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NOTES BRÈVES

82) Lapsus Calami – A broken text on a fragment of a yellow glazed clay plate (BM 99128 = Ki 1904-10-9,158) was mistakenly ascribed to Tukulti-Ninurta II in RIMA 2 p. 180 A.O.1001.7. It is instead an exemplar of a text of Aššur-rēša-iši I and correctly edited in RIMA 1 p. 312 as ex. 16 of A.O.86.2.

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CANADA

83) Zur Datierung des « Brunnenreliefs » aus Assur – In *NABU* (1997/23) hat Douglas Frayne unter Bezugnahme auf eine Inschrift des altassyrischen Königs Ilušum(m)a (RIMA 1, A.O.32.2) für eine Datierung des berühmten « Brunnenreliefs » aus Assur « sometime in the Old Assyrian period (nineteenth century BC) » und für die Identifikation der Hauptfigur mit dem Berg A/Ebiḥ plädiert. Da Frayne sich nur auf ältere Beiträge von W. Andrae, A. Moortgat und D. van Buren bezieht und guten Glaubens meint, seine Datierung sei « about three hundred years earlier than previously suggested for this ancient masterpiece », sind ihm offenbar zwei wichtige jüngere Beiträge zur Sache entgangen, die zu ähnlichen Schlüssen kommen: Evelyn Klengel-Brandt datiert das Kultrelief aufgrund ikonographisch-stilistischer Vergleiche « in die altbabylonische Periode des 19. bis 17. Jh. v.u.Z. »¹ und will in dem Berg « eine Erscheinungsform des Gottes Assur oder eine Personifikation des Gebirges Ebiḥ » erkennen.² Guido Kryszat geht unter ausdrücklicher Bezugnahme auf die Inschrift des Ilušum(m)a « in die Mitte des 20. Jhs. v. Chr. » zurück³ und zieht seinerseits eine Reihe von ikonographischen Belegen für den nährenden Berggott heran, darunter die Darstellung eines frontal dargestellten « Herrn der Tiere » auf einer *kārum*-zeitlichen Gußform vom Karahöyük⁴ und die vom Schreibenden vor kurzem veröffentlichte Darstellung eines Berggottes mit Pflanzen auf einem altassyrischen Zylindersiegel aus der ehemaligen Slg. Erlenmeyer (BIF VR 1992.13, *Abb. 1*).⁵ Es sei mir gestattet, hier ein kleines Mißverständnis zu korrigieren und den bisher bekannten ‘Parallelen’ eine weitere aus dem 18. Jh. hinzuzufügen.

Daß das eben genannte altassyrische Siegel « ebenfalls den Gott des Brunnenreliefs zeigt », wie Kryszat meint⁶, ist – so formuliert – ein Irrtum. Nur so viel läßt sich sagen, daß auf dem Siegel ein nach gleicher Konvention dargestellter Berg- und Vegetationsgott dargestellt ist. Die ikonographischen Charakteristika definieren jedoch einen *Typ* (eine Art Ideogramm), keine ‘individuell’ bzw. namentlich identifizierbare Gottheit. Nichts berechtigt uns zur Annahme, die Ikonographie des altassyrischen Siegels habe irgendeine spezielle Affinität zu Assur bzw. exklusiv zur Gottheit des « Brunnenreliefs ». Zwar weisen die bisherigen Quellen gesamthaft in den nordwestmesopotamisch-nordsyrischen Raum, wo der Berggott auch sein längstes

Nachleben haben wird (Reliefs von 'Ain Dārā), und ist der personifizierte Berg auf dem Siegel einem thronenden Höchsten Gott zugeordnet, was an das Nebeneinander von ḏAššur und Abiḥ auf dem « Brunnenrelief » denken läßt. Aber die Konstellierung {Hauptgott + personifizierter Gottesberg} ist zu Beginn des 2. Jts. keineswegs auf Assur beschränkt gewesen.

Die Ilušum(m)a-Inschrift spricht klar von ḏAššur und Abiḥ als zwei verschiedenen Größen, wogegen das « Brunnenrelief » nur *einen* Gott zeigt. Unbenommen seiner Vorgeschichte als ursprünglich divinisiertem Berg⁷ ist ḏAššur in der Ilušum(m)a-Inschrift kein Berggott mehr. Dagegen zeigt sich der gewissermaßen 'naturhafte' Status des Gottes auf dem « Brunnenrelief » sehr schön daran, daß er – wie auch die beiden Quellgottheiten – keine Hörnerkrone, sondern eine 'Attributkappe' trägt, die mit Bergschuppen versehen ist (vgl. die der Quellgöttinnen mit Wellenlinien). Akzeptiert man die von Kryszat und Frayne vorgeschlagene Korrelation, so wird man die oben zitierte fragende Alternative von Frau Klengel-Brandt auflösen können: Das « Brunnenrelief » repräsentiert *nicht* eine Erscheinungsform des Gottes ḏAššur, *sondern* die Personifikation eines Gebirges (wahrscheinlich des Abiḥ).

Das altsyrische Siegel zeigt dagegen *sowohl* einen Höchsten Gott (hier wahrscheinlich ḏDāgān) *als auch* eine Personifikation seines Gottesberges (ḏKUR).⁸ Eine Variante dieser Konstellation bezeugt ein ebenfalls altsyrisches Zylindersiegel, das 1974 in Beirut erworben wurde und sich heute im Biblischen Institut der Universität Freiburg Schweiz befindet (Abb. 2).⁹ Das untere Viertel des Zylinders ist abgebrochen, aber die Hauptszene und die Nebenmotive lassen sich problemlos deuten: Ein Fürst tritt verehrend vor eine Göttin, die ihn mit einer Hand grüßt und mit der andern ihr Gewand öffnet. Hinter der Göttin steht ein zweigesichtiger Gott, der frontal im Netzrock, mit nacktem Oberkörper und einfacher Hörnermütze dargestellt ist und in den beiden erhobenen Armen je eine dreiblättrige Pflanze hält. Die kauern den Capriden und der stilisierte Zweig gehören zur weiteren 'Sphäre' der Göttin. In unserem Zusammenhang entscheidend sind die Variation des Bergschuppenmusters durch das Netz (auch hier dürfte es sich freilich um einen chthonischen Gott handeln), die Tatsache, daß offensichtlich auch eine weibliche Große Göttin ihren Heiligen Berg haben konnte, und der bemerkenswerte Befund, daß diese Personifikation offenbar als eine Art 'Mittlergröße' verstanden werden konnte. Letzteres legt jedenfalls seine Charakterisierung mit dem Doppelgesicht nahe, die ansonsten bekanntlich für den Wesir ḏA/Isuḡmū typisch ist.¹⁰

Für begründete Vorschläge von kompetenter philologischer Seite zur namentlichen Identifikation der Göttin und des ihr zugeordneten Vegetationsgottes auf Abb. 2 wäre ich dankbar.

Abb. 1



Abb. 2



1. Bemerkungen zum Kultrelief aus Assur: Akkadica 19 (1980) 211-218, hier 41f. Vgl. auch dies. in: Discoveries at Ashur on the Tigris. Assyrian Origins. Antiquities in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, ed. P.O. Harper, E. Klengel-Brandt, J. Aruz, K. Benzel, New York 1995, 64.

2. Das Vorderasiatische Museum, Mainz am Rhein 1992, 150f no. 92.

3. Ilu-šuma und der Gott aus dem Brunnen, in: Vom Alten Orient zum Alten Testament (FS W. von Soden), hg. von M. Dietrich & O. Loretz (AOAT 240), Kevelaer & Neukirchen-Vluyn 1995, 201-214, hier 205.

4. S. Alp, Eine *kārum*-zeitliche Gußform und die Siegel von Karahöyük: IstM 43 (1993 = FS P. Neve) 185-193, Taf. 19.

5. Ch. Uehlinger, Audienz in der Götterwelt. Anthropomorphismus und Soziomorphismus in der Ikonographie eines altsyrischen Zylindersiegels: UF 24 (1992) 339-359.

6. Kryszat (Anm. 3) 208.

7. W. G. Lambert, The God Aššur: Iraq 45 (1983) 82-87.

8. Vgl. D. Arnaud, ḏKUR: RA 68 (1974) 190; D. Fleming, NABU 1994/16.

9. BIF VR 273 (als BIF VR 113a bereits in UF 24, 347 Anm. 38 erwähnt), Hämatis, H 12-15,4 x D 9 mm Zeichnung Hildi Keel-Leu (Freiburg Schweiz). E. Porada datierte das Stück mündlich in die Zeit von 1750-1700. Ein Farbfoto von Siegel

und Abrollung findet sich in S. Schroer / Th. Staubli, *Der Vergangenheit auf der Spur. Ein Jahrhundert Archäologie im Land der Bibel*, Zürich 1993, 65.

10. Vgl. aber auch R. Ellis, *Mountains and Rivers*, in: L.D. Levine (ed), *Mountains and Lowlands. Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia* (BiM 7), Malibu 1977, 29-34; D.M. Matthews, *Principles of Composition in Near Eastern Glyptic of the later second Millennium B.C.* (OBO.SA 8), Fribourg – Göttingen 1990, no. 131, und die allgemeineren Bemerkungen zum « chthonic god » ebd. 60f.

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84) BM 82651 again – This Kassite administrative text was published by Ran and Tivka Zadok in *NABU* 1997/12 and identified as Middle Babylonian by Michaela Weszeli and Michael Jursa in *NABU* 1997/67. Line 5 of the text has been read in both notes as [m]a-qar-^dAMAR.UTU. The name of this brewer is otherwise attested at Nippur in the Kassite period only as *mār-Aqar-Marduk* (see Hölscher, *Die Personennamen der kassitenzeitlichen Texte aus Nippur*, p. 35 for references). There is no reason to read it differently here. My recent collation shows that the spacing in the copy published in *NABU* 1997/12 is inaccurate at this point; there is ample space (about 7 mm) at the beginning of the line for both DUMU and the masculine determinative (by comparison, the slightly elongated TUR in line 3 is only about 6 mm wide). Though the passage is damaged, it seems preferable not to postulate a new and unnecessary reading here.

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85) New Examples of an Inscription of Sîn-iddinam – I recently had the occasion to inspect four copies of Sumerian royal inscription No. 2 of Sîn-iddinam of Larsa¹ in private hands in New York City. All are on hollow clay barrels. Exemplar 5 measures 147 mm. (length) by 100 mm. (diameter) and preserves all lines. Exemplar 6 (134 × 115 mm.) includes all lines, although the beginnings of lines 20-26 have been lost. Exemplar 7 (108 × 113 mm.) has a gash in lines 5-7 but all lines are represented. Finally, about half of the left column of Exemplar 8 (119 × 111 mm.) is missing and consequently most of lines 18-33 are lacking.

Variants from Frayne's primary text: *line 5*: lugal-ki-en-gi-ki-uri-ke₄ (all); *line 9*: bí-in-gi₄-a-me-en (5, 6); *line 13*: ma-ni-in-rig₇-eš (5); *line 14*: géštu-dagal-mu (5), géštu-SILA₄-la-mu (7); *line 15*: ki-bi-še (all); *line 24*: KA in-né-sa₆-sa₆ (5), KA in-ni-sa₆-sa₆ (6, 7); *line 26*: hu-mu-ši-in-še-ge-eš (5); *line 27*: ba-al-da (7); *line 35*: ^dnin-líl-ta (5); *lines 36-37*: nothing lost at end (all); *line 38*: ^dutu-ta preserved (all); *line 54*: še 1 (DIŠ)-ta (all); *line 60*: lú DA-lá (all); *line 67*: i₇-SILA₄-la (7); *line 68*: hē-em-mi-gi (5).

As is to be expected such an inscription of this genre, the variant writings are generally of little significance, most involving the addition or omission of a single sign. The use of SILA₄ for the almost-identical dagal in lines 14 and 67 simply reveals the inattentiveness of the scribe of Exemplar 7. But more interesting is the writing DA-lá for graphically-similar á-lá in line 60, since it appears in all of the new copies². This might well indicate that those inscribing the barrel cylinders were all working from the same written *Vorlage*³.

1. See Douglas Frayne, *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods*, Vol. 4, *Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 BC)* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 158-60. Since four copies of this text were known previously, I have numbered these pieces 5-8.

2. It is interesting to note that Langdon's copy in *OECT* 2, pl. VII also has DA here, although Frayne, p. 160, indicates that a photo of the piece shows the correct á. Unfortunately the present location of the original is unknown so that it cannot be checked.

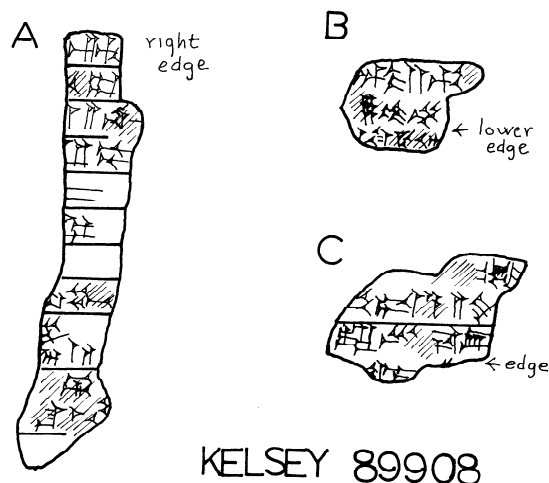
3. As would also of course, the general tendency of all copies of any particular royal inscription to divide the text into identical lines.

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86) Tablet Fragments from Sepphoris – From July through September 1931 an expedition from the University of Michigan under the direction of Leroy Waterman excavated at the site of Sepphoris (Zippori near Nazareth in present-day Israel).¹ Among the material from the dig preserved in the University's Kelsey Museum of Archaeology are three tiny and very worn fragments of cuneiform tablets (Kelsey Museum 89908), which I reconstructed from about a dozen smaller pieces. These crumbs had been characterized as « pottery fragments » until recognized as epigraphic by Robin Meador-Woodruff, Curator the Kelsey's Collection of Photographs in

1996. Unfortunately no information is available concerning the locus or archaeological context of this chance find.

Although not much can be drawn from the text of any of these tiny pieces, I present them here² as an addition to the growing body of cuneiform material from the western periphery.³ Note that while little documentation is available for the pre-Hellenistic history of Sepphoris,⁴ the Michigan expedition also found a quadrilinguistic inscription ([Old Persian], Elamite, Babylonian, and [Egyptian]) of a Xerxes on the site.⁵



Fragment A (59 × 09 × 04 mm.). Line 9': [... lu]gal[?]. Since the use of line dividers is unusual in late archival texts, perhaps this piece is Middle Babylonian. No signs can be read with certainty.

Fragment B (09 × 17 × 08 mm.). Neo-Babylonian archival text, of which little beyond the date has survived: [URU x ITI x u₄]-8-kam mu-[N-kam PN] / [lugal tin-ti]r^{ki} x x [...].

Fragment C (12 × 28 × 05 mm.). Old Babylonian⁶ archival tablet: m[u-ú]s-sa [...] seems to begin the date, although the preceding [...]-RA is puzzling, since no standard month name ends in this sign.

1. No final report was ever published. See only L. Waterman et al., *Preliminary Report of the University of Michigan Excavations at Sepphoris/Diocaesarea, Palestine* in 1931. (Ann Arbor, 1937).

2. Thanks are due to Professor Elaine Gazda, Director of the Kelsey Museum, for permission to publish this material, and to Paul-Alain Beaulieu, who shared with me his expertise on things Neo-Babylonian. I must stress, however, that Beaulieu saw only my copies and not the original pieces.

3. For the most recent additions, see J. Huehnergard, « A Byblos Letter, Probably from Kāmid el-Lōz, » *ZA* 86 (1996): 97-113; W. Horowitz, « An Inscribed Clay Cylinder from Amarna Age Beth Shean, » *IEJ* 46 (1996): 208-18; and Horowitz' summary discussion of two Old Babylonian pieces and two Late Babylonian letters from Hazor on pp. 268-69 of the same journal. Finally, on the ANEList of June 14, 1997, E. Greenstein called attention to a story in *Ha'aretz* of May 30, 1997, reporting the discovery of a Neo-Assyrian loan tablet at Tel Hadir, northeast of Lod.

4. J. F. Strange, *Anchor Bible Dictionary* vol. V, 1090-91.

5. Fragment of a stone vase (Kelsey Museum 90109), published by M. W. Stolper, *Afo* 27 (1980): 176, and included in R. M. Nagy et al., eds., *Sepphoris in Galilee. Crosscurrents of Culture* (Winona Lake, 1996), pp. 186-87.

6. Note the shape of DU in line 1'.

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87) Zur Lesung und Deutung von ina sila.lím ar-ba in Emar-Texten* – Für die Zeichenfolge *ina sila.lím ar-ba* gab es in den Emar-Texten bisher drei Belege: *Emar* 6, 446¹ Z. 86' und 88' (in der Kopie Z. 100' und 102') und 452² Z. 21'. D. Arnaud las und übersetzte diese Beispiele folgendermaßen:

a. *Emar* 6, 446 85'-89' :

« Au mois de Marzaḥānu, le 14^e jour : bovins. Le 16^e jour, il sort dans la rue (*ina sila.lím ar-ba ú-ši*). Le mouton de la ville et la hache divine vont dans la rue derrière (*udu ša uru^{ki} ù ḥa-ši'-nu ša dingir <> i-na sila.lím ar-ba i-la-ak*). Le même <jour>, c'est la chasse d'Astarté ».

b. *Emar* 6, 452 21' :

« [...] on fait sortir dans la rue du silo ([...] *ina sila.lím ar-ba é gur₇ ú-še-šu-ú*). Le 16, c'est la chasse d'Astarté ».

Hinzu kommt nun noch der von G. Beckman in *TVE (Text from the Vicinity of Emar. Padova, 1996)* als Nr. 54 edierte Text, eine Immobilien Urkunde, in der in Z. 10f. gelesen wird :

c. TVE 54 10f. :

« In front it is bordered by the road of the bronze ... of Ninkur (*pa-nu-šu kaskal-nu ša x x zabar ša dⁿnin.kur*) ».

Aufgrund der Kopien und in Analogie von *Emar* 6, 300 : 3-4 und von A. Tsukimoto in *ASJ* 12 (1990) 183ff. als Nr. 3 publizierten Text schlage ich vor, diese Passage jeweils mit *Aš-tar-ša-ar-ba* zu umschreiben. Dort liest man nämlich :

– *Emar* 6,300 [Inventar] 3-4 :

1 2/3 x [x x x x x x] ^dIš₈-tár ša hur.s[ag]

1/2 [x x x x x x] ^dAš-t[ar-ša-ar-ba]³.

– *ASJ* 12 Nr. 3 [Immobilien Urkunde] 6 :

pa-nu-šu kaskal-nu gal ša dⁿnin.kur ù d^dAš-tar-ša-ar-ba.

Folglich sind die oben zitierten Passagen zu übersetzen :

a. « Am 14. des Monats Marzaḥānu : Rinder. Am 16. : Aštar-šarba geht hinaus⁴ ; die Lämmer der Stadt und die Axt der Götter gehen hinter Aštar-šar<ba> her⁵. An diesem (Tag findet) die Prozession⁶ (*ša¹-du*) der Ištar (statt) ».

b. « [...] bringen sie Aštar-šarba aus dem Speicher⁷ hinaus⁷. Am 16. (findet) die Prozession (*ša-du*) der Ištar (statt) ».

c. « seine (des Grundstücks) Vorderseite (liegt am) (Prozessions)weg der Aštar-šarba und der Ninkur »⁸.

Die syrische Göttin Aštar-šarba, d.i. die « Pappel-Aštar », ist bereits in den Texten aus Ebla und Mari gut dokumentiert⁹.

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1. Vgl. D. E. FLEMING, *The Installation of Baal's High Priestess at Emar*. Atlanta, 1992, 272 : « the principal text for the annual calendar ritual ».

2. *Ibid.* 202 : « the ritual for the month of Abû ».

3. Arnaud las 1/2 [x x x x x x] ^dIš₈-tar Za-ar-ma [. Vgl. R. ZADOK, Notes on the West Semitic Material from Emar, *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* 51 (1991) 122 : « ... and [^dIš₈-tar ša-ar-ba-[ti] (300, 4) ... ».

4. *i-na* u₄ 16 *Aš-tar-ša-ar-ba ú-ši*.

5. *udu ša uru^{ki} ù ḥa-š¹-nu ša dingir-li / egir d^dAš-tar-ša-ar<ba> i-la-ak*.

6. Wörtlich « Rundgang » zur Wurzel *šūdl/šād*, akkad. *šādu* I « sich drehen » (*AHW*. S. 1073f. ; *CAD* § 57-59) im Sinne von « eine Runde drehen », keinesfalls gemäß dem Westsemitischen « jagen ». Vgl. D. E. FLEMING, *The Installation of Baal's ...* 296 : « round(?) ».

7. [...] *Aš-tar-ša-ar-ba i-na é gur⁷ ú-še-šu-ú*

8. *pa-nu-šu kaskal-nu ša Aš¹-tar¹-š[ar¹-ba¹] ù¹ / ša dⁿnin.kur*.

9. Zu den Ebla-Texten s. J. OLIVA, *Aštar šarbat* in Ebla, *NABU* 1993/42 und zu den Mari-Texten s. J.-M. DURAND, *La religión en Siria según la documentación de Mari*, in : G. DEL OLMO (Hgb.), *Mitología y Religión del Oriente Antiguo II/I. Semitas Occidentales (Ebla, Mari)*. Sabadell (Barcelona), 1995, S. 137, 202 und 270.

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88) Mushrooms – LB *ka-ma-a-tú* (V. Donbaz and M.W. Stolper, Istanbul Murašû texts, Leiden 1997, 18 from 424 BC) is most probably the same as OB *ka-am-a-tum* 'mushrooms' (for the OB forms and their Arabic cognates see W. Heimpel, *NABU* 1997/3).

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89) Additions and corrections to NABU 1997/6. 7. 11. 14. –

6 : 2. The latest occurrence of the *šandabakku* is from 73 BC.

6 : 3 in fine. It is unnecessary to regard *Ar-ba-A+A* as a designation of Arameans (Ch. Habicht, ZPE 115, 1996, 130: « ... die “Araber” genannten Aramäer »).

7 : 8. < old Iran. *šyāta-ka-.

7 : 16. « having Mithra's order » (etc.) in the sense of « following (adhering to) Mithra's order, statute ».

11. BM 26528. lines 22ff. For *ana IGI* cf. G. Frame, JCS 36 (1984), 69, n. 9. It may be compared with LB *ina mahar* (judges, cf. G. Cardascia, Les archives des Murašû, Paris 1951, 19); « before » at the beginning of lines 24, 25 is rather « witness ».- **BM 59568.** 1. 1 *BĀN*; 26. For **Hu-spara-* compare Av. *hu-zaēna-* « with good, beautiful weapon ».

14. (PTS 2005, 4f.) read [š]u-lum u TIN šá ... and translate: « ... May Šamaš and Bunene pronounce the well-being and life of my lord. As to the tent(s)/canopy/canopies about which (my) lord wrote ... ».

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90) Amarna upsu = Ugaritic 'ps, « boundary (stone) » – In an article published in *Ugarit-Forschungen* 21 (1989), I suggested that the meaning of the Ugaritic word 'ps (with its variant 'bs) is « boundary (stone) » (p. 385). This translation was based on a comparison between the Akkadian text RS 17.368 (PRU 4, 77) r. 5'f. and its Ugaritic alphabetic label 17.364 (KTU 6.29), which gave the equations *pātu* (zag) – 'ps or *abnu* (na₄) – 'ps, i.e., boundary or (boundary) stone (see now also Del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín, *Diccionario de la Lengua Ugarítica*, 85, and Hess, *Ugarit and the Bible* [Münster 1994], 128f.). Although I had looked for cognates of 'ps in other Semitic languages I had overlooked a passage in an Amarna letter which seems to contain a syllabic spelling of this word. In EA 366 (Rainey, *El Amarna Tablets* 359-379, AOAT 8 [1978]) lines 28-34, Šwardata appeals to Pharaoh to send Yanḫamu in order to recapture his lands from the 'apiru: ²⁸ù li-it-ru-uš ²⁹i-na pa-ni lugal-ri en-ia ³⁰lu-ú yu-ši-ra ³¹ia-an-ḫa-ma ³²nu-kúr-ti ù lu-ú tu-te-er ³³kur.ḫi.a ša lugal-ri en-ia ³⁴a-na zag.ḫi.<a>-ši / up-sí-ḫi, « May it seem right in the sight of the king, my lord, and may he send Yanḫamu so that we may all wage war and you restore the land of the king, my lord, to its borders: up-sí-ḫi. » (translation of Moran, *The Amarna Letters* [Baltimore 1992], 364). The gloss was generally taken to be a cognate of Hebrew 'epes and Ugaritic 'aps, which have the meaning « end, extremity » (for 'aps, see Del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín, *Diccionario de la Lengua Ugarítica*, 45) with the Canaanite suffix -hi (Rainey, *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets* [Leiden 1996], I 78f.). However, the vowel u in *upsu* is not easily explained in the light of Ugaritic 'aps and Hebrew 'epes (<'aps). Moreover, the more concrete meaning « border, boundary » fits the context of EA 366 better than the meanings attested for these two words. Finally, the word *upsu* is glossed to the logogram ZAG, « border (area) », which strongly reminds us of the Ugaritic Akkadian text cited above. Therefore, I would like to regard the Amarna word *upsu* as a syllabic writing of the Ugaritic word 'p/bs, « boundary (stone) » (note that the sign UB allows both readings ub- and up-), which was apparently also in use in the south. Thus, we can now normalize the Ugaritic word as 'up/bsu. This vocalization also fits the Ugaritic personal name 'psn (KTU 4.170 : 6) which, on the basis of the syllabic spelling ^pup-sa-nu (RS 16.145 : 24, PRU 3, 169), has to be read 'upsānu, that is 'ups- + -ānu.

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91) Cur's kurru encore – In my note, « Fatally sore Armpits » (*NABU* 1993/47), I suggested that the Sumerogram SU.GAM be read as *šahātu*: « armpit ». In passing, I further suggested that the term *kurru* be translated as « leg pit ». As it happened, in the same issue of *NABU* (1993/44), B. Groneberg made another suggestion for the meaning of *kurru* in the process of trying to better understand the Mari proverb quoted in ARM 26/1 6 which reads (in her transcription): *kalbatum mārēša usannaq ummāmi ana mimma qattukunu lā tubbalā ù šī i-bu-<uh>-ma maškam ina kurrim ušēlīma irṭub akālam*. According to Groneberg, the bitch « barked » and « raised the skin on her *kurru* (i.e. back) » (to warn off her puppies), before beginning to eat. By this interpretation, the addressee of the letter, Bannum, is being accused of selfishness and greed.

In *NABU* 1996/45, W. Heimpel generally agreed with Groneberg's interpretation of the Mari proverb, but was troubled by the barking (an undoglike behavior in this context), and argued for a return to the original, unemended, reading of *i-bu-ma* or, rendered in colloquial English: (she advised such and such) « but then she went ahead and (did so and so) ». Heimpel further argued that the bitch was snarling and that, since dogs raise the skin of their flews when snarling, the *kurrum* is the « flew » of a dog. This, however, causes some considerable difficulty with the *TDP* references.

Since humans do not actually have flews as such, Heimpel argued that « the folds of the face » are meant and, since ailments of the face are not normally fatal, that the reference is to a stroke. What this suggestion ignores, quite apart from the required violation of the well known principle of head-to toe order of the diagnostic series (outlined by R. Labat in *TDP*, pp. xvi- xvii), is that the condition of paralysis of part of

the face due to stroke is already well known from ancient Mesopotamian medical texts. The term for a stroke is *mišittu* (for references, see CAD M/2 125), and the « side of the face » is described, as indeed one would expect, as *lētu*. Thus, for example : DIŠ NA *mi-šit-ti* TE TUKU-ši : « If a person has a stroke affecting the cheek » (AMT 79/1 iv 6//BAM 135 : 15'//BAM 136 i 2').

The *kurru* passages, by contrast, refer to incidents of trauma, whose sequelae (loss of consciousness and inability to lift the foot) are consistent with a stabbing or cutting wound which severs the femoral nerve and/or the femoral artery. « Following injury to the nerve, there is paralysis of extension of the knee, with wasting of the quadriceps muscle and also some weakness of hip flexion ... Because the femoral artery may also be severed, wounds in the femoral triangle may be fatal » (E. Braunwald et alia, eds, *Harrison's Principles of Internal Medicine*, 11th ed. [McGraw-Hill, 1987], p. 2068) :

DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma ina kur-ri-šú šá* 15 SÌG-*iš-ma NÍ-šú ma-ši ŠU* dŠUL.PA.È.A ÚŠ : « If ditto and he was wounded on his right *kurru* and, as a consequence, he is unconscious, (it is) 'hand' of Šulpaea ; he will die » (TDP 236 : 49 ; cf. 108 : 23).

DIŠ KI.MIN-*ma ina kur-ri-šú šá* 2,30 SÌG-*iš-ma GÌR-šú NU ZI-aḫ ina É* dUTU SÌG-*iš ŠU* d15 ÚŠ « If ditto and he was wounded on his left *kurru* and, as a consequence, he cannot uproot his foot (from the ground) ... (it is) 'hand' of Ištar ; he will die » (TDP 236 : 50 ; cf. 108 : 24-25).

As for the Mari proverb, the mother dog's « raising the skin » on the *kurru* and « eating incessantly » strike me as a fairly obvious reference to the common habit of female dogs of burrowing their noses into their groins and « eating » themselves. Having lectured her young to keep their *paws* out of places clean *paws* should not be, the parent proceeds to put her *nose* in places where clean noses have no business being. In short, as also in our own culture, lectures of parents to children on moral issues can too often be cynically summarized : « Do as I say, not as I do ».

This reinterpretation fits the context of ARM 26/1 no. 6 perfectly. « The former *abu bīti* of GN had been in office for only five months ; what audit was made of him and what arrears had he gotten into that you removed him and appointed PN to his office? What is this that you keep a look out for every last shekel of silver with the result that you remove an official and appoint another to his office? (ll. 5-12) You warned me as follows, saying : 'Do not go along with a slanderer or listen to slander.' The bitch warned her children, saying 'Do not put your paws on anything!', but then *she* went ahead and raised the skin on her leg pit (with her nose) and ate incessantly. Now you continually behave likewise! » (ll. 13-20). In short, Bannum, like the bitch of the proverb, gave excellent advice which he himself subsequently failed to follow.

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92) Assyrian Hieroglyphs Enhanced – In ZA 86 : 244-268, there is an article by I. Finkel and J. Reade on the subject of what the authors argue to be pictorial writings of the names of Sargon II and Esarhaddon. In the Sargon II examples, there are pictures of a king (= « true king », i.e. Sargon), a lion (= « king »), a bird (= « great », a pun on *āribu*?), a bull (also = « king »), a fig tree (= « land », a pun on ^gMA[*tu*]?), a seeder plough (Assyria, a pun on *šūrū*?), and a figure pointing to the ground with his spear (= the determinative KI). In short, « Mr. 'True king' (Sargon), great king, king of the land of Assyria ». On Esarhaddon's Black Stone, there is a horned crown on an altar (= AN), a « king » (= ŠÁR), a « sacred tree » (= « brother », a pun on URI[*gallu*]?), a bull (= « has given », a pun on ŠĪ for SI, « horn »?), a mountain (= KUR), a seeder plough (again = Aššur), a palm tree (= Babylonia), and a square symbol (= KI). In short, « Mr. 'Aššur has given a brother' (Esarhaddon), <king> of the lands of Assyria and Karduniaš ».

In principle, the idea is a good one, and many of the suggestions for specific readings are ingenious ; there is, however, (as the authors noticed) a problem when we move from Esarhaddon's Black Stone to Esarhaddon's prisms. On these latter inscriptions, a lion is substituted for the bull, which makes the reading of the bull on the Black Stone as « has given » more than slightly problematical, especially in view of the fact that, in Sargon's inscriptions, the bull is seen to stand for « king ».

If a lion may be substituted for a bull in Esarhaddon's pictograms, then it seems reasonable to suppose that they are equivalents or, in other words, as in Sargon's pictograms, the bull and the lion both stand for « king ». What this would mean is that the first three signs (the « crown and altar, » the « king » and the « sacred tree ») would have to represent Esarhaddon's name among them or, in other words, that the inscription would read : crown and altar (= Aššur), « king » (= « a brother »), « sacred tree » (= « has given »), bull *or* lion (= king), mountain (= KUR), seeder plough (= Assyria), palm tree (= Babylonia), and square symbol (= KI).

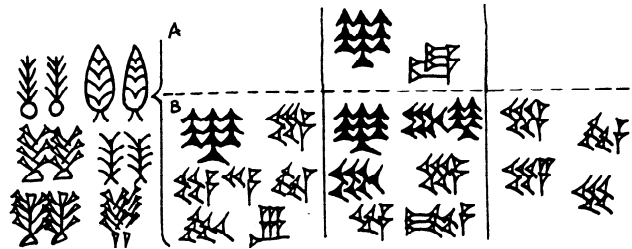
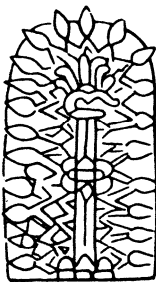
The first sign (= Aššur) presents no difficulties, since the horned crown on an altar is not just the symbol of the higher divinities in general but specifically of Anu and Ellil with the latter of whom Aššur was considered to be equivalent. The second sign (= « a brother ») is equally unproblematical, since it is the figure of a man (not, in view of the fact that he wears no tiara, a king), the cuneiform sign for which (LÚ) is very close to that for brother (ŠEŠ).



« King » versus « Brother »

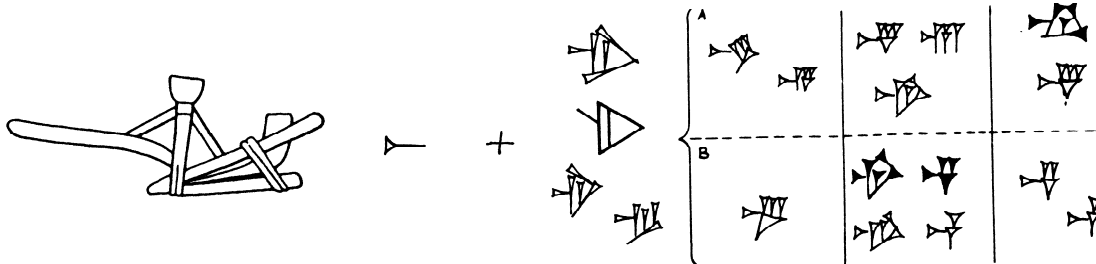


The only apparent difficulty is with the « sacred tree ». If, however, one thinks of this as a visual, rather than a linguistic pun (as indeed the KI in this inscription appears also to be), there is no difficulty with equating this sign with « to give », since the original pictographic version of SUM (*nadānu*) showed two side by side plants in a pattern not dissimilar to that of the Assyrian « sacred tree » (see Labat, *Manuel*, p. 106), which indeed some monumental versions of the sign continued to resemble.



SUM/*nadānu* = Sacred Tree

While we are on the subject, the plough symbol could also be a pictographic variant of the cuneiform signs : *Aš* (the yoke of the plough) + *šur* (a double triangle with a handle not dissimilar in general shape to the ploughshare).



Aš + *šur* = Seeder Plough

I hope that these alternative readings which I have suggested will resolve the difficulties with the Esarhaddon examples and, therefore, serve to strengthen the underlying thesis.

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93) Le rôle du roi dans la rédaction des inscriptions votives – La fin de la lettre ARMT XVIII 16, adressée par Zimrî-Lîm à Mukannišum, traitait, selon la traduction de son premier éditeur, de l'inscription d'une stèle : « [En outre(?), afin d]e [fa]ire grav[er] la s[tèle ...], la [s]tèle qu[e ...] et la stèle que Nabi-Ištar a fait[e], fais(-les) moi porter afin que, ayant réfléchi(?) [je(?) fasse(?)] g[raver(?)] la [s]tèle que je choisirai » (ll. 9'-14'). Il semble *a priori* curieux que le roi se fasse apporter deux stèles déjà confectionnées pour choisir laquelle des deux sera ensuite pourvue d'une inscription (cf. commentaire ARMT XVIII, p. 202-203). La tablette a désormais été complétée par un joint par J.-M. Durand ; la traduction de l'ensemble est donnée dans son récent livre *Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari*, LAPO 16/I, p. 230 et l'édition figurera dans ARMT XXVI/3. Le début du texte traitait de la statue que Zimrî-Lîm devait faire porter à Alep. On retrouve donc à la fin le même sens de *narîm* que celui signalé par S. M. Maul dans FM II, p. 49-50 n. a, à savoir celui d'« inscription votive ». Dans

FM II 17, il est question de l'inscription qui doit être placée sur le char du dieu Nergal et sur le *nūbalum* du dieu Itūr-Mêr; le problème est en particulier de savoir où l'inscription doit être installée. Dans ARMT XVIII 16⁺, on voit le roi choisir entre deux inscriptions, l'une ayant été composée par un certain Nâb-Eštar, l'autre par un autre scribe dont le nom n'a pas été conservé. La nouvelle traduction du passage (ma suggestion ayant été retenue par J.-M. Durand dans LAPO 16/I p. 230 [qui cite la présente note sous la référence NABU 97/51]) est la suivante: «Donc en ce qui concerne l'inscription votive (*narûm*) à faire écrire [*sur la statue*], fais porter rapidement chez moi l'inscription votive qu'a faite [NP₁] ainsi que celle qu'a faite Nâb-Eštar, que je les voie et que je fasse porter [*chez toi*] l'inscription votive que j'aurai choisie.» Il s'agit là d'un exemple particulièrement intéressant où l'on voit un roi intervenir directement dans le choix du texte d'une inscription votive. S. M. Maul a sans doute eu raison de considérer que certaines des «inscriptions royales» que j'ai publiées dans MARI 3 devaient être des textes de ce genre, soumis au souverain pour approbation. On regrettera que nous n'ayons conservé aucune des trois inscriptions de Zimrî-Lîm auxquelles FM II 17 et ARMT XVIII 16⁺ font allusion, mais cela n'est pas dû au hasard, puisqu'on voit qu'une fois le texte retenu par le roi, il était transmis aux artisans pour être gravé sur l'objet votif. Ce qui est en fait étonnant, c'est qu'on ait conservé des textes de ce genre pour l'époque de Yasmah-Addu.

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94) Die Bezeichnung gú-i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du und die Verwaltungsbezirke der Provinz Lagaš – A. Falkenstein, AnOr 30, 30 hatte gú-i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du ebenso wie ich in UNT 36, 91, 95 und 99 als Namen einer Ortschaft gedeutet. In RGTC 2, 281 findet man diese Bezeichnung nicht unter den Ortsnamen, sondern nur unter dem Kanalnamen i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du. Im Kommentar dazu schreibt G. Farber: «Für einen evtl. Ort gú-i₇-nina^{ki}-šè-du vgl. A. Falkenstein, AnOr 30/1, 30». Wie zu zeigen sein wird, war diese Skepsis von Frau Farber völlig angebracht.

In zwei Abrechnungen über Gerste (CT 5, 36 II 13, III 8, IV 18; CT 7, 8 II 4, 7, 10) findet man nacheinander die Eintragungen: šà Gír-su^{ki}, gú-i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du¹, šà Gú-ab-ba^{ki}. Da vor gú-i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du kein šà steht, kann es sich dabei nicht um den Namen einer Stadt handeln. Dies wird bestätigt durch ITT 3, 5014: 3f. gír-sè-ga šà-uru-didli gú-i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du «Bedienstete in verschiedenen Städten von G.» Zu gú-i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du gehören demnach mehrere Städte. Aus STA 18 erfahren wir dazu mehr: I 5 šà Ki-nu-nir^{ki}, I 8, II 4, 17, III 2 URU×ganatenū^{ki}; II 6, 13 (é)-ba-gára (befindet sich in Lagaš), III 6 géme-uš-bar-Ki-ès-sá^{ki}, III 14 géme-uš-bar-Ki-nu-nir^{ki}, III 18 é^dNanše (wohl in Nina). Es werden in diesem Text auch noch einige andere Tempel bzw. ein Tempelfunktionär genannt: é^dNin-dar-a (I 17, III 1), é^dDumu-zi (III 10), é^dNanše (III 18 und s. I 13), é^dŠul-gi (IV 7) und sanga^dGá-tùm-du₁₀ (IV 7). In IV 13 steht (ähnlich wie in ITT 3, 5014) gír-sè-ga uru «Bedienstete der Städte» und in IV 18 gú-i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du. Daraus geht eindeutig hervor, daß gú-i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du ein Oberbegriff sein muß, der die Städte Kinunir, URU×ganatenū, Lagaš, Kiessa und wegen der Erwähnung von é^dNanše auch Nina einschließen muß.¹

Durch zwei unveröffentlichte Texte, deren Kenntnis ich dem Entgegenkommen von M. Sigrist verdanke, wird die These, daß gú-i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du ein bestimmtes Gebiet in der Provinz Lagaš/Girsu bezeichnet, bestätigt. In der Opferliste BM 19980 aus dem 1. Jahr Ibbisins findet man IV 21f. nî-sískur-ra šà-ge-gur₇-a-lugal, šà gú-i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du «(Opfer)materie für die Riten nach 'Herzenswunsch' des Königs in (den Städten) von G.». Davor werden die folgenden Städte genannt: Lagaš (II 4), Nina (III 2), Kiessa (III 19) und Kinunir (IV 9).

BM 20019 möchte ich nach der Umschrift von M. Sigrist vollständig zitieren (mit freundlicher Genehmigung der Trustees of the British Museum):

Vs.	Anfang abgebrochen	14'	gú-i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du
1'	[]- ^d Nin-mar-ki	Rs. 1	212.0.3 gur
2'	[]gur	2	šà Gú-ab-ba^{ki}
3'	èš-didli	3	šu-nígin 1804.2.5 zíz gur
4'	šu-nígin 1166.0.2 gur	4	zíz sá-du ₁₁ nî-ezem-ma
5'	šà Gír-su^{ki}	5	dingir-re-ne ù ki-a-nag
6'	161.1.2 gur	6	Gír-su ^{ki} -ta
7'	šà Lagaš ^{ki}	7	[Gú-ab-ba ^{ki} -šè]
8'	181.1.2 gur		Rest abgebrochen.
9'	šà Nina ^{ki}		
10'	32.3.3 gur		
11'	šà Ki-ès-sá ^{ki}		
12'	50.4.5 gur šà Ki-nu-nir ^{ki}		
13'	426.2.0 gur		

In Vs.4' wird der in Girsu verbrauchte Emmer summiert. Vor gú-i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du steht eine Mengenangabe, die fast genau der Summe der in Vs. 6'-12' genannten Werte entspricht. In Rs. 2 findet man die

Summierung von Vs. 4', 13' und Rs. 1. Durch diesen Aufbau des Textes wird voll bestätigt, daß *gú-i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du* die Städte Lagaš, Nina, Kiessa und Kinunir einschließt. Nach STA 18 (I 8, II 4, 17, III 1 und IV 18) gehörte dazu auch *URU×ganatenú^{ki}*. In BM 19978 Rs. III 3 folgt *é-URU×ganatenú^{ki}* auf Kinunir (Rs. II 22 šà Ki-nunir^{ki}), doch kann man den Text so deuten, daß dieser Tempel im Bezirk Guabba lag, da auf der Kante Z. 5 der Vermerk šà *Gú-ab-ba^{ki}* steht (faßt offenbar die Angaben für *é-URU×ganatenú^{ki}*, *é-d^šu^dSuen* und *é-d^dNin-mar-ki* zusammen).

Der Text BM 20019 spiegelt ebenso die Aufteilung der Provinz Lagaš/Girsu in drei Verwaltungsbezirke wieder wie die eingangs genannten Texte CT 5, 36 und CT 7, 8 oder wie BM 19980: der nordwestliche mit Girsu als Zentrum², der *gú-i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du* genannte Bezirk in der Mitte und im Südosten der mit Guabba als Zentrum.³

Statt *gú-i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du* begegnet in einigen Texten *Ki-nu-nir^{ki}-Nina^{ki}* in gleicher Bedeutung. Am deutlichsten geht das aus UNT T. 16 (BM 14306) hervor. Erwähnt werden *Gír-su^{ki}* (II 8), *URU×ganatenú^{ki}* (II 23) und dann die Gottheiten Ningirsu, Baba, Nindara, Šulgi, Dumuzi, Inanna, Ninegaledenka, Elanna, Nanše (III 1-IV 15) und V 9 <Ki>-*nu-nir^{ki}-Nina^{ki}* vor Guabba (V 16). Die genannten Gottheiten haben ihre Heiligtümer in Lagaš, Kiessa, Kinunir und Nina. In HLC 1, 9: 18 werden die Tempel *é-d^dNin-dar-a* (II 4), *é-d^dDumu-zi* (III 18), *é-d^dGá-tùm-du₁₀* (V 18) und *é-d^dNanše* (VI 12) aufgeführt, die in den gerade genannten Siedlungen liegen. Diese werden als šà *Ki-nu-nir^{ki}-Nina^{ki}* (VI 25) zusammengefaßt. In anderen Texten begegnet die Reihung šà *Gír-su^{ki}*, šà *Ki-nu-nir^{ki}-Nina^{ki}*, šà *Gú-ab-ba^{ki}* (z.B. UDT 42: 24, 38, 53; CT 5, 25f., 18346 III 5, IV 16, VI 31; HLC 1, 38: 3 = UNT S. 275f. II 5, III 12, IV 21; HSS 4, 3 III 15, 17, 19; STA 17 III 12, IV 20, VI 5; TCTI 1, 741 III 5, IV 8, Guabba sicher an einer der abgebrochenen Stellen zu ergänzen; Sigrist, SAT 1, 279; MVN 17, 5 I 11, II 10 (!), Rs. I 8). Man vergleiche dazu die eingangs erwähnte Reihung mit *gú-i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du* als Bezeichnung des mittleren Bezirks.*

Hinzuweisen ist noch auf die auffällige Tatsache, daß häufiger in der Abrechnung eines einzigen Kleinvieh-Hirten der Schlußvermerk steht: šà *Ki-nu-nir^{ki}-Nina^{ki}* (z.B. UDT 77: 19; CT 10, 45, 19101 Rs. 9; TLB 3, 86: 20; TUT 30 Rs. 10; DAS 279: 16). Waren diese Hirten etwa berechtigt, ihre Tiere im ganzen Bezirk zu weiden oder handelt es sich nur um einen Vermerk der Verwaltung, in welchem Bezirk der jeweilige Hirt tätig ist?

Abschließend ist die Frage zu behandeln, warum der beschriebene Verwaltungsbezirk zwei 'Namen' hatte: *Ki-nu-nir^{ki}-Nina^{ki}*, benannt wohl nach den bedeutendsten Siedlungen, und *gú-i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du* «(Ortschaften) am Ufer des Kanals, der nach Nina führt».

Der erste Begriff wird in den Jahren Š 43 bis AS 9 gebraucht⁴, während man letzteren ab Š 40 bis IS 3 verwendete.⁵ Es gab demnach für wenigstens 14 Jahre ein Nebeneinander der beiden Bezeichnungen. Erst in der Regierungszeit Šusins wurde *gú-i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du* zur einzigen Bezeichnung für diesen Verwaltungsbezirk.

Untersucht man die Texte nach ihrem Inhalt, so zeigt sich, daß *Ki-nu-nir^{ki}-Nina^{ki}* in allen 14 Abrechnungen von Hirten über Kleinvieh, Wolle, Butterschmalz und Käse vorkommt.⁶ Ein Anhänger für einen Tontafelkorb (TU 1643) betrifft Schafe und 'Schur', gehört demnach in denselben Verwaltungsbereich. Die verbleibenden 6 Texte handeln von Gerste-, Woll- und Stoffzuteilungen (HLC 1, 6, 257 IV 2; UNT T. 16), von Saatgut und der Versorgung von Dienstverpflichteten (*éren*; HLC 1, 9, 18 VI 25), von Schiffstransporten (ITT 5, 10006:5) und von Sesamöl und Schweineschmalz (große Abrechnung HSS 4, 3 III 17); HLC 1, 14, 349: 4 gehört in den Bereich der Verwaltung der Getreidespeicher.

Die Bezeichnung *gú-i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du* verwendete man in Texten aus der Regierungszeit Šulgis und Amarsuens hauptsächlich bei Abrechnungen aus dem landwirtschaftlichen Bereich und der Personalverwaltung (CT 5, 20, 12912 VII 12; 36, 17751 III 8; TUT 152 I 16; UCP 9, S. 218 I 15f.). Sie begegnet auch in Texten mit Opfern und Zuweisungen an Tempeln (STA 18 IV 18; TUT 111 IX 4 und wohl auch Genouillac, Bab 8, t X: HG 2 *é-[d^šu]*²-gi) und in Abrechnungen über große Mengen Gerste und Mehl (CT 7, 8, 12926 II 7; MVN 6, 292 IV 9; HSS 4, 150: 4). Ferner kommt sie in Texten über Wolle vor (ITT 2 = TCTI 1, 935: 17; HSS 4, 103: 3). CT 3, 26, 18957: 273 stellt eine Abrechnung über Schulden dar.⁷

Diese Übersicht zeigt, daß der Bezirk mit den Ortschaften/Städten Lagaš, Kiessa, Kinunir, Nina und *URU×ganatenú* z.B. von den Schreibern in der Herdenverwaltung mit *Ki-nu-nir^{ki}-Nina^{ki}* und von denen in der Agrar- und Tempelverwaltung mit *gú-i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du* bezeichnet wurde. In den Jahren Š 40 bis AS 9 verwendete man demnach in einigen Verwaltungen ersteren und in anderen letzteren Begriff. Erst in der Regierungszeit Šusins wurde Klarheit geschaffen und nur noch *gú-i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du* erlaubt.

1. Die Ergänzung beruht auf dem häufig vorkommenden Vermerk *Gír-su^{ki}-ta Gú-ab-ba^{ki}-šè* z.B. MVN 7, 195: 4f., MVN 17, 5 Rs. II 10f. (!), MVN 19, 119: 3f.; STA 17 VI 8f.; CT 5, 18, 12231 X 11f.; 26, 18346 VIII 2f.; HLC 1, 39, 3 VIII 2f.; TLB 3, 4: 5f.; 167 IV 25f.

2. *Gír-su^{ki}* findet man in den Ur III-zeitlichen Texten in drei Verwendungsweisen: 1. als Bezeichnung der Stadt Girsu selbst, 2. als Namen des nordwestlichen Bezirks der Provinz Girsu (Die Heiligtümer in der Stadt Girsu und diesen Bezirk nennt z.B. TLB 3, 167 I 3 – III 4 [šà *Gír-su^{ki}*, so nach Kollation) und 3. als Bezeichnung der ganzen Provinz, besonders in der Wendung *énsi-Gír-su^{ki}* (RGTC 2, 58f.). Die ersten beiden Bedeutungen muß man aus dem jeweiligen Kontext erschließen, da beide in den Texten als šà *Gír-su^{ki}* vorkommen.

3. Vgl. zu den dazugehörigen Orten J.-P. Grégoire, La province méridionale de l'État de Lagash 45ff.

4. S. die RGTC 2, 103 genannten Texte und HLC 1, 6, 257 IV 2 (AS 6); STA 17 IV 20 (§ 46); TLB 3, 86: 20 (§ 48); TUT 164³: 6 (AS 1); TCTI 1, 741 IV 8 (AS2³); DAS 279 (AS 1); TCTI 2, 3161 VIII 3' (Datum abgebrochen).

5. HSS 4, 103: 3 (§ 40); CT 3, 26, 273 (§ 46); CT 5, 20 VII 12 (§ 46); 36 III 8 (§48); CT 7, 8, 12926 II 7 (AS 2); 17, 12940: 19 (45/AS 2); CT 10, 50, 12248: 2 (AS 7); HLC 1, 18: 113 (§ 46); ITT 2, 702: 3 (§§ 6), 935: 17 = TCT I 1, 935 (AS 7); ITT 3, 5014: 4 (IS 3); STA 18 IV 18 (AS 1); TEL 226: 14 (IS 3); TUT 111 IX 4 (AS 2); 152 I 16 (§ 48); Genouillac, Bab 8, t X: HG 2 Rs. 2 (AS 7); BM 19980 (IS 1); MVN 6, 292 IV 9' (§ 42-43); Lafont, TCTI 2, 2813: 13 (IS 2).

6. UDT 42: 38; 77: 19; CT 5, 17f., 12231 (= MVN 17, 2) I 8, III 4, V 10, VII 8; CT 5, 25 IV 16; CT 10, 45, 19101 Rs. 9; TLB 3, 86: 20; STA 17 IV 10, 20; TUT 30 Rs. 10; DAS 279; TCTI 1, 741 IV 8; TCTI 2, 3161 VIII 3'; HLC 1, 38, 3 III 12 = UNT S. 275f.; MVN 17, 5 II 10 (!). S. auch SAT 1, 279 (Sesamöl und Datteln für 6466 Weberinnen).

7. Nicht bestimmbar HLC 1, 18: 113 Rs. 1 (Anhänger an Tafelkorb); aus der Regierungszeit Šusins: ITT 2, 702: 3 (Wolle als Arbeitsmaterial); aus der Regierungszeit Ibbisins: BM 19980 (Opfer); ITT 3, 5014: 4 (Anhänger an Tafelkorb mit Texten über Gerstenzuteilungen); TEL 226: 14 (Arbeitskräfte); TCTI 2, 2813: 13 (große Mengen Mehl); Datum nicht erhalten: BM 20019; HLC 3, 111: 242 IV 2.

* Erst nach Fertigstellung dieses Beitrages bemerkte ich, daß W. Heimpel (The Nanshe Hymn, JCS 33, 1981, 100f.) bereits erkannt hatte, daß Ki-nu-nir^{ki}-Nina^{ki} einen Oberbegriff darstellt. Er schreibt dazu: « It is, in fact, the administrative term of the provincial government for one of three administrative areas into which the province was divided. » In diesem Zusammenhang erwähnt er auch gú-i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du. Da hier neues Material vorgelegt und das Verhältnis der beiden Wendungen Ki-nu-nir^{ki}-Nina^{ki} und gú-i₇-Nina^{ki}-šè-du zueinander untersucht wird, hielt ich es für angebracht, diesen Beitrag trotzdem zu veröffentlichen. R. de Maaijer geht in seinem Beitrag « Land Tenure in Ur III Lagaš » auf die Einteilung der Provinz Lagaš in drei Verwaltungsbezirke ein (in: B. Haring – R. de Maaijer (eds.) « Landless and Hungry? » Access to Land in Early and Traditional Societies; Leiden 1997, 52ff. mit Karte). Er wies mich noch auf die Behandlung der Wendung Ki-nu-nir^{ki}-Nina^{ki} durch D.A. Foxvog, RA 80, 28 hin.

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95) Eblaitisch *su-da-nu* « Kummet » – In MEE 12, 11 Rs. I 1 – II 1 (= ARET 7, 48) findet man den Eintrag 3 ma-na ša-pi 2 kú-sig₁₇, 8 *su-da-nu*, wa, 4 *ha-ha-na-tum*, en, Enmar « 3 Minen 42 (Sekel) Gold (für) 8 ... und 4 H.-Zaumzeug-Teile (für) den König (und?) Enmar ». A. Archi, ARET 7, S. 233 läßt *su-da-nu* unübersetzt. In der Schreibung *su-da-ni* begegnet das Wort in MEE 1, 902 (TM 75 G 1464)* IX 7ff. 2 ma-na kù-sig₁₇, né-zi-mu, 4 *su-da-ni*, ..., ša-pi 8 gín-DILMUN kù-sig₁₇ 4 kù-sal-sù « 2 Minen Gold gehämmert (auf) 4 ... (und) 48 D.-Sekel Gold gehämmert (auf) deren (Zaumzeug-) Anhänger ». Nach ibid. IX 20ff. gehören diese zu einem zweirädrigen Wagen des Königs (g^{is}g^{is}gir-2 ša₁₁ ra-'à-tum ša-ti en). Gemäß den Angaben im ersten Text wurden durchschnittlich 18,5 Sekel (146,15 Gramm) Gold für jedes *sudanu* und *haḥanatum* verbraucht. Bei MEE 1, 902 waren es 30 Sekel (237 Gramm) je *sudanu* und nochmals 12 Sekel (94,8 g) Gold für einen Anhänger.

A. Archi veröffentlichte in SEB 7, 46ff. mehrere Texte über Großvieh, in denen amar *su-du-NI-a-tum* und gu₄ *su-du-NI-a-tum* vorkommen (so seine Lesung; Belege s. S. 77). Diesen Begriff läßt er unübersetzt, doch ist dieser sicher von der selben Wurzel abgeleitet wie *su-da-nu*. Wie K. Butz, LdE 333f., richtig erkannte, entspricht *su-du-ni-a-tum* (von ihm *su-du-lí-a-tum* gelesen) dem Sumerogramm UD.KEŠDA (gu₄-áb-UD.KEŠDA und gu₄-UD.-KEŠDA, SEB 7, 77). Seine Deutung « Zucht tier » trifft jedoch nicht zu. A. Archi gibt gu₄-UD.KEŠDA mit « bovino da lavoro » (ibid. S. 57 und 77) wieder.

Das oben besprochene eblaitische Wort *su-da-nu* ist m.E. zu akk. *s/šuttinnu* zu stellen: CAD S 419ff. 1. « bat », 2. « part of a chariot and of a plow »; AHW 1292 « Fledermaus »; 'ein Wagenteil'¹. A. Salonen, Hippologica 105f. sieht darin die Bezeichnung für « Halsstück », « Kummet ». Solche Kummete sind archäologisch gut bezeugt und besonders deutlich dargestellt an dem Viergespann aus Tell Ağreb (W. Orthmann, PKG 14 Tf. 38; W. Nagel, Der mesopotamische Streitwagen (= Berl. Beitr. zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte Bd. 10) Abb. 4, 6, 8, 9; R. Dolce, Gli intarsi mesopotamici dell'Epoca protodinastica II Tav. XXXI M 140).

Textzeugnisse und archäologische Funde stützen sich hier gegenseitig. In den eingangs genannten Texten MEE 12, 11 Rs. I 1ff. und MEE 1, 902 IX 7ff. werden 8 *su-da-nu* für zwei Empfänger bzw. 4 *su-da-ni* für einen zweirädrigen Wagen des Königs verbucht. Wie nach dem Viergespann aus Tell Ağreb zu erwarten, kommen nach den Ebla-Texten auf jeden Empfänger bzw. Wagen 4 Kummete für die Zugtiere.

Das oben erwähnte Wort *su-du-ni-a-tum*² begegnet immer in dieser Schreibweise, unabhängig davon, ob die damit klassifizierten Ochsen (gu₄) und 'Kälber' (amar) einzeln oder in größerer Zahl vorkommen. (SEB 7, 46, 1 II 1 696 gu₄; ibid. 52ff., Text 8 = MEE 12, 29 I 2ff. zwischen 1 und 10 Tiere). Diese Tiere werden bzw. wurden daran gewöhnt, das Kummet zu tragen und Wagen (bzw. Pflüge?) zu ziehen. In Mesopotamien bezeichnete man diese Zugtiere gu₄-giš oder gu₄-apin (W. Heimpel, BSA 8, 99ff.). Die Jungtiere wurden noch bis zu 2 bzw. 3 Jahren amar genannt und dürften ab ihrem 2. Lebensjahr für die spätere Arbeit als Zugtiere trainiert worden sein (M. Stol, BSA 8, 183; W. Heimpel ibid. 94, 97). Gu₄ *su-du-ni-a-tum* bzw. amar *su-du-ni-a-tum* bedeutet folglich « Zugochse, Ochse als Zugtier » bzw. « 'Kalb', (das) als Zugtier (abgerichtet wird) ».

* G. Pettinato danke ich für die Erlaubnis, diese Textpassage hier zitieren zu können.

1. W. von Soden, AfO 20, 124 = AHW 1202 hält *s/š(u)tinnu* für ein Lehnwort aus dem Sumerischen, doch spricht das Vorkommen von *su-da-nu* und *su-du-ni-a-tum* in Ebla eindeutig für eine semitische Herkunft. Möglicherweise ist im Akkadischen das Wort für Fledermaus von der Bezeichnung des Kummets zu trennen.

2. Als Nominalform kommt *purus, puruss*, eventuell auch *purrus* in Frage. Daran ist *-ī* gehängt, das zur Bildung von Adjektiven der Beziehung dient (GAG § 56 q), gefolgt von der Feminin-Endung *-at*.

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96) Die Berufsbezeichnung *tibira* – In dem Beitrag «DUB.NAGAR in Ebla: <Meißel, Stemmeisen, Beitel>, nicht <Hammer>» (*NABU* 1995/117) war ich auch kurz auf *tibira* eingegangen (S. 103 und Anm. 6). Nach dessen Erscheinen notierte ich mir die Texte ITT 2, 3488 und BIN 9, 366 : 6ff. Der Anlaß, mich eingehender mit dieser Berufsbezeichnung zu befassen, war § 3.39 des jüngst erschienenen Artikels «Muttergöttin» von M. Krebernik (RIA 8, Lief. 7/8, 507). Er behandelt darin die Namen, bzw. Epitheta von Muttergöttinnen ^dTibira-dingir-re-e-ne und ^dTibira-kalam-ma, die er mit «Schmiedin der Götter» und «Schmiedin des Landes» übersetzt (vorher schreibt er: «*tibira*, etwa Kupferschmied»). Eine derartige Deutung halte ich für wenig wahrscheinlich, denn 1. ist die normale Bezeichnung für den Schmied *simug* (besser wohl mit «Kupfer-Handwerker» zu übersetzen) und 2. ist der Beruf des Schmiedes kulturgeschichtlich relativ jung und sein Tätigkeitsfeld paßt kaum zu den Vorstellungen von einer Muttergottheit. Zudem sind mir keine Verwaltungstexte aus dem 3. Jt. v. Chr. bekannt, nach denen ein *tibira* Kupfer oder sonst für einen Schmied Notwendiges in Empfang nimmt.

In dem Ur III-zeitlichen Text ITT 2, 3488 werden Handwerker, die 5 Götterschiffe fertigen und verzieren, aufgeführt. Drei der Schiffe gehören Nanše und je eines Dumuzi(abzu) und Nindara. Einen Monat lang hatten 2 Holz-Handwerker und 2 Rohrflechter jeweils 30 Tage an den Schiffen gearbeitet (Vs. 1 – Rs. 1), also waren je Handwerker 60 Arbeitstage für jedes Schiff nötig. Danach hat der Text (Rs. 2-7) folgenden Wortlaut:

		Zahl der Arbeitstage Arbeitstage je Götterschiff	
2 nagar	« 2 Holz-Handwerker	60	12
2 ad-[KÍ]D	2 Rohrflechter	60	12
2 tibira	2 T.	60	12
5 túg-du ₈	5 Seiler und Flechter	150	30
6 ašgab	6 Leder-Handwerker	180	36
6 kù-dím	6 Gold- und Silberschmiede	180	36
u ₄ -30-šè	(jeweils) für 30 Tage »		

Die Gold- und Silberschmiede hatten demnach 36 Tage Zeit, Teile eines jeden Schiffes mit Gold- oder Silberfolie/-Blechen zu überziehen oder Verzierungen aus diesen Metallen anzubringen (vgl. z.B. MVN 7, 455 (= ITT 4, 8062): 1ff. vergoldete und versilberte 'Äpfel' für das Schiff Ningirsus). Die Leder-Handwerker fertigten möglicherweise aus verschiedenfarbigen Fellen und Leder ein Baldachin für die Götterstatue oder stattete die Kabine für den Oberpriester/die Oberpriesterin damit aus. Die Seiler und Flechter sorgten für die Verspannung des Mastes, die Aufhängung der Segel und für sonstiges Tauwerk.¹ Die *tibira* genannten Handwerker wurden nur in der letzten Phase der Fertigstellung des Schiffeshinzugezogen. Sie benötigten im Durchschnitt nur 12 Tage für jedes der Götterschiffe. Wahrscheinlich arbeiteten sie mit dem UM/DUB.NAGAR bzw. URUDU.NAGAR oder NAGAR.ZABAR genannten Werkzeugen. Diese «Meißel/Stemmeisen und Beitel» wurden sumerisch mit denselben oder ähnlichen Zeichen geschrieben wie ihre Berufsbezeichnung (s. *NABU* 1995/117).

Ein Text aus Isin (BIN 9, 366 : 6-9) registriert die Lieferung von Klebstoff (*še-gín*) und besonders festen Fäden aus Ziegenhaar (*ni-U.NU-a-síg-ùz*) für Arbeiten der *tibira* (*kin-ak tibira-ne* BIN 9, 366 : 6-9 in Anwesenheit des Königs). Diese Materialien benötigt jemand, der größere Teile aus Holz, Elfenbein, Knochen oder auch Stein auf einer Oberfläche fixieren will. Mit den Fäden konnte man auch Intarsienstücke, die auf der Rückseite durchbohrt waren, auf dem Untergrund befestigen. Klebstoff und Fäden sind jedoch für einen Metall-Handwerker kaum sinnvoll. Für Einlegearbeiten und für Teile, die auf der Rückseite durchbohrt sind s. A. Becker, Uruk. Kleinfunde I (= AUWE 6) S. 15ff., Tf. 8ff., 114; P.R.S. Moorey, Ancient Mesopotamian Materials and Industries, Oxford 1994, 114; M. van Ess – F. Pedde, AUWE 7, 234, Tf. 132f. Nr. 1614-1617, 1647 und vgl. auch RIA 5, 119ff. «Intarsien».

Nach UET 3, 1498 I 1-41 = D. Loding, Craft Archive 41ff. verarbeiten die *tibira* hauptsächlich Elfenbein und verschiedene Hölzer (ibid. Z. 2, 26, [31], 35, 38). Sie fertigten daraus Statuetten, Tierfiguren und andere Gegenstände an, die sie zum Teil mit Einlegearbeiten versahen (Statuetten I 4f.; Vögel I 6 dar^(mušen)-me-luḫ-ḫa nach UET 3, 770 : 5; Intarsien bei Messer eines Barbiers mit Scheide I 23 + UET 3, 766 : 3; UET 3, 1498 I 39 Scheide mit Holzeinlegearbeiten?). Die *tibira* stellten auch Bildnisse des Königs her oder waren mit deren Transport betraut (CT 7, 16 II 22; HSS 4, 3 X 19f.; RTC 395 : 14). Das Material, aus denen sie die Bildnisse herstellten wird nicht genannt. Nach ITT 5, 6870 : 1f. mußten sie Hacken und Sicheln beschriften.²

Aufgrund der zitierten Belege spricht alles dafür, daß es sich bei *tibira* um den « Schnitzer, Bildhauer und Intarsien-Macher »³ handelt. Dieser Beudeutungsansatz paßt bestens zu den oben zitierten Bezeichnungen von Muttergöttinnen ^d*Tibira-dingir-re-e-ne* und ^d*Tibira-kalam-ma* « Bildhauerin der Götter » und « Bildhauerin des (Heimat-)Landes ». Man vergleiche dazu nur ^d*Nin-báḫar* « Herrin Töpferin », ^d*Šu-gal-an-zu* « Töpferin » (AHw 810 *pahāru* I) oder die verschiedenen Bildungen mit *nagar* « Holz-Handwerkerin » (RLA 8, 505ff. § 3.12; 3.14; 3.38). Die in ITT 2, 3488 genannten *tibira* haben wahrscheinlich Schnitzereien am Bug oder anderen gut sichtbaren Schiffsteilen angebracht, die anschließend möglicherweise von den *kù-dím* mit Gold oder Silber überzogen wurden.⁴

1. Die von P. Steinkeller vorgeschlagene Deutung von *túg-duš* als « felter » (OA 19, 1980, 93) kann nach meiner Überzeugung nicht zutreffen; s. auch R. Kutscher, ASJ 5, 62.

2. SET 296: 1f. 1 *gír-gi-zú zabar kù-sig₁₇ gar-ra mu-TÚM E-la-la* *tibira* könnte man übersetzen « 1 gezahntes bronzenes Messer mit Mittelrippe mit Gold plattiert, Einlieferung von Elala, dem *tibira* ». Da danach aber *A-bí-sí-im-ti in-ba* « Abisimti hat geschenkt » und als Lieferant Ludingira genannt werden, muß, da keine weitere Person erwähnt wird, Elala der Beschenkte sein. Daher muß man m.E. *mu-TÚM E-la-la* « Einlieferung für Elala » übersetzen.

3. R. Kutscher, ASJ 5, 62 übersetzt « artisan »; H. Neumann, Handwerk in Mesopotamien S. 35f. bezeichnet seine Übersetzung « Bildhauer » als provisorisch. A. Sjöberg bearbeitet in Fs. H. Limet, S. 117ff. den Text UET 7, 73 und S. 127: 33 behandelt er den *dibira*, den er S. 118 als « craftsman working in wood and metal » deutet. Er wird in diesem Schultext nach dem *simug*, aber vor dem *bur-gul* « stonemitter », « engraver » erwähnt. A. Westenholz, OSP 2, S. 36 übersetzt « joiner »; W. Sallaberger, Der Babylonische Töpfer und seine Gefäße (= Mesopotamian History and Environment. Memoirs Vol. III), S. 5 gibt nam-*tibira* mit « Bildhauerei » und Subartu II 185 *tibira* mit « sculptor » wieder.

In CAD G 137 wird *gurgurru A* noch als « craftsman working in wood and metal », in CAD Š/2, 440 s.v. *šikru* a jedoch als « carpenter » gedeutet. Meines Erachtens sprechen auch sämtliche der von E. Salonen, Erwerbsleben S. 99ff. diskutierten *ab* und *mB* Belege für die hier vertretene Übersetzung.

4. Vielleicht stellten sie auch die in MVN 6, 455: 1ff. erwähnten 'Äpfel' für das Schiff Ningirsus her.

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97) Sumerian *tiru* = « eunuch » – In a famous passage of the Sumerian poem of Bilgames and the Netherworld, the shade of Enkidu reports to Bilgames on conditions in the Netherworld. The first part of the dialogue shows that a man's post-mortem prospects improve the more sons he leaves behind, because he will have more descendants to supply him with the regular libations of water that the dead require (ll. 255-68 in the edition of A. Shaffer, *Sumerian Sources of Tablet XII of the Epic of Gilgamesh*. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1963). Following this, the poet moves on to another theme. In one manuscript this section begins with *lú ibilānu tukū*, « the man with no heir » (MS V = TuM NF III 14, now + C. Wilcke, *Kollationen*, p. 21). In three manuscripts it begins instead with the *tiru* (MSS F = Kramer, *SLTN* 5; H = Shaffer, pl. 6; DD = Radau, *HAV* 11). The relevant lines read:

tiru.e igi bí.duḫ.àm (igi bí.duḫ.àm] a.na.gin₇ an.ṛak₁)
PA a.la.la ḫur.ra (var. ḫur[ū]).gin₇ ub.du₁₁.ga.a ab.ús
 MSS F vi 2-3 // H v 44'-6' // DD obv. 11-12 // V iii 23'-4';
 cf. Shaffer, p. 91, 271-2

In his edition Shaffer translated as follows (p. 117):

« Did you see the palace retainer? » « I saw. » « How does he fare? »
 « Like an incompetent foreman (crying) 'to work,' he slinks in corners! »

Other translators follow suit:

« Hast du *jenen Höfling* gesehen? » <(Enkidu:) « Ich habe ihn gesehen. »> (Bilgamesch:) « Wie ergeht es ihm? » (Enkidu:) « Wie ein Aufseher, der beim *alala*-Gesang (der Arbeiter) *unsachverständig (ist)*, lehnt er sich in die Ecken. »

W. H. Ph. Römer, *TUAT* II/1 (Gütersloh, 1986), p. 40

« Hai visto il sovrintendente di Palazzo, l'hai visto? ». « Sì, l'ho visto ». « Come sta? ».
 « Come un incompetente capo operaio, egli grida: "Al lavoro!", mentre se ne sta all'ombra ».

G. Pettinato, *La saga di Gilgamesh* (Milan, 1989), p. 339; cf. p. 236

« Den Palastverwalter, sahst du den? » « Ich sah ihn :
 Wie ein inkompetenter Aufseher, der "An die Arbeit!" ruft, steht er in der Ecke! »

K. Hecker, *TUAT* III/4 (Gütersloh, 1994), p. 743

Shaffer has recently brought less certainty to his interpretation:

– As-tu vu là un courtisan du palais? – Je l'ai vu là – Que fait-il?
 – Dans la maison, comme ..., il est assis dans un recoin.

R. J. Tournay and A. Shaffer, *L'épopée de Gilgamesh* (Paris, 1994), p. 266

The problem is the second line, which has also been rendered by W. von Soden:

« Einem unerfahrenen Arbeitsaufseher gleich verkriecht er sich in den Winkel! »

Das Gilgamesch-Epos (4th edn, Stuttgart, 1982), p. 111

by J. Bottéro :

« Comme un contremaître incapable, il rase les murs (de honte)! »

L'Épopée de Gilgameš (Paris, 1992), p. 214⁴

and by Å. W. Sjöberg :

« ... like an incompetent foreman (crying) “*alala*”, he ... corner(?) »

PSD A/1 (Philadelphia, 1992), p. 100

The key to the passage lies in its context. In all manuscripts the following lines deal in turn with the barren woman (ll. 273-4: m u n u s ù n u . t u) and young men and women who were unmarried, expressed as those « who had not laid bare their spouse's lap » (ll. 275-78: ú r d a m . n a . k a t ú g n u . s i . g e). The manuscripts which omitted the man with no heir at the beginning of the section place him after the virgin spinster. Thereafter the text is broken for some nine lines. It resumes with a different category of persons, those who for one reason or another (disease, accident, violent death) were not physically intact on death. The place in the text of the lines dealing with the t i r u , at or near the beginning of a section that treats those who have no descendants, compels us to suppose that such a fellow was also typically childless.

The word t i r u (Akk. *tīrum*), last discussed by I. J. Gelb (*Studies Diakonoff*, p. 88), is a generic term often applied to personnel who were members of the palace household (*māri ekallim*) and attendant on the royal family (*manzāz pānī*). Thus diverse workers such as scribes, physicians, charioteers, butlers, bakers and barbers could all be designated t i r u . Given the common Near Eastern practice of using eunuchs as royal servants, especially those whose responsibilities brought them into regular contact with the palace women, we have to consider it very likely that the t i r u was childless, because he was castrated.

In my reading the following line confirms this analysis: the difficult PA a . l a . l a h u r . r a is not a foreman (u g u l a) incapable of leading the work-song, but some kind of stick (p a) incapable of performing its proper function :

« Did you see the palace eunuch? » « I saw him. » « How does he fare? »

« Like a useless *alala*-stick he is propped in a corner. »

The obvious symbolism of the « useless stick » bears comparison with the description of the eunuch as a « dry tree » in Isaiah 56 : 3 (‘ēš yābēš; I thank J. D. Hawkins for this reference). My interpretation also makes it much easier to understand the continuation of the image, why in the Netherworld the t i r u is kept in a corner, out of the way and forgotten: he is like an old piece of worthless timber discarded in a shed. The Akkadian version of the text, which expands the simile into two lines, is poorly preserved but enough survives to show that it has to do with one or more items propped in a corner and so is much closer to the Sumerian than had previously been realized (SB Gilgameš XII 117-19) :

[... *tāmur ātamar*]

ki-i šu-ri-in-ni dam-qi túb-[qa] [x x]

[*ki-i x x x x x x x*] [x x *e-mi*]d'

[« Did you see the *eunuch*? » « I saw him.]

Like a fine standard [...] corner,

propped like [...] »

The imagery begs the question as to what exactly a « stick of *alala* » was. There is such a thing as a *giš.a.la.la* (*PSD* : « a wooden implement »), but the first sign in our line is certainly PA not GIŠ (MSS in Philadelphia collated by S. Tinney). Because Sumerian uses the same word for « water » and « semen », it would add to the image if a serviceable p a . l a . l a was in some way connected with the carriage of water (cf. a . l á , á . l á , á . l á l ; also Akk. *alallu, elallu, alû*), but on present evidence one can do no more than point this out as a desideratum.

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98) A new Lipit-Eštar inscription – The text is written in two columns on a cone 90 mm high with a diameter of 35 mm. The text is readable except for the heavily incrustated lines 18-20; a careful baking and cleaning may very well make these lines visible, but since, for technical reasons, no such process can be carried out in the immediate future, it seems advisable to make the text available right now in its present condition, with the understanding that if and when the damaged lines can be recovered, a more complete presentation will be in order. The text conforms in its general tenor to the already known Lipit-Eštar's commemorative inscriptions (RIME 4 pp. 47ff.). Points of interest in the new cone are, first, the explicit statement that Nanaja is daughter of Inanna, and, secondly, the construction work in the é-dilmun^{ki} temple. So far, Nanaja was called first daughter

(dumu-sag) of Inanna only in a late balag (M. Cohen, CLAM 651 : 7 ; for an exhaustive study of Nanaja, see now J. Goodnick Westenholz «Nanaya : Lady of Mystery », in I. L. Finkel and M. J. Geller, eds. *Sumerian Gods and their Representations*. Groningen : Styx 1997, pp. 57-84). The é-dilmun^{ki} is well-known as a shrine and « brothel » (éš-dam) of Inanna in Ur (A. George, *House Most High* no. 1103). A tablet from Isin published by C. Wilcke (*Isin-Išān Bahriyāt* 3 [1987] 108ff. pl. 44 ; RIME 4 38ff.), a poorly preserved collection of historical inscriptions, mentions this shrine (iv' 7') and elsewhere Lipit-Eštar's predecessor Išme-Dagan (i' 9'). Part of this text could perhaps now be assigned to Lipit-Eštar, rather than to his predecessor (D. Frayne, private communication, shares this view). The cone is presently part of the private collection of Mr. E. Humphrey (Chicago), who kindly gave permission to publish it.

col. i		col. ii	
	d ^{na} -na-a	15	šà-ge ʾDU-a ¹
	dumu ki-ág d ^{inanna}		d ^{inanna} -me-ʾen ¹
	nin-mu-ʾra ¹		é-ʾdilmun ^{ki}
	d ^{li} -pí-[it-eštar]		[...]
5	sipa sun ₅ -ʾna ¹		[...]-ʾni ¹
	nibru ^{ki}	20	[...]
	engar zi		u ₄ ní-g-si-[sá]
	ur ^{ki} -ma		ki-[e]n-[gi ki-uri-a]
	mùš-nu-túm-mu		i-ni-[in-gar-ra]
10	eridu ^{ki} {AŠ}-ga		mu-[n]a-dù
	en me-te		
	unug ^{ki} -ga		
	lugal ì-si-in ^{ki} -na		
	lugal ki-en-gi ki-uri		

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99) Another Šulgi-simtum text – The tablet published here¹ can be added to the growing corpus of texts attributable to the Šulgi-simtum Archive,² the name given to a distinctive group of Ur III texts in which Šulgi-simtum, a prominent wife of King Šulgi, appears in an administrative function. It is dated to year 45 of Šulgi. Ba-gu-um, the fowler, is also attested in Fatma Yıldız and Tohrü Gomi, *Die Puzriš-Dagan-Texte der Istanbul Archäologischen Museen*, Freiburger Altorientalische Studien, vol. 16 (Stuttgart, 1988), No. 1038, which is possibly also a Šulgi-simtum text.

1. 1 u₈
2. 1 SAL+ÁŠ+GÀR
3. é-gal-ta è-a
4. 1 sila₄ ù-tu-da é-èš
5. 30 lá-1 tu-gur₄-mušen
6. Ba-gu-um mušen-dù
7. iti-ʾta¹ ud.15 ba-ra- / zal
8. mu-DU d^{šul-gi}- / sí-im-tum
9. ʾÁ¹-[pi₅]-la-tum / [i]-dab₅
10. iti [Á]-ki-ti
11. ʾmu-ús-sa¹ Si-mu-ru-um^{ki} / ù lu-ʾlu¹-bu^{ki} / a-rá 10 lá-1-kam-aš ba-ḫul

1 ewe, 1 female kid issued from the palace, 1 newborn lamb (for) the Eš-temple. 29 turtle(?) doves, Bagum the fowler. The 15th day of the month. Delivery for Šulgi-simtum. Apilatum received it. Month Akiti. Year after the year Simurum and Lulubu were destroyed for the 9th time.

1. Courtesy of Special Collections and Archives, University of Houston Libraries, with the permission of Patricia Bozeman, Head, Special Collections & Archives, to whom we express sincere thanks. The tablet was a gift to the University of Houston by the late Frell Albright in 1975. Nothing further is known about its provenance. It is the only tablet in the collections of the University of Houston Libraries.

2. See the discussion in Walther Sallaberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit* (Berlin and New York, 1993), Teil 1, pp. 18-36 and Marcel Sigrist, *Drehem* (Bethesda, 1992), pp. 222-46. Further discussion accompanies Markus Hilgert's publication of more than a hundred additional texts belonging to this group in his forthcoming volume of Drehem texts in the

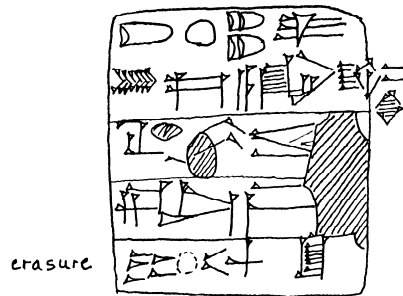
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100) A Sargonic Balance Tablet – The Oakk tablet published below is in my collection. Its dimensions are 29 × 26 × 10 mm ; the reverse is uninscribed¹ :

1.1.4 30	74 (gur) 30 (sila)
še gur A-ga-dè / ki	Agade gur of barley
si-tum	balance ²
al GIŠ [x]	by (PN or GN)
i-ba-šè	owed



CAD Š/III 136 under *šittu* A gives Oakk *si-tum al PN ibašši* ‘balance owed by PN’. It cites HSS 10 51 iv 2 from Nuzi (PN *Ih-lu-ug*) and A 5423 : 3³ (PN unknown to me), comparing these with Limet (1973)⁴ 13 : 3 (where he read a PN Mu-K[A]?). The present tablet may have a PN commencing Giš⁵. Alternatively, for the possible GN Umma (GIŠ.ÛĤ^{ki}) compare CST 7 : 6-9 (following Foster’s⁶ transliteration) « là(l)’u šu 3 mu / al Umma^{ki} / i-ba-šè, arrears of year 3 owed by Umma ». On the present tablet the space remaining after GIŠ would favour a short PN. However, especially since the name may be continued round the edge or below, a longer PN or a GN cannot be ruled out.

1. There are three vertical strokes which are modern additions.
2. The ends of lines 3 and 4 are damaged ; there are additional strokes which are also modern additions, probably meant to imitate cuneiform script.
3. An unpublished tablet in the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.
4. H. Limet, *Étude de Documents de la Période d’Agadé appartenant à l’Université de Liège*, Paris, 1973.
5. H. Limet, *L’Anthroponymie Sumérienne dans les documents de la 3^e dynastie d’Ur*, Paris, 1968, p. 423-4 for example gives eight Sumerian names commencing Giš. Note also GIŠ.MI in e.g. MAD 4 36 : 12.
6. B.R. Foster, *Umma in the Sargonic Period*, Connecticut, 1982, p. 100.

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101) Una *Sammelurkunde* da Fara – Un testo di Fara conservato nell’Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri (Š 1006), che non ha alcun parallelo nella documentazione finora nota dalla città, è stato recentemente pubblicato da H. Steible e F. Yıldız¹. Il documento si presenta come una registrazione dell’acquisto di più case (é), senza essere propriamente un contratto, risultando privo di alcuni dati essenziali di questo tipo di documenti da Fara, come la lista di testimoni e l’indicazione temporale bala.

La struttura del testo non sembra essere stata correttamente compresa dagli Editori, che ritengono che nel documento siano elencati sette movimenti di beni (rame, tessuti e prodotti alimentari), dei quali sarebbe specificato sempre il destinatario, ma solo in un caso, il quinto, il fornitore (*art. cit.*, pp. 154-155). Nel caso in questione il nome del fornitore, e non quello del destinatario, seguirebbe direttamente l’elencazione dei beni di spettanza : « 430 1/2 Minen Kupfer ... hat Damgar dem Lusu gegeben » (r. III 6-IV 5). Dei tre elementi essenziali di una transazione sarebbero, quindi, menzionati i venditori e il prezzo versato, ma non, a parte un’eccezione che resterebbe da spiegare, gli acquirenti.

A nostro parere, di contro, il registro è scandito dalle due menzioni della formula verbale an-na-sum, che nel secondo caso è scritta, in forma abbreviata o più probabilmente per inesattezza scribale, an-sum². In entrambi i casi il nome del fornitore dei beni, cioè dell’acquirente degli immobili, precede la forma verbale. Noi proponiamo, quindi, la seguente traduzione della *Sammelurkunde* :

« 17 mine di rame, 5 mine (di rame) per tessuti per Epae, come prezzo di acquisto della casa ; 2 mine di

rame, 1 fascia, 1 ... di lana, 1 litro di formaggio schiacciato (?), 5 litri di farina, 1 focaccia per il ... di Epae ; 4 mine di rame per Nin-šasu, come prezzo di acquisto della casa, 6 mine e 1/3 di rame per Lugal-kidurdu, il fabbro, (e) 30,5 mine di rame, 4 mine (di rame) per tessili, 4 misure DÜN³ di pani per il Mercante (capo) : Lusu ha dato come prezzo di acquisto di case.

(E) 11 mine di rame per Ur-Utu (e) 17 mine di rame per E-ezemdu (e) Ur-niginsi : Dumu-Anzu ha dato : i pastori, come prezzo di acquisto di case.

Totale : 69 mine di rame (e) 28 mine di rame ».

Per quanto concerne le due quantità di rame indicate nel gú-an-šè, gli Editori ritengono che esse rappresentino i totali rispettivamente delle mine di rame seguite nel testo dall'indicazione šám-é e di quelle che non lo sono. Ma, è difficile stabilire che differente motivazione potrebbero avere queste ultime e perché tale motivazione non sia stata indicata : in realtà, l'assenza della formula šám-é per il rame ricevuto da Lugal-kidurdu e da Ur-Utu potrebbe essere facilmente attribuita al fatto che la transazione che riguarda questi due personaggi è la medesima a cui partecipano, come comproprietari o proprietari di un lotto confinante, il Mercante e, rispettivamente E-ezemdu e Ur-niginsi citati subito dopo. Inoltre, se è vero che la somma del rame che sarebbe definito šám-é (68,5 mine), si avvicina molto alla prima quantità del gú-an-šè (69 mine), quella dell'altro (17,33) non ha corrispondenza nella seconda quantità del gú-an-šè (28 mine). Di contro, se sommiamo le quantità di mine versate dal primo acquirente (Lusu) e quelle del secondo (Dumu-Anzu) abbiamo rispettivamente 68,83 e 28 mine in confronto alle 69 e 28 mine del gú-an-šè. E' interessante notare che alla prima somma si arriva includendo i 5 ma-na túg di r. I 2, i 2 ma-na túg di r. I 5 e i 4 ma-na túg di r. IV 1. Questi dati sono da interpretare come « x mine (di rame il cui valore è dato) in tessili » e tale formula deve essere considerata il corrispondente di x ma-na urudu túg che ricorre in alcuni contratti di compravendita di immobili da Fara⁴, contro la più frequente x ma-na siki túg.

Così possiamo concludere che :

a) il testo registra gli acquisti di case compiuti da due individui (Lusu di r. IV 4 e Dumu-Anzu di v. II 1) ;

b) i venditori sono menzionati immediatamente dopo i beni da loro ricevuti, mentre il nome dell'acquirente precede il verbo an-na-sum ;

c) entrambi gli acquirenti svolgevano la professione di na-gada al servizio del funzionario gu₄-gur-SI, come risulta, tra l'altro, da un registro dove essi sono menzionati in diretta sequenza⁵. Così, na-gada nella sequenza : dumu-AN.IM.MI^{mušen} an-na-sum / na-gada / šám-é (v. II 1-4) dovrebbe riferirsi anche a Lusu menzionato sopra e specificare che « i na-gada (sono) i compratori delle case ». Ma è anche possibile che qui lo scriba abbia invertito la 2^a e la 3^a linea ; di errori scribali il testo ne ha sicuramente uno, il gú-an-šè scritto, in caratteri più piccoli, in v. II 5 e riscritto in v. III 1, e probabilmente un altro, l'an-sum in luogo di an-na-sum di v. II 2.

Che, invece, i venditori appartengano in blocco alla categoria dei na-gada, come suggerito dagli Editori, è molto dubbio : a parte il simug Lugal-kidurdu e il Mercante⁶, anche gli altri (Epae, Ninšasu, Ur-Utu, E-ezemdu e Ur-niginsi) non risultano in alcun testo definiti na-gada. Solo un Epae è caratterizzato come un sipa-udu na-gada, cioè un « pastore al servizio del na-gada » (EDATŠ, 152 r. II 5-III 2) e un E-ezemdu come lum-ma na-gada, cioè « (dipendente) di Lumma, il na-gada » (CT 50, 25 r. IV', 1'-2') : dovrebbe trattarsi, quindi, di funzionari di rango inferiore al na-gada, ammesso che costoro siano davvero da identificare con gli omonimi personaggi di Š 1006.

Alcune *Sammelurkunden* di datazione più tarda e di provenienza differente risultano, nella tipologia e nella struttura, molto simili a Š 1006. Si confrontino, in particolare, due testi di Tell el-Suleimah di periodo paleo-accadico ognuno dei quali registra l'acquisto di più appezzamenti di terreno da parte di un unico compratore, che è lo stesso nei due registri :

8 1 (bariga) 2 (bàn) še gu[r] šu-eš₄-dar

6 še gur è-li-li

4 3 (bàn) še gur la-gi-pum

3 še gur be-lí

šu-nigin 21 1 (bariga) 5 (bàn) še gur ilum-damiq a-na ni-šám aša₅ i-ti-in in pá-ti-ri^{ki}

(F. Rashid, *The Ancient Inscriptions in Himrin Area*, Himrin 4, Baghdad 1981, p. 203 r. 1-12) ;

[x 1/3?] ša 7 gín k[ù-ba]r₆ 20 še [gur] 40 [+x udu] [ni-šám x+] 3 [ik]u d[a-gu²]-na im-hur

9 gín kù-bar₆ 14 še gu[r] [ni]-šám 1 (eše) 3 iku ilum-ra-b[í] im-hur

[...] + 3 gín kù-bar₆ [...] + 1 še gur [x] udu ni-šám 4 iku im₄-tá-lik im-hur

8 gín kù-bar₆ [ni-šám x+] 1 (eše) 2 iku [...] -[x¹] i[m-hur]

1 gín šám kù-bar₆ 7 udu ni-šám 1 iku 20 SAR [...] -NI [im]-hur

[ilum]-damiq [...] -li [...] -[x¹⁷] i-ti-in

(*ibid.*, pp. 204-205)⁸.

Anche in questi due documenti i dati sempre presenti consistono nel nome dei venditori e dell'acquirente e nel prezzo, con l'aggiunta dell'indicazione del distretto di appartenenza dei terreni e del totale delle somme versate dal compratore nel primo testo e dell'estensione dei singoli appezzamenti nel

secondo. Come nelle due sezioni di Š 1006, i due registri si concludono con il nome dell'acquirente seguito dal verbo *i-ti-in*, corrispondente accadico di *an-na-sum*⁹.

Sarebbe interessante conoscere se a redigere la *Sammelurkunde* di Fara sia stato un ufficio dell'amministrazione centrale ovvero un *household* appartenente a privati. La menzione come acquirenti di due *na-gada* che operavano al servizio di un centro responsabile dell'allevamento appare favorire la prima ipotesi, ma l'eventuale controllo della burocrazia di Fara su attività per eccellenza di natura privata, come sembrerebbe essere l'acquisto della proprietà di immobili, è un problema che non può essere discusso qui¹⁰.

1. Kupfer *an ein Herdenamt in Šuruppak?*, in Ö. Tunca-D. Deheselle edd., *Tablettes et images aux pays de Sumer et d'Akkad. Mélanges offerts à Monsieur H. Limet*, Liège 1996, pp. 149-159.

2. Che *an-sum* di v. II 2 sia da distinguere dalla forma verbale *an-na-sum* di r. IV 5 e da considerare un nome di persona (così H. Steible-F. Yıldız, *art. cit.*, p. 155, n.8) non sembra sostenibile. Tra l'altro, un simile nome non è altrove attestato: l'*AN-sum* di una tavoletta di Fara citato *ibid.* è, infatti, da leggere LAK 60¹-ma (F. Pomponio-G. Visicato, *Early Dynastic Administrative Tablets of Šuruppak [EDATŠ]*, Napoli 1994, 34 v. I 2).

3. Per questo valore di DÜN come unità di misura-contenitore per aridi cf. *ibid.*, p. 197.

4. Cf. WF 30 r. I 5-6; 36 r. II 2-3 e la tavoletta inedita De Marcellis, r. III 4-5 (informazione di A. Westenholz). I primi due passi erano stati interpretati in SRU, pp. 27 e 52 come aventi il segno SIKI erroneamente scritto URUDU.

5. G. Visicato, *The Bureaucracy of Fara*, Münster 1995, pp. 73-74, N.210 r. I 4-5. Entrambi i personaggi sono citati in molti altri documenti: per Dumu-Anzu cf. *EDATŠ*, 19 v. I 18, dove egli è citato come il superiore di un altro funzionario; *EDATŠ*, 133 r. III 9'-10' e 134 r. III 3-4, dove riceve asini per la coltivazione di un appezzamento di terreno, e *EDATŠ*, 172 r. IX 1, dove riceve un carro; per Lusu cf. *EDATŠ*, 92 r. II 1-2, dove questi risulta avere in godimento 2,5 iku di terreno; *EDATŠ*, 133 r. II 2'-3' e 136 v. III 9'-19', dove riceve 2 asini e TSŠ 499 r. I 1-3, dove è responsabile di 84 caprette.

6. Il *dam-gàr* che è menzionato in r. IV 3 con ogni probabilità è il *dam-gàr-gal* di Šuruppak; la quantità di rame che egli riceve è la più alta nell'intero testo.

7. Con ogni verosimiglianza la lacuna prima di *i-ti-in* sarà da reintegrare: [*a-na šám aš*]₅, ancorché dalla autografia non risulti esserci spazio sufficiente per 5 segni.

8. Cf. G. Visicato, *The Sargonic Archive of Tell el-Suleimah*, ZA 87 (1997), in stampa.

9. Per altre forme grammaticali e posizioni sintattiche del verbo *sum/nadānum* nei documenti di compravendita presargonici e sargonici cf. ELTS, p. 229, dove non sono citate le due *Sammelurkunden* di Tell el-Suleimah.

10. A questo riguardo notiamo soltanto che, se nel nostro registro sono elencati i dati essenziali dei contratti di compravendita di immobili (i nomi di venditori e acquirenti e l'ammontare del prezzo), abbiamo un testo di Fara (WF 42) che è esclusivamente un registro di testimoni (*lú-ki-inim*) e un altro il cui recto con ogni verosimiglianza ha lo stesso contenuto (WF 35; cf. G. Visicato, *An Unusual Sale Contract and a List of Witnesses from Fara*, ASJ 17 [1995], pp. 284-286): il primo è stato rinvenuto nella «Tablet House» (XVh), il principale archivio dell'amministrazione centrale di Fara, da cui tuttavia non risulta provenire alcun contratto, mentre il secondo è l'unica tavoletta del Trench Ibu (cf. H. P. Martin, *Fara: A Reconstruction of the Ancient Mesopotamian City of Shuruppak*, Birmingham 1988, p. 88).

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[À la demande de l'auteur, cette nouvelle version remplace la note 1997/63]

102) Termites and ants – (1) At some point in ZL 9' it was feared that the Elamites would invade the heartland of the kingdom of Mari. Zimri-Lim wrote «at length» to the Yaminite leader Hammi-Ištammar, asking him to assemble troops. Hammi-Ištammar's response, which is preserved to us as A.3080, implies that Zimri-Lim had expressed concern about the loyalty of the Yaminites. Hammi-Ištammar rebuked the king's concern with indignation («[why] did my lord write this to me?») and offered two similes which were meant to demonstrate that there was every reason to expect the Yaminites to be loyal to the Sim'alites and the king. They were translated convincingly by M. Anbar in *NABU* 1997/15. The question of the identity of the «*rimmātum*-beads» of the necklace which symbolize Sim'alites and Yaminites remains. The passage reads: «Should the Elamites really come to the bank of the Euphrates, they will make no distinctions (as if Yamina and Sim'al were) like *rimmātīm ša kišādīm* of which one is white and one is *Za-ar-ma-at*.» J.-M. Durand, who published the text under the title «Fourmis blanches et fourmis noires» in *Contribution à l'histoire de l'Iran, Mélanges Perrot*, edited by F. Vallat, 1990: 101-108, demonstrated that *rimmātum* is a designation for insects and not a short or defective spelling of *erimmātum* «egg-sheaped beads.» The clue is found in ARM 21 223: 43 where a necklace of *ri-im-m[a-tim]*, [...], and flies (*zu-ub-bi*) is registered. Durand pointed to Arabic *rimmā*, which is said to designate a winged ant, and translated accordingly. Generally speaking, animals which are designated in different languages by cognates cannot automatically be identified. The person who knows that the buzzard of Californian English speakers is a turkey vulture and that the German Bussart is a bird and concludes on that

evidence that the German Bussart is a turkey vulture errs. It is equally possible that the Arabic *rimmā* and its Akkadian cognate *rimmātum* designated two similar animals. In the case of insects, a difference which appears to the layman as similarity is often one of a family or even an order. If we assume that the *rimmātum* were termites (order Isoptera) rather than winged ants (order Hymenoptera), the image gains in pregnancy. Ants do darken after hatching, but after about 24 hours they have reached their permanent coloring so that the color difference is usually not perceived by anyone but the entomologist. Termites on the other hand hatch white and need considerable time to achieve their eventual brown pigmentation, and a termite colony consist always of white and brown animals. Hammi-Ištammar expressed with the image that Yaminites and Sim'alites live in the same place, are subject to the same fate, and would be treated alike by the Elamites even if the Elamites were aware that Yaminites and Sim'alites were distinct as are white and brown termites on a necklace. This interpretation indicates that *Za-ar-ma-at* describes the color of adult termites, which ranges from light to dark brown, but never black. Durand read *ša-ar-ma-at* and translated this, without comment, as «black» as if it were a variant of *šalmat*. Anbar followed him. The root *šrm* existe but is only used for the verb «to strive.» The dictionaries do not allow a meaningful reading *sarmat* or *zarmat*. If we read the sign *-ma* as *-ba* and assume *-pá* we arrive at *šarpum*, literally «fired,» which was used as color designation (AHw *šarpu* 3) for fire red. But adult termites are never red. We seem to have a new word, *Zarmum* «brown.»

(2) M. Guichard published in *MARI* 8, 315, the small pillow-shaped text M.7857. It contains several lines consisting of two sets of numerals, one in sexagesimal, the other in decimal notation. On the reverse is found a sequence of four lines of numbers, but the poor state of preservation of the text prevents clear understanding of the notations at this point. The numbers are followed by words which must designate that which was counted, namely ears (of grain, *šublātum*), ants, birds, and NA. Guichard attempted to find a common denominator of these words and found it in an anthill. He believes the «birds» were actually winged ants; the «ants» (*kulbābu*) actually soldiers, that is a class within a species of ants which functions as guards of the nest to keep out foreign ants, this buttressed by the speculation that the word *kulbābum* is derivation from *kalbum* «(guard-)dog;» the «ears» *šu-ub-la-tum* actually *šuplātum* «insectes des profondeurs du sol.» He left NA unexplained. I find it hard to believe that anyone would have actually attempted to count the ants of an anthill. Without sophisticated arrangements such a thing is impossible. A simpler solution is to see in the text a school exercise of notations of high numbers. The mention of ears, birds, and ants had presumably a similar function as our apples and oranges in mathematics instruction, a feature which derives from the experience that beginners have to helped in abstract contexts with something concrete to keep their attention focussed. It is interesting that this was deemed still necessary at a stage when students dealt with high numbers. The tertium comparationis was thus in my view not an anthill, but the numerousness with which ears appear on the plants of a grain field, ants in the ground, and birds in the air.

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 USA

103) The defense of Hiritum – Despite the new material published by D. Lacambre in his article «La bataille de Hiritum» in *MARI* 8 (1997) 431-54, the method employed by the Babylonians in defending Hiritum against the besieging Elamites is still unclear. The crucial problem besides the poor preservation of the relevant passages is the role of a contraption spelled *lu-ú ha-ma-an-nu* in ARMT 27 145 : 7, *ha-ma-an-ni* in the plural accusative in A.3669+ : 46', and *ha-ma-na-am* and *ha-ma-nim* in M.5282. The contexts indicate that the same contraption is meant in all cases. There existed thus 3 variant designations of one and the same thing, (1) a singular expression *hamannum*, (2) a plural expression *hamannū*, and (3) the plural expression *lu-ú hamannū*. In ARMT 27 141 : 13 Birot transliterated *a-na IGI [e-i ha-ma-an-ni]*, which would provide the genitive form, but his transliteration is problematic because *pānum* is elsewhere written syllabically in the same text. In his comment a to ARM 27 145, Birot thought that the word designated a siege engine, specifically a bull-headed battering ram. He also thought that it was used by the Elamites. Lacambre follows him in that point. It may not be correct. The references allow the understanding that the *hamannū* were used by the Babylonians in their defense. I assume that this was the case. The basic problem in the defense of Hiritum seems to have been the same that occurred in the siege of Razama by Atamrum : given enough time and man-power the defense afforded by a city wall could be overcome with the help of an earthen ramp and siege towers. In the case of Razama, the defenders gave up the defense of the wall in front of the earthen ramp of the besiegers and constructed a second wall inside (see my note *NABU* 96/102). In the case of Hiritum, the Babylonian defenders managed to maintain an advantage in the height from which they defended themselves. In ARMT 27 141 they are quoted as saying : «We will elevate these earthworks to *ši-[x]* ([x]) [of] the frontal [(*lu'u*) *hamannū*], and we will 'do battle' from their top. The enemy will not be able to do anything to this city.» It is remarkable that the defenders of the city speak of earthworks as their means of defense. We know that Hiritum had a city wall, *bàd^{ki}*; Hammu-Rabi showed it to his guests after the siege was over (A.3669+ : 49'). Unless the wall had been breached already and was somehow repaired with earth from inside, the earthworks of the defenders must have been located on top of

the city wall. The Elamites were about to overcome the defenses of the wall, fighting from a height which eliminated the advantage of the defenders. The latter had no time to build up their wall with bricks. So they used earth instead. The problem must have been to keep the earth from spilling over the sides of the wall. Today we would use sandbags. They may not have had bags in sufficient numbers. Thus, they had to brace the topping of earth. For that purpose they would have had to install uprights and to lean sheeting material against them from the inside which was firm enough to keep the earth in place. In this way their wall grew in height, and if the Elamites could not adopt the bracing technique for their own ramp because they lacked the necessary materials they would not be able to win the race to gain superior height. I propose to see in the *hamannū* the braces for the topping of earth on the wall of Hiritum. It may be mentioned that when Hammu-Rabi visited the scene after the siege was over « he went repeatedly along both *hamannū* » (*hamannī kilallīn ittallak*, A.3669+ : 46'). The existence of 2 *hamannū* agrees with braces. Yet it is a weak argument at best, and I have not been able to find independent confirmation for my proposal.

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104) The Great Wall of Sargon of Akkad – In her new book, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade* pp. 42-45, J. Goodnick Westenholz proposes a new reading for BĀD AN KI GAL-i in lines 20 and 30 of 'The Sargon Birth Legend'.¹ Here Dr. Westenholz now reads BĀD AN.KI GAL-i and translates 'Great Wall of Heaven and Earth(?)', instead of the commonly accepted interpretation 'Greater Der':²

Line 20 (*Legends of the Kings of Akkade 42-43*)

[a-n]a BĀD AN.KI GAL-i [...] lu-u [...]

The Great Wall of Heaven and Earth(?), I did ascend.

Line 30 (*Legends of the Kings of Akkade 44-45*)

[...] BĀD AN.KI GAL-i li-li-ma

Let him ascend to the Great Wall of Heaven and Earth(?)!

Support for Dr. Westenholz's proposed 'Great Wall of Heaven and Earth' may be found in the new fragment of 'The Babylonian Map of The World' that was reported by Dr. I. Finkel in *British Museum Magazine* 23 (1995) in the News & Events section.³ This new fragment, although but a 'square inch or so of baked clay,' preserves the hitherto missing piece of 'The Missing Northern *nagû*' at the top of the map where one can now read:⁴

BĀD.GULA	Great Wall
3 DANNA	3 leagues
ina bi-rit	in between
a-šar ^d UTU	Where the Sun
NU.IGILÁ	is not seen

Although the exact nature of both 'The Great Wall' in 'The Babylonian Map of The World' and 'The Great Wall of Heaven and Earth' in 'The Sargon Birth Legend' is uncertain, it seems likely to this author that both terms refer to the same cosmic feature, a distant Great Cosmic Wall (mountain range?)⁵ which tradition held that Sargon of Akkad visited near the ends of the earth.

1. *Legends of the Kings of Akkade* (= Mesopotamian Civilizations no.7), Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake (1997).

2. See pp. 42-43, commentary to line 20 for J. Westenholz's discussion of the possible renderings: 'Greater Der,' 'The Great Wall of Heaven and Earth,' and BĀD.AN.KI = *kālû* 'dike'.

3. An updated edition of 'The Babylonian Map of The World' with the new piece will be published in the author's book *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, Eisenbrauns (in press). Previous edition, W. Horowitz, 'The Babylonian Map of the World,' *Iraq* 50 (1988) 147-165 with further bibliography at p. 147 n. 2. The author thanks Dr. Finkel for this cooperation in the study of the new fragment.

4. W. Horowitz, *Iraq* 50 148-149 no. 18, with discussion on p. 158 of the *nagû* as a place 'Where the Sun is not seen.' Cf. Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade* 70 : 60-64, 90 iv 11'.

5. For comparisons between walls and mountains see CAD Š₁ 56-57 *šadû* A 1), 59 4., and PSD B 39-40 *bad₃* 1.1. Note in particular Cooper Angim 60 : 33 where Ninurta brings one of his creatures out of BĀD.GAL KUR.RA, 'Great Wall of the Mountain'.

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105) To make a hit – The meaning of the expression *ištēt epēšum* has so far been derived from the apparent

literal meaning « to make one » = « to unify » and similar expressions. The first reference was included in an excerpt of a letter from Mari which G. Dossin transliterated and translated on pages 991-92 in his article « Benjamins dans les textes de Mari » of 1939 (Mélanges Syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud). The excerpt is from a letter of Hali-Hadun to Zimri-Lim about the danger of cooperation between « Benjamins, » Andarig, and Ešnunna. Hali-Hadun expressed his specific apprehensions as follows : « I hope that the Yaminite or else the Ešnunakean will not attack ... (*ana idim ištēn*), and *ištēt ayyipušū*. Dossin : « Que le Bin-iamina ou le roi d'Ešnunak ne razzie pas en même temps, qu'ils n'opèrent pas ensemble! » Dossin's translation of *ana idim ištēn* is problematic because « ou » connecting Yaminite and Ešnunakean disagrees with « en même temps. » I suspect that *ana idim ištēn* is an idiom, but I do not know its meaning. Dossin's translation of the second apprehension makes sense in the context and is easily derived from the literal meaning. In the meantime, many more examples of the phrase have been published. Dossin's translation was retained with minor modifications and in several variations yet it seems to me that the new contexts demonstrate with increasing clarity that *ištēt epēšum* is also an idiom, and that it means essentially « to gain an advantage over an antagonist. » The German idiom « einem eins auswischen » reminds me of it insofar as it also includes *ištēt*, « eins, » without apparent referent. For confirmation, I list the references of the idiom which I have found and use as new English translation the idiom « to make a hit. »

(2) A.2954 : 12-13 = N. Wasserman, *Florilegium Marianum* 2, 326

This is an excerpt from a second letter of Hali-Hadun about the situation. He expressed his apprehension again with the idiom. « The Ešnunakean and Qarni-Lim sit in Šubat-Enlil. And I am afraid they write to the Yaminites, and the Yaminites, Qarni-Lim, and the Ešnunakean band together (*innemedū*). But I hope that they will not make a hit against the small cattle of the Sim'alites (*ištēt eli ... ayyipušū*). This I thought in my heart. And I was concerned. »

Here, *nenmudum* « to make common cause, to stand together, to band together » expresses that which *ištēt epēšum* was supposed to express. Wasserman translates in FM 2, 326 30 « And once they write to the Benjamins, and the Benjamins meet with Qarni-Lim and the man of Ešnunna – would only that they not unite as a result and act against the flocks of the Simalites! » In translating *nenmudum* with « to meet, » he moves the meaning of the word from its well established semantic field and thus evades an otherwise resulting tautology.

(3) A.1333 : 15 = F. van Koppen, MARI 8, 418-21

With this letter to a highly placed Babylonian with access to Hammu-Rabi, Yasmah-Addu wanted to insure the safety of a caravan which Šamši-Adad had sent to Tilmun and which was now on its way back. It was headed for Mari and was detained before the Sutean Ili-Epuh at a place called Bugre Well at the time the letter was sent. Yasmah-Addu thought it was best to let the caravan go to Babylon. It is at first sight surprising that there should have been an alternative route which bypassed Babylon. I believe the caravan went along the western edge of the alluvium along a route which connects a string of oases. It would have crossed the latitude of Babylon at considerable distance to the west at Shithatha. Bugre Well may have been one of these oases farther south-east. Yasmah-Addu had misgivings about derouting the caravan to Babylon. « I am afraid Hammu-Rabi will not ... (*qa-Za-am iraššišunūšim*) because that caravan passed before » (lines 6'-7'). Apparently the caravan had skirted Babylon before, I guess on its way to Tilmun, perhaps to evade toll. The same procedure was planned for the way back, but now Babylon could not be avoided without running the risk of the enemy capturing the caravan on the bypass (lines 10'-11'). Van Koppen's interpretation in MARI 8, 423-24, is different. Yasmah-Addu expressed his specific concern as follows : « I wonder whether a secret agent will not get out [to] [...] among them on their trip to me, and [...] *ištēt lā inneppeš* » (lines 12-15). Van Koppen translates in MARI 8, 420 : « J'espère ... que l'unité (des forces de l'ennemi) ne sera pas faite. » It seems beside the point to see the danger in concentration of enemy forces. The danger was that a caravan would be robbed not that a military unit would be attacked. I suggest as translation : « and (I wonder whether) a hit will not be made (by the enemy). »

(4) A 3669+ : 39'-40' = D. Lacambre, MARI 8, 446-51

Ibal-Pi-El led a force of 2000 Mariotes and 3000 or 4000 Babylonians on a campaign in the vicinity of Ša Bašim at the head of the alluvium of the Euphrates. According to the account of Zimri-Addu in ARMT 27 141 it was no success. The brass in Babylon, especially the Ekallatean counselors of Hammu-Rabi, blamed Ibal-Pi-El. The writer of A.3669 gave more detail which exonerated Ibal-Pi-El. If Ibal-Pi-El and Bahdi-Addu had not been present, he says, worse could have happened : *ištētman [inn]epiš* « a hit could have been made, » that is by the enemy against Babylon.

D. Lacambre interprets in MARI 8, 449 : [*šum-ma*]-[*an*] *la i-ba-al-pi-AN ù ba-ah-di-^dIM [ina šī]-[ni]-šū la iz-za-az-zu-nim iš-te-et-ma-an [in-n]e-pi-iš kaskal-a ši-i ... ki-bi-it-tum* « [Ah, si] Ibâl-pî-El et Bahdi-Addu ne s'étaient pas divisés en deux et s'ils n'avaient formé qu'un seul groupe, cette expédition ... (eût été) une troupe lourdement équipée. » Lacambre derives the form *iz-za-az-zu-nim* from *zâzum* « to divide. » Yet the root vowel of that verb is /u/ and the form can only be derived from *izuzzum*. The particular form is well attested, and the contexts confirm derivation from *izuzzum* in any single case (see the small sample in ALM ¶ 58m). The restoration [*i-na šī-ni*]-*šū* « en deux » has thus no basis. This in turn weakens the case for a meaning

« former un seul groupe » of *ištēt epēšum*.

(5) A.1146 : 30 = P. Marelló, Florilegium Marianum 1 115-25

In this letter the Hana leader Hammi-Ištammár expresses his indignation with the absence of his interlocutor, presumably Yasmah-Addu, from a tribal meeting. He tells him that one group loves him and wants him to attend and another group hates him and wants him to stay away. Only his, Hammi-Ištammár's, habitual attendance of such meetings would prevent the haters to gain an advantage against Yasmah-Addu. « And if I were not in the habit of getting there (to the meetings) they (those who hate you) would have made a hit (*ištētman ītešū*). »

Marelló translates in FM 1, 115 : « Or si je ne venais pas en personne, pourraient-ils s'unir? » The translation suggests that the two groups had unified their opinion of Yasmah-Addu, the text says that they did not.

(6) ARMT 26 483 : 12 and 24

Buqaqum reports about skirmishes with Suteans. They attacked and were beaten back. Then Buqaqum went on the offensive : « I made an incursion among Sutean sheep, and I kept [the ears open] (for an opportunity) to score a hit » ([*a-n*]a *ištēt epēšim* [*uz-na-a*]m *aškun*). Later in the letter Buqaqum announces his intention to teach the Suteans a lesson and mentions the means which will help him to achieve it : « We shall make a hit. We shall poison our lances » (*ištēt nīpuš ŠL.IR-ne ī numarrir*). »

(7) AbB 5 15 : 28

The writer of the letter has received a report that the troops of Šamši-Adad have approached Mankisum. In response to the move, he expresses his readiness to go with his troops where the lord of his addressee might order them and adds : « I hope that they (the troops) make a hit » (*išti'at līpušā*).

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106) Reminder to the author of « An Old Assyrian Marriage Contract » – In *NABU* 1997/75 Karen Jensen commented on Old Assyrian Marriage Contract based on a reconstruction of e-[hu-uz-ma] from AAA 1 : 8 (EL 7) lines 4-6 against the view point of Eisser and Levy as e-[ra-ab-m]a. The article based its main argument on this discovery. I remind her that the said reconstruction was made by myself in 1993, in the article « Some Remarkable Contracts of 1-B Period Kültepe Tablets II » (Nimet Özgüç'e Armağan–*Aspects of Art and Iconography: Anatolia and Its Neighbours*–Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç, Ankara, 1993) pp. 137-138 especially footnote 37. It looks so that this early discovery has escaped from her attention, and my reconstruction followed as :

(1) Ta-ta-li-i ú T[í-tí-ni-tal] (2) Šu-pì-a-ni-kà a-n[a] (3) me-er-ú-tim i[l-qé-ú] (4) Ší-im-nu-ma-an (5) DUMU Ta-ta-li-i (6) Šu-pì-a-ni-kà e-[hu-ú-z-ma] (7) bi²-tám iš-te-ni-[iš] (8) uš-bu-ú ... ; « Tatali and T[itinital] have [adopted] Šuppianika as their adoptive-daughter. Šimnuman, son of Tatali married her. They live in the house together ». Our translation is different from Eisser-Lewy, mainly due to the fact that Šuppianika is a female name cf. ICK I, 19a-b (FAOS I Bh. No. 28) etc.

Such a great similarity to my comments is very remarkable.

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107) ChS I/2 Nr. 22 [KBo 24.79 (1697/c)] + KBo 38.261 (1485/c) – Das Tafelfragment KBo 38.261, das « das Salbungszereemoniell ... für den engeren Götterkreis der Šawuška » (V. Haas – I. Wegner in *OLZ* 92 (1997), 185) enthält, schließt oben direkt an KBo 24.79 = ChS I/2 Nr.22 an und erweist so dessen Zugehörigkeit zu einem Ritual für Ištar. Für die Überprüfung des Anschlusses an den Originalen im letzten Sommer sei E. Neu hiermit herzlich gedankt. Im folgenden sei der Text, soweit erhalten, ausgeschrieben. Parallele Handlungsabläufe bieten der Text ChS I/ Ergänzungsheft 1 Vs. I 21'-37' und die siebente Tafel des šarra-Opfers, vgl. ChS I/2 Nr.17 IV x+1ff. Dort wird das Salbungszereemoniell für den Kreis um Teššub und Ḫebat vollzogen. Von daher erscheint die von Haas – Wegner, op. cit., 185/186 auf Grund der Parallele von KBo 38.261 zu den soeben genannten Texten vermutete Gleichsetzung von akk. *naktamu* (AHw II 723b) mit heth. ^{DUG}*kappi*- nicht unbedingt zwingend, wiewohl möglich, da gegebenenfalls Besonderheiten bei den Opferzurüstungen der unterschiedlichen Kulte nicht von vornherein auszuschließen sind.

x+1] *ku-iš* x[
2'] x É-*ir-za pa-r*[a-a
3']^{DUG}GAL-*ia* Ì.DUG.GA Ú-UL x [
4'] SA_x-A-TI *da-a-i na-aš-kán* É-x[
5'] SÍSKUR *ša-ra-a ti-i-e-zi* x [
6' UŠ-KE-]EN *nu-uš-ša-an* ^{LÚ}AZU I ^{DUG}kap[-*pí*-
7' PA-NI ^dIŠTAR A-NA ^{GIŠ}BANŠUR AD.KID *pé[-ra-an*

8'	DUG ^{ka}]p-pí-i-in Ì.DÙG.GA-ma-aš-ša-an A-NA [
9'] x-ši da-a-i I DUG ^{GAL} Ì.DÙG.GA-ma-aš-š[a-an
10'	SISKU]R ŠA ^{dIŠ} TAR da-a-i [...]
<hr/>	
11'] dIŠ ^{TAR} ku-in DUG ^{kap} p-pí-i-in Ì.DUG.GA [
12'	š]a-ra a da-a-i na-aš-ta ^{DUG} a-aḫ-ru-uš[-ḫi-
13'	-]a da-a-i na-at ZAG-az ki-iš-ra-az [
14'] me-na-aḫ-ḫa-an-da ^{GIŠ} ERIN-az pa-a[p-pár-aš-ki-iz-zi
15'	k]i-iš-ša-an-me-ma-i [...]
<hr/>	
16'	ha-šu-]le-eš ^d Ni-i-na-at-ta
17'	^d Nu-pa-]ti-ik ^d Ša-uš-ga ḫa-šu-le-eš ^d x[
18'	ḫa-šu-]le-eš ^d Ša-a-lu-uš ^d Ku-mar[-b]i ḫa-š[u-le-eš
19'	ha-šu-l]e-eš ^d A-a-i-ú ^d Ši-mi-ki [
20'] x-iš-ši-ia ha-a-šu-le-e[-eš]
<hr/>	
21'	DINGIR ^{MEŠ} -n]a at-ta-an-ni-ui;-na DINGIR ^{MEŠ} -na [
22'	DINGIR ^{MEŠ} -n]a ḫé-e-ia-ru-un-na a-aš-du-u-ḫi[-na
23'	tu-]ni ta-ab-ri ^d Ša-uš-ga-a-e[(-)
24'	k]i-iš-ḫi a-da-a-ni ḫa-a-šu-le-es[
25'] x aḫ-ru-uš-ḫi ḫu-u-up-ru-uš-ḫi ḫa-a[-šu-le-e-eš]
<hr/>	
26']x-aš-ša-an A-NA ^{LÚ} NAR ^d x[
27'	ŠA ^{GIŠ} dINANN]A šu-u-ta-ri-in pé-ra-an[
<hr/>	
28']dÉ-A ^d DAM-KI-NA a-x[
29']A-NA ^{GIŠ} BANŠUR AD.KID[
30'	k]u-iš ^{DUG} kap-pí-i-i[š
31']nu-za a-pu-u-un da-a-i [
<hr/>	
32'] ZAG-az-ma-kán x[
33'] A-NA ^d x [
34'] x x [

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108) *LÚ SANGA ŠA GU₄.MAḪ ‘der Priester des Stieres’? – Für KUB 20.87 I 11 hat J. Klinger, StBoT 37,454 jüngst eine Interpretation der Zeichenfolge LÚ SANGA ŠA GU₄.MAḪ als LÚ SANGA ŠA GU₄.MAḪ ‘der Priester des Stieres’ vorgeschlagen. Frühere Bearbeiter dagegen gingen von einer Deutung des Zeichens ŠA als hethitischem Komplement an LÚ SANGA aus (LÚ SANGA-ša : LÚ SANGA-š=a nom.sg. + Part. -a ‘aber’), z.B. S. Alp, Tempel, 335, dort die Partikel ‘aber’ in der Übersetzung unterdrückt, oder F. Pecchioli Daddi, Mestieri, 194, welch letztere zu Recht einen ‘Priester des Stieres’ nicht kennt, vgl. op. cit., 364-367. Zu Gunsten der älteren Interpretation LÚ SANGA-ša GU₄.MAḪ kann jetzt ein neu ediertes fragmentarisches mh. Duplikat KBo 38.56 (1031/c), wohl + KBo 37.60 (1615/c) herangezogen werden, bei dem die fragliche Stelle zwar nicht erhalten, dafür aber im vorangehenden Textpassus bei GAL ME-ŠE-DI eine entsprechende Erweiterung erhalten ist, die in der jungen Niederschrift KUB 20.87 entfiel. Der Passus lautet somit (Haupttext A. KUB 20.87, Varianten nach den Duplikaten B. KBo 30.57 und C. KBo 38.56 + KBo 37.60) :

I	5	... LUGAL-uš-ša GU ₄ .MAḪ
	6	št-pa-an-ti nu GAL ME-ŠE-DI ^a GU ₄ .MAḪ
	7	ŠUM-an ^b te-ez-zi GAL ME-ŠE-DI ^c
	8	A-NA LÚ ^{MEŠ} GIŠ ^{GIDRU} te-ez-zi
	9	UGULA LÚ ^{MEŠ} GIŠ ^{GIDRU} A-NA LÚ SANGA te-ez-zi
	10	Ú ^{LÚ} GUDU ₁₂ iš-pa-an-tu-uz-zi-eš-šar ^d ŠA DINGIR ^{LIM}
	11	A-NA LÚ SANGA pa-a-i LÚ SANGA-ša GU ₄ .MAḪ
	12	št-pa-an-ti ta-an AN.BAR.aš ^e GIŠ ^{GIDRU} -it GUL-aḫ-zi
		a C I 11' GAL LÚ ^{MEŠ} ME-ŠE-DI ḫal-za-a-i
		b B I 13' ŠUM-ŠU
		c C I 12' GAL ME-ŠE-D]I-ša

d C I 13' *iš-pa-an-tu-uz[-zi-i]a-aš-šar*
 e C I 14' AN-aš

«Und der König weihet den Stier. Der Oberste der Leibgardisten nennt den Namen des Stieres. Der Oberste der Leibgardisten (Dupl. : aber) nennt ihn den Herolden. Der Vorsteher der Herolde sagt ihn dem Priester, und der Gesalbte gibt das Libationsgefäß der Gottheit dem Priester. Der Priester aber weihet den Stier. Mit dem eisernen Stabe schlägt er ihn.»

Die Sätze I 5/6 LUGAL-ušš=a GU₄.MAḪ *šipanti* und I 11/12 LÚ SANGA-š=a GU₄.MAḪ *šipanti* sind folglich parallel gebaut. Will man vermeiden, daß die gleiche Handlung an dem Stiere zweimal, zuerst vom König, dann vom Priester ausgeführt wurde, ließe sich daran denken, im ersten Satze *šipanti* als eine Art 'inneres Kausativ' zu verstehen : « Und der König läßt den Stier weihen. » Der Priester wäre dann derjenige, der die vom König dekretierte Handlung tatsächlich vollführt. So macht auch die Partikel -a 'aber' an dieser Stelle einen guten Sinn.

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109) Notes on the Kassite-Akkadian Vocabulary (BM 93005 = 82-9-18,5637) – The vocabulary was last edited by Balkan in his *Kassitenstudien*, vol. 1, pp. 3-4 (with collations by A. Sachs, *ibid.*, p. 36) and published in copy by Pinches in JRAS 1917 103 and 105. I here offer a few corrections and observations to Balkan's edition.

In line 2 of the right column, the divine name is Marduk ([^d]AMAR.UTU¹), not Enlil ; see figure 1 below. In line 21 of the right column, read *zi-na* (not *zina* ; correct in copy). In line 32 of the left column, read *ha-me-ru* rather than *ha-mi-ru* (correct in copy). In line 35 of the left column, one should consider the possibility of reading *aš-šal* in place of *aš-rak* ; this may be the element attested in the Kassite personal name Aššalban (written ^maš-šal-ban in UVB 12-13 43 : 5, dupl. MMA 61.12 : 5 ; cf. the writing ^maš-ša-al-ba-an for the name of the same person on a duck weight found near Aqar-Quf [information courtesy of Fauzi Rashid] ; a messenger of ^maš-šal-ban is mentioned in an undated Middle Babylonian account, CBS 11928 : 14). In lines 41 and 42 of the right column, read *e-te-rum* rather than *e-té-rum* (correct in copy). In the colophon in line 49, the reading [^H]a-lar-bu¹ should be discarded because it does not fit the traces, though [^da-num¹] is acceptable for the latter part of the line ; see figure 2 below.

Other readings in the text would repay further study, which I hope to undertake as time permits.



Figure 1

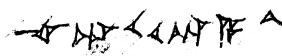


Figure 2

J. A. BRINKMAN (29-08-97)

110) Les trois Kuk-Našur – La dynastie des Epartides qui succède à celle d'Ur III en Susiane et en Elam compte différents souverains du nom de Kuk-Našur. Leur nombre varie selon les auteurs : trois pour V. Scheil (*MDP* 24 (1933) pp. II-III), pour G. G. Cameron (*HEI* 1936 244), pour F. W. König (*EKI* (1965) 5-6) et pour F. Vallat (*Mélanges J. Perrot* (1990) 127). W. Hinz (*Or* 32 (1963) 12, *CAH* III/1 (1973) 281 et *RIA* 6 (1980-1983) 302) en compte quatre comme P. de Miroschedji (*Ir Ant* 16 (1981) 2, n. 3) et E. Quintana (*Aula Or.* 12 (1994) 80) alors que J. Börker-Klähn (*UAA* (1970) Tf. 85-86) en propose cinq. Récemment, E. Quintana (*NABU* 1996/86) en assure quatre et en suggère un cinquième.

Le nombre réel des souverains portant ce nom revêt une certaine importance pour la chronologie absolue de cette période puisque l'un d'entre eux est contemporain de la première année d'Amiṣaduqa (E. Ungnad, *BA* 6/V (1909) 1-11). Il s'agit donc de l'identifier.

L'étude globale des titulatures des inscriptions royales ou des associations dans les documents économiques (en particulier *MDP* 22, 23, 24 et 28) ne suffit pas pour les distinguer clairement. Il faut recourir à l'étude des anthroponymes qui apparaissent sur tous les documents où un Kuk-Našur est mentionné. L'ensemble des attestations peut alors être réparti entre les trois personnages du même nom.

Kuk-Našur I. – Ce premier Kuk-Našur qui, sur deux tablettes (*MDP* 24, 329-330), est associé à Kuk-Nahhundi, appartient au début de la dynastie (F. Vallat, *Amurru* I (1996) 297-319). Son nom apparaît également sur une tablette scolaire (*MDP* 28 n° 8) où il est dit « fils de Silhaha ». Le seul problème en ce qui le concerne est l'attribution de la tablette *MDP* 28, 430 au nom de Kuk-^dNasir *sukkalmah*. En effet, des cinq anthroponymes contenus sur ce document, trois sont *hapax legomena*. Les deux restant Taklak et Nūr-Šamaš sont attestés dans des contextes ambigus. Il existe un Taklaku sur une tablette (*MDP* 23, 325) datée de Temti-Agun et Kuk-Našur. Mais un Taklak est également attesté sur une tablette d'époque plus récente (*MDP* 23, 174). Quant à Nūr-Šamaš, c'est un nom porté par plusieurs personnages d'époques différentes. Il apparaît sur 9 documents dont deux

peuvent être datés avec précision. La tablette *MDP* 23, 209 qui porte la mention de Temti-halki et Kuk-Naşur et la tablette *MDP* 23, 206 qui, complétée par *MDP* 23, 234, porte mention de Tan-Uli et Kuk-Naşur, alors que par ailleurs (*MDP* 28, 439) Nūr-Šamaš est associé à des personnages dont un au moins n'est documenté qu'à l'époque ancienne, ce qui viendrait confirmer la forme et la paléographie de notre document (*MDP* 28, 430) qui avait d'ailleurs été attribué à cette période par E. Salonen (*Studia Orientalia* 27/1 (1962) 30). Il s'agit d'un certain Mašum qui, en *MDP* 24, 389, est associé à Kuk-Simut, chancelier d'Idadu II, dixième roi de Simaški. On peut désormais admettre que cette tablette appartient bien au premier du nom et que celui-ci a effectivement exercé le *sukkalmahat*, ce qui n'était pas démontré jusqu'ici.

Kuk-Naşur II. – C'est le Kuk-Naşur le mieux documenté. Il est dit « fils de la sœur de Temti-Agun », alors qu'il est encore *sukkal* (en *MDP* 23, 283) et auquel il est associé dans plusieurs autres tablettes (*MDP* 23, 167, 204, 205, 325, *MDP* 24, 375 note, *MDP* 28, 406, 416 note). Mais dès qu'il exerce le *sukkalmahat*, il s'intitule « fils de la sœur de Silhaha » (*MDP* 6 p. 28, *BA* 6/V (1909) 1-11, *EKI* 48 a). Il est associé à différents *sukkal* ou *sukkalmah* dans les tablettes juridiques, en plus de Temti-Agun : à Kutir-Silhaha (*MDP* 22, 65 et *MDP* 23, 210), à Kudu-zuluš II (*MDP* 22, 32, 36, 37, 38, 67, 86, 160, *MDP* 23, 195, 215, *MDP* 24, 340) et à Sirtuh, son fils (*MDP* 22, 137, *MDP* 23, 284, *MDP* 31, p. 159).

Le seul problème qui pourrait se poser à propos de l'attribution des textes à ce *sukkalmah* est l'inscription de *MDP* 6 p. 28, dans laquelle Kuk-Naşur se dit « *sukkalmah*, *sukkal* d'Elam, de Simaški et de Suse, 'fils de la sœur' de Silhaha » qui, a priori, pourrait être également attribuée au Kuk-Naşur, fils de Tan-Uli. Mais comme ce dernier ne se réclame jamais de Silhaha, ce que fait le deuxième à plusieurs reprises, et en particulier sur le texte d'Ammišaduqa (en *BA* 6/V (1909) 3, en *EKI* 48 a, en *RA* 29 (1932) 68, en *MDP* 23, 282), cette brique peut être attribuée au deuxième du nom. Dans ce cas, les inscriptions dédicatoires de Šilhak-Inšušinak (*EKI* 38 a et 39 1) qui mentionnent la restauration du temple d'Inšušinak font allusion aux travaux effectués par Kuk-Naşur II.

Kuk-Naşur III. – Le troisième et dernier Kuk-Naşur est uniquement associé à son père Tan-Uli (*MDP* 22, 102, *MDP* 23, 178, 206) et à son frère aîné Temti-halki (*MDP* 22, 85, *MDP* 23, 207-9) et c'est l'ultime souverain de la dynastie mentionné dans la *Généalogie* de Šilhak-Inšušinak (*EKI* 48 et 48 b). Ce Kuk-Naşur III est d'ailleurs le dernier *sukkalmah* connu. C'est lui qui a marqué de son empreinte les tablettes retrouvées dans le locus 153 de la couche A XII de la Ville Royale de Suse dont une phase légèrement plus récente de la même couche a fourni le cylindre de Kidinū (M.-J. Steve, H. Gasche et L. De Meyer, *IrAnt* 15 (1980) 90-91).

En conclusion, comme le premier Kuk-Naşur appartient indiscutablement au « groupe Pala-iššan » qui est à situer au tout début de la dynastie, immédiatement après Silhaha (F. Vallat, *Amurru* I) et que le troisième règne à l'extrême fin de la période, force est de constater que c'est le deuxième du nom, le fils de Temti-Agun et le père de Sirtuh qui était le contemporain d'Ammišaduqa (F. Vallat, *Mélanges J. Perrot*, 1990, 127 avec la correction de *NABU* 1993/39).

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111) Inšušinak, Ea et Enzag – Sur la foi d'un texte de Temti-Agun, j'avais pensé que le dieu Enzag de Dilmun avait bénéficié d'un culte à Suse (*BBVO* 2 (1983) 93-100). Or, selon toute vraisemblance, je me suis trompé. En effet, ce texte, transcrit et traduit par V. Scheil (*MDP* 28, n°7) se présente ainsi :

<i>a-na</i> dŠušinak	En l'honneur du dieu Šušinak
dE-a ù EN-ZA-AG	dieu Ea et EN-ZAG
<i>be-lí-šu a-na ba-la-aṭ</i>	son seigneur (ou ses seigneurs); pour le salut de la vie
<i>Ku-te-ir-Na-ah-hu-un-d[i]</i>	de Kutir-Nahhunte, –
ù <i>Te-im-ti-A-gu-un</i>	Temti-Agun
<i>ša-al-mu-zu i-du-[ul-ma]</i>	prit soin de ses statues (ou de leurs statues) (?)
<i>bitam</i> ù <i>ma-la-kam</i>	– une maison et un déambulatoire
<i>ša e-pi-ir-tim i-pu-[uš]</i>	en briques, il a construit.

La traduction de l'auteur montre son hésitation : s'agit-il d'une seule ou de trois divinités? Il ne se prononce pas. Mais dans la première publication d'un fragment de ce texte (*MDP* 6, p. 25, Pl. 7 n° 4), V. Scheil note qu'Enzag « peut n'être qu'un attribut du dieu dédicatoire de l'inscription » et dans une première publication de l'inscription complète (*RA* 29 (1932) 69-70), il avait également émis l'hypothèse : « (ilu) Ea et EN-ZA-AG semblent être des appellatifs. » De leur côté, E. Sollberger et J.-R. Kupper (*IRSA* IV 0 8 b) considèrent que cette inscription s'adresse aux trois dieux. Quant à Kh. Nashef (*Akkadica* 38 (1984) 31), il pense que le *be-lí-šu* (« son seigneur) de la ligne 3 se rapporte à Temti-Agun ce qui impliquerait que « Enzak was the "personal god" of the ruler ».

Mais une nouvelle interprétation d'une épithète d'Inšušinak qui est dit *te-im-ti ah-pi-ra la-ha-ak-ra* :

« seigneur de la procréation et de la mort » dans un texte élamite de Šilhak-Inšušinak (*IranT* 19 (1984) 22, lignes 18-19) permet de considérer Ea et Enzag comme des épithètes d'Inšušinak.

En effet. Ea est le démiurge mésopotamien par excellence. Il pourrait donc illustrer l'aspect « procréateur » d'Inšušinak. Le problème est de savoir si Enzag, seigneur du Dilmun, peut être mis en relation avec l'au-delà. Certes, on a longtemps associé le Dilmun au « paradis » mais B. Alster (*BBVO* 2 (1983) 39-74) a montré qu'il fallait renoncer à cette hypothèse. Cependant l'étude de Kh. Nashef (*Akkadica* 38 (1984) 1-33) apporte un élément intéressant. Il parvient, en effet, à la conclusion que « Inzak was the deity of the date-palm ». Or, dans la religion élamite, le culte des morts est très étroitement associé au « bosquet » et la *ziggurat* qui est un temple funéraire (F. Vallat, *NABU* 1997/38) est entourée d'un bosquet. L'illustration de cette caractéristique élamite apparaît sur le fameux relief de Ninive (P. Amiet, *Elam*, n°430) où l'on voit que le complexe funéraire (vraisemblablement celui de Suse) est édifié au milieu des palmiers. De même, dans sa narration du sac de Suse, Assurbanipal associe les « bosquets secrets » et les « tombeaux de leurs rois anciens et récents » (J.-M. Aynard, *Le Prisme du Louvre AO 19.939* (1957) 56-57). Dans ces conditions, Enzag pourrait représenter l'autre aspect de l'épithète d'Inšušinak, c'est-à-dire l'au-delà. Si cette hypothèse se vérifiait, on pourrait alors songer à une autre interprétation du « caillou Durand » (en dernier lieu, D. Potts, *The Arabian Gulf in the Antiquity* (1990) 305). Cette pierre a été comparée à une figure de proue ou à la langue d'un animal par le capitaine Durand et a été considérée comme un pied (de statue) par K. Butz (*BBVO* 2 (1983) 119). Or, ce cône de basalte noir de 66 cm de long fait penser aux cornes de calcaire découvertes à Suse et portant une inscription de Šutur-Nahunte (*EKI* 775). Il est vrai que ces dernières, destinées au temple de la déesse Pinikir, sont un peu plus longues (environ 100 cm) et un peu plus harmonieuses mais la disposition de l'inscription est identique sur ces trois monuments. Or, les cornes, attributs des divinités, pourraient indiquer le caractère religieux des constructions (P. Amiet, *RA* 47 (1953) 28 et *RA* : 53 (1959) 42 ; D. Potts, *RA* 84 1990) 33-40 ; F. Vallat, *NABU* 1990/136) et même, en Elam, leur aspect funéraire. Dans ces conditions, force est d'admettre qu'Ea et Enzag, comme l'avait supposé V. Scheil, sont bien des épithètes d'Inšušinak et par conséquent que le seigneur du Dilmun n'a pas bénéficié d'un culte à Suse.

F. VALLAT (08-97)

112) ŠA = in_x – E. Sollberger gave in TCS I 115-16 exemples for the value e/in of the sign ŠA. He explained the value as graphie variant of ŠE+ŠA = èn. In addition to his exemples, the value in_x is attested in Ur III texts as spelling of /in/ in the verb /gin/ « to confirm, » which is more often spelled gi-in. The clearest exemple is A. Falkenstein, Neusumerische Gerichtsurkunden 201, where the formula expressing that a fact was confirmed before the judge, i.e. « it was confirmed, » is written ba-gi-ŠA instead of normal ba-gi-in. Another clear case is NG 30 : « Urmes, the slave of Hanarbubu, stated « My father was set free. » He could not confirm it (nu-un-da-gi-ŠA). PNN testified that Hanarbubu bought his father from Lugalitida. » Falkenstein interpreted the form as nominalized plural form with intervocalic loss of /n/, making the statement part of the testimony – because of the apparent nominilization – and translating « daß man ihm nicht zugestimmt hat, » which is vague and unconvincing.

The value in_x explains also the word ŠA-Za-aB-tum in an Ur III list of income of the goddess Nanaya in J.-P. Grégoire's new publication Contribution à l'histoire sociale, économique, politique et culturelle du proche-orient ancien, AAICAB I (1996) Ashmolean 1911-240 I 1-4. The word is Akkadian, but no šaZ(Z)aBtum can be found in the dictionaries. It is obviously the word *inšabtum* which designates an ornament worn by women, an earring (AHw), an « agrafe » (J.-M. Durand, ARM 26 11 :27), a « bague » (P. Talon, ARM 24 138 :2). The identification with ŠA-Za-aB-tum is confirmed by the fact that these come in pairs and that their weight and material agrees with the exemples spelled with in-.

W. HEIMPEL (10-09-97)

113) Cases of belated and premature initiative – The anguished writers of ARM 26 171, desperate for troops who could defend their city against an expected assault of Zimri-Lim, react to the indifference of their lord, who alone could save them, by quoting the proverb « Did ever a man live who died of thirst and was thrown into a river? » In order to make themselves absolutely clear they added *ištu qātam ba-i-tam i-ip-pé-šu warkānum mītum ul iballut*. J.-M. Durand translates « Une fois que (les Dieux) demandent les comptes, par la suite un mort ne revient pas à la vie. » He connected the expression *qātam ba-i-tam* with the verte *bu''û* which, when combined with the prepositional phrase *ina qātē* PN, means, according to AHw *bu''û* B 1 c, « Rechenschaft fordern. » N. Ziegler and N. Wasserman treated the expression in NABU 1994/30. They accepted the connection with *bu''û* and suggested on the basis of two partially preserved and problematic passages that « *qātum ba''ītum* » designated a « check-list » and that the check-list of the gods of ARM 26, 171 was the tablet of destinies. The passage would then mean that, once checked off as dead by the gods on the tablet of destinies, there was no chance of revival. AHw states that the noun *ba''ītu*, « das Gesuchte, » is an Assyrian derivation from *bu''û*. It was borrowed in the Babylonian dialect from MB on. The present passage might be counted as the first OB exemple, but the syntactical position of *ba-i-tam* after *qa-tam* indicates an adjective, not a noun. In light of these difficulties *ba-i-tum* should rather be understood as *bā'ītum*, the feminine form of the participle

of *bā'um*. That verb belongs roughly to the semantic area of « going along. » The passages which I understand suggest a meaning « to get somewhere first, » as said for exemple of the bitch who competes for food with her pups (ARM 26 6:18), or « to come in time » as for exemple when an instruction comes that is needed in a hurry (ARM 26 224:15). CAD collected similar references under *bā'u* 1 d and translated them as « overtake. » Accordingly, a *qātum bā'itum* would be a « hand getting somewhere first, or in time, or prior to something else. » The expression is also attested in the letter A.3362 which was edited by Durand in MARI 6, 77-79. In it the writer quoted Zimri-Lim who was unhappy about an alleged purchase of jars of wine and oil that came from Imar: *qātam ba-i-tam taškun-ma* dug gestin ù ì *tašām* « you 'set a getting-there-first hand,' and you bought jars of wine and oil. » « No, » replied the writer, « I certainly did not buy jars of wine and oil. » Durand stuck to his hypothesis and translated « tu devais te faire rendre des comptes et tu as (en fait) acheté les jarres de vin et d'huile. » For the interpretation to be clear one would have to reverse the sentences and change the first predicate from the preterit *taškun* into the present tense form: « you have bought jars of wine and oil, and you will have to account for it. » I suggest that *qātum bā'itum epēšum* and *šakānum* are two ways to express a concept close to our « to take the initiative. » ARM 26 171:15 might then be translated « Even if (literally « after ») they take the initiative (after having procrastinated for so long), the dead will not live at last » and A.3362:6 « You took the initiative (but should have consulted me first), and you bought jars of wine and oil (which you should not have done). »

W. HEIMPEL (18-03-97)

114) Ša mušen.há = Ša Hi/ušsurātīm – One of the cities of the Yaminite tribal group Yahrur in the district of Mari is written *Ša mušen.hi.a* in ARM 23 428 and 429. D. Soubeyran, who edited the texte, transcribed *Ša iššurātīm* according to the spelling *Ša Iš-šú-ra-tim^{ki}* in 23 426. Texts registering the income from silver which was paid to ransom Yaminites who were taken prisoner by Mari include ransom for a certain *Ha-lu-pi/pu-PI-mu*, man (lú) of *Ša Hu-šú-ra-tim^{ki}* (ARM 22 262 rev. IV 9' and 23 554 :21), respectively *Ša Hi-šú-ra-tim* (23 552 :3). P. Villard notes on page 526 that unpublished references to « *Ša Hušurātīm* » communicated to him by J.M. Durand prove localization close to Mari. Since the man was a Yaminite, since *Ša mušen.há* was a Yaminite city in the district of Mari, and since the lists of Yaminite cities in 23 428 and 429 do not include *Ša Hu/Hi-šú-ra-tim*, the different writings should refer to the same city. The spelling with *Hi-* shows in fact the expected vowel. It also shows that the 'ayin with which the corresponding word begins in other Semitic languages was still pronounced as written ḥ often expresses etymological 'ayin in Old-Babylonian Mari writing. The variant *Hu-* indicates a darkened /i/ which is a typical vowel coloration in position immediately before an emphatic /s/ and became phonemic in the Arabic word *'uṣṣūr*

W. HEIMPEL (12-09-97)

115) Le roi, Jupiter et l'astrologue – Tenus de ne rien cacher au roi des résultats de leurs observations, les astrologues au service des Sargonides avaient parfois à affronter des situations délicates, lorsque qu'ils pouvaient craindre que leurs conclusions ne soient mises en doute par leur maître.

Le cas est illustré par un rapport du Babylonien Munnabitū, adressé à Assarhaddon, ABL 1006 = SAA 8 316. Le message décrit d'abord une éclipse de lune, dont le caractère néfaste est heureusement atténué par la présence de Jupiter (cf. e.g. S. Parpola, *LAS* II, p. XXII-XXIII): « Jupiter était présent lors de l'éclipse [de lune]: bien-être pour le roi. Un notable important mourra à sa place » (r. 3-4: *ina an-mi* [^d30] / *mul-sag-me-gar gub-iz a-na lugal šu-lum ku-mi-šú kab-tu e-du-ú úš*). Après cette citation de la tablette XX de l'*Enūma Anu Enlil* (ACh 2 Spl. 29: 14), Munnabitū poursuivait son discours de la manière suivante (r. 5-7): *ina ugu šu-mu a-ga-a lugal ma-a'-du lu-ú ra-hu-uš a-di man-nu šu-lum / a-na lugal i-qab-bu-ú ki-i lugal i-qep-pi lugal dingir-meš šá an-e u ki-tim / šu-lum a-na lugal be-lí-ia il-tap-ra*. Si la lecture matérielle du passage ne pose aucun problème, les traductions données jusqu'à présent reflètent des interprétations divergentes. Si on laisse de côté la tentative pionnière de L. Waterman, manifestement trop éloignée du texte, les propositions qui ont été faites sont les suivantes:

i) « The king may fully trust this interpretation. If the king has confidence in whoever pays his respect to the king, the king of gods of heaven and earth shall sent peace to the king my lord. » (R. Pfeiffer, *State Letters of Assyria*, 1935, n° 322).

ii) « The king should trust this (unfavorable) omen fully – how credulous is the king as long as they tell him favorable omen! » (A.L. Oppenheim, « Divination and Celestial Observation in the Last Assyrian Empire », *Centaurus* XIV, 1969, p. 120).

iii) « The king ought to have much trust in this omen. » « How can the king believe (the omen) until someone speaks a greeting to the king? » « The king of the gods of heaven and earth sent a message (predicting) well-being to the king, my lord » (CAD Š3, 1992, s.v. *šumu*, p. 287a; CAD Q, 1982, s.v. *qāpu*, p. 93b; CAD Š3, 1992, s.v. *šulmu*, p. 252a.)

iv) « The king should have much trust in this omen. Until someone speaks a (message of) well-being to the king, how can the king trust? The king of heaven and earth sent a (message of) well-being to the king my lord. » (H. Hunger, SAA 8, 1992, p. 179).

Pour ingénieuse qu'elle soit, la traduction (partielle) d'A. L. Oppenheim ne tient pas suffisamment compte du contexte. La citation ominale qui précède est favorable au roi et l'on voit mal pourquoi l'astrologue souhaiterait insister sur le manque de sens critique de son souverain envers les bons omens. Les traductions de H. Hunger et du CAD, à peu près équivalentes, sont grammaticalement possibles, mais le raisonnement de Munnabitu n'apparaît pas très clair. Si *mannu*, «quelqu'un», renvoie au «roi des dieux», la formulation paraît inutilement alambiquée et peu révérencieuse pour la divinité. Et si *mannu* désigne un homme quelconque, Munnabitu voudrait alors signifier que n'importe quel message de bien-être suffisait à faire admettre au roi la validité d'un omen favorable. Cela reviendrait à suggérer qu'Assarhaddon était particulièrement crédule, procédé qui ne semble pas très judicieux de la part d'un serviteur royal. Il se pourrait en fait qu'A. L. Oppenheim ait eu une bonne intuition en traduisant *adi* par «as long as». Dans ce passage, Munnabitu cherche à persuader son souverain, supposé incrédule, que la présence de Jupiter durant l'éclipse en atténue réellement le caractère néfaste. Selon ma propre interprétation, il oppose donc la parole d'un individu faillible (lui-même ou l'un de ses collègues), dont le roi peut légitimement se méfier, et le message transmis par le roi des dieux, que personne ne peut mettre en doute. Dans ce contexte, le «roi des dieux du ciel et de la terre» est manifestement Marduk, dont Jupiter était l'image astrale et, en évoquant l'envoi d'un message de bien-être l'astrologue fait directement allusion à la citation ominale reproduite quelques lignes plus tôt (il utilise d'ailleurs dans les deux cas l'état absolu *šulum*). Je proposerais donc de traduire ainsi le passage :

«Le roi doit avoir pleinement confiance dans cette citation ominale. Tant qu'une personne quelconque dit "bien-être" au roi, comment le roi (le) croirait-il? (Mais) c'est le roi des dieux du ciel et de la terre qui a envoyé au roi mon seigneur un message signifiant "bien-être"».

En conclusion de son rapport, Munnabitu recommandait à Assarhaddon de se faire lire le texte à plusieurs reprises, pour se pénétrer des paroles et en discerner le caractère véridique. Cette insistance confirme que l'auteur redoutait une réaction de scepticisme de la part de son maître. Devant un phénomène aussi spectaculaire et inquiétant qu'une éclipse, le roi avait naturellement tendance à s'inquiéter et à vouloir immédiatement recourir aux solutions les plus radicales, comme le couronnement d'un roi-substitut. Mais dans les cas où les séries ominales ne prévoyaient pas une menace directe pour la vie du monarque, cette hâte risquait de perturber le bon gouvernement du pays et pouvait aussi conduire à négliger d'autres rituels qui, du point de vue des devins, étaient mieux adaptés à la situation. C'est le cas de figure que documente LAS 298 (= SAA 10 90), lettre d'Akkullānu datant du début du règne d'Assurbanipal. L'auteur s'emporte contre la décision de placer un roi-substitut sur le trône et après avoir rappelé, tout comme Munnabitu, la citation de l'*Enūma Anu Enlil* concernant la visibilité de Jupiter lors d'une éclipse de lune, essaie d'apporter la preuve expérimentale de sa validité : «Le roi a-t-il prêté attention (à ceci)? Un mois complet ne s'était pas encore écoulé que son chef juge mourrait!» (r. 12'-14' lugal *be-lí uz-nu is-sa-ka-a-na / ú-dí-na* iti ud-meš *la-a il-la-ka /* ^{lu}*sar-ti-nu-šú mé-e-te*). Ces exemples montrent que pour les astrologues, les plus mauvaises nouvelles n'étaient pas forcément les plus délicates à annoncer. Altérer l'humeur du souverain en lui parlant de mauvais présages n'avait bien sûr rien de réjouissant, mais il était peut-être encore plus malaisé de le rassurer lorsque des signes inquiétants s'étaient manifestés. C'est pourquoi Munnabitu, jugeant la tâche trop ardue pour un homme, invoque dans cette entreprise le témoignage du «roi des dieux du ciel et de la terre».

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116) *Andurârum* de printemps à Mari ou à Burundum? – P. Marelo a récemment publié une lettre de Liqum, sœur du roi de Mari Zimrî-Lîm et épouse d'Adal-senni roi du Burundum (M.8161, *MARI* 8, p. 455-459). Liqum demande à son frère de lui envoyer un présent qui, d'après *ARM* 10 140 relevant du même dossier, pourrait être une *kezertum*. A l'appui de sa demande, elle déclare (l. 19'-21') : *ʾat-ta ti-dîʾ ki-ma munus-tur-[meš], [a-n]a igi ša-na-at ke-em i-na an-du-ra-[ri-im i-na é-kál-lim (?)], ú-šé-e*, «Toi, tu sais que les fillettes, au début de l'année, au moment de l'*andura[rum]*, sont sorties [du palais (?)]».

L'expression *a-na igi šanat* n'est pas répertoriée par les dictionnaires ; la forme habituelle est *pan* (= *igi*) *šattim*, qui désigne le début de l'année (CAD Š/2 p. 198b : «Spring» ; AHw, p. 1201a : «Frühjahr») ; par ailleurs, *šanat* pouvant être employé à l'état absolu pour désigner la durée d'une année, il faut sans doute y voir une forme mixte de ces deux emplois.

Les dates de proclamation des édits de *mīšarum* babyloniens, lorsqu'elles sont connues, se placent en début d'année : celui d'Ammititana prend effet à partir du mois i (§2) ; celui de l'an 8 de Samsu-iluna est daté du mois iii. Dans le calendrier de Mari, à l'époque de Zimrî-Lîm, l'année commence au printemps, comme dans le comput baylonien ; l'*andurârum* évoqué par Liqum doit donc avoir lieu dans les premiers mois, soit au printemps. Il peut évidemment s'agir d'une coïncidence. Mais s'il y a choix de la date, celle-ci aurait une portée symbolique, le printemps marquant à la fois un nouveau commencement et le retour d'un cycle, à mettre en rapport avec l'étymologie même du terme (D. Charpin, *Afo* 34, 1987, p. 38-41 et *NABU* 1990/64). D'autre part, le rituel du lever de la torche d'or, lié aux édits babyloniens, semble avoir un caractère solaire marqué, Šamaš étant à la fois le dieu-soleil et le dieu de la justice (J. J. Finkelstein, «Some New *mīšarum* Material and its

Implications », *Mél. B. Landsberger* = AS 16, Chicago, 1965, p. 233-246 ; W. H. van Soldt, *AbB* 12 172 et compte-rendu par D. Charpin, *RA* 87, 1993, p. 87).

La question du lieu de proclamation de cette *andurârum*, Mari ou à Burundum, est impossible à trancher, vu l'état fragmentaire du passage (P. Marelli, p. 457). Les deux hypothèses sont pourtant également intéressantes.

S'il s'agit d'une *andurârum* mariote, Liqum voudrait signaler à son frère qu'elle est parfaitement consciente du caractère exorbitant de sa demande, dans un contexte où le palais de Mari doit précisément manquer de serviteurs. Dans *ARM* 10 140, Zimri-Lim affirme ne pouvoir accéder à la requête de sa sœur, mais pour une autre raison : le pillage du palais au moment du départ de Yasmah-Addu. S'il faut cumuler les deux phénomènes, le palais de Mari a dû connaître un grave déficit de domestiques à cette époque. La lettre de Liqum, qui date du début du règne, se référerait à la première *andurârum* décrétée par Zimri-Lim, peu de temps après son avènement (D. Charpin, *MARI* 6, p. 267-268 ; B. Lion, *NABU* 1993/111). La précision « au début de l'année » ne permet pas d'affiner la datation, car Zimri-Lim monte sur le trône très peu de temps avant le commencement d'une année (D. Charpin et J.-M. Durand, *MARI* 4, p. 326).

S'il s'agit en revanche d'une *andurârum* décrétée par le roi de Burundum, la demande de Liqum se justifie par le fait qu'elle a vu la domesticité de son palais diminuer. Burundum serait à ajouter à la liste des États pratiquant l'*andurârum*, qui ne se limiterait donc plus aux régions de Babylonie et de Syrie, Burundum se situant vers le Haut-Tigre. On rappellera à cet égard que quelques siècles plus tard, la pratique de l'*andurârum* est connue en Transjordanie, puisqu'elle est documentée par les tablettes de Nuzi.

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