnazioni alimentari L.2712, parimenti indichi un antropónimo, come già proposto da L. Milano, ARET 9, p. 357. Si noti in particolare ARET 9, 36, 13 che è un rendiconto di assegnazioni di cereali a funzionari indicati con il loro nome di persona (nell'ordine Nidabadu, Minai, Ibdur-Išlu, Abu-Malik, Minai il cantore, Bugalum, AB.NE e Alum), oltre che ad abba, a dam e, menzionato al primo posto, all'é di Dubuĥu-Ada.

*Siamo grati ad A. Archi e a P. Matthiae per il permesso di citare materiale epigrafico di Ebla inedito.

1. Per il significato della cerimonia i-giš-sag nei documenti di Ebla cf. ora A. Archi, *Chronologie relative des archives d'Ebla, Amurru 1* (1996), pp. 17-18.

2. Per altre menzioni di consegne-šū-mu-tag_x di ku₆-/:a cf. TIE, p. 37b, cui sono da aggiungere ARET 3, 467 r. VI e 583 I, già citati da F. Pomponio, *La terminologia amministrativa di Ebla. I: šū-mu-tag_x*, UF 17 (1985), p. 239 sub A.ĤA. Per il significato « pesce fresco » di ku₆-/:a cf. TIE, p. 37a, anche se lasciano un po' perplessi la possibilità che « pesce fresco » potesse essere consegnato a Ebla da Mari (come nel nostro testo), da Kakmium (MEE 2, 3 v. I 16-II 6) o da Dulu (MEE 2, 19 r. VII 2-8) e l'accostamento di questo prodotto ai tessuti per Il'ak-Damu. Per l'acquisto di pesci per l'en di Ebla cf. ARET 7, 73 v. 1 1-3.

3. Per questi « fuggitivi » impiegati come categorie di lavoratori di basso rango nella documentazione mesopotamica di periodo presargonico e sargonico cf. A. Alberti-F. Pomponio, *Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic Texts from Ur edited in UET 2, Supplement*, Roma 1986, pp. 80-81.

4. Cf. gli esempi raccolti da M. G. Biga-F. Pomponio, *Critères de rédaction comptable et chronologie relative des textes d'Ebla, MARI 7* (1993), p. 128.

5. Cf. ARET 7, 82 v. III-7 : 6 iti áš-da ir-mi si-in iti ik-za, « 6 mesi, dal (mese) Irmī al mese Ikza ».

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106) Humhan-numena I, un usurpateur à la royauté en Elam? – Après une lettre publiée par J. J. van Dijk (*Orientalia* 55, 1986, pp. 159-170) et un article postérieur de M.-J. Steve et F. Vallat (*AIO* I, 1989, pp. 223-238) la dynastie des Igehalkides a subi de profondes modifications. Ce dernier article et un examen attentif de la titulature élamite, conduisent à de curieuses constatations.

Kidin-Hutran, le fils de Pahir-iššan, porte les titres de « roi d'Anshan et de Suse, agrandisseur du royaume, *menik* d'Elam, *katri* d'Elam, *halmenik* d'Elam » (Kid S1). Par contre Humhan-numena se dit « agrandisseur du royaume, *merrik* d'Elam, *katri* d'Elam, *halmenik* d'Elam, roi d'Anshan et de Suse » (F. Malbran-Labat, *IRS* 21), mais aussi « roi de Suse et d'Anshan » (*MDAI* LIII 4 p.14).

Étant donné d'autre part qu'Attar-kittah, le père de Humhan-numena, était « roi de Suse et d'Anshan » (*MDAI* XLI, VI/81 et 87, pp. 112-113), on peut conclure que les deux parties du royaume élamite étaient contrôlées par deux rois différents, la Susiane gouvernée par la branche d'Attar-kittah, et le Fars par celle de Pahir-iššan. Ainsi « roi d'Anshan et de Suse » (Kidin-Hutran) ou « roi de Suse et d'Anshan » (Humhan-numena) est bien l'expression du binôme réel de la royauté ou « double monarchie » (Malbran-Labat *IRS* p. 60), tandis que le premier élément fait allusion au vrai pouvoir du monarque sur la ville mentionnée.

Le changement de titulature opéré à l'instar de Kidin-Hutran permet de déduire une victoire de Humhan-numena sur ce dernier, ayant pour conséquence l'agrandissement de l'empire par l'annexion d'Anshan ; la mention de la couronne restaurée que fait ce roi dans son inscription susienne en est une preuve (*IRS* 21). Une deuxième conséquence est la rupture des liens de famille ; Humhan-numena devient alors le *ruhushak* Silhaha (*EKI* 39 m p. 91 note 2), prétendant se rattacher à la lignée des Sukkalmahs. Bien qu'il s'agisse d'une attribution postérieure, réalisée par Shilhak-Inshushinak, elle peut avoir une confirmation dans sa propre inscription élamite de Suse (*IRS* 21), où il affirme la continuité par sa mère et qu'Inshushinak lui accorda la royauté ; dans un autre texte en akkadien (*MDAI* LIII 4 p. 14) il dit que c'étaient les dieux Napirisha et Inshushinak, ce qui est une claire allusion à l'élection divine de la part des dieux suprêmes de l'Elam (Anshan) et de Suse, comme l'a établi Steve. L'appel aux dieux, on le sait, est le refuge des rois usurpateurs du pouvoir ; dans ce cas, il serait question de la soumission d'Anshan. Sa préoccupation envers les lieux du culte de Napirisha et de Kiririsha, dieux d'Anshan, et des dieux de Liyan (Malbran-Labat, *IRS* p. 53) va dans le sens d'un remerciement adressé à la divinité pour son élection et d'une affirmation de son autorité et de sa légitimité dans le Fars, où il n'était pas le souverain légitime. Son fils Untash-Napirisha porterait le nom du grand dieu élamite, et montrerait aussi sa préoccupation à l'égard de la continuité royale. La construction de Dur-Untash comme nouvelle capitale aurait peut-être une relation avec cette légitimité dans la région d'Anshan?

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107) Ahem – While *umma* has been translated thousandfold as « thus, ainsi, folgendermassen » and so acquired a cemented status, this translation is still inappropriate, misleading, and quite simply wrong. The lamented W. von Soden classified *umma* in GAG ¶ 121 b as Partikel zur Einleitung der zitierten direkten Rede. Since he used the customary translation « folgendermassen » he must have believed that it was introductory insofar as it announced that what followed *umma* was quoted direct speech and not insofar as it was the first element of the quoted direct speech. The form *ummami*, ubiquitous in Mari, shows that in fact the second alternative is true because *-mi* is otherwise added to words of direct speech and not to those which precede it. The customary translation must also be faulted because there is an Akkadian word, *kī'am*, which clearly means « thus. » If *umma* does not mean thus, what does it mean? In AHW, von Soden suggested as etymology of *en-ma*, the Old Akkadian form of *umma*, the Hebrew particle *hinnē* and Arabic *'inna*. Phonetically and functionally the correspondence seems possible but is not really convincing. Certainly *hinnē* and *'inna* were not ever used so regularly at the beginning of a speech as in Akkadian letters and could, unlike *umma*, be inserted in direct speech. In addition, we cannot be sure that *en-ma* was pronounced *enma*. The spelling of *n* before consonant may be a hypercorrection and the pronunciation really *emma*. I believe that *umma*, *ummu*, and *emma* have no meaning at all and are not really words but rather an enunciated form of throat clearing which functions as indication of speech intent. How can one translate the quasi-word? We thought first of Ugh! with which American Indians introduced their speech according to many, mostly trashy, authors. But we dropped the idea when I failed to find any Ugh! in the writings of the more informed James F. Cooper. We then remembered Ahem. The use of Ahem is defined by Webster as « a throat-clearing sound ... used especially to attract attention often as a humorously exaggerated warning to a minor social error or oversight. » The humorous side function seems to us the only problem of using Ahem as translation of *umma*. But a reader of a number of translated Akkadian letters will quickly realize that the humorous side function does not apply to the Ahem's of the translation.

One might think this all rather pedantic. But why risk throwing a precious item of Mesopotamian cultural diversity aside in the quest for a « fluid » translation? Even if *umma* had become at some point a formula, its existence indicates a time when an Akkadian about to speak did not just jump up, or snapped his fingers, or cleared his throat physically, but said *umma* « Ahem. »

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108) Exploits of Šulgi? – Three small fragments, Nos. 64, 65, and 69, in D. J. Wiseman and J. A. Black, *Literary Texts from the Temple of Nabû*, although frustratingly broken,¹ lead me to suggest that they are concerned with events in the reign of Šulgi. The first clue is mention of Simurru (here written Ši-mu-ur-ri) in No. 65 : 6', well known from the year names of Šulgi. Second is the apparent mention of Tappan-Daraḥ (only TAB.BA-an-preserved in No. 65 : 10'),² known from the Old Babylonian omen tradition³ as well as from Ur III documents.⁴ Goetze (*JCS* 1, p. 260) was the first to suggest Tappan-Daraḥ's connection with Simurru (though Gelb in *Hurrians and Subarians*, p. 114, came very close ; he later realized that MAN in MAN-ba-da-ra-aḥ of Simurru was merely a graphic variant of TAB).⁵ Goetze further suggested that the omens concerning the defeat and capture of Tappan-Daraḥ reflected Šulgi's destruction of Simurru recorded in his year 45. A striking feature of our three fragments is the occurrence of Hurrian names, not unexpected in the area of Simurru.⁶ It is interesting that a memory of specifically identifiable Hurrian names was preserved in the literary sources related to Šulgi (assuming our identification of these fragments is correct). In No. 64 : 8' and 16' we have Ḫa-mi-Te-šu-up, ^mŠu-ni-Te-šu-up⁷ in No. 65 : 11', a name beginning with Ḫa-ši-ip,⁸ and several others having Teššup as the theophoric element (No. 64 : 4', 9', No. 65 : 3' and probably 14', No. 69 : 3').⁹ This composition appears to be a first-person narrative (note *ēpuš* in No. 65 : 8'). This recalls the Šulgi Prophecy, likewise having first-person narrative in the first part of the text.¹⁰ If our Nimrud fragments do belong to the Šulgi Prophecy (ancient designation : *anāku Šulgi*, « I am Šulgi »), they probably belong in the gap at the end of col. i or the beginning of col. ii (Borger's edition, p. 14). It may be worth noting that col. ii 2' states that Šulgi ruled the four quarters from east to west. I would connect this statement with Goetze's and Hallo's observation that it was after Šulgi's campaigns against Simurru that he first claimed the title « king of the four quarters. »¹¹ Whether or not these fragments prove to belong to the Šulgi Prophecy, they appear to narrate events occurring in Šulgi's campaigns against Simurru, of which no details are otherwise known. This assumes, of course, that the omen references to Tappan-Daraḥ are authentic and that his name is correctly restored in our text. A fuller study of these fragments will appear in the Michael Astour Festschrift.

1. The authors suggest that the three fragments are from the same tablet and add that No. 69 appears to join No. 65 but do not indicate the point at which the two pieces might join.

2. In No. 65 : 5' we apparently have a name ending in rja-aḥ, but he appears to be identified as a king of a land beginning with Ki, so not necessarily Tappan-Daraḥ of Simurru.

3. See A. Goetze, *JCS* 1 (1947), p. 260. The passages are *a-mu-ut* ^dŠul-gi ša TAB.BA-an-da-ra-aḥ ik-mu-ú, « omen of Šulgi who captured Tappan-Daraḥ, » *YOS* 10, 24 : 35 and 40, with a variant spelling ^mTAB.BA^{pa}-da-ra-aḥ in 22 : 17 and 26 : 32.

The omen also appears in a variant form, *a-mu-ut dŠul-gi ša A-pa-Da-ra-aḫ i-ni-ru*, « omen of Sulgi when he slew Appa-Daraḫ [sic] » YOS 10 26 iv 10.

4. See I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, p. 114 and n. 82. Ran Zadok is of the opinion that Tappan-Daraḫ is not a Hurrian name. See « Hurrians as well as Individuals Bearing Hurrian and Strange Names in Sumerian Sources, » in A. F. Rainey, ed., *kinatiūtu ša dārāti : Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume* (Tel Aviv, 1993) 219-45, especially p. 224, where he suggests that the theophoric element is the river name Tab(b)an.

5. *MAD* 2, second edition, p. 67, No. 90 (TAB).

6. Gelb, in *Hurrians and Subarians*, p. 114, cites a number of occurrences of the name Kirip-ulme in Ur III texts.

7. Depending on how much is missing on the left and right of the preserved portion of No. 65, it may be that Šuni-Teššup is identified as a son of Tappan-Daraḫ

8. For names beginning with Ḫa-ši-ip, see I. J. Gelb, et al., *Nuzi Personal Names*, OIP 57 (1943), pp. 57-58.

9. In Ur III examples and most occurrences in Nuzi. Teššup is written Te-šup, whereas our text has the more explicit writing Te-šu-up.

10. See R. Borger, « Gott Marduk und Gott-König Šulgi als Propheten, » *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 28 (1971), pp. 1-24 (the Šulgi Prophecy on pp. 13-17).

11. A. Goetze, *JCS* 1 (1947), p. 260 and William W. Hallo, « Simurram and the Hurrian Frontier, » *Revue hittite et asianique* 36 (1978), p. 74 (RAI 24).

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109) ¿Trilogía de poder en Elam en el primer milenio? – Es una opinión generalizada, que en Elam reinaron en todas las épocas tres reyes con sus respectivas capitales. Esta hipótesis que no tiene en cuenta las diferentes realidades de las dinastías elamitas, fue emitida por vez primera por Cameron (*History of early Iran*, Chicago 1936, pp. 70-72), y si bien resulta plausible en el segundo milenio con la dinastía de los sukkalmah (en contra F. Vallat, « Réflexions sur l'époque des sukkalmah », *CHI*, p. 120), es inviable en el primer milenio.

Se ha dicho que existía además un *cursum honorum* que llevaba a cada rey a pasar de ciudad en ciudad hasta llegar a ser el rey supremo (cf. P. Miroschedji, « La localisation de Madaktu et l'organisation politique de l'Elam à l'époque néoelamite », en « *Fragmenta Historiae Aelamicae = FHE*, Paris 1986, p. 218), razón por la cual había tres capitales, lo que era una tradición elamita proveniente de tiempos antiguos. Esta peregrina opinión intenta suplantar la antigua, según la cual los tres reyes de Elam, con residencia en Susa, Madaktu y Hidalu, estaban en guerra, pues el hecho de haber tres capitales implicaba una descomposición del imperio (G. Cameron, *op. cit.* p. 168; W. Hinz, *The lost world of Elam*, Londres 1972, p. 156; E. Carter-M. Stolper, *Elam : Surveys of Political History and Archaeology*, California 1984, p. 53; P. Gerardi, *Asurbanipal's elamite campaigns*, Pennsylvania 1987, p. 257).

Los argumentos utilizados son incompletos y están sacados de ejemplos, al parecer no bien comprendidos. Que no eran tres los reyes que gobernaban a la vez sobre Elam puede verse por lo siguiente :

a) Los reyes asirios Sennaquerib y Asurbanipal mencionan no tres sino muchas ciudades reales, entre ellas Haltemash, Bit-imbi, Dur-untash, etc. (cf. *ARAB* II 800, 806, 807, 811, 942 y 1037), sin que sepamos qué quiere esto decir, sino es que se trata simplemente de ciudades pertenecientes al rey de Elam.

b) La cita de *ARAB* II 878, según la cual Asurbanipal le dice a Indabibi que destruirá sus ciudades, Susa, Madaktu y Hidalu, nada demuestra, pues según otras citas las ciudades son Susa, Madaktu y Haltemash (*ARAB* II 811), o bien Susa, Madaktu y Huradi (*ARAB* II 810). Además Asurbanipal habla de « tu trono real », es decir que sólo hay un rey de Elam y no tres.

c) Los textos (*ARAB* II 787, 802, 916, 931, 1033 y 1059) sólo dan lugar a una división bipartita del imperio. Nunca se mencionan tres reyes, sino dos, el rey de Elam y el rey de Hidalu (*ARAB* II 787, 864, 916 y 1050). La nación está gobernada por dos reyes, uno principal, el rey de Elam con asiento en Susa o Madaktu y otro secundario, el rey de Hidalu, controlando este último el oriente y el rey de Elam, unas veces en Susa y otras en Madaktu, el occidente.

Esta división bipartita se refuerza por el hecho de que Susa y Madaktu aparecen juntas, como si las dos fuesen las capitales intercambiables (*ARAB* II 1033 y 1059).

d) La capital elamita es Madaktu ; así consta claramente para Kudurnahunte (*ARAB* II 249, 351 y 355) y Ummanaldas III (*ARAB* II 802, 805 y 815), y se deduce para Ummanigas II (*ARAB* II 1033 y 1059), con dos excepciones, Teuman cuya ciudad real es Susa (*ARAB* II 862 y 930), y Umbahabua cuyo asiento está en Bubilú (*ARAB* II 802, si bien sin importancia dado el espacio temporal tan corto de duración de su reinado), y una dudosa que se encuentra en los textos *ARAB* II 802 y 931 donde se dice que Asurbanipal colocó a Tamaritu II en Susa como rey a secas, sin explicitar que sea rey de Elam, aunque pudiera deducirse.

e) Había otras regiones mandadas por gobernadores ; así, un tal Zazaz es gobernador de Pillatu, y un tal Paru de Hilmu, ciudades de la costa (*ARAB* II 867). Igualmente conviene señalar a Hanni príncipe de Ayapir, probablemente del siglo VIII.

À la vista de estos datos puede extraerse la siguiente conclusión :

Durante el primer milenio y debido a la expansión de los pueblos iraníes (medos y persas), los elamitas son constreñidos a replegarse hacia el oeste, perdiendo los territorios hasta Anshan, la antigua capital

elamita. La nación está gobernada por dos reyes, uno principal o verdadero, el rey de Elam, con asiento en Susa o Madaktu, con objeto de controlar la parte oeste del reino, y otro secundario, el rey de Hidalu, para controlar la parte este; las otras regiones son mandadas por gobernadores, como se deduce de los ejemplos mencionados. La capitalidad de Hidalu y su importancia para ser gobernada por un rey, se explican por el hecho de tener que vigilar la expansión de los persas, ya en poder de Anshan desde el siglo VII, pues Hidalu se encuentra en la frontera de Huhnur (ARAB II 808), ciudad que fue siempre la llave para acceder a Anshan (cf. J. Duchene, « La localisation de Huhnur », *FHE*, p. 67), y por su situación geográfica en medio de montañas, que la hace de difícil acceso (ARAB II 249, 351 y 355).

Las anteriores consideraciones suponen una reflexión sobre los datos proporcionados por las fuentes escritas, y un nuevo punto de partida en nuestro entendimiento de tan interesante civilización, aún muy mal comprendida, debido en buena parte a la ausencia de documentación indígena, especialmente de archivos reales, lo cual nos impone un lento avance en su estudio.

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110) /b/ facultatif ou agrammatical? – On a depuis longtemps remarqué qu'avec certains verbes (de₂, etc.), le point de substitution précédant la base *marû* était occupé soit par /n/ soit par /Ø/, mais rarement par /b/. Deux explications ont été avancées. D'après M. Yoshikawa (*JCS* 29 [1977] 78-96 et *ASJ* 14 [1992] 379-394), /n/ marquerait dans ces cas l'agentif de la 3^e sg. pers. (cf. les critiques de C. Wilcke [*ZA* 78, 1988, 37 sq. n. 125], de Th. Jacobsen [ib. 210 sq. n. 53] et de moi-même (*Eléments* 224)). Wilcke en revanche (*ZA* 78, 37 sqq. et *Mél. Moran* 480 sqq., surtout 483-485) voit dans /n/ l'allomorphe du préfixe locatif {ni} et, après J. N. Postgate (*JCS* 26 [1974] 28-54), admet que « [d]ie Setzung des Patiens-Zeichens im Präsens-Futur ist [...] fakultativ » (*Mél. Moran* 485; accepté dans *Eléments* 229 sq.¹). Dans le cadre de cette discussion, un passage souvent cité (*Dumuzi Enkimdu* 43-60b²) mérite d'être réexaminé un peu plus en détail³.

- 43 A ziz₂¹²⁴ gegge_x-ga-ni ha-ma-ab-šum₂-mu
 44 A engar-ra u₈ gegge_x-gū₁₀ gē₂₆-e ga-mu-na-ši-ib-šum₂
 45 A ziz₂¹²⁴ babbar₂-ra-ni ha-ma-ab-šum₂-mu
 46 A engar-ra u₈ babbar₂-ra-gū₁₀ ga-mu-na-ši-ib-šum₂
 D [-r]a *f_{u8}¹² []
 47 A e-ne kaš saḡ-gā₂-ni ha-ma-an-de₂-e
 D [e]-*f_{ne}¹ kaš sa[ḡ-]
 48 A engar-ra ga SIG₇(še_x)-a-gū₁₀ ga-mu-na-ši-in-de₂
 D [e]ngar-f_{ra} ga¹ S[IG₇-]
 49 A e-ne kaš saga_x-ni ha-ma-an-de₂-e
 D e-ne kaš sa[ga_x-]
 50 A engar-ra ga ki-si¹-[] ga-mu-na-ši-in-[d]e₂¹²
 D engar-ra ki-si-f_{im}¹-*ḡ[u₁₀]² []
 51 A kaš sa₂ ge₄-a-ni ha-ma-an-de₂-e
 D e-ne kaš sa ge₄-*f_a¹-*n[i]⁵
 52 A engar-ra ga BUL-a-gū₁₀ ga-mu-na-ši-in-de₂
 D engar-ra ga f_{BUL}¹-a-gū₁₀ *[g]a-[]
 53 A e-ne^{kaš} bir₈-a-ni ha-ma-an-de₂-e
 D e-ne^{kaš} *f_{bir}⁸-*a¹-*ni ha-*ma¹-an-[]⁶
 54 A engar-ra gē₂₆-e ga u₂-gū₁₀ ga-mu-na-ši-in-de₂
 D engar-ra gē₂₆-f_e *ga *u₂¹-*ḡ[u₁₀ *ga-mu-*na-*š[i-]
 55 A ha-ha-la saga_x-ni ha-ma-ab-šum₂-mu
 D ha-ha-f_{la}¹ sa₆-f_{ga}¹⁷ ha-ma-a[b-]
 56 A engar-ra ga i₃-ti-ir-da-gū₁₀ ga-mu-na-ši-ib-šum₂
 D engar-ra gē₂₆-e f_{ga} i¹-*te-er-f_{da}¹-ḡ[u₁₀]
 57 A inda₃ saga_x-ni ha-ma-ab-šum₂-mu
 D [] *f_{sa}⁶!*ga¹²!*n[i]² []
 58 A engar-ra ga-ar[a₃ l]al₃-a-gū₁₀⁸ ga-mu-na-ši-ib-šum₂
 59 A gu₂ di₄-di₄-la₂-ni ha-ma-ab-šum₂-mu
 60 A engar-ra ga-ara₃ di₄-di₄-gū₁₀ ga-mu-na-ši-ib-šum₂
 60a A om.
 B [gu₂ gal-gal-la-ni ha-ma-ab-šum₂-mu (?)]
 60b A om.
 B [engar]-ra g[a-ar]a₃ f_{gal}¹²-gal¹-ḡ[u₁₀ ga-mu-na-ši-ib-šum₂ (?)]

« Qu'il me donne son épeautre(?) noir, moi, je donnerai au paysan pour cela ma brebis noire. Qu'il me donne son épeautre (?) blanc, je donnerai au paysan pour cela ma brebis blanche. Qu'il me verse sa meilleure

bière, je verserai au paysan pour cela mon lait caillé(?). Qu'il me verse sa bonne bière, je verserai au paysan pour cela mon fromage *kisim*. Qu'il me verse sa bière 'préparée', je verserai au paysan pour cela ma crème fouettée(?). Qu'il me verse sa bière légère, moi, je verserai au paysan pour cela mon lait (*a*)⁹. Qu'il me donne son bon *ħaħala*¹⁰, je donnerai au paysan pour cela mon beurre(?) *itirda*. Qu'il me donne son bon pain, je donnerai au paysan pour cela mon 'fromage au sirop'(?). Qu'il me donne ses 'petits pois' (lentilles ?), je donnerai au paysan pour cela mes petits fromages. [Qu'il me donne ses 'gros pois' (fèves ?), je donnerai] au [paysan pour cela] mes gros fromages. »

L'intérêt de ce passage ne réside pas seulement dans l'alternance, déjà relevée par Yoshikawa (*JCS* 29 81 et *ASJ* 14 386 sq.), entre *-b/-šum₂(-mu)* et *-n/-de₂(-e)*, mais encore et bien plus dans la distribution à première vue insolite des pronoms personnels. Contrairement à ce qui est le cas dans par ex. *EnmEns.* 27 sqq. //, *ḡe₂₆-e* et *e-ne* ne semblent pas être en rapport d'opposition et n'ont donc probablement pas la même fonction. Alors que *ge₂₆-e* ouvre la première série des *šum₂*, clôt la série des *de₂* et (dans D) ouvre la seconde série des *šum₂*¹¹ (mise en évidence du sujet), *e-ne* précède uniquement *ħa-ma-an-de₂-e* et, selon toute vraisemblance, ne sert qu'à désambiguïser la forme verbale (*de₂* est transitif!). Si cette analyse est correcte, elle implique presque nécessairement que **ħa-ma-ab-de₂-e* aurait été **agrammatical** (on voit sinon mal pourquoi le poète n'y aurait pas recouru dans un passage bâti entièrement sur le parallélisme), et que */b/* n'est pas seulement « facultatif », mais exclu.

Un bref survol des séquences préfixales de *de₂* confirme dans une large mesure cette hypothèse. Alors que */b/* est possible dans les formes impératives¹² (et peut-être « passives »¹³), *-b/-de₂(-e)* (forme *marû!*) est rarissime, et */b/* pourrait presque toujours être l'allomorphe de {*b + i*}¹⁴ – à deux exceptions près toutefois¹⁵, pour lesquelles je n'ai pas d'explication satisfaisante : *LURuk* 12.13 V (1a₃ *ḡeštin* (...) *ħa-ra-ab-de₂-e*) et H. Behrens, *Mél. Sachs* 30 : 12 (*u₂-gu ħe₂-ni-ib/ib₂-de₂-e* dans au moins trois(!) duplicats). Comparé aux centaines de *-D/n/-de₂-e*, cela reste peu.

Comme il est à peine vraisemblable que *de₂* soit un cas unique, il vaudrait la peine de chercher d'autres verbes appartenant à cette même classe; *du₃/ru₂* « être planté », à la forme causative « planter, enfoncer », « élever » (un bâtiment, etc.), est un candidat envisageable, mais je n'ai pas étudié la chose de près.

1. Le terme « incorporation » est toutefois inexact, car il n'y a naturellement pas de réduction de valence (G. Zólyomi, *BiOr.* 53 [1996] 99 sqq.).

2. Cf. S.N. Kramer, *JCS* 2 (1948) 59-70; J. J. A. van Dijk, *SSA* 65-85; Y. Sefati, *Love Songs in Sumerian Literature* [...], Ph. D., Bar-Ilan Univ., 1985, pp. 368-389.

3. *gege_x* = MI, *saga_x* = SIG₅, * = collation de Sefati.

4. Lu *zi₃* par van Dijk, *tug₂* par Kramer et Sefati.

5. Glose **ħi-^{*}iq¹-^{*}šū* (attendue à la l. 53!).

6. Glose **x *x *x-^{*}a?-^{*}šū*.

7. Ainsi la copie; Sefati lit *sa₆-ga(!)-x*.

8. Il serait tentant de lire avec M. Stol (*BSA* 7 [1993] 100 et *RIA* 8/3-4 [1994] 192 et 200) *ga-NU[NUZ.T]E-a-ḡu₁₀*; épigraphiquement ([T]E) et surtout grammaticalement (-a-), la chose ne va toutefois pas sans difficulté.

9. Probablement lait coupé d'eau parfumé aux herbes; cf. surtout VS 2 123 iii 11 // Kramer, *RA* 84 (1990) 144 sqq. (= *CT* 58 7) 1. 39: *ga a-^fu₂¹ a-eštub nu-me-a a-gar₃-e/ra mu-na-an-de₂* (v. M. Civil, *AulOr.* 1 [1983] 50 sq.).

10. Probablement un type de farine (et/ou une pâte faite à base de cette farine) utilisée lors de la fabrication de certaines bières (comp. *CAD H* 41 sq. s.v. *ħalħallu A*; aussi Yildız/Gomi, *Umma* III 2279 : 6).

11. Noter en passant que l'ordre des mots diverge : produits *ḡe₂₆-e* (44) vs *ḡe₂₆-e* produits (54 et 56).

12. Cf. par ex. *kaš de₂-mu-na-ni-ib* (*EnlSud* 81 I), *u₂-gu de₂-ni-ib* // (*RCU* 2 : 13), *[de₂¹-mu-na-ni-ib₂(-)]x¹-[]* (*Edubbâ* 1 : 63 Ak //) et *de₂-mu-na-ra-ab-ze₂-en* (*NJN* 323); en revanche probablement sans *-b/* dans *de₂-a-na-ni* (Cohen, *Eršemma* p. 11 : 55), *de₂-an-na-ni* (Kramer, *Or.* 54 [1985] 120 : 25-27) et *de₂-m[u-na]-ni* (*InEnki* I ii 10; cf. l. 22!); pour *-ni*, comp. *-bi* dans les formes impératives (*Eléments* 265).

13. Je ne connais toutefois qu'un seul exemple (*mi-ni-ib₂-de₂* dans Gudea, *Cyl.* A 27 : 24).

14. Cf. surtout *SP* 3.128 X (*dⁱinanna-ke₄ ša₃ ge₁₇-ga-ḡu₁₀ i₃ ħe₂-eb-de₂*), *Instr.* Šur. 116 sq. U 3 et T 20 (*u₂-gu i₃-ib-de₂-e*) et B. Alster, *BBVO* 6 (1986) 28 : 5 A (*ā ib₂-de₂-de₂-e*).

15. Compte non tenu de *UHF* 345 (épigr. peu clair) et de *lugal-e* 570 n₁ (ppB).

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111) AO 6478, MUL.APIN und das 364 Tage Jahr – Hat W. HOROWITZ recht, war es eine wichtige Entdeckung: In neuassyrischer Zeit wußte man um ein 364 Tage-Jahr. « The 364 "stellar degrees" of AO 6478 reflect an approximation of the stellar year as 364 days which appears to be at least as old as Mul-Apin iii 49-50, and now BM 38360+ ii' 25-28 make clear the correspondence "one day of the year = one degree of stellar movement", while Mul-Apin II ii 11-12 implies that a true stellar year consists of 364 days »¹

1.

Tatsächlich konfrontiert uns der *ziqpu*-Sternentext AO 6478 = TCL 6, 21 = TU 21² mit einem zunächst überraschenden Befund. Er notiert die Kulminationsdistanzen von 26 *ziqpu*-Sternen, beginnend und endend mit ^{mul}ŠUDUN = αBootis, und gelangt schließlich, all diese Distanzen addierend, zur Endsumme von « 364 UŠ *ina qaqqari* »³. Es dürften aber, rechnet man 1 UŠ = 1°, nur 360 UŠ erwartet werden. Sind also die 364 UŠ von AO 6478 mit HOROWITZ als Zahl der Tage eines stellaren Jahres zu verstehen? J. SCHAUMBERGER hatte vor vier Jahrzehnten eine andere, noch dazu recht plausible Erklärung: « Da die Einzelposten je ganze UŠ ohne Bruchteile betragen, also als ab- oder aufgerundet gelten müssen, so ist der Überschub der Endsumme ohne weiteres verständlich. Man wird kaum daran zu denken brauchen, daß die Endsumme etwa ursprünglich der Zahl der Tage des Sonnenjahres (365) hätte entsprechen sollen ... »⁴ Sicherlich, bewiesen war und ist damit nichts, und so kommt alles darauf an, ob MUL.APIN II ii 11-12 wirklich hält, was HOROWITZ sich davon erhofft.

2.

Nach HOROWITZ sagt MUL.APIN II ii 11-12 aus, « that the year consists of 12 months (i.e., lunar months) plus an additional 10 DIRI days »⁵. Leider krankt diese Feststellung an zwei Unzulänglichkeiten. Sie unterstellt in einem Klammerzusatz – wie selbstverständlich –, daß die 12 Monate der MUL.APIN-Überlieferung Mondmonate und damit einen Zeitraum von etwa 354 Tagen bezeichneten und sie ignoriert den Kommentar, den MUL.APIN unmittelbar an II ii 11-12 anschließt, und aus dem wir erfahren, wie es zu den « 10 additional days in 12 months » kommt. Es lohnt daher, MUL.APIN II ii 11-12 samt anschließendem Kommentar II ii 13-17 in HUNGERS Aufbereitung des Textes zu zitieren⁶.

- ii 11 DIŠ UD.NÁ.A 12 ITI^{meš} šu-ta-ku-lu ina 3 MU^{meš} ITI DIRI.GA ta-qab-bi
ana ūm bubbuli 12 arḫī šutākulu ina 3 šanāti arḫa atra taqabbi
 To ... the day of disappearance of the Moon for 12 months, you
 proclaim an intercalary month in three years (variant: the third year);
- ii 12 ina 12 ITI^{meš} 10 UD^{meš} DIRI^{meš} ŠID-at MU.AN.NA
ina 12 arḫī 10 ūmū atrūtu mināt šatti
 10 additional days in 12 months is the amount for one year.
- ii 13 šum-ma UD.DA.ZAL.LÁ-e u₄-mi ITI u MU.AN.NA ana IGI-ka
šumma uddazallê ūmi arḫi u šatti ana amārika
 If you are to find the correction for day, month, and year:
- ii 14 1,40 UD.DA.ZAL.LÁ-e u₄-me ana ITI ÍL-ma
1,40 uddazallê ūmi ana arḫi tanaššīma
 you multiply 1,40, the correction for a day, by one month,
- ii 15 50 UD.DA.ZAL.LÁ-e ITI IGI 50 UD.DA.ZAL.LÁ-e ITI
50 uddazallê arḫi tammar 50 uddazallê arḫi
 and you find 50, the correction for one month; you multiply 50, the
 correction for one month,
- ii 16 ana 12 ITI ÍL-ma 10 UD^{meš} DIRI^{meš} ŠID-at MU.AN.NA tam-mar
ana 12 arḫī tanaššīma 10 ūmī atrūti mināt šatti tammar
 by 12 months, and you find 10 additional days, the amount for one year.
- ii 17 ina 3 MU^{meš} MU BI DIRI.GA ME-bi
ina 3 šanāti šatta šāti atarta taqabbi
 In three years (variant: the third year) you proclaim (this year) a leap year.

Bekanntlich verstehen sich die Zahlenangaben unseres Textes 1,40 und 50 sexagesimal: 1,40 = 5/3; 50 = 5/6. Rechnen wir nun nach Anweisung des Kommentars und bei Voraussetzung eines Lunarmonats von 29 1/2 Tagen, dann ergibt das für MUL.APIN II ii 14-15: 5/3 × 29 1/2 = 295/6 = 49 1/6, und für ii 15-16: 295/6 × 12 + 60 = 59/6 = 9 5/6 (Tage). Rechnen wir hingegen bei Voraussetzung eines Monats von 30 Tagen, dann finden wir für ii 14-15: 5/3 × 30 = 150/3 = 50, und für ii 15-16: 5/6 × 12 = 10 (Tage). Das besagt, wir sind nur dann textkonform, wenn wir mit einem Monat von 30 Tagen rechnen. Und weiter: MUL.APIN II ii 11-17 hatte folglich mit dem Lunarmonat von 29 1/2 Tagen bzw. dem Lunarjahr von 354 Tagen nichts zu tun. Übrigens auch deshalb nicht, weil sich MUL.APIN II ii 12 und 16 in der Aussage decken, und somit anzunehmen, ii 16 habe zwar Monate von 30 Tagen gemeint, ii 11-12 dagegen Lunarmonate von 29 1/2 Tagen, indiskutabel ist. Es ging eben nicht um die Definition von Lunar-, Solar- oder Stellarjahr. Es ging einzig und allein um die Proklamation von Schaltmonat und -jahr und die damit erforderliche Bereitstellung jährlicher Schalttage, die, wie der Rechenweg zeigt, genaugenommen 10 ūmū atrūtu = « 10 zusätzliche Tage » des (schematischen) 360 Tage-Jahres waren!

Fazit: Das astronomische Kompendium MUL.APIN ging für alle Informationen, Rechenwege und Anweisungen immer, auch in II ii 11-17, vom 30 Tage-Monat bzw. 360 Tage Jahr aus⁷. So ist D. PINGREE nur

beizupflichten, wenn er für den Umgang mit MUL.APIN empfiehlt: « It must not be forgotten that MUL.APIN is operating with an ideal calendar of 360 days, not either a solar or a lunar year »⁸.

Damit zurück zu AO 6478. Nach allem ist jetzt die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dieser Text sei Indiz für ein stellares 364 Tage-Jahr, gleich Null. Zwar handelt es sich bei AO 6478 um eine Kopie aus seleukidischer Zeit, aber die Überlieferung geht zurück bis in die neuassyrische Ära, wie eine genaue Parallele im Fragment K 9794 (= CT 26, 50) beweist⁹, – also just in jene Tage, in denen auch MUL.APIN zum Kompendium wurde. MUL.APIN aber taugt, wie gezeigt, nicht zum Zeugen für ein 364 Tage-Jahr.

1. W. HOROWITZ, *Two New Ziqpu-Star Texts and Stellar Circles*, JCS 46 (1994), 94.
2. Informationen zum bibliographischen Befund freundlichst durch Herrn Prof. Dr. J. OELSNER, Jena-Leipzig, mit Schreiben vom 28. Januar 1995 und Herrn Prof. Dr. H. HUNGER, Wien, mit Schreiben vom 6. Februar 1996.
3. AO 6478 Rev. 25 ff. gibt die Summe der Kulminationsdistanzen außerdem in 60 2/3 « mana šuqultu » und 655200 « bēru ina šamē » an, was aber im vorliegenden Zusammenhang ohne Belang ist.
4. J. SCHAUMBERGER, *Die Ziqpu-Gestirne nach neuen Keilschrifttexten*, ZA 50 (1952), 215.
5. JCS 46, 94.
6. H. HUNGER and D. PINGREE, MUL.APIN. *An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform*, AfO Beiheft 24 (1989), zur Stelle. Wir verzichten allerdings, weil nicht erforderlich, auf die Zitation der Einzelquellen im score-Format.
7. Vgl. dazu auch J. KOCH, *Der Dalbanna-Sternenkatalog*, WO 26 (1995), 51 f., Anm. 6.
8. AfO Beiheft 24, 153 a.
9. S. ZA 50, 215.

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112) Ibbi-Sin became king before the fifth month of Šu-Sin 9 possibly at the beginning of Šu-Sin 9 – In *NABU* 1995/95 I followed Sollberger and Sigrist in discussing the actions of Ibbi-Sin, the new king, during the tenth and eleventh month of Šu-Sin 9. Sollberger in JCS 7 48-50 concluded that Ibbi-Sin became king on ŠS 9/x/1 (iti Ezen-mah) since he was coronated in Nippur on that day according to MAH 19352 (d^I-b^I-d^Sin āga šu ba-an-ti-a). However, I find that in BIN 3 no 585 dated to Šu-Sin 9 v there is a seal of Urim-ki-dùg, the cook, which is dedicated to the divine Ibbi-Sin, which indicates that Ibbi-Sin became king before the fifth month and Šu-Sin died or transferred the power before that time. The seal is i d^I-b^I-d^Sin, dingir-kalam-ma-na, [lugal]-kala-ga, [lugal]-Urim^{ki}-ma, [lugal]-d^{ub}-[da-4-ba-ke₄] / ii Urim^{ki}[ki-ki-dùg], muhaldim, arad-da-[ni], [in-na-ba]. The tablet is concerned with the allowance of the king in month five and the tablets about this item are usually dated without the day: 1 [si]la₄-niga, 2 ašgar-niga, 5 sila₄-ga, sá-dug₄-lugala, Urim^{ki}-ki-dùg ì-dab₅, ki-Puzur-d^{En}-lil-ta ba-zi, iti k[i-s]ig-Nin-a-zu, mu d^{Šu}-d^Sin lugal Urim^{ki}-ma-ke₄ é-d^Šara Umma^{ki} mu-dù. From Puzur-Enlil, the allowance of the king (Ibbi-Sin) for the seventh of Šu-Sin 9, a suckling lamb, was also received by Urim-kidug, the cook (AUCT 1, 363) and that for the eleventh month, 1 fattened lamb, 2 fattened female kids and 7 suckling lambs, was received by Uršu, another cook (AUCT 1 856).

Urim^{ki}-ki-dùg, the cook managing the house of é-uz-ga (ki Urim^{ki}-ki-dùg, muhaldim), also received the lamb on Ibbi-Sin 2 xii 17 (BIN 3 604) via Nur-Sin whose seal was still the one dedicated to Šu-Sin, and on xii 16 (BIN 3 608) via Puzur-Enlil who used the seal of Nin[lil-amamu], the sukkal and/of the šà-tam official, presented by Ibbi-Sin.

Another seal dedicated to Ibbi-Sin is on SET 115 dated to Šu-Sin 8 without giving a month name so the tablet may have been written at the end of ŠS 8 or the beginning of ŠS 9. The tablet is a receipt of Lu-Ninšubur, the scribe and servant of the wife of the ensi (arad dam), on behalf of the ensi of Adab about the allowance to Adad in Karkar (IM^{ki}), a city between Adab and Umma. In ŠS 8, the Adad of Karkar took 3 cows, 90 ewes, 11 female lambs, 43 wethers and 27 lambs (171 sheep) as allowance, possibly for the next month, from the animal centre in Drehem or in Adab. Meanwhile, the ensi of Adab took, from the temple of Adad in Karkar, 19 litres of butter oil (i-nun), 19 litres of cheese (ga-har), the products of the cows, and 82 talents of yellow (= normal) wool, 37 talents of she-goat wool, 35 oxen hides and their carcasses (« pú? » for ad₆), 219 hides of sheep and their carcasses, which may mean that the ensi of Adab granted living cows, ewes and other sheep to the temple of Adad for raising and received the products of these animals raising from the temple in return. The text was sealed by the scribe of the ensi's wife: d^I-b^I-d^Sin, lugal-kala-ga, lugal-Urim^{ki}-ma, lugal-d^{ub}-da-4-ba, Lú-d^{Nin}-šubur, dub-sar, dumu Ur-mes, arad-[zu], which shows that in ŠS 8, the ensi of Adab admitted Ibbi-Sin as the king.

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113) **Two kings in Ur and Amar-Sin 8-9 ≠ Šu-Sin 1-2 in Drehem** – Lafont's article in RA 88 (1994) answers my question in *NABU* 1995/96 (thanks to the guidance of the editors of *NABU*) about in which year Šu-Sin became king and he suggests that Amar-Sin 8 = Šu-Sin 1 (p. 115). Sigrist in his *Drehem* (p. 281, 296) notices that there are no mu-túm-lugal tablets dated between Amar-Sin 5 and Amar-Sin 8 v, which may imply that there was a power transfer between Šu-Sin and the court of Amar-Sin, who was possibly seriously ill, and a disorder happened in the land. Apart from the evidence which Lafont gave to support his hypothesis, I also notice that the calendar reform in Drehem and Šu-Sin's monthly worship festival began from ŠS 3, which means that this year was a important year of Šu-Sin's reign (ŠS 1'?). In accordance with the calendar of Ur, the beginning month of the year changed from iti mašda-kú to iti še-kin/sag_x-kud by Šu-Sin in Šu-Sin 3 (Cohen *Calendars* 133f). From Cohen *Cultic Calendars* (155f, 177f), we also learn that in this year, as the only living god of the state, the seventh month was named after Šu-Sin's name in Drehem and the authority removed the new name of the seventh month in Umma, « the Festival of god Amar-Sin », which was used together with the traditional name « iti min-èš » during Amar-Sin 6-9 and Šu-Sin 1-2. The festival of the god Šu-Sin was first celebrated in the end of Šu-Sin 2 (AUCT 2 18, tablet of Dugga), which may imply that the last living god, Amar-Sin, died at that time and new god Šu-Sin was established. However, it is not necessary that the reform of the Calendar must have took place in the first year of the king, and it could have occurred in the third year, when Šu-Sin's power was confirmed in the whole land.

Apart from MVN 14 562 and YOS 4 313, which Lafont admits to be the hindrance against his hypothesis, the main evidence against the suggestion of Lafont is that in Drehem and other cities the positions were taken over from old officials by new officials between Amar-Sin 8-9 and Šu-Sin 1. If Amar-Sin 8-9 were also Šu-Sin 1-2, Abba-šaga, the chief of Drehem, whose duty period covered Amar-Sin 8-9 till AS 9 vi, would also have been on duty during Šu-Sin 1-2. However, he was replaced by Intaea in Amar-Sin viii and was never on duty during Šu-Sin 1 or 2. Similarly, the office of the bala-duty management for the ensis in Drehem was transferred from Lušaga (AS 6 vii - AS 9 xii 2) to Duga (ŠS 1 ix - ŠS 3 ix, see T. Maeda, ASJ 16 122ff) in ŠS 1 and there was no overlap between the two duty periods. Meanwhile, in ŠS 1 i, in the house of é-uz-ga, cook Ur-šu-(zi-an-ka) replaced his father Ur-Baba (TPTS 71 and seal 161), the cook who worked there through AS 1-9. Another cook of é-uz-ga, Aakalla, finished his duty on ŠS 1 i 25 (TPTS 77) after 13 years service (from Š 44 iii' = 45 iii, Sigrist 1173), which also shows that AS 8-9 and ŠS 1 did not overlap.

The office duty periods are also against another of Lafont's hypotheses, that AS 8 = AS 9 = ŠS 1, the main reason for which is that, in YOS 1 26, the ninth year name of Amar-Sin is missing. The loss of AS 9 in the list may have been caused by the damage of the last line if YOS 1 26 is a later copy; otherwise it could be written in AS 8 if it is a current text. Another year list, BE 1 127, correctly states that the ninth year of Amar-Sin is mu e[n]-^dNanna-[Karzida/Gaeš]. In Drehem, during the first quarter of AS 8, the receiving official, Abbašaga, was replaced by his brother Lugal-amar-ku, and then Abbašaga returned to the chief office. His duty covered the first quarter of AS 9, which proves that AS 8 and AS 9 are two separate years.

A seeming proof for AS 8 = ŠS 1 is that a tablet was dated by mu « Šu-Sin lugal » iv, but its case was dated by « the en of Eridu » iv (AS 8, Lafont, RA 88, 1994, p. 105). However, this can be explained by the possibility that the tablet was re-written in ŠS 1 but the case was not rewritten and the scribe put the current year on the copied tablet by mistake. Another explanation might be that the scribe might have taken a non-official year name « Šu-Sin became king », for granted and written it on the tablet in AS 8, since he knew that Šu-Sin became king on that year, but, when he wrote the case, he realised that the year name was still the one of Amar-Sin since the old king had not died yet. The situation was probably that, in AS 6-7, Amar-Sin was seriously ill and Šu-Sin took up the work of the king and issued seals to his officials. In Umma, a monthly festival for Amar-Sin was established for the recovery of the old king from AS 6. At the end of AS 7, Šu-Sin's court may have declared to all the country that « Šu-Sin became king » but the court of Amar-Sin still worked and declared that the new year's name was « the en of Eridu ». Possibly, in AS 8, most scribes used the year name from the court of Amar-Sin since the old king had not died, but a scribe in Umma took it for granted that « Šu-Sin became king » should be the second year name of that year, if the tablet was not a new copy.

In AUCT 3 no 1 there are two year names: the first is (šà) Amar-Sin 7 and the second is Šu-Sin 2 without a month and day. The tablet is as follows:

3 gud-niga, 2 gud-ú, bal-a zi-ga, gir Dan-na-ti, kišib *Be-lí-a-zu*, ki Ab-ba-ša₆-ga-ta, Ur-kù-nun-na, ì-dab₅, šà mu Hu-úh-nu-ri^{ki} ba-hul, mu má-darah-ab.zu ba-ab-du₈, sealed by the seal of Ur-kununna under Šu-Sin. Since Abbašaga was the receiving official before Amar-Sin 9 vi 6 (Maeda ASJ 11 71), his transferring the five oxen to Ur-kununna must have occurred before Amar-Sin 9 vii-viii since, after then, Intaea took over the receiving job. Hence, the original tablet was written in Amar-Sin 7 and it may have been rewritten in Šu-Sin 2, possibly because the old one was broken. The date without a month name shows that the tablet was rewritten, since the current month when the copy was made was not important for an old document.

The Tablets dated in AS 6-9 and Sealed by the Seals dedicated to Šu-Sin

a) In Umma

AS 7 v (SETUA 46), the seal of the scribe Gududu, son of Dadaga and the nephew of the later ensi Aakalla (AS 8 vi-ŠS 7ii), this seal was used until ŠS 9 x (MVN 14 493). The copy in SETUA seal 21 is *dumu Da-da-<ga>*, but in MVN 14 it is read *dumu Da-da-ga*.

AS 8 (*Oppenheim Eames* Bab. 9 = PIOL 19 344), the seal of Aakalla, ensi of Umma, a kid from Lukalla. Another seal of Aakalla, the ensi, dedicated to Amar-Sin, was used from AS 9 (PIOL 19 187, AS 9 ii) to ŠS 1 v (YOS 18 67, ŠS 1 v 5-6, *lugal-an-ub-da/ 4-ba* = that in PIOL 19 187; MVN 14, 509 AS 9 viii, [A-kal-la?], 527 AS 9 viii/iti *šu-eš-ša*, A?-[kal-la], on which the ensi's name seems to be written A-kal-[la], not A-a-kal-la. The seal dedicated to Amar-Sin in YOS 18 66 (AS 9 viii 11-13) and the seal in Antiqot IV 41 dedicated to Šu-Sin (ŠS 4 iv 17-19) seem to be two other seals of Aakalla, the ensi, according to the copied shapes of the seals. The seal dedicated to Amar-Sin was used much less frequently than the one to Šu-Sin, which shows that Šu-Sin was the real king of Aakalla during AS 8-9.

AS 8 (MVN 14 503) [Šu]-Sin ..., seal of Aakalla, the ensi.

AS 9 i (MVN 16 1309), the seal of Aakalla, ensi of Umma (*mu en-Ga-eš^{ki}-ta*).

AS 9 viii (TPTS 376), the seal of Aakalla, the ensi, taking one mat-weaver.

AS 9 x 5-7 (*Eames* O30 = PIOL 19 259), the seal of Aakalla, ensi of Umma, beer from A-al-lí/ni

AS 9 x 29 (*Eames* G 28 = PIOL 19 118), the seal of Aakalla, ensi of Umma, beer from Aalli.

AS 9 xi 8 (Antiqot IV 35) seal of ensi Aakalla, beer from Aalli.

b) In Drehem

AS 6 (PDT 392), a seal dedicated to Šu-Sin

AS 7 x (AUCT 3, 341) Abbašaga of Drehem transferred one lamb to Nur-Šulgi, the cupbearer, the seal: « *dŠu-dSin, lugal-kala-ga, lugal-Urím^{ki}-ma, lugal ^dub-da-4-ba, Nu-úr-dŠul-gi, sagi, arad-zu* ».

AS 8 v 15 (TPTS 73) *ki Nalu-ta ba-zi ša Nippur*, the damaged seal of a *gir* scribe.

AS 8 viii (TPTS 53) the damaged seal (TPTS seal no 183) dedicated to Šu-Sin of Gišgal-di (*ki Ur-kununna-ta G. i-dab₅*)

AS 9 iv (AUCT 3 414), *1 sila-gaba ki-Abbašaga-ta [Ur/Lú-Ba]-ú i-dab₅*: the seal dedicated to Šu-Sin by [... Baba] son of Gu-du?-x.

? **AS 9 xi 3** (TPTS 87), this is a Drehem tablet, a suckling kid to the *é-uz-ga*, the place of Aakalla, the cook, disbursed from Dah-ša-tal. I wonder if the seal might not be that of Aakalla dedicated to Šu-Sin the ensi of Umma, although Sigrist says so in the copy and p. 75. It should be the seal of Aakalla, the cook in Drehem. The seal may be the same seal on BIN 3 554 (ŠS 2 i) although his title in the copy of BIN 3 does not have the trace of *muhaldim*: *i dŠu-dSin, nita-kala-ga, lugal-Urím^{ki}-ma lugal ^dub-da-4-ba, ii A-a-kal-la, pa+[? = šabra/ugula/sipa?...], arad-zu* ». BIN 3 554 is about the *sá-dug₄* of the king in Drehem so that it definitely belongs to cook Aakalla (*Aakalla i-dab₅, ki-Nalu-ta ba-zi*).

The old seal dedicated to Amar-Sin of Aakalla, the cook, is on TPTS 100 (seal 168): *dAmar-dSin, Nibru^{ki}-a, dEn-líl-le, mu-pàd-da, sag-[ús], é-En-líl-<lá-ka>, ii. A-a-kal-la [muhaldim], [dumu ...], [arad-zu]*. In JAC 10 134, I mistook the seal on TPTS 100 as the seal of Aakalla, the ensi of Umma, and believed that the day of his ensi duty began on AS 8 ii 4, the date of TPTS 100. Now, I realise that that seal belongs to Aakalla, the cook of Drehem. The installation of ensi Aakalla in Umma must have been after AS 8 v, since the seal of Ur-Lisi, the previous ensi, was used until that month (MVN 14, 487).

(I am very grateful to Prof. D. Owen since he has kindly presented me with the diskettes of the Administrative texts from the Ur III period made by his group at Cornell University; these made many texts available to me).

Wu Yuhong (30-10-96)

À la demande de B. LAFONT, la Rédaction a accepté la publication de l'addendum ci-après :

[Je n'ai jamais prétendu qu'il y avait partout et en toute occasion une équivalence entre les années Amar-Sin 8 et Šu-Sin 1, dans la façon dont sont datées les tablettes d'Ur III. Et Wu Yuhong a raison de montrer que, en plusieurs occasions, cette équivalence est impossible. J'avais moi-même relevé certaines de ces impossibilités (voir notamment p. 116 et n. 56 de mon article de la RA 88) : il y en a encore beaucoup d'autres. On ne sort donc pas de la difficulté dans laquelle on se trouve de constater que cette équivalence semble valide dans certains cas, mais pas dans d'autres, alors même que le roi Amar-Sin paraît bel et bien être mort et enterré dès la première moitié de la 8^e année de son règne. Comme je l'ai écrit, il me semble que la seule solution pour l'instant est de considérer que certains scribes ont tenté d'imposer une reconnaissance du nouveau roi Šu-Sin dès le début de l'année Amar-Sin 8, mais que cette tentative s'est heurtée à la résistance d'une grande partie de l'Administration qui a continué, pendant au moins deux années, à dater les documents en référence au défunt Amar-Sin – Bertrand LAFONT, 29-12-1996].

114) udu « (the Common) Ram/Wether » = udu-ú « the Grass-Fed Ram/Wether » – Thank to Heimpel's sending me his article in BSA VII and Postgate's sending BSA VIII for exchange of our journal, I follow Heimpel and Steinkeller in studying the grades of the sheep and goats in the Ur III tablets. Steinkeller in BSA VIII 61 presents seven quality grades of sheep/goats and the last one is udu-ú « the grass-fed ram or wether ». However, according to PDT 2 1052, the šu-sum-ma account of Zubaga dated to Amar-Sin 8, the áb/ug/üz-šu-gíd is the eighth and the last grade and the seventh grade is not called udu-ú but simply called udu, « (the common) ram », before the reign of Šu-Sin. According to BIN 3 240, the šu-sum-ma account of Enlil-zišagal dated to Šu-Sin 4 viii, the grade of udu was called udu-ú and the grade of šu-gíd disappeared during the reign of Šu-Sin.

Before the reign of Šu-Sin, udu/máš-ú appears frequently in the archive of Šulgi-šimti, the queen of Šulgi, which disappeared after Šulgi died. During the reign of Amar-Sin, almost nobody used the udu-ú term and the scribes just wrote « udu » to mean « the (grass-fed) rams/wethers ».

Even during the reigns of Šu-Sin and Ibbi-Sin, some scribes still used the simple udu instead of udu-ú. In AnOr 7 41, dated to Šu-Sin 6 v, on transferring sheep/goats from Intaea to Du'udu, in each day's records, the common goats are written máš-gal without ú (day 10, 12, 15, 26) and the common she-goats written üz without ú (day 10), but they are called máš-gal-ú and üz-ú in the totals of the tablet. Lugal-melam, the keeper of the corral in Drehem from Šu-Sin 3, always described his cattle as gud/áb without ú. At the same time, Urkununna who never used udu-ú when he delivered common sheep to the kitchen under Naša and Abbašaga during Šulgi's and Amar-Sin's periods (Šulgi 43 iii, OrPS 47/49, 57 – Amar-Sin 8 i 7, MVN 2 331), began to use -ú consistently to describe the animals which were not fattened in his accounts after he appeared in Drehem again as the delivering and breeding official (dub-sar, son of a fattener) from Šu-Sin 4 i 1 (cf. Maeda, ASJ 11 77). During this period, Urkununna and Lugal-melam both recorded the oxen to the kitchen. However, the former used gud/áb-ú to identify the grass-fed bulls/cows not fattened with barley, but the latter did not bother to use this -ú and just used gud/áb signs to mean the same animals. For example, on Šu-Sin 7 v 22 and 23, a cow for each day was sent to the kitchen, they are written as « áb » in the tablet of Lugal-melam (SET no 78), but as « gud-ú » in the tablet of Ur-kununna (SETDÁ 175).

Since Ur-kununna worked in the office of the fattener (« son » of the Lu-Ningirsu, the fattener), probably he would pay more attention to the grade of a cow than to its sex and called a cow as « a grass-(fed) ox ». Meanwhile, Lugal-melam, a cattle herdsman whose predecessor, Enlilla, was the sipa gud-niga, recorded the sex of the ox precisely and just simply called a grass-fed cow as « a cow ».

Among the texts written during the years of Amar-Sin I only found the accounts of A-lu₅-lu₅ in Umma used udu-ú (TPTS 92 AS 8 viii ; TENS 338 AS 7 v) and a Nippur tablet (AUCT 3 445, from Nanše-kam, A-la-la šu ba-ti, AS 5 ix). Alulu or Alullul was son of Inim-Šara, the fattener of Šara (AnOr 7 254, no date) in Umma. In Girsu, udu-ú was used in Sigris *Sumerian Archive Texts* 1, 214 (AS 2 vi), and gud-ú in no 228 (AS 3), the account of Anamu, the fattener. The gud-ú was also used in a tablet of Nam-zi-tar-ra, the ensi of Gudua, in Drehem (AUCT 2 270, 22, AS 1 vi).

Wu Yuhong (30-10-96)

115) KUB 32.1 + KBo 39.173 (++) – Unter den in KBo 39 edierten neuen Tafelfragmenten von babili-Ritualen ist nicht nur die Nr. 169, wie im Inhaltsverzeichnis Seite VI ausgewiesen, ein Anschlußstück zur Tafel KUB 39.70 (+) KUB 32.1 + KUB 39.81, vgl. dazu die Joinskizze StBoT 39 unter 126/b, die Tafel läßt sich darüberhinaus durch direkten Anschluß von KBo 39.173 an KUB 32.1 erweitern. In der Rückseite schließt KBo 39.173 V 14'-16' direkt an KUB 32.1 V x+1-3' an. Für die Zeilen V 11'-19' ergibt sich :

| | | |
|---|-----|--|
| V | 11' | nu LÚ ša-a[n-ku-un-ni-iš] |
| | 12' | URU b á-bi-li-ġ [ki-is-ša-an] |
| | 13' | me-ma-i mi-i-s[i ₁₇ ŠUMES ^Š -ki] |
| | 14' | be-el-ti ₄ MUNUS.LUGAL GAL |
| | 15' | ŠU.SI ^{MES} -ti ₄ bu-uġ-ri-ki |
| | 16' | a-na šap-ti-ki šu-uk-ki-il ₅ |
| | 17' | ma-aġ-ġa-a[n LÚ ša-an-ku-un-ni-iš] |
| | 18' | A-ġA-T[E ^{MES} URU b] á-bi-li-li |
| | 19' | [me-mi-ia-u-an-z]i zi-in-na-a-i |

Bei den vermeintlichen Zeichenspuren in der Autographie von KBo 39. 173 V 14' hinter be-el-ti₄ handelt es sich nach Kollation der Originale seitens E. Neu, der den Anschluß dankenswerterweise überprüft und bestätigt hat, um eine unregelmäßige Einkerbung der Bruchfläche. Zum akkadischen Spruch der Zeilen V 13'-16' siehe A. Goetze in JCS 18 (1964), 94 Nr.a. Der dort aufgeführte Beleg KUB 32.1 V 1ff. ist nunmehr wie oben zu vervollständigen. Auf der Vorderseite besteht zwischen KUB 32.1 II und KBo 39.173 II an der

Oberfläche eine kleine Lücke von etwa einer Zeile. Zu einem weiteren Anschluß zu den babilili-Ritualen siehe demnächst Verfasser, *Fragmenta Hethitica dispersa V/VI* Nr. 54 in *AoF* (KBo 39.288 + FHG 3 (+)).

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116) The Dating for Nik I, 30 – At least a third of the about sixty scribes who are mentioned in the ED IIIb documentation of Girsu recur only once or twice¹. The majority of these scribes recurs in the oldest documents of the archive, that is the documents dated from the reign of Enentarzi to the first years of the Lugalanda reign². But five of these scribes recur either in undated texts or in texts recording only the year of the reign but not the name of sovereign³.

Of the latter one scribe, ni-lú-nu-DU dub-sar, is mentioned in Nik I 30 r. III 7-8, an allotment fields register and in a contract, AO 12174, where he is the dub-sar who compiled the document (cf. SRJ 30 V 6-VI 3).

G. Selz, *AWEL*, pp. 187-188, dates Nik I, 30 in the reign of Urukagina. This dating is on account of the occurrences in the archive of the anthroponym Nimgirsi. He is the official who appears in the colophon after the summary v. IV 2-3 and who receives (e-dab₅) the lots of aša₅ še-mú-a. The anthroponym Nimgirsi, in fact, with the title of ab-ba recurs in Nik I, 19 r. V 9-10, a text concerning the allocation of udu during Urk.5 and with the title of a gáb-ra KA.KA RU-lugal in texts which date to the first years of the reign of Urukagina: AWAS 6 r. I 6-8 (Urk.2); DP 171 r. IV 7-8 (Urk.2); Nik I, 13 r. I 8-9 (Urk.2); VAT 4681 (Urk.)⁴.

However, this identification does not appear certain since it is based on the fact that the anthroponym is not mentioned in previous periods. On the contrary, the mentions in the archive of the other officials who recur in Nik I, 30 seems to run counter to this dating.

Ur-^dinanna lú-DUN-a giri-né-dab₅-ba (Nik I, 30, r. II 2-4) appears in AVG 22 r. I 5, with the characterizing element lú-DUN-a, a text from Lug. 1. Girinedabba, the official whose subordinate is Ur-Inanna, should probably be identified with the homonymous agrig mentioned in ITT 5, 9242 r. II 1-2, and the untitled official who recurs in RTC 17 v. II 6-8. Both texts are dated to the reign of Enentarzi.

Ú.Ú ugula-uru (r. II 6-7) appears with this title in texts dating from the reign of Enentarzi to Lug.4 (RTC 75, r. II 3-4 [Enz. 2]; AWL 13 r. II 3-4 [Enz./Lug.2]; DP 368 r. I 2-3 [Lug.2]; AVG 40 r. I 6-7 [Lug.3]; AWL 42 r. V 5-6 [Lug.3]; DP 482 v. III 1-2 [Lug.4]).

Ur-^ddumu-zi sipa ud₅ (r. III 1-2) recurs in DP 245 r. I 3-4 dated to Lug.3, in DP 615 r. I 3-4 dated probably to Enen.3 and Nik I, 201 r. I 2-3 dated to Lugalanda.

Šubur-utu sipa AMA.GAN.ŠÀ (r. III 5-6) appears as an anše-sipa in RTC 75 r. I 7 a text dated to Enz.2, in relation to equids in AWL 111 r. I 3, a document whose date is lost in a lacuna, and in DP 657 v. 1-2, concerning work on the irrigation channels, a text dated to Lug.1.

Maš-dà lú šubur nu-bànda (r. IV 7-v. I 2) should be identified with the homonymous dub-sar and agrig mentioned from the reign of Enentarzi to Urk.3 (cf. G. Visicato, *Scribes*, p. 177, Table 4, *sub* maš-dà dub-sar and maš-dà agrig). The characterizing element of Mašda, lú šubur nu-bànda, doesn't appear elsewhere. It might be important to date Nik I, 30 before the Urukagina reign. Šubur(-tur) nu-bànda recurs with this title from the years of the reign of Enentarzi to Lug.5 (cf. AWL p. 150, *sub* 33 IV 1)⁵.

Šubur azlag₄ in v. II 5-6 is mentioned in Nik I, 53 v. II 15-16 and RTC 61 v. II 14-15, both texts dating to Lug. I.

É-ku₄ nu-kiri₆ in v. II 7-III 1 is mentioned from the first years of Lugalanda until Urk. 4 (cf. V.V. Struve, *Onomastika*, p. 67, *sub* é-tu(r)₅).

A-ba-DI dub-sar in v. III 1-2 is mentioned from the reign of Enentarzi to Urk.L6 (cf. G. Visicato, *Scribes*, p. 165, Table 4, *sub voce*). He also recurs with Mašda dub-sar in same texts from the last years of the reign of Enentarzi to Urk.1 (cf. G. Visicato, *ibid.*, pp. 35-36).

Ur-du₆ sipa v. III 6-7 is mentioned only in texts of Enentarzi and Lugalanda (Nik I, 174 r. I 4-5 [Enz.3]; Nik I, 170 v. II 4-5 [Enz.4]; DP 127 v. I 1-2 [Lug.1]; Wengler 1 r. II 4-5 [Lug.]).

Other officials recur in the text (Ningirsu-urmu, Ur-Baba BU.RA, NE-li, Melam-kurra, II, SAG-kaku) but they are mentioned by the anthroponym only and it is difficult to identify them⁶.

Finally the contract where ni-lú-nu-DU recurs should be dated from Lug.1 because of the mention of Ur-Ningirsu, an dam-gàr mentioned in DP 516 r. III 7-v. I 1 (Lug.1) and DP 239 r. I 1-2 (Lug.2), of Alla who probably should be identified with the homonymous dam-gàr, husband of Barairnun in AWL 176 r. VI 10-11 (Lug. 2) and of Ur-emuš, the gal-dam-gàr mentioned in the documentation from Lug.1 to Urk.6 (cf. V. V. Struve, *Onomastika*, pp. 183-184, *sub voce*).

This series of elements seems to suggest that Nik I, 30 could be dated in the years of Enentarzi's reign or in the first years of Lugalanda's reign. Consequently the dub-sar ni-lú-nu-DU could have carried out his activity in the first period of ED IIIb Girsu documentation.

1. The role and the activities of the scribes of ED IIIb Girsu has been analyzed by the writer, *The Mesopotamian Scribes. Administrative Documentation from the Earliest Times to the Sargonic Period*, Supplementi di SEL, Messina 1996, in print, pp. 31-46.

2. The scribes e-gu₄-sahar-ra, e-li-li, e-ta, en-an-na-DU-sipa-zi, en-ki-sár-ra, giri-né-dab₅-ba, mu-ni, puzur₄-ma-ma, ur-šu, are mentioned only in the Enentarzi texts; a-èn-NI-ba, é-me, gú-ú, lugal-a, lugal-mu, lugal-pa-è, lum-ma-ša-tam, nam-mah, nam-tur, (x)-A.NI.DU₁₀, only in the Lugalanda texts.

3. They are é-an-né-mud, géme-tar-šir-šir, ki-tuš-lú, lum-ma-MES.NI, ni-lú-nu-DU.

4. The only exception is the mention of a certain Ningirsi agà-uš in a cattle text dated to the ninth year of an unnamed sovereign, cf. R. Biggs, *Inscriptions from Al Hiba-Lagaš*, BM 3, 18 v. I 2-3. The text is perhaps older than the documents of the archive in question.

5. Two nu-bànda, Šubur(-tur) and Šul-me(-šár-ra-DU), who have a similar activity, are mentioned in contemporary documents (cf. AWL, p. 391, sub 140 III 1). Šubur-tur by the hypocoristic Šubur recurs in about fifty texts dated from Enz.3 to Lug.1 with three exceptions: DP 352, RTC 58 dated to Lug.3 and AWL 189 to Lug.5 (cf. V. V. Struve, *Onomastika rannedinasaceskogo Lagaša*, Moskva 1984, p. 40, sub DUN; p. 172, sub Šubur and Šubur-tur). Šul-me-šár-ra-DU by the hypocoristic Šul-me recurs in about ten documents dated to Lug.1 (cf. V. V. Struve, *Onomastika*, p. 41, sub DUN-me and DUN-me-šár-ra-DU). A. Deimel, Or 32, p. 42 and AWL, p. 157, sub 36 r. II 1-2 have considered that Šul-me has succeeded to Šubur-tur as nu-bànda of the é-mí in Lug.1. It can't be ruled out that these two officials were active in the same years but in different institutional organizations in the period when the é-mí was being constituted (cf. K. Maekawa, *The Development of the é-mí in Lagash During Early Dynastic III*, Mesopotamia 8/9 (1973/1974), pp. 101-109; 113). For the possibility also that the nu-bànda Šul-me could be identified with a namesake agrig who recurs in texts dated from Enz.3 to Lug.4 and Šubur-tur with the namesake dub-sar who recurs in Enz.5 and 6 cf. G. Visicato, *Scribes*, p. 39.

6. It is to be noted that Ningirsu-urmu recurs by Ur-Dumuzi sipa-ud₅ in DP 615 r. II 6.

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117) On a Ritual for opening a Well in Šumma Ālu 17 (CTN IV 156+160+161+162) – The rituals for the opening of a well attached to the well omens in Šumma Ālu 17 were reconstructed by Caplice in *OrNS* 40, p. 148ff., with an additional duplicate from the Montserrat Museum in *OrNS* 42, p. 511f.. Text H in Caplice's edition has recently been published in cuneiform copy by Wiseman and Black in *Literary Texts from the Temple of Nabû* (CTN IV) no. 156. The authors of CTN IV do not indicate the possibility of a join with CTN IV 160 + 161 + 162. The latter three pieces derive from a later campaign (see CTN IV, p. 45), but given contents and form of the pieces the join is as good as certain.

Line 57 in Caplice's reconstruction is the beginning of a new ritual, following a horizontal line in all manuscripts. It was read by him as follows:

DIŠ NA TÚL ina É.BI i-pe-et-ti ù ip-tam-ma BAD-ú ana HUL.BI LÚ NU SÁ.SÁ

In the commentary he proposed translating *iptamma* BAD-ú as: «or having opened it, goes on (re)opening it» and remarked that the Nimrud text has an extra word: KAL-te.

Kraus published another exemplar of the rituals in the Reiner Anniversary Volume, p. 183. The last line preserved in this exemplar should parallel Caplice's line 57. Kraus read:

[] x te ù lu e-nu-ma i-pet-tu-u li-ib-b[u]

This seems to have little in common with Caplice's reconstruction. Now that we can inspect the Nimrud text (at least in copy), the versions can be harmonized.

CTN 156 + rev.1-6:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1 | DIŠ NA PÚ ina É.BI i-U ₄ -et-ti ù lu U ₄ -ma i-pet-tu-ú líp-te |
| 2 | ana HUL.BI LÚ NU SÁ.SÁ iš-tu PÚ he-ra-at-ma DIŠ A.BI ŠUB-at |
| 3 | la-mi g ^š ŠUB na-dím-ma SIG ₄ .AL.ÜR.RA ba-ša-me |
| 4 | [^{na} ZA.GÌN.NA] ^{na} AN.BAR ^ú A.NÚMUN ^d NINNI ₅ ^ú tar-muš AL.ÌR |
| 5 | KU.KU ṢI DÀRA ¹ .MAŠ ^{im} GÁ.LI ana qúm-mi-šu-nu |
| 6 | ina ^{túg} GADA ¹ .TÁN.NA ana 5-šú tu-rak-kás-ma ÉN ki-a-am ana UGU ŠID-nu |

The first verb in line 1 is no doubt to be read *ipetti*. The U₄ is an ancient or modern error for PI, which is proven by parallels which have the logogram BAD (see Caplice). Comparison of line 1 with the duplicate published by Kraus indicates that 1) in Kraus' text the last word should be read *li-ip-t[e]* rather than *li-ib-b[u]*; and 2) that Caplice's reading *ù ip-te-ma* is erroneous, and should be corrected *ù lu U₄-ma* in all exemplars. This, of course, is equivalent to *ù lu e-nu-ma* in Kraus' text.

Translation :

If a man wants to open a well in his house, or when he is already opening it, let him open !

In order that its evil will not reach that man : after the well has been dug and if it makes flow its water, but before the setting up of the brick-mould and the forming of the bricks,

you bind [various ingredients are listed] 5 times in a pure linen cloth in order to roast them. You recite over it an incantation thus : [the incantation follows]

The meaning of AL.ĪR (in other sources : AL.GĀN) is unknown to me. The instruction to bind « five times » means perhaps that five portions of the same ingredients are to be bound in five linen cloths. The ritual is appropriate for two different situations : if a man has made up his mind to open a well, and at the moment that he had already started the job. This difference is expressed by *šumma* + pres. and *ēnuma* + pres. The precative *lipte*, omitted in some sources, gives the assurance that, provided the proper rituals are executed, there will be no problem. *Nadû* in line 2 means « to sprinkle water », « to make water flow » (see CAD N/1, p. 76 : 1b5'). *DIŠ* must be *šumma* here, indicating a condition. The ritual is only to be performed if and at the moment when the well actually starts giving water. For that reason no provisions are made for the situation that the job has already been finished.

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118) *edēpu ša qê* in *ú l u d i m* = *nabnitu* (MSL XVI) – The verb *edēpu* is attested in the series *ú l u d i m* = *nabnitu* (published in MSL XVI), where a whole section is devoted to this verb (Tab. F (p. 275) 16'-29'). The following readable correspondences are given :

| | | |
|------------|--|--------------------------------|
| 16' - 19') | [k] a b , [] - k a b | = <i>edēpu ša qê</i> |
| 20') | [...] | = <i>edēpu ša mimma</i> |
| 21'-24') | [I] M-s [ù], [IM]-KÍD, [IM] -d i b | = <i>edēpu ša IM</i> |
| 25') | [š] u / [b] a - b a r - r a - m u - u n - a k | = <i>edēpu ša</i> <i>GIDIM</i> |
| 26') | [u ₄ - š ú] - š ú - r u | = <i>uddupu ša</i> <i>UD</i> |
| 27') | [t ú g] - š u - s u - u b | = <i>eduppatum</i> |

All these actions are concerned with blowing : cf. AHW 186 « (weg)blasen », CAD E 28 f sub *edēpu* A ; « 1. to blow into (somebody, said of evil spirits), to inflate ; 2. to blow away (spirit from dead body) » ; MSL XVI rectifies (p. 275 fn ad 25') in the lexical section [b] a . b a r . r a m u . u n . n á in [š] u / [b] a - b a r - r a - m u - u n a k .

CAD distinguishes between two verbs *edēpu*, the first one (= A) just mentioned above, and a second one, given as a separate entry, *edēpu* B (mng. unkn.) under which only the passages of lines 16-'19' are quoted : *e-de-pu ša qí-e*, translated : « ... said of a thread » (R. Labat in his review in BiOr 18 (1961) noticed that this *edēpu* B is not recorded in AHW).

The word « thread » has been used on the grounds of *qû* « flex » (CAD Q A 285b, where this same passage is quoted in the lexical section ; AHW 924 « Hanf ; Faden, Schnur »). The interpretation of *qí/é-e* as *qû*, gives no sense to the expression at hand ; we suggest referring *qí/é-e* to *ga'u* « speien » (AHW 284, CAD G 59ab with reference to CAD K 309a) « to vomit », following the indication of the employment of the verb *edēpu* provided in CAD E p. 29a sub *edēpu* A, where the use of that verb in describing pathologies related to air coming from the body (i. e. flatulence), is stressed. The expression *edēpu ša qê* should then be translated : « to regurgitate, to belch ; a fit of vomiting ».

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119) Der « Louvre-Katalog » TCL 15 28 und sumerische n a - r u₂ - a -Kompositionen – Mit freundlicher Genehmigung von Dr. B. André-Salvini nahm ich im Frühjahr 1994 Kollationen am sogenannten « Louvre-Katalog » TCL 15 28 (cf. S.N. Kramer, BASOR 88 [1942] 17-19 ; Kollationen von I. Bernhardt/S.N. Kramer, WZJ 6 [1956/7] 393, Anm. 3) vor. Diese kurze Notiz möchte meine Kollationsresultate zugänglich machen und einen Beitrag zu sumerischen literarischen Texten auf Stelen leisten.

Kollationsresultate : i 8 ṛin-*nin* me¹ ḥuš-a ; 10 en-e kur lu₂ til₃-la-**še*₃¹ ; 11 ḥur-saḡ an ki-bi-**da-ke*₄ ; 14 ṛu₄-ri¹-a (ausgetilgtes a zwischen ṛ-ri¹ und -a) ; 16 e ḡiš al-e al¹-e ; nach 18 folgt ausgetilgte Zeile mit folgender

Trennungslinie ; 19 *uru na-nam (« Nanše Hymn » oder « Enlil and Ninlil ») ; 21 ki-*ur₃¹ gal-e ; ii 23 [lugal-ban₃]-da (Rasur [?] nach -da) ; 29 u₄ šu *bala¹ (NUMUN) AK-de₃ ; 35 nam₂-nun-e saĝ na-an-ga-*dab₅-*r_x¹ (vgl. UET 6 123 : 24 nam-nun-e saĝ na-ga¹?-dab₅?-be₂?¹) ; 36 nam₂-nun-e e₂-kur-ta <UD>.DU-a ; 38 i₃-a lum-lum (Rasur zwischen i₃ und -a, d.h. Ende von NA₄ rasiert) ; 40 in-*nin₉ ša₃ gur₄-ra ; 46 me-a diĝir-*ĝa₂? (vgl. TMH NF 3 54 : 8) ; iii 47 šul diĝir-*zu¹-ur₂ ; 50 u₄ gal *r_x¹ an-na (*r_x¹ ≠ piriĝ) ; 51 u₄ ĥuš *fan¹ ur₂-ra ; 52 u₄ ĥuš *ki¹-en-gi-ra ; 53 ĝeš-*r_x¹ [x (x)]-[na x¹ *gu₃? mu-un-*de₂? (also wohl nicht « Heron and Turtle ») ; es folgen Spuren von mindestens drei Zeilen, vielleicht ausgetilgt ; iv 54 d_šu -^dEN.ZU lugal en gaba ĝal₂ ; 55 *r_šul¹ an gal ; 56 *r_u₄¹-bi-ta (vgl. UET 6 123 :48) ; 57 r_u₄¹ an-*ne₂¹ (vgl. UET 6 123 : 49) ; 58 ^den-lil₂ diri-*še₃¹ (TUG₂) ; 59 *r_x¹ me-lam₂-zu (die Lesung ruru¹ in M.-C. Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 20, und somit die Identifizierung mit Išmedagān W, ist nach Kollation sehr unwahrscheinlich) ; 60 r^dnin-lil₂ nin diĝir-re-e-*ne²-*ke₄? ; 61 *r^den-lil₂ temen an ki-bi-da ; 62 *ruru¹ mu-bi-gin₇ ; 64 u₄ ĥe₂-ĝal₂-la mu-*tum₃¹ ; 67 nin-ĝu₁₀ MUŠ₂ za-gin₃ *x (x) ; 68 *14 na-ru₂-a (nicht 4, cf. I. Bernhardt/S. N. Kramer, *WZJ* 6 [1956/7] 393, Anm. 3 und M.-C. Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 68 und Anm. 171).

Die Zahl 14 bezieht sich auf die vierzehn *incipit* in iv 54-67. Es handelt sich dabei um hymnische Kompositionen, die auf Stelen niedergeschrieben wurden. Davon sind nur vier Hymnenanfänge bis jetzt identifizierbar : Es sind dies Išmedagān A (iv 58), Šulgi E (iv 61), Šulgi O (iv 62) und Šulgi C (iv 63). Die Kollation bestätigt somit die These Hallo, dass Götter- und Königshymnen ursprünglich als Inschriften auf Monumenten angefertigt wurden (W. W. Hallo, *CRAI* 17 [1970] 121 ; idem, *AS* 20 [1975] 195), wofür wir bis jetzt nur Indizien besaßen, z. B. Fluchformeln am Ende von Išmedagān A und Šulgi E, wie sie für Inschriften auf Stelen und Statuen bekannt sind, und Textzeugen in Kurzzeilenformat mit Kästchenmuster, so z. B. für Išmedagān A, Textzeuge C (cf. S. Tinney, *OLZ* 50 [1995] 11f.), und Šulgi C, Textzeuge A (nach G. Castellino, *Two Šulgi Hymns* [1972]). Da Išmedagān A, Šulgi E und Šulgi C zu den sogenannten Selbstlobhymnen gehören, liefert die Kollation im speziellen auch den Beweis für die These Ludwigs (cf. M.-C. Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 73f.), in Selbstlobhymnen die sumerische Variante der akkadischen « *narû* -Texte » zu sehen. Da uns (noch) ein grosser Teil von Šulgi O fehlt, ist es nicht offensichtlich, warum Šulgi O als na-ru₂-a-Komposition zu gelten hat, aber man kann sich vorstellen, daß Šulgis und Gilgameš's gegenseitige Lobgesänge (in 2. Person) auf Stelen festgehalten wurden. Literarische Hinweise auf mit Liedern beschriftete Stelen liefern Išmedagān V_A 25 und Išmedagān Z 5-9 (cf. M.-C. Ludwig, *Išme-Dagan* 62f. mit Transliteration und Übersetzung). Teilen wir die Vermutung Ludwigs in *Išme-Dagan* 4, 23 und 165, daß Išmedagān Z die Fortsetzung von Išmedagān A (+ Išmedagān V_A) darstellt (cf. aber den Vorbehalt S. Tinneys, in *OLZ* 50 [1995] 20f.), so könnte es sich bei Išmedagān A um ein oder mehrere in Išmedagān Z 5-9 erwähnte(s) und auf einer kupfernen Stele niedergeschriebene(s) Lied(er) handeln. Zum Verhältnis zwischen Statuen, Stelen und Hymnen werde ich in meiner Dissertation *Urnamma of Ur in Sumerian Literary Tradition* (in Vorbereitung) etwas näher eingehen.

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120) On the meaning of the Eblaic equivalence níg-dul₅ = a-ba-lum (EV 0243) – In the Eblaic bilingual vocabulary the sumerian term níg-dul₅, « blanket », is known. In VE 107 and in the EV sources c and i this term is glossed by the phonetic writings ne-du-lum (VE source A ; EV sources c, i) and nu-du-lum (source D), that can be explained as Sumerian loanword (see G. Conti, *MisEb* 3, p. 79). Differently, the source e of EV attests for níg-dul₅ the peculiar gloss a-ba-lum. An etymology for this term, still untranslated, fitting with the meaning of sumerian níg-dul₅ and with the phonetic laws of the Eblaic syllabary, is in my opinion the Semitic root *'pr, « to cover » (variant *'pr, *gpr, see W. Leslau, *CDG*, p. 58), and so /'ap(a)rum/, « blanket ».

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121) Emar Notes, 1 : Arana – A Phantom Ruler – On the basis of his analysis of a difficult passage occurring in four tablets from Emar, M. Yamada¹ has announced the discovery of a local king « Arana. » Serious doubts must be raised, however, concerning the existence of this monarch. The passage² in question reads :³ inūma DIŠ a-ra-na⁴ 3 sig₇ kù.babbar 2 līmi⁵ kù.sig₁₇ uru⁶ Emar⁶ i-ri-šū=ma⁷ real property⁸ a-na kù.babbar u⁹ kù.sig₁₇ iddinū=ma kù.babbar u¹⁰ kù.sig₁₇ a-na a-ra-na¹¹ ublū=mi¹². Yamada translates : « When Arana, the king, asked the city for 30,000 (shekels) of silver (and) 2000/700 (shekels) of gold, [parcels of real property] were given (to the city) and the silver and gold were given/brought to Arana, the king. »¹³

Since no further mention of a king « Arana » is to be found in the Emar corpus, Yamada posits that he had lived before the flourit of the Ba'al-kabar dynasty installed by the Hittites,¹⁴ and had thus ruled the town « prior to the 13th cen. B.C. » We might well ask why this putative general sale of royal property in the distant past is included in these four documents when elsewhere in Emar real estate only circumstances affecting the

current transaction¹⁵ are mentioned. It is also unparalleled for the city authorities to purchase real property, although they¹⁶ frequently dispose of it. Yamada's suggestion that the city corporation was still drawing for these sales upon the large holdings of land ostensibly acquired from « Arana » fifty years or more earlier is anachronistic, for ancient Near Eastern municipalities are not known to have held ordinary houses and agricultural land corporately.¹⁷ The most plausible explanation for these transactions is that they involved parcels whose owners had failed to render taxes or dues, and that the city disposed of them soon after the delinquency had occurred.¹⁸

I also have grammatical objections to Yamada's translation of the passage quoted above. He fails to translate *ana kù.babbar u kù.sig*₁₇ in the main clause of its first sentence, and gratuitously supplies the phrase « (to the city). » Yamada's interpretation of the variant writing *a-na-ra-na* as *sandhi* with a personal name is also questionable¹⁹.

In sum, I deny the existence of « Arana » and render the problematic lines²⁰: « When Emar demanded²¹ 30,000 (shekels) of silver and 2000/700 (shekels) of gold for the treasury(?),²² [parcels of real property] were sold²³ for silver and gold, and the silver and gold were given/brought to the treasury(?) of the king. » Whether the lugal in question was the local ruler or the Hittite viceroy in Carchemish²⁴ cannot be decided with certainty.

1. « 'Arana-Documents' from Emar, » *Orient* 29 (1993), 139-46.

2. These records are all roughly contemporary. The two with preserved scribal « signatures » were both inscribed by Rašap-ili, and Abī-Dagan son of Dagan-tari witnesses all four transactions. Many other individuals appear in two or three of the witness lists.

3. Text A = TBR 14: 19-26; Text B = Emar 6, 153: 13-17; Text C = A. Tsukimoto, *Acta Sumerologica* 12 (1990), 181, Text 2, rev. 1'-5'; Text D = TBR 15: 5'-8'. For abbreviations employed here, see my *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar in the Collection of Jonathan Rosen* (Padua, 1996), p. x.

4. Yamada inserts [lugal] in Text A.

5. Text A: 7 *mêti*.

6. Text A: *uru.ki*.

7. Text A omits conjunction.

8. Text A: *ki eršetu u é.ḫi.a*; Text B: *[é.ḫ]i.a ki¹.ḫi.a*; Text C: *é¹.ḫi.a ki.ḫi.a*; Text D: *x.x.ḫi.a a.šà.ḫi.a*. D. Arnaud, TBR pp. 43-44, reads the first two signs in Text D as *du₆-la¹*, « colline, » but confesses his uncertainty.

9. Conjunction only in Text A.

10. Conjunction only in Text A.

11. Text A adds: *lugal*. Texts C and D have: *a-na-ra-na*.

12. Text A: *iddinū*.

13. I have conflated Yamada's two variant translations and omitted his brackets.

14. See *Rosen Collection*, p. xii, for a genealogical chart of this family.

15. It is most frequently stated that the alienation of property took place « in a period of hostilities and want » (e.g., RE 35, 13: *ina mu.ḫi.a nukurti kala.ga*), or when enemies were besieging the city. I have collected references to this latter situation in *Rosen Collection*, p. 91.

16. The urban authorities are usually referred to as « (the city-god) Ninurta and the elders of Emar. »

17. If this were the case at Emar, we would expect to find leases of such properties among the archives, for they would not have been left idle for extended periods.

18. For further discussion see my « Real Estate Sales at Emar, » *Michael Astour Anniversary Volume*, in press.

19. I do not know of any other such treatment of a proper noun in the Emar corpus.

20. Cf. Arnaud, TBR, pp. 42, 44.

21. Reading *irišu*; alternatively *irišū*, « When silver and gold was demanded of Emar ... »

22. CAD A/II, 231: *arānu*, « chest, coffer, cashbox, coffin. » The spelling *a-ra-na* after the preposition is admittedly troubling – perhaps we are dealing with a foreign word.

23. For *nadānu ana kaspim*, see CAD N/I, 49-50.

24. See M. Yamada, « Reconsidering the Letters from the 'King' in the Ugarit Texts: Royal Correspondence of Carchemish?, » UF 24 (1992), 431-46.

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122) Emar Notes, 2: A Politic Intervention? – Although not necessarily recovered from the ruins of Emar itself, the tablet now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts recently published by D. I. Owen¹ is a product of the Hittite bureaucracy which governed all of northern Syria during the Late Bronze Age. Almost certainly inscribed at the viceregal court of Carchemish, the document concerns a dispute over a sum of silver between a

man bearing the typically Emariote name Pasūri-Dagan and a certain Ari-Teššup, identified as « a man of Aššur » (l. 5).

Upon the return of Ari-Teššup from Assyria, Pasūri-Dagan had taken action to enforce his claim. He deposes: *aššum* 45 gín kù.babbar *aššabat=šum* u ^{fd}u.ir-mi ama.lugal *ištu qātīya ilteqe=mi umma anāku* kù.babbar=*ka ušallam=ka=mi* (ll. 10-15). Then the tablet continues with the resolution of the situation: *inanna* ^{fd}u.ir-mi ama.lugal *kīmū* 45 gín kù.babbar *šāšu* a.šā *ina* ^{uru}Kulatti ...² *ana* [^mPasūri-Dagan *dumu* ^mAkallina *it[tadin]*] (ll. 15-18, 28-29). Owen renders the passage: « As for the 45 shekels of my silver, I had seized it. But, ^dU-IR-mi, the king's mother, took it (i.e., the silver) away from me (saying) thus: "I, your silver, will pay back to you." But (now), ^dU-IR-mi, the king's mother, instead of that 45 shekels of silver, a field in the town of Kulat(t)i, ... to [Pasūri-Dagan, son of] Akallina, has g[iven]. »

In this translation, the behavior of the queen mother is puzzling.³ Why does ^du.ir-mi take the disputed silver from Pasūri-Dagan, at the same time promising to return it? And why does she then give him a plot of land instead of the cash? The problem may be cleared up by interpreting *aššabat=šum* in l. 11 not as « I had seized it (viz., the silver), » but as « I took hold of (i.e., sued) him (viz., Ari-Teššup). »⁴

I thus translate the entire passage: « I sued him, and ^du.ir-mi, mother of the king, took (him) from my hand, saying: "I will repay your silver." Now, ^du.ir-mi, mother of the king, has g[iven Pasūri-Dagan son of Akallina] a field in the city of Kulatti ... in lieu of those 45 shekels of silver. »⁵

That is, no silver changes hands at this time. Pasūri-Dagan simply receives a field from ^du.ir-mi in compensation for the silver owed him by Ari-Teššup. Since the latter is not only an Assyrian, but also travels between his homeland and the area of Syria under Hittite domination, he is probably a merchant. The intervention of the queen mother in this matter was apparently intended to head off a diplomatic incident between Ḫatti and Assyria arising from the commercial dispute of Pasūri-Dagan and Ari-Teššup.

1. « Pasūri-Dagan and Ari-Teššup's Mother, » pp. 573-584 in Z. Zevit, et al., eds., *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots. Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (Winona Lake, 1995).

2. The description of the property intervenes in ll. 19-27.

3. See Owen, « Pasūri-Dagan, » p. 574.

4. CAD § 10-11, *šabātu* 2d: « to take hold of a person (a symbolic gesture when asking for payment of a debt...) »

5. In accordance with this interpretation, restore in l. 30: *ašš[um] kù.babbar šāšu ...*.

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123) The etymology and meaning of Šalbatānu – C.B.F. Walker in F.R. Stephenson and C.B.F. Walker, eds., *Halley's Comet in History* (London, 1985) p. 16, gave the meaning of this name of the planet Mars as « unknown ». E. Reiner in her *Astral Magic in Babylonia* (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 85/4, Philadelphia, 1995) p. 7, is more emphatic: « His (Mars') Akkadian name, *Šalbatānu*, has no known meaning or etymology. » However, a proposal can be made. The planet Mars was the star of the god Nergal, see E. von Weiher, *Der babylonische Gott Nergal* (AOAT 11, Kevelaer, 1971) pp. 76ff. One of Nergal's names was ^dlugal-gišāsal = [*be-el ša*]r-BE (An = Anum VI 72, see RLA VII 115-6). There is a problem about the exact form since there are writings with *-šar-bi* and *-šar-bi*, suggesting *-šar-be*, but the name of the goddess ^dištar-šar-BE is proved to be *-šar-bat* by the variant *-ša-ar-ba-at*, and the irrigation canal e-gišāsal = *i-ku šar*-BE is similarly proved to be *-šar-bat* by the variant from Ras Shamra *ša-ar-be-ti* (MSL XI 30 18 cf. 49 58). This detail, however, need not detain us. In a late god list, CT 25 35 rev. 20 = 36 rev. 26: ^dšar-bu-ú = ^dbēl-šar-BE, the adjective *šarbū* is used for the god, and this prepares us to take *šalbatānu* as a variant of *šarbatānu*, by interchange of *r* and *l*. The ending *-ānu* can be adjectival, as commonly in the other Semitic languages (C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss* I p. 392f.), though not so commonly in Akkadian, but note *nabalkattānu* « rebel » and *nullātānu* « slanderer » (W. von Soden, GAG³, 1995, p. 86).

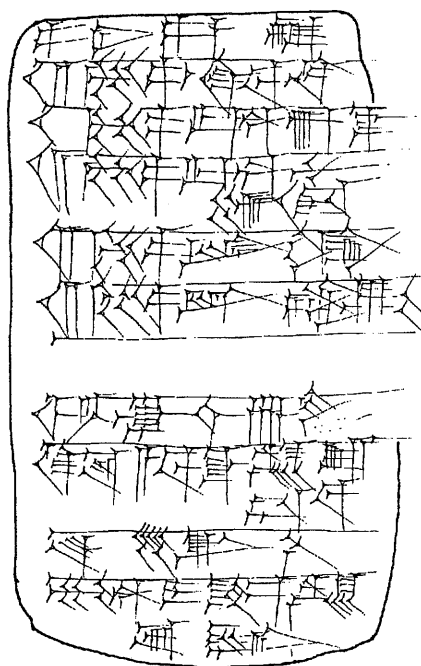
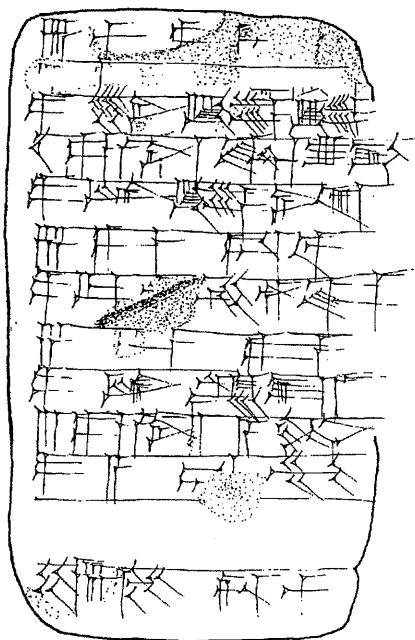
Only two explicit writings of the name have so far been quoted: ^{mu}1*ša-al-ba-ta-nu* in a late Old Babylonian or early Cassite omen text (RA 65, 1971, 72 62), and an unpublished Ras Shamra tablet, RS 23 38* rev. 13, cited by Nougayrol in RA 65 (1971) 82 on 16. However, the Greek lexicographer Hesychius cites Σελέβατος [the MSS give Βελέβατος, but that is corrupt: the uncial Greek Β and Σ having been interchanged] ὁ τοῦ πυρός ἀστὴρ Βαβυλωνίους « Selebatos: the fiery star: the Babylonians, » which looks like a descendant of *Šalbatānu*, and reflects the Babylonian alternative name *Makrū* « red », explained in a commentary as « likeness of fire » (*tam-šil* ^dGIŠ.BAR: see CAD *makrū*).

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124) Une tablette d'époque Ur III dans une collection privée – Il s'agit d'une liste de contrôle de différents travailleurs employés sur l'aire d'Abagal-Enlila, datée du 8-xi (še-kin-kud) de l'année Ibbi-Sîn 1. Cette tablette provenant sans doute d'Umma se trouve dans une collection privée à Paris. Je remercie son propriétaire de m'avoir permis de la publier. La tablette mesure 5 x 8,5 x 1,7 cm.

| | | | |
|----|---------------------------|----|-----------------------------------|
| F. | 8 1/2 gur[uš] ᵀgub¹-[ba] | R. | ugula ì-kal-la |
| 2 | {...} | 14 | 12 geme₂ ugula na-ba-sá |
| | ugula in-ša₆-ša₆ | 10 | 10 geme₂ ugula ur-ᵀnun-gal |
| 4 | 10 guruš ᵀlál-ni ᵀpù-ú-kà | 16 | 12 geme₂ ugula ur-ᵀnu-muš-da |
| | ugula lú-ša₆-i-zu | 12 | 12 geme₂ ugula lú-du₁₀-ga |
| 6 | 7 guruš gub-ba | 18 | 12 geme₂ ugula lú-ḫé-gál |
| | ugula ur-ᵀᵀ[geš]tin-an-ka | | kurum₇-ak ud 8-kam |
| 8 | 5 {guruš} guruš | 20 | ki-su₇ a-ba-gal-ᵀen-líl-lá gub-ba |
| | ugula lú-ᵀen-líl-lá | | iti še-kin-kud |
| 10 | 3 guruš lál-ni ᵀa-lul | 22 | mu ᵀᵀ-bí-ᵀen-zu lugal |
| | ugula a-du-mu | | |
| 12 | ᵀ418 geme₂ uš-bar | | |



- 1-3 8 1/2 travailleurs — présents ; responsable : Inšaša.
 4-5 10 travailleurs — absent Pūka ; responsable : Lušaizu.
 6-7 7 travailleurs — présents ; responsable : Ur-Geštinanaka.
 8-9 5 travailleurs ; responsable : Lu-Enlila.
 10-11 3 travailleurs — absent Alul ; responsable : Adumu.
 12-13 48 travailleuses, tisseuses ; responsable : Ikalla.
 14 12 travailleuses ; responsable Nabasa.
 15 10 travailleuses ; responsable Ur-Nungal.
 16 12 travailleuses ; responsable Ur-Numušda.
 17 12 travailleuses ; responsable Lu-duga.
 18 12 travailleuses ; responsable Lu-ḫegal.

19-22 Contrôle le 8^e jour, (personnel) présent à l'aire d'Abagal-Enlil ; mois de Šekinkud (mois xi) ; année : Ibbi-Sîn (est devenu) roi.

- 4 *Pù-ú-kà* : Pour ce NP, cf. par exemple M. Sigrist, *Neo-Sumerian Account Texts, AUCT I* le NP *pu-kà-a* (n° 964 : 4, dam-gâr) et *pù-ka-a* (n°737 : 6)
- 4, 10 *lá-ni* se trouve ici manifestement en opposition à *gub-ba* (l. 1, 6) et doit être traduit par « manquer, être absent ». La même opposition entre *gub-ba* et *lá-ni* se trouve par exemple dans *TCS I 251*.
- 9, 11 *Alul* et *Lu-Enlila* sont également attestés comme *ugula* « responsable » dans un autre texte provenant d'Umma, et daté du mois vi, IS 2 : Erlenmeyer 158 (*ASJ* 14, 1992, p. 89-90, copie p. 101).
- 20 *ki-su₇* *Abagal-Enlila* : cf. G. Pettinato, *Untersuchungen zur neosumerischen Landwirtschaft. Die Felder I, Pubblicazioni del seminario di Semitistica, II Ricerche, Napoli, 1967*, p. 52 pour le champ d'Abagal-Enlila située dans la région d'Umma. On se reportera aussi à T. Fish, « *KI.SU₇* on Umma Texts », *MCS II/3*, July 1952, p. 54-59 et p. 56 pour le texte BM 112948, qui atteste un mouton d'offrande (*zur₄*) offert à l'aire (*ki-su₇*) d'Abagal-Enlila au mois iii année ŠS 9. Le champ d'Abagal-Enlila était sans doute d'une taille assez importante, car *BIN V, 278* nous atteste que 54 travailleurs et 198 travailleuses pouvaient y être employés. Le total de notre texte ne recense que 35 1/2 travailleurs, dont deux étaient absents, et 106 travailleuses.

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125) The synonym list Anšar = Anu – The series title *An* = *Anum* designates the largest known list of gods, for which see most recently W. G. Lambert, *RLA 3 475f. Götterlisten*, § 6. A reconstruction of the six-tablet series was offered in 1911 by Zimmern, « Zur Herstellung der grossen babylonischen Götterliste *An* = (*ilu*) *Anum* » in *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, 63/4. Neither the edition of the series by R. L. Littke in his Ph. D. dissertation, nor a new reconstruction by W. G. Lambert has yet been published.

As Zimmern pointed out loc. cit. pp. 124f., the name *An* = *Anum* seems to have been applied to various lists, of which we possess one with the incipit *šapātu = dānu* which has as subscript *du b. IX. k a m* *An* = *Anum* ; it was edited by Meissner, *BAW 1 69ff.* ; it is cited in the CAD as *An IX*. Another synonym list, with the incipit *šapātu = balātu* and the catch line *šapātu = dānu*, was therefore assigned the serial number VIII, and is so cited in the CAD ; the synonym list with the incipit *rāh kīdi = epinnu*, known from the catch line to *An IX* only, was assigned the serial number X. As far as we know, no synonym list *An VII* is attested ; the serial number VII is given to a tablet of the god list in some recensions, see W. G. Lambert, loc. cit. For the relationships of the synonym lists and the god lists see A. D. Kilmer, *JAOS 83 (1963) 423*.

We now have a variant name for Tablet IX of the synonym list, namely *AN.ŠĀR = Anu*.¹ This is attested in von Weiher *Uruk 99*, a commented text, where we read in line 43 (commenting on *ir-hu-uh* line 39) : *ra-ha-ha ... šanīš ra-ha-mu // ta-ha-ha ina AN.ŠĀR : ^dDIŠ <qabi>*. For a particular named lexical text cited as the source of an equation cf. *ina ERIM.HUŠ qabi Leichty Izbu p. 232 ROM 991 : 4*.

The citation from the synonym list refers to line 48 of *An IX* as reconstructed by Landsberger (line 47 in Meissner's edition), which has the entry *ra-ha-hu = ta-ha-hu* ; the line also appears in *LTBA 2 2 : 331*. A variant from *K.2032* (source E in Landsberger's reconstruction), also cited by Meissner, gives in the left sub-column *[x-x]-mu*. This partially broken variant can now be restored as *[ra-ha]-mu*, on the basis of von Weiher *Uruk 99*. Unfortunately, neither *rahāhu* nor *rahāmu* is attested in context ; the only inflected form attested is precisely the word commented upon in line 39 : *ir-hu-uh-ma // is-si-ma*, but the omen itself, which presumably contained the word *ir-hu-uh-ma*, is not cited. The phrase *KA^{gu-ú} nam.tag.ga ra.ra*, which precedes the explanation of *rahāhu*, is itself explained in lines 39-42, but without reference to the phrase *gū n a m . t a g . g a = šasē arni* as elsewhere (see CAD s.vv.).

It is worth noting that another composition is possibly cited in this *Uruk* text, in line 28 : *i-ni ^dDIŠ [šur^l-bu-[u]*, which seems to be the incipit of no. 60 of the same volume : *i-na ^dA-nu šur-bu-u AD DINGIR.MEŠ*, itself attested (with the variant *rabû* to *šurbû*) as the catch line of *Enuma Anu Enlil Tablet 70 : e-nu ^dA-num GAL-ú a-bi DINGIR.MEŠ*, see *BPO 2 p. 23* and note 3.

1. Whether this incipit reflects a (possibly Assyrian) recension of the god list in which *An* was replaced by *Anšar*, or whether it refers to the synonym list only is unclear.

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126) A Note on Ur III Palaeography – It is unfortunate that many workers on Ur III tablets dispense with copies because of the bulk of the material and the labour that is involved in such work. But it cannot be said that the signs are so well known that there is no real loss. The sign 𒄩 is not common, but in all the reference works covering this period (C. Fossey, *Manuel* II 26931ff.; N. Schneider, *KWU* nos. 473-4) the sign appears with an extrusion at the upper left-hand corner which is most accurately a kind of TIN. The sign is not common, but occurs particularly in the names lugal-igi-ḥuš and its short form igi-ḥuš. A glance at occurrences of the longer name, e.g. *CT* 10 24-25 ii 10, iii 15, seems to confirm this shape of the sign, but the passages just quoted apparently were written in Lagash. The short form of the name occurs in Umma tablets, and there the apparent TIN is replaced by TUG, see M. Sigrist, *Tablettes du Princeton Theological Seminary, Époque d'Ur III* 201 3, and A. Archi and F. Pomponio, *Testi Cuneiformi Neo-Sumerici da Umma*, Nn. 0413-0723, 587 rev. 4. A very quick glance at easily found passages in Ur III tablet suggests that at all towns but Umma the sign is more or less as given in the lists, but at Umma the replacement of TIN by TUG was regular. The importance of such information is shown in that the editors of the last passage quoted converted the name igi-ḥuš to ù-lu₅ in their edition, though as so interpreted the sign LUL is plainly incomplete at the upper left-hand corner.

Schneider, *KWU* nos. 876-877 gives such a sign with TUG, but it seems not to be 𒄩 in the cases referred to. The matter is being raised to draw attention to a problem, rather than to claim to solve it. It is interesting that the sign 𒄩 has different forms at Šalābīḥ and Lagash in earlier times, see the present writer in *ZA* 80 (1990) 44 n. 5.

W. G. LAMBERT (17-12-96)

127) A Sumerian personal name – In the second exercise tablet published by Benjamin R. Foster, *NABU* 1996/68, the interpretation of ^dašgi-TÜR-(sù) gave problems. One must surely follow the Ur III names lugal/nin-arḥuš-sù and either give TÜR a value arḥuš, or assume it is cursive for árḥuš or arḥuš.

W. G. LAMBERT (17-12-96)

128) La « vestizione » della statua della dea ^dTU ad Ebla – Nella documentazione amministrativa eblaita viene menzionata l'assegnazione rituale di tessuti alla statua della dea ^dTU,¹ la cui rilevanza nel pantheon eblaita è ora confermata dal ruolo da essa svolto nei rituali della regalità recentemente editi da P. Fronzaroli in *ARET XI*. I passi dei testi amministrativi noti in cui si ha notizia di questa cerimonia sono i seguenti :

[1] 1 gu-dùl-túg gi₆, lú 10 na₄ siki/2 BU-DI 4 gín DILMUN kù-babbar/mu₄ ^{mu}/^dTU/ 1 túg-NI:NI/sar-du-du/ pa₄ :šeš/^dKU-ra/1 sal-túg 1 fb-iii-túg-gùn/a-du-ul/pa₄ :šeš/^dKU-ra/ in u₄/mu₄ ^{mu}/^dTU, « 1 stoffa g. nera di 10 misure-na₄ di lana (e) 2 pendenti di 4 sicli d'argento per la cerimonia della vestizione della dea ^dTU, 1 stoffa t. per Sar-du-du, il "profumiere" del dio ^dKU-ra, 1 stoffa leggera (ed) 1 gonnellino variegato per A-du-ul, il "profumiere" del dio ^dKU-ra, in occasione della "vestizione" della (statua della dea ^dTU) »²

[2] 5 kin siki gi₆ / 1 gu-dùl-túg ^dTU/ma-lik-tum/šú-ba₄-ti, « 5 misure-kin eli lana nera per una stoffa g. per la (statua della) dea ^dTU la regina ha ricevuto »³

[3] 3 na₄ siki babbar / 1 gu-dùl-túg / ^dTU, « 3 misure-na₄ di lana bianca per una stoffa per la (statua della) dea ^dTU »⁴

Tale cerimonia è esplicitamente indicata in [1] con il termine mu₄^{mu} (talvolta scritto anche ^{mu}mu₄), « assegnazione di vesti » e quindi « vestizione »,⁵ verosimilmente sottinteso negli altri due passi [2-3]. I tre testi registrano avvenimenti verificatisi durante i mesi consecutivi di MAXGÁNA tenû-sag in [1-2] e di MAXGÁNA tenû-GUDU₄ in [3]. Se ne ricava che in quel periodo dell'anno avevano luogo particolari cerimonie connesse con il culto della dea ^dTU. Dai contesti citati risulta evidente che il corredo tipico di questa era costituito dalla stoffa gu-dùl-túg, esplicitamente realizzata in lana. In [1] viene ad essa associato il gioiello BU-DI, che più spesso ricorre invece assieme alle stoffe zara₆-túg o túg-NI:NI. A differenza di altri tipi di tessuti, la stoffa gu-dùl-túg viene raramente assegnata nei testi di Ebla disponibili ai simulacri delle divinità, il che rende ancor più peculiare la sua offerta a questa dea. Oltre che a ^dTU, infatti, come si evince dai passi [4-6] sotto citati, la stoffa gu-dùl-túg è data solo alla paredra (^dBAD-mí) del dio ^da₅-da-bal⁶ ed alla dea ^dba-ra-ma, che in base ai testi rituali sappiamo essere la paredra del dio ^dKU-ra :

[4] 1 gu-dùl-túg/^dBAD-mi/^da₅-da-bal/lu-ba-an^{ki}/ma-lik-tum/šú-ba₄-ti, « 1 stoffa g. per la (statua della) paredra del dio ^da₅-da-bal di lu-ba-an^{ki} la regina ha ricevuto ».⁷

[5] 1 gu-dùl-túg/ama-gal en/níg-ba/^dBAD-mi/[^da₅]-da-[b]al, 1 stoffa g. da parte della madre del re (come) offerta per la (statua della) paredra del dio ^da₅-da-bal »⁸

[6] 1 gu^l-dùl-túg 1 níg-lá-ZI :ZI/^dba-ra-ma, « 1 tessuto g. (e) 1 tessuto n. per la (statua della) dea ^dba-ra-ma »⁹

Un uso cerimoniale della stoffa gu-dùl-túg ci viene inoltre documentato dal passo seguente :

[7] 1 gu-dùl-túg/iš-ru₁₂-ud/sa-ti-bùl/ma-[lik*]-tum/î-na-šum/ [... « stoffa g. per la « vestizione » della regina Iš-ru-ud ha dato [...] »¹⁰

La grafia *sa-ti-bù* è di difficile interpretazione;¹¹ ma una sua traduzione come « assegnazione di vesti (cerimoniali); vestizione » sembra assicurata dalla corrispondenza con mu₄^{mu}, confermata in un estratto della lista lessicale (EV 0213, fonte d), che glossa ^{mu}mu₄ con *si-dib-tum* (verosimilmente derivato dalla stessa radice di *sa-ti-bù*). Il termine espresso mediante queste grafie può considerarsi molto probabilmente come l'equivalente semitico occidentale dell'accadico *lubuštum*.¹²

Un particolare che però colpisce per la sua singolarità nelle assegnazioni del gu-dùl-túg per ^dTU è il diverso colore attribuito a questa stoffa: « nero » (gi₆) per la cerimonia del mese MAXGÁN*Atenû-sag* [1-2] e « bianco » (babbar) per quella del mese MAXGÁN*Atenû* GUDU₄ [3]. Difficilmente l'alternanza di questi due colori in questo contesto può essere considerata una semplice casualità. L'alternanza cromatica « bianco/nero » infatti indica la « specularità di una polarità » corrispondente all'opposizione « positivo/negativo ». ¹³ Dal punto di vista storico-religioso, questo simbolismo cromatico è stato riscontrato nel culto della Dea Madre, che quando è « bianca » è ausiliatrice e quando è « nera » è punitrice.¹⁴ A tale proposito è opportuno ricordare che la stessa ^dTU partecipa della qualità della Dea Madre e come quella aveva un duplice carattere che la legava alla nascita come alla morte.¹⁵ Un carattere ctonio della dea ^dTU ad Ebla è del resto confermato da altri due passi amminastrivi [...] /níg-dug-DU/gú-a-tum/^da-da-malwal/^dTU/'à-da-NI^{ki} (ARET III 337 v. VI:2'-7'), e ní-g-ba ama-gal en ^dTU lú 'à-da-NI^{ki} (TM.75.G.10210 r.X, in A. Archi, *Amurru* 1 [1996], p. 86), che mettono in relazione ^dTU sia con ^da-da-ma, paredra di ^dra-sa-ap, sia con 'à-da-NI^{ki}, centro di culto delle divinità inferie. Il rituale regio eblaita, nell'interpretazione di P. Fronzaroli,¹⁶ presenta la dea ^dTU come una divinità adirata, che dev'essere placata con invocazioni e lamenti affinché « faccia risplendere il re e la regina nuovi ». Il motivo di questo stato d'animo della dea non è dato conoscere; tuttavia, sulla base di quanto sopra ribadito circa il simbolismo cromatico dell'opposizione « bianco/nero », l'analisi parallela dei contesti amministrativi e del rituale lascia supporre che il gu-dùl-túg nero fosse la veste della dea ^dTU adirata e il gu-dùl-túg bianco la veste della dea ^dTU placata.

1. Forma abbreviata di ^dnin-TU come notato da W. G. Lambert, *BaE*, p. 398; diversamente G. Pettinato, *SrSem* II n.s. 9 (1992), p. 245, e MEE 5, p. 261, pensa ad una divinità maschile (« dio TU » o « divino Tu »). Il carattere femminile di ^dTU appare evidente in base ad ARET XI (63) dove l'azione da essa svolta viene espressa mediante il verbo 'hbn « essere adirato » coniugato alla terza pers. femm. del congiuntivo (ti-'á-ba-nu/tihabban-u). Un'ulteriore conferma può essere anche la consegna di due BU-DI in [1] alla statua dea; questo gioiello è infatti una componente tipica dell'abbigliamento femminile eblaita.

2. ARET I 12 (4-6).

3. ARET VIII 532 (48) = MEE 5 12.

4. ARET VIII 541 (45) = MEE 5 21.

5. L'interpretazione di túg-MU come mu₄^{mu} si basa su un suggerimento di G. Conti (precedentemente G. Pettinato, MEE 2, p. 46, pensava a túg-MU come ad una variante di túg-mu₄; questa proposta è stata accolta anche da G. M. Urcluoli, *UF* 25 [1993], pp. 407 ss. e F. d'Agostino, *NABU* 1996/56). Per la traduzione « assegnazione di vesti » v. da ultimo P. Fronzaroli, ARET XI, p. 172, con bibliografia.

6. Per questa lettura v. P. Fronzaroli, *M.A.R.I.* 8 (in stampa).

7. ARET III 108 IV:1'-6'.

8. ARET III 466 v. X:7'-11'.

9. ARET III 889 v.I:2'-3'.

10. ARET III 35 v. IV:3-8. Si veda anche il parallelo ARET I 1 (62''): 1 túg-NI:NI/iš-ru₁₂-ud/sa-dib-tum/ma-lik-tum/î-na-sum, « 1 stoffa t. per la « vestizione » della regina Iš-ru-ud ha dato », riferito chiaramente alla stessa cerimonia di [7]. Da notare lo scambio di gu-dùl-túg con túg-NI:NI: doveva trattarsi di tessuti pregiati adatti entrambi ad un'occasione ufficiale.

11. NP secondo gli editori di ARET III; così anche per M. Krebernik, *Die Personnamen der Ebla-Texte*, Berlin 1988, p. 280, ma v. Bonocchi, (in preparazione).

12. Per *si-dib-tum* è stata proposta una derivazione da *šip, « tagliare » (P. Fronzaroli, ARET XI, pp. 27-28). È possibile che da un organario senso di « tagliare » e quindi « dividere », il semantismo del verbo si sia sposato verso il significato di « distribuire, assegnare » riferito anche a delle vesti (v. più in particolare J. Pasquali, *MisEb.* 4, in stampa). Meno pertinente, sia su base contestuale sia in virtù dell'equivalenza con ^{mu}mu₄, appare la proposta di G. Pettinato, *SrSem*, n.s. 9 (1992), pp. 269 ss. e di F. D'Agostino, *NABU* 1996/56 (*šip, « lavare, inondare, mantenere in vita »).

13. Così C. Diano, *Linee per una fenomenologia dell'arte*, Vicenza 1968, pp. 29 ss.; per l'opposizione chiaro/scuro = positivo/negativo nella religione mesopotamica, v. E. Cassin, *La splendeur divine*, Paris-La Haye 1968, specialmente alle pp. 121-133 e *passim*.

14. V. E. Neumann, *The Great Mother – An Analysis of the Archetype*, Princeton 1963, p. 49 e *passim*; per la religione greca, v. ad esempio A. Galvano, *Artemis Efesia*, Milano, 1967, pp. 111-112.

15. V. Th. Jacobsen, *Or* 42 (1973), pp. 274-298. Le stesse osservazioni valgono anche per un'altra dea madre per eccellenza, l'egizia Hathor (v. C. Bonnet, *Astarté. Dossier documentaire et perspectives historiques*, Roma 1996, pp. 21-22 con bibliografia).

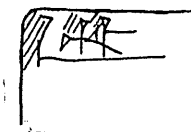
16. In *ARET* XI 1 (63-65), 2 (66-68); la diversa interpretazione del passo offerta da G. Pettinato, *StSem* n.s. 9 (1992), p. 209 non può essere accolta, perché fondata su lettura (*il-sa-ba-nu*) non confermata da collazione.

Jacopo PASQUALI (19-12-96)

129) Corrigenda –

– *Nuḫḫullum* : dans ZA 85, 189, j'ai admis – après W. FARBER, ZA 79, 22 et le CAD – que *nuḫḫullum* devait être une variante d'*imḫullum*. Il m'avait échappé que le dictionnaire de VON SODEN (AHw 1342 b et 1580 b) avait déjà proposé une solution qui me paraît meilleure, en le dérivant de *num-ḫul 'böse Fliege'. Quand on connaît les redoutables nuages de mouches microscopiques qui envahissent la plaine irakienne aux premières chaleurs, on peut goûter le piquant de l'image : « tous deux enlacés, son mari le moucheron et elle le courant d'air, ils courent la steppe » (FARBER, loc. cit. 16, 21-23).

– ad AUWE 23, 52 : le coin gauche du n° 52 (W 16603 ao) a sauté à la reproduction (p. 143), il manque ce qui suit :



– ad AUWE 23, 53, Spalte i 3, na₄ ḫar est certainement un bracelet de pierre et non une meule (!), comme je l'ai écrit par mégarde.

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130) *anumma zittaki* – Dans une note récente (*NABU* 1996/32), j'ai attiré l'attention sur la pratique, révélée par des lettres de Mari, consistant dans l'envoi de portions de viande prélevées sur les animaux immolés au cours d'un rituel religieux. Or précédemment (*NABU* 1991/87), J. Eidem avait signalé qu'une telle pratique était attestée dans une lettre de Tell Rimah (*OBTR* 113) : un certain Amisum annonce l'envoi de sa « part » à la reine Iltani *anumma zittaki uštābilam*. La lecture 'eq¹-ri que propose J. Eidem pour la fin de la l. 5 ne me semble pas absolument convaincante ; on ignore d'ailleurs à quel titre Amisum aurait invité la déesse Bēlet-maššartim à un banquet rituel, mais de toute façon, la phrase *anumma zittaki uštābilam* est suffisamment caractéristique pour que la lettre puisse être jointe au dossier de la pratique en cause, que des lettres encore inédites de Tell Leilan illustreraient également, selon J. Eidem.

D'autre part, j'avais souligné le fait que dans *ARMT* XXVIII 169, Qarni-Lim prenait soin d'ajouter, en s'adressant au souverain de Mari : « ... Eštar d'Andarig, qui veille sur ta vie et la mienne ». Mais il s'agit peut-être là simplement de formules traditionnelles. En effet, le roi Huziri de Hazzikannum s'exprime de la même manière en parlant de la Dame de Nagar « qui veille sur la vie de mon seigneur » (*FM* II 122 :6, dans *Mémoires de NABU* 3, p. 237), et Mut Bisir, écrivant à Yasmah-Addu, a recours à la même formule à propos de Nergal, en l'honneur duquel un sacrifice va être célébré à Qatna (cf. J.-M. Durand, *MARI* 6, p. 285 n.a).

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131) *Le dernier BAL du gouverneur d'Umma* – Une texte administratif inédit de l'époque d'Ur III, appartenant à une collection privée, apporte quelques données historiques nouvelles.

Seule la face de la tablette pourrait poser des problèmes, sa surface étant relativement érodée, mais la simplicité de la structure du texte permet de tout comprendre.

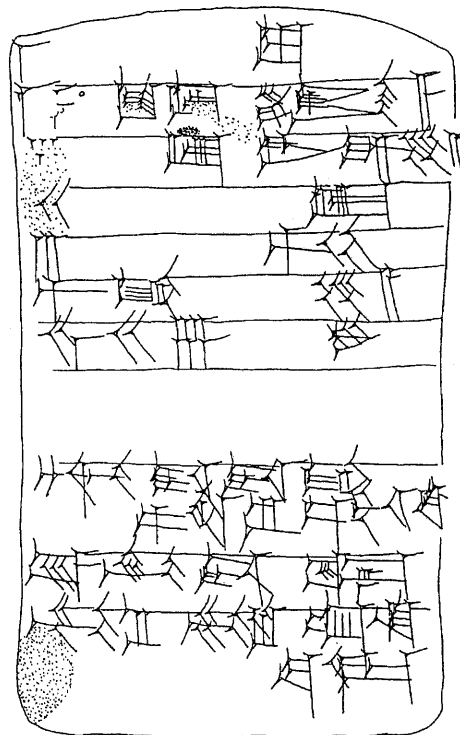
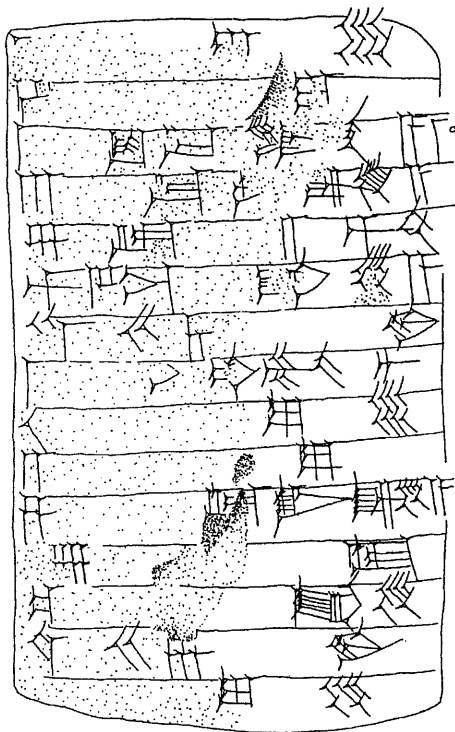
Ce texte appartient très certainement aux archives de Drehem, site présumé de Puzriš-Dagan, car outre qu'il est daté d'un mois du calendrier de Drehem et qu'il est relatif à la perception de bétail (ainsi que d'une sorte de lait caillé ga-še-a ; cf. M. Stol, « Milk, Butter, and Cheese », *BSA* VII, 1993, p. 101), c'est un document de l'administration du bala.

Le contenu de la liste de bétail n'a en soi rien d'original. Il s'agit de livraisons d'animaux, réparties sur trois jours qui correspondent au « service-tour » de Dadaga, Ensi d'Umma.

Mais le document prend plus d'intérêt, comme me l'indique B. Lafont, si l'on considère sa date de rédaction, le 27/ii (šeš-da-kú) de l'année de la « destruction de Simurru ». Ce ne peut être que l'année d'Ibbi-Sîn 3, puisqu'un Dadaga n'est connu comme gouverneur d'Umma que vers cette époque. Entré en fonction l'année 6 de Šu-Sîn, il n'était attesté que jusqu'en IS 2. Son nom figure pourtant encore jusqu'en IS 9 sur un des deux sceaux de son fils, Gududu. Seul l'autre sceau de Gududu mentionne le titre de son père, « Ensi d'Umma ». Mais ce sceau n'est attesté que jusqu'en IS 2 (cf. T. Maeda, « Father of Akala and Dadaga, Governors of Umma », *ASJ* 12, 1990, p. 71-78). Ces deux sceaux ne sont de toute façon que des mentions indirectes de Dadaga. Celui-ci exerçait donc d'après notre texte sa fonction de gouverneur encore en IS 3, à l'époque où s'engage l'interruption progressive des archives d'Umma.

Cette tablette doit aussi désormais permettre de repousser la date de la fin des activités du bala, que l'on croyait jusqu'à présent être de la fin de l'année IS 2, le dernier document recensé datant du dixième mois de l'année (cf. T. Maeda, « Bal-ensî in the Drehem Texts », *ASJ* 16, 1994, p. 115-164). C'est ainsi qu'est rajoutée presque une demi-année supplémentaire d'existence au bala. Cela devrait conduire à s'interroger sur la manière dont fonctionnait encore cette institution, alors que IS 3 est bien l'année où les archives d'Umma et de Drehem ont sensiblement décliné, signe du « catastroph factor » comme l'a écrit M. Civil (cf. en dernier lieu B. Lafont, « La chute des rois d'Ur et la fin des archives ... », *RA* 89-1995, p. 3-13).

Ce texte, qui vient s'ajouter utilement au petit lot de textes de l'année IS 3 de Drehem, est donc, en attendant d'autres découvertes, une pièce intéressante pour l'histoire de la chute de la fin de la troisième dynastie d'Ur.



| | | | |
|----|------------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| F. | 11 | udu-niga | 1 mouton engraisé |
| 2 | 4 | [ud]u | 4 moutons |
| | 1 | u ₈ -sila ₄ -ná-a | 1 brebis portant un agneau |
| 4 | 3 | sila ₄ kin-gi ₄ -a | 3 agneaux kingia |
| | 6 | sila ₄ [...] 2 máš | 6 agneaux 2 chevreaux |
| 6 | 0, 0.1.4 qa | ga-še-a | 14 litres de lait še-a, |
| | u ₄ | 25 -kam | Le 25 ; |
| 8 | 1 | [am]ar [g]u ₄ mu 2 | 1 veau de 2 ans |
| | 10 [...] | udu-niga | 10 moutons engraisés |
| 10 | 2 | udu | 2 moutons |
| | 5 ² | sila ₄ kin-gi ₄ -a | 5 ² moutons kingia |
| 12 | [10 ²] + 8 | sila ₄ | 18 ² agneaux |

| | | | |
|------|----------------|---|--|
| | 0, 0.2 [...] | ga-še-[a] | 20 litres de lait še-a, |
| 14 | u ₄ | 26 -kam | Le 26 ; |
| | [x] | udu-niga | x mouton(s) engraisé(s) |
| R.16 | 1 | udu | 1 mouton |
| | 1 {x} | u ₈ -sila ₄ -ná-a | 1 brebis portant un agneau |
| 18 | 4 [?] | sila ₄ kin-gi ₄ -a | 4 [?] agneaux kingia |
| | 20 | sila ₄ | 20 agneaux |
| 20 | 3 | máš | 3 chevreaux |
| | 0, 0.1 | ga-še-a | 10 litres de lait še-a. |
| 22 | u ₄ | 27 -kam | Le 27 ; |
| | | bala da-da-ga | Service-tour de Dadaga, gouverneur d'Umma. |
| | | /ensi ₂ giškušu ₂ -ki | |
| 24 | | iti šeš-da-kú | (date) |
| | | mu si-mu-ru-um ^{ki} /ba-hul | |

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132) Dūr šinni – The phrase *dūr šinni* occurs in an Akkadian religious text (KAR 43 r.9). *šinni* means « teeth, » *dūru* « wall, » i.e. « wall of the teeth. » CAD (vol. D, p. 197) s.v. *dūru* renders the pertinent clause, « your gums drip gall. » The « wall of the teeth » is accordingly a periphrasis for the gums. This seems strange. It is hard to imagine a perspective from which gums could be viewed as « wall of the teeth. » Ebeling, I think, had it right in his original publication of this text,¹ and I do not understand why his explanation has been abandoned. He wrote, « *dūr šinnika* : die Mauer deiner Zahne, doch wohl nichts anderes als das Gebiss. » In other words, « wall of the teeth » means, « the wall that is the teeth. » Here the visual image is clear, for the teeth do constitute a kind of wall separating the inside of the mouth from the outside. This interpretation finds powerful support in a Homeric parallel that has not been noticed. On a number of occasions in both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Homer speaks of the ἔρκος ὀδόντων, « the wall of the teeth, » the exact equivalent of *dūr šinni*. As Kirk writes of the Greek phrase, « The teeth look like a fence. »² Similarly, S. West, « The teeth are regarded as a barrier. »³ There can be little doubt that the Akkadian phrase is exactly the Homeric one⁴.

1. E. Ebeling, « Assyrische Beschwörungen, » *Zeit. Deut. Morgen. Gesell.* 69 (1915) : 95.

2. G.S. Kirk, *The Iliad : A Commentary. Vol. 1 : Books 1-4* (Cambridge, 1985), 366, ad 4.350.

3. *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey, Vol. 1* (Oxford, 1988), 83 ad 1.63-4.

4. I am indebted to my colleague, Prof. Wayne Pitard, for reading this note and for valuable bibliographical help.

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133) Le pays de Šudâ – Une pièce comptable mentionne le pays de Šudâ dans le cadre du pillage de l'Idamaras : *ša ša-al-la-at / i-da-ma-ra-aš / ša ma-at šu-de* (A.3796 :7-9, dans *ARM XXVI/1*, p.397). On en rapprochera un autre document, en mauvais état de conservation, mais où l'on peut vraisemblablement restituer : *[ša ša-al-la]-at ma-a-at / [i-da-ma-r]a-aš / [ša ma-a-at] šu-da-a^{ki}* (*ARM XXIV 52 :2-4*). La ville de Šudâ, siège du roi Sibkuna-Addu, est bien connue, mais elle se rattache au Zalmaqum, et non à l'Idamaras ; d'autre part, il n'est jamais question quand il s'agit d'elle d'un « pays » de Šudâ. Une lettre de Hâya-Sûmû (*ARM XXVIII 80*) tend à présent à confirmer l'existence de ce pays de Šudâ dans l'Idamaras. En effet, le roi d'Ilân-šurâ écrit à Zimri-Lim : « Mon père lui-même connaît mes sept villes qui se trouvent dans le pays de Šudâ » (1.8-9 : *i-na ma-a-at [š]u-da^{ki}*). On imagine difficilement que Hâya-Sûmû ait possédé plusieurs villes dans la région du Zalmaqum ; on admettra plus volontiers qu'elles étaient proches de son propre royaume.

Dans une lettre citée par J.-M. Durand (A.3577, dans *Mémoires de NABU 1*, p. 45), on voit Hammu-rabi de Kurdâ annoncer à l'assemblée de son pays que les troupes de Šudâ (*ša-bu-um šu-d[a-um]*) ont été invitées à se joindre à une armée ennemie de Mari. Les événements évoqués dans la lettre se situent dans le contexte de l'affrontement de Zimri-Lim avec Kurdâ, vers la fin de son règne. On peut raisonnablement se demander si les troupes de Šudâ dont parle Hammu-rabi ne sont pas originaires de l'Idamaras plutôt que du Zalmaqum, qui ne paraît nullement impliqué dans les hostilités.

J.-R. KUPPER (30-09-96)

134) A Göttertypentext from Nimrud – No. 141 in D. J. Wiseman and J. A. Black, *Literary Texts from the Temple of Nabû*, can be identified as a fragment of a Göttertypentext rather than a prescription, as tentatively suggested in the descriptive catalogue. Each section begins with the description of the god's head (see the edition of Franz Köcher, « Der babylonische Göttertypentext, » MIO 1[1953] 57-107). The colophons state that the descriptions are of twenty-seven statues, presumably in Babylon. These descriptions are sometimes considered to be of demons, but although some are of Mischwesen, others are of standard deities, e.g., ^d*Da-mu šu-ut* ^d*Gu-la*, « Damu, belonging to the circle of Gula » (i 16'), ^d*Nin-tu šu-ut* DINGIR.MAḪ, « Nin-tu, belonging to the circle of Bēlit-ilī » (iii 51'), the latter described as holding a child suckling at her breast. The best-preserved section of the Nimrud text, right column, 11'-14', is apparently not previously known and probably belongs in one of the gaps in Köcher's reconstruction (there are sizable gaps in columns ii and iii of the obverse). It describes the deity's head as that of a sheep, with locks of hair on the nape of the neck (*gu-pa-ra šá-ki-ī[n]*), with its front feet being the feet of a lion(?) (*maḥ-ra-tu-šú* GÌR UR. M[AḪ(?)]. (Other copies of this text use UR for « dog, » so we may have « dog » here rather than « lion. ») Line 14' seems uncertain. There are numerous examples of *mēsiru*, « belt, » in the composition, but always with *rakāsu*, « bind, » whereas our text appears to have ^r*šá(!)-ki-in*. Little of the preceding section can be understood except for ^r*kap-pi* [*šá-ki-in*], « it has wings, » *ina* GÛB-š[ú], « in its left (hand), » and *ḫi-in-dur* [MUŠEN *šá-ki-in*], « [it has] the spur(?) of a [bird] » in lines 5', 7', and 9'. (In line v 49', we have *ḫi-in-dur* MUSEN GAR-*in*, but the rest of the section cannot be reconciled with our new text, so obviously *ḫinduru* occurred more than once in the descriptions.) I am unable to restore line 15', SAG.DU ku nu šu(?), but line 16' has *pur-sà-sà ki-ma* x [, « it [has] a wig like a [. . .]. » Little can be done with the left column except that lines 10' and 11' probably end in *na-ši*, « carries [a . . .], » line 14' *r[a-ki-is]*, and probably *šu]-nu-uš-tum* in line 15', a word that occurs a number of times in this composition (see CAD s.v. *sunnušū*). Previously known copies of this composition come from Nineveh, Assur, and Uruk, though, as the two preserved colophons state, the original was from Babylon. To these we can now add Nimrud.

Robert BIGGS (23-09-96)

VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

135) Antoine Cavigneaux vous prie de noter sa nouvelle adresse : Université de Genève, Faculté des Lettres, Sciences de l'Antiquité, CH-1211 GENÈVE SUISSE.

136) Nous avons la tristesse de vous faire part du décès de Marie-Thérèse Barrelet, qui nous a quittés le 29 décembre 1996. Un hommage lui sera rendu dans le prochain numéro de la *Revue d'Assyriologie*.

137) Vient de paraître : *Jurer et maudire. Pratiques politiques et usages juridiques du serment au Proche-Orient ancien*, (Actes de la table ronde du 5 septembre 1996 organisée par F. Joannès et S. Lafont), textes réunis par S. Lafont, *Méditerranées* 10/11, 1997, 252 p., 130 FF.

Sommaire :

Bertrand Lafont (CNRS, Paris), *Serments politiques et serments judiciaires à l'époque sumérienne : quelques données nouvelles*.

Amalia Catagnoti (Université de Florence), *L'expression nam-ku₅ à Ébla*.

Jean-Marie Durand (EPHE IV^e Section, Paris), *Itûr-Mêr, dieu des serments*.

Michaël Guichard (Université de Paris-I), *Le détournement du serment à Mari : études de casuistique*.

Dominique Charpin (Université de Paris-I et EPHE IV^e Section, Paris), « Manger » un serment.

Marco Bonechi (Université de Florence), *Les serments de femmes à Mari*.

Cécile Michel (CNRS, Paris), *Hommes et femmes prêtent serment à l'époque paléo-assyrienne*.

André Lemaire (EPHE IV^e Section, Paris), *Les serments politiques en araméen et en hébreu biblique*.

Pierre Villard (Université de Paris-I), *La réception des conventions jurées dans les messages des serviteurs d'Assarhaddon*.

Francis Joannès (Université de Paris-VIII), *La pratique du serment à l'époque néo-babylonienne*.

Claire Lovisi (Université de Rouen), *Deux usages du serment dans l'Italie primitive*.

Sophie Lafont (Université de Versailles), *La procédure par serment au Proche-Orient ancien*.

Les commandes sont à passer à :

L'Harmattan, 5-7 rue de l'École Polytechnique, 75005 Paris, FRANCE ou à : L'Harmattan Inc., 55 rue Saint-Jacques, Montréal (Qc), CANADA H2Y 1K9.

138) Le 1^{er} Janvier 1997, NABU a fêté ses dix années d'existence. Au cours de ces dix ans, 1014 pages et 1208 notes brèves scientifiques ou utilitaires ont été éditées en quatre fascicules annuels. La Rédaction de NABU remercie pour leur fidélité ses lecteurs, ses contributeurs, et ses collaborateurs.

Pour certains de nos lecteurs qui se sont abonnés en cours de route, il n'est pas toujours facile d'avoir accès aux anciens fascicules de NABU. Aussi nous proposons-nous de rééditer un certain nombre de notes brèves sous forme de fascicules thématiques : notes concernant Mari, notes concernant Sumer, notes concernant la Babylonie tardive...etc. Nous songeons également à éditer l'index cumulé des dix premières années, préparé par B. Lafont. Si ces propositions vous intéressent ou si vous désirez voir constituer un fascicule autour d'autres thèmes, faites-le nous savoir, par lettre, fax, ou E-mail. Nous tiendrons compte de toutes vos suggestions.

N.A.B.U.

1996

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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, 02-1997. Reproduction par photocopie*