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NOTES BRÈVES

118) The incipit of Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdana – In her edition of *Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdana* (OPBF 2), Berlin restores the first line of the composition from the notation on the edge of ms. C : gi₄-ba (= incipit ; cf. Sjöberg Temple Hymns 149) sig₄ mūš za-gin-t[a è-a] « Brickwork rising out of the shining-plain. » In her commentary (p. 61), however, she notes that the incipit appears differently in the three literary catalogues in which it occurs. In the Philadelphia and Louvre catalogues, it is entered as sig₄ kur-šuba(ZA.MŪŠ/MŪŠ)-ta ; in the Ur catalogue UET 6 123 the entry is sig₄ MAH.KI-ta, which Berlin, following S. Cohen ELA 145, emends to sig₄ šubar(ZA.MŪŠ)ki-ta (Cohen refers to Sollberger TCS 1 for šuba as a writing for Subir). The only other witness to the incipit is ms. B (VAS 17 39), which begins with a clear sig₄ followed by two Winkelhacken which must be part of a kur whose third wedge was obscured and is probably what the copy represents as the head of a horizontal wedge beneath hatching. The two Winkelhacken cannot be part of the sig₄ ; see the clear photo of the sig₄ on the edge of ms. C in Berlin pl. 1, showing the end of the sign as two parallel horizontals, and all of the Winkelhacken and diagonal wedges clustered toward the sign's beginning. Thus, line 1 of ms. B is to be read sig₄ ku'r-šuba-ta èl-a, i. e. exactly as the Philadelphia and Louvre catalogues. That this, « Brickwork emerging from the pristine mountain, » is the correct incipit, is almost certain. Note the strong association of kur-šuba with Inana in the references collected by Wilcke Lugalbandaeopos 200f. and Sjöberg Temple Hymns 113, and note that Uruk is called kur-sikil « pure mountain » in l. 7 of the text under discussion here. Somehow, ms. C reversed the signs KUR ZA MŪŠ (= kur-šuba) to MŪŠ ZA KUR (= mūš za-gin), either on the edge notation only, or perhaps on the fragment's missing 1. 1 as well.

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119) Kannte man in Mesopotamien das 364 Tage-Jahr wirklich seit dem 7. Jahrhundert v.Chr.? – Mit seinem Aufsatz *Two New Ziqa-STAR Texts and Stellar Circles*¹ wollte W. HOROWITZ eine wichtige Entdeckung gemacht haben : Seit dem 7. Jahrhundert v.Chr. war in Mesopotamien das 364 Tage-Jahr bekannt². Jetzt liegt eine weitere Arbeit des Verfassers vor, die das damals Gesagte untermauern und den Zusammenhang mit dem 364 Tage-Jahr Qumrans wahrscheinlich machen soll : *The 360 and 364 Day Year in Ancient Mesopotamia*³. Aber auch diesmal muß der Argumentation HOROWITZ's entschieden widersprochen werden⁴.

1) Wir lesen : « Note also indirect evidence for the 364 day year in Genesis 7-8 where the flood begins in the Noah's 600th year on Day 27 of Month 2 (Gen. 7 : 11) and ends in Noah's 601st year on Day 27 of Month 2 (Gen. 8 : 14), i.e., what would appear to be twelve lunar months (approximately 354 days) plus ten additional

days = 364 days. »⁵

Diese Rechnung stimmt nicht. HOROWITZ übersieht, daß der 1. Fluttag selbstverständlich zugleich der 1. Tag der « approximately 354 days » ist. Somit: 17.II. (= Tag 1 des Flutgeschehens) + 353 Tage = 16.II. des darauffolgenden Jahres + 11 Tage = 27.II. (= letzter Tag des Flutgeschehens). Gesamtsumme der Tage folglich 365⁶.

2) Wir lesen: « This 364 day approximation of the mean lunar year finds expression ... in the seventh century *ziqpu*-star text *AO 6478 II K. 9794*, where an annual circuit of the *ziqpu*-stars is measured as 364° (i.e., 364 days according to the rule of 1° stellar movement equals one day) »⁷.

Der Text *AO* 6478 = *TU* 21 ist ein *Rechentext*. Aufgabe war die Umwandlung und Addition von Sterndistanzzahlen in verschiedenen Meßsystemen. Deshalb ist der Schluß voreilig, daß die *Rechensummen* von *AO* 6478 Rev. 25 auch über die wahre, für die Rechenaufgaben herangezogene Jahresstrecke der *zigpu*-Gestirne etwas aussagen müßten⁸. *TU* 21 Obv. 5 mit Rev. 3-14 belehrt uns eines andern:

Obv.	5	<i>ma-na</i> KI.LÁ	UŠ <i>i-na qaq-qa-ri</i>	DANNA [<i>ina šamē</i>]
Rev.	3	[]	10 UŠ <i>i-na</i> TA mulGÀM	KIMIN 18 LIM DANNA <i>ina</i> EN mulRIT GÀM
	4			
	5	[]	1-DANNA <i>i-na</i> TA mulRIT GÀM	KIMIN 54 LIM DANNA <i>ina</i> EN mulMAŠ.TAB.BA
	6			
	7	[]'	5 UŠ <i>i-na</i> <i>bi-rit</i>	KIMIN 9 LIM DANNA <i>ina</i> mulMAŠ.TAB.BA
	8			
	9	3 <i>ma-na</i> [] "	2/3 DANNA <i>i-na</i> TA mulMAŠ.TAB.BA EGIR-i	KIMIN 36 LIM DANNA <i>ina</i> EN mulALLUL
	10			
	11	3 <i>ma-na</i> 1/3 <i>ma</i> "	2/3 DANNA <i>i-na</i> TA mulALLUL	KIMIN 36 LIM DANNA <i>ina</i> EN 2 MULmeš šá SAG.DU mulUR.GULA
	12			
	13	1 2/3 <i>ma-na</i> "	10 UŠ <i>i-na</i> TA 2 MULmeš šá SAG.DU	KIMIN 18 LIM DANNA <i>ina</i> EN mul4 šá GAB-šú
	14			
			mulUR.GULA	

Obv.	5	Minengewicht	Ellen auf Erden		Meilen [am Himmel]	
Rev.	3	[]	10 Ellen auf vom Krummholz	dto.	18000 Meilen am bis zur Hand des Krummholzes ⁹	dto.
	4					
	5	[]	1 Meile auf von der Hand des Krummholzes	dto.	54000 Meilen am bis zum Zwilling	dto.
	6					
	7	[]	5 Ellen auf zwischen	dto.	9000 Meilen am dem Zwilling	dto.
	8					
	9	3 [Minen] [] "	2/3 Meile auf vom Hinteren Zwilling	dto.	36000 Meilen am bis zum Krebs	dto.
	10					
	11	3 Minen 1/3 Mine "	2/3 Meile auf vom Krebs	dto.	36000 Meilen am bis zu 2 Sternen des Hauptes des Löwen	dto.
	12					
	13	1 2/3 Minen "	10 Ellen auf von den 2 Sternen des Hauptes des Löwen	dto.	18000 Meilen am bis zu den 4 (Sternen) seiner Brust	dto.
	14					

Auswertung : AO 6478 benützte das Formular : Kulminationsdistanz « von (TA) Gestirn x bis zu (EN) Gestirn y, von (TA) Gestirn y bis zu (EN) Gestirn z »¹⁰. Allerdings bei *einer* Ausnahme¹¹ : Rev. 7-8. Eigentlich wäre nach dem Formular zu erwarten : ⁷5 UŠ *īl̄na* KIMIN ⁸TA mulMAŠ.TAB.BA EN mulMAŠ.TAB.BA EGIR-*i*, also : ⁷5 UŠ *aluf* dto. ⁸vom Zwilling bis zum Hinteren Zwilling ». Aber statt dessen heißt es : ⁷5 UŠ *īl̄na* KIMIN ⁸bīrit mulMAŠ.TAB.BA » ⁷5 UŠ *aluf* dto. ⁸zwischen dem Zwilling ». Was besagt das? Erstens : Das Formular ist *durchbrochen*, denn es steht nicht da : « TA ... EN ». Zweitens : Weil « TA ... EN » nicht dasteht, sind die 5 UŠ von Rev. 7 nicht, wie sonst alle anderen Zahlen im Text, als *ziqpu*-Sterndistanz zu verstehen. Als was dann? Einzig mögliche Antwort : als Abstand *zusammengesessener* und *-gehöriger* Sterne. Daraus folgt : Wenn die

Angabe 5 UŠ ... *bīrit mulMAŠ.TAB. BA* « 5 UŠ ... zwischen dem Zwilling », einen Sinn gehabt hat, dann bezeichnete *mulMAŠ.TAB.BA* nicht nur den ersten Stern des babylonischen Sternbilds, d. h. den Vorderen Zwilling (= Castor = α Geminorum), sondern *beide* Zwillingssterne, den Vorderen *und* den Hinteren Zwilling (= Pollux = β Geminorum)¹². Die 5 UŠ sind der Abstand « zwischen dem Zwillingsgestirn » aus Vorderem und Hinterem Zwilling ; aber eben nicht in der Bedeutung einer *ziqpu*-Sterndistanz, weil, wie gesagt, zum einen das Formular durchbrochen, zum anderen der Hintere Zwilling im Gestirn *mulMAŠ.TA.BA* immer schon *inbegriffen* ist. Genau darum ist dieser Hintere Zwilling auch das *ziqpu*-Gestirn¹³, zu dem und von dem aus gemessen ist, wenn es Rev. 5-6 heißt : 1-DANNA (= 30 UŠ) ... TA *mulRIT GÀM EN mulMAŠ.TAB.BA*, und Rev. 9-10 : 2/3 DANNA (= 20 UŠ) ... TA *mulMAŠ.TAB.BA EGIR-i EN mulAL.LUL*¹⁴. Nur diese 30 und 20 UŠ sind als *ziqpu*-Sterndistanzen zu zählen, nicht die 5 UŠ ... *bīrit mulMAŠ.TAB.BA*. Fazit : Rechensumme (PAP, akk. *naphar*) 364 UŠ minus 5 UŠ = 359 UŠ = 359° = wahre Jahresstrecke der *ziqpu*-Gestirne¹⁵. Und rechnen wir mit HOROWITZ 1° Sternbewegung = 1 Tag, kommen wir somit zu 359, nicht zu 364 Tagen.

3) Wir lesen : « A Mesopotamian ideal mean lunar year of 364 days (12 lunar months = 354 days plus 1/3 ideal lunar month [= 10 days]) »¹⁶, und : « This 364 day approximation of the mean lunar year finds expression ... in *Mul-Apin* II ii 11-12 (Hunger-Pingree *Mul-Apin* 94) « You proclaim a leap month (every) three years ; the amount for (one) year is 10 additional days for 12 months » (i.e., 354 days + 10 days = 364 days) »¹⁷.

Die Beschränkung auf MUL.APIN II ii 11-12 isoliert diese Textstelle und ignoriert den Kommentar MUL.APIN II ii 13-17¹⁸. Daran änderts nichts, daß HOROWITZ jetzt mit dem « ideal lunar month » von 30 Tagen argumentiert¹⁹. Es macht die Sache nur schlimmer. Denn erstens : Er muß diesen Monat *dritteln*, um zu den 10 benötigten Tagen zu kommen. Das ist aber gegen die Überlieferung : MUL.APIN II ii 11-16 gewinnt besagte 10 Tage durch Rechnung mit dem 360 Tage-Jahr aus 12 Monaten à 30 Tagen. Und zweitens : Er *kombiniert* den idealen 30 Tage-Monat mit Mondmonaten von 29 1/2 Tagen. Das ist erneut gegen die Überlieferung, denn *alle* 12 Monate (*ITI(meš)*) von MUL.APIN II ii 12 und 16 sind 30 Tage-Monate²⁰, und obendrein ein circulus vitiosus : Werden den 12 Monaten von MUL.APIN II ii 12, statt mit vom Kontext her geforderten 30 Tage-Monaten zu rechnen, 29 1/2 Tage-Monate *unterstellt*, müssen bei Addition von zusätzlich 10 Tagen natürlich 364 Tage herauskommen.

Zusammenfassung : Der Ursprung des 364 Tage-Jahrs Qumrans, wie überhaupt des Wissen um ein 364 Tage-Jahr sind weder im 7. noch im 6. Jahrhundert (Exil Israels!) v.Chr. in Mesopotamien zu entdecken.

Anhang. Wir lesen : « Two surviving Mesopotamian arithmetic systems describe this lunar phenomenon ; one for the night of the full moon at the equinoxes when the moon is visible for 180 units (Table I, System I), and a second for the night of the Winter Solstice when night is measured as 240 units long (Table I, System II) »²¹.

In einem *Excursus I : Models for Solar and Lunar Visibility* diskutiert HOROWITZ die Sichtbarkeitsdauer des Mondes und gibt dazu in einer Tafel die Zahlenreihen der Mondtafeln EAE 14 Table A und K 90 wieder²². Er sieht darin zwei « arithmetic systems », wobei « System I », so die Zahlenreihen von Table I, mit einer täglichen Retardation des Mondes von 12 UŠ = 48^m, « System II » mit einer solchen von 16 UŠ = 64^m rechnet²³. HOROWITZ beruft sich dazu auf Al-RAWI/GEORGE²⁴. Doch deren berechtigte *Bedenken* gegen Text K 90 (HOROWITZ's « System II ») : « The many manifest errors in the table and the curious subscript of omens also suggest that K 90 was a scribal practice », und : « But the explanation of this lunar table is probably that it was the work of a scribe who made exactly this error, misunderstanding the figure of sixteen UŠ as the daily interval of the moon's retardation, and extrapolating a lunar table along the lines of EAE XIV Tables A and B²⁵ », bleiben unangesprochen und unberücksichtigt²⁶. Fazit : HOROWITZ's Table I ist samt Kommentar verfehlt und wertlos.

1. JCS 46 (1994), 89-98.

2. Ebd. 94 ff.

3. JANES 24 (1996), 35-44 ; s. vor allem 35 Abstract ; 41. Im folgenden *The 360 ...*

4. S. J. KOCH, AO 6478, MUL.APIN und des 364 Tage-Jahr, NABU 1996/111. Im folgenden AO 6478, MUL.APIN ...

Im jetzt vorliegenden Beitrag beschränke ich mich auf die 364 Tage-Thematik und die Würdigung von *Excursus I, The 360 ...*, 41-43, obwohl auch zu HOROWITZ's sonstigen Ausführungen Kritisches zu sagen wäre.

5. *The 360 ...*, note 2 (36).

6. So z.B. auch *Reclams Bibellexikon* (Stuttgart 1978), 233 a : « Die Sabbatwoche wurde » (nach 600 v. Chr. ; d. Verf.) « unabhängig von Jahres-Anfängen und Mondstellungen im Siebennerrhythmus durchgezählt. Hierbei dominierte noch der Mondlauf, doch versuchte schon die Priesterschrift, damit ein Sonnenjahr von 365 Tagen zu verbinden (1 Mose 7, 11 ; vgl. mit 8, 14 ; schon 5, 23). »

7. *The 360 ...*, 41. Wir vernachlässigen im folgenden die Mit-Zitation von K 9794 als neuassyrischen Paralleltextes von AO 6478, weil es sich um ein Fragment handelt.

8. Zum Text AO 6478 s. auch J. SCHAUMBERGER, *Die Ziqpu-Gestirne nach neuen Keilschrifttexten*, ZA 50 (1952), 214-222. Im folgenden *Die Ziqpu-Gestirne ...*

9. *mulRIT GÀM* war die « Hand », nicht der « Handgriff » (so SCHAUMBERGER, *Die Ziqpu- Gestirne ...* 222) des

Krummholzes, ihre Sterne θ und v , nicht β und π Aurigae (ebd. 222) ; s. meinen Aufsatz *Die Bedeutung von ina UGU tur-ri ... in zwei Astronomical Diaries*, WO (im Druck).

10. Vgl. auch ebd. 215.

11. Es ist die *einige* Ausnahme im gesamten Text AO 6478.

12 Daß ^{mul}MAŠ.TAB.BA den Hinteren Zwilling einschließt, bestätigt expressis verbis die *ziqpu*-Sternliste VAT 16436 = Warka 13200, Vs. 10, die unter ^{mul}MAŠ.MAŠ die Gottheiten beider Zwillingsterne namentlich aufführt : ^{mul}MAŠ.MAŠ ^dNabû u ^dNergal. S. auch *Die Ziqpu-Gestirne* ..., 226-227.

13. Auch im Sternenkatalog BM 78161, 4 f. ist der Hintere Zwilling, nicht dagegen der Vordere Zwilling *ziqpu*-Gestirn, s. meinen Aufsatz *Der Sternenkatalog BM 78161*, WO 23, 1992, 55. 66.

14. Das steht im Einklang mit dem *ziqpu*-Text VAT 16437 Rs. 1-2 (*ziqpu*-Meßwert von ^{mul}rit-tú gam-l[u] zum ^{mul}ma-a-[ši] wegen Textbeschädigung zwar nicht mehr verfügb-, doch erschließbar, s. *Die Ziqpu-Gestirne* ..., 215. 224-225) und wird vom astronomischen Befund bestätigt, s. SCHAUMBERGERs Daten ebd. 229 zu XVII-XX.

15. Das für die Jahresstrecke von 360 UŠ = 360° fehlende 1 UŠ dürfte auf einen (Ab-)Schreibfehler sub *ma-na* KI.LÁ zurückzuführen sein, der dann in die UŠ- und DANNA-Umrechnung mitgenommen wurde. Leider ist der nach Kulminationsdistanzen konforme *ziqpu*-Text aus Babylon, VAT 16437, gerade an den Stellen zerstört, wo UŠ-Abstände unter 10 UŠ (s. dazu TU 21 Obv. 5-7. Rev. 23) notiert waren, die also Aufschluß über die Abweichung von 1 UŠ hätten geben können ; s. dazu *Die Ziqpu-Gestirne* ..., 215. 224-225.

16. *The 360* ..., 35.

17. Ebd. 41.

18 So schon *Two New Ziqpu-Star Texts and Stellar Circles* 94 b. S. aber MUL.APIN II ii 13-16 und AO 6478, *MUL.APIN* ..., 98 (sub 2).

19. Daß HOROWITZ jetzt vom «ideal lunar month» spricht, ist neu. Er scheint damit, ohne mich zu zitieren, auf meine entsprechende Kritik in AO 6478, *MUL.APIN* ..., 98 (sub 2) zu reagieren.

20. S. wiederum AO 647, *MUL.APIN* ..., 98 (sub 2).

21. *The 360* ..., 42.

22. Kein bibliographischer Nachweis HOROWITZ's, nur Hinweis auf F.N.H. AI-RAWI/A.R. GEORGE, *Enūma Anu Enlil XIV and Other Early Astronomical Tables*, AFO 38/39, 1991/92, 55. 67-68.

23. Diese Interpretation findet sich, von HOROWITZ unerwähnt, z.B. schon bei B.L. van der WAERDEN, *Erwachende Wissenschaft*, Bd. 2 : *Die Anfänge der Astronomie*, Basel-Stuttgart 1968, 85 f. mit Tafel 6, ist aber unhaltbar, s. u. Anm. 25 u. 26.

24. *The 360* ..., 42 notes 27 u. 29.

25. *Enūma Anu Enlil XIV and Other Early Astronomical Tables* 67.

26 S. meinen Aufsatz *Wache und Mine im antiken Mesopotamien*, AfO, (im Druck).

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120) Kleine Notizen zu Atram-ḥasīs – In einem von Adam Jones herausgegebenen Bande zum Thema «Weltende» (Wiesbaden 1998) finden sich Überlegungen zu Struktur und Inhalt und zu einigen auch durch die neuen jungbabylonischen Textzeugen aus Sippir (s. A. George/F. al-Rawi, Iraq 58 [1996]: jB-Si-1 – jB-Si-5) aufgeworfenen Fragen von Textverständnis und Übersetzung des Atram-ḥasīs-Epos. Hier sollen drei weitere kleine Beiträge folgen. Die Textsiglen der Edition von Lambert/Millard, Atr. behalte ich bei, erweiterte sie aber um Hinweise aus Sprachstufe und Herkunft:

« Pflanzen kommen nicht heraus, kein Getreide wurde gesehen » und nimmt für « *i'rū* » einen « Lautübergang von m > ' » an, « der jedoch nach GAG § 31 nur intervokalisch bekannt ist ». Wie diese Form dann von *amāru* « sehen » abgeleitet werden kann, sagt sie nicht.

Die Übersetzer sehen in *šu-ú* meist ein aus sum. š e entlehntes Wort für Getreide. Dessen Existenz hat A. Cavigneaux, *NABU* 1989/52, in Frage gestellt (s. auch CAD Š/2 *še'u*, discussion); M. P. Strecker, BiOr 54 (1997) 147f., hält es dagegen wieder für wahrscheinlich. Das CAD geht seit 1968 andere Wege und erklärt 1992 s.v. *še'u* «barley, grain» (Š/2 354) neuassyrische syllabische Schreibungen des Wortes für nichtexistent. AHw hatte die Zeilen unter *še'u* II «eine Getreideart» als «unklar» gebucht.

Die Kollation von CAD am Photo kann ich beim besten Willen nicht verifizieren. Angesichts der Ähnlichkeit der Zeichen A' / I' / U' und IM wird man annehmen dürfen, daß in einem der beiden eine Verschreibung vorliegt. Bislang ging man wegen des parallelen *waṣū* «herauskommen» von *âru* «vorangehen» aus.

Dieser Ansatz wird angesichts der altbabylonischen Version aber fraglich. Dort heißt es in Tafel II D iv 5-6 = HE iv 2-3 (B. Groneberg, Études Garelli 398) mit der neuen jungbabylonischen Parallele aus Sippir (5. Tafel [jb-Si-5], 112; George/al-Rawi, Iraq 58 [1996] 184):

Groneberg: « keine Pflanze sproß hervor, Menschen wurden nicht gesehen »

jB-Si-5 *ina me[?]-ri-ti šam-mu ul us-sa-am-ma* šu-ú ul x (x) x

George/al-Rawi « in the pasture grass was not sprouting and cereals(?) did not grow(?) ».

8

Der Redakteur der jungen Fassung verstand den vorgeränderten Text offensichtlich nicht mehr und fand die unerwartete Nennung der Menschheit im Kontext austrocknender Felder so befremdlich, daß er unter Tilgung des *ni*- und bei minimaler Veränderung der Verbalform einen neuen Sinn entdeckte. Die Lesung mit einem [m]-haltigen Silbenzeichen muß die ursprünglichere sein; eine eventuell intendierte Lesung šu'ū ul i'rū könnte nur als tertiäre Neuinterpretation angesehen werden.

In Text nA-K-S ist also *im-ru* als korrekte Lesung anzusetzen, und die bisherigen Deutungen von *šu-ú* lassen sich nicht aufrecht erhalten. Ich lese darum *šu'u ul imru* «das Schaf wurde nicht fett» – ein naheliegender Konsekutivsatz zu «keine Pflanze (oder: kein Gras) sproß hervor». Denkbar sind auch Plurale (*šu'ū ul imrū*), doch ist ein generischer Singular ebenso wie bei *šammu* gut möglich.

2. Altbabylonische Version, Taf. II D iv 12 = HE iv 9 und Taf III v 45 (C_1 v 18''):

B. Groneberg, Études Garelli 399, liest iv 9 des Tafelbruchstücks HE 529 (Kopie J.M. Durands auf S. 409) mit den in Text D fehlenden Zeilenenden der Kolumnen iv und v der II. Tafel als «*x (Rasur) wa-at-ru*».

D iv 11-12 ergänzt durch HE iv 8-9 (// jB-Si-5, 115'-116' // nA-K-S vi 3'-4') wäre demnach zu lesen:

aB *ša-lu-uš-tum ša-at-tum il-li-ka-am-ma*

i-na bu-bu-tim zi-mu-ši-na x(= Rasur) wa-at-ru

jB-Si-5 šá-lul-tum MU.AN.NA i-na ka-šá-di

ina bu-bu-ú-tum zi-mu-ši-na it-tak-ru

nA-K-S EŠ₅ MU.AN.N[A *i-na ka-šá-di*]

ni-šu i-na [bu-bu-te zi-m]u-ši-na it-tak-ru

« das dritte Jahr kam heran, und vor Hunger treten ihre Züge hervor »

(Groneberg, oc. 399)

« das dritte Jahr kam heran ; da waren infolge Hungers ihre Gesichtszüge überscharf geworden »

(W. von Soden, in : TUAT III/4 (1994) 632).

« When the third year came, their features were distorted from hunger »

(B. Foster, Muses, 176)

Die jungen Versionen weichen nur leicht ab:

« Als das dritte Jahr eintraf, veränderten sich (nA-K-S : bei den Menschen) ihre Gesichtszüge. »

Von den Gesichtszügen der Menschheit spricht das Atram-hasīs-Epos auch im Zusammenhang mit dem Ende der beiden ersten Plagen in I 415 und II D ii 35 (jB-K-Q = der jungbab. Kuyunjik-Text Q):

aB I 415	<i>[da¹-am-qu²-tum z[i-mu-ši]-n-a it-tu-ru]</i>
jB-K-Q 3'-4'	<i>[dam-qu¹-tum zi-mu-ši-na] it-TAM-ru</i> (oder : <i>it-tú-ru?</i>)
aB II D ii 35	<i>[da-am-qu²-tum zi-mu]-ši-na it-ťtu¹-ru</i>
jB-Si-5, 39	<i>dam-qu¹-ťtu¹-tum zi-mu-ši-na it-tu-ra</i>
aB/jB-Si	« Ihre Gesichtszüge wurden wieder schön. »
jB-K-Q	« Ihre schönen Gesichtszüge wurden (wieder) hell? »

Die für eine Rückkehr der Schönheit der Gesichtszüge nötige vorherige Veränderung wird bei den

ersten beiden Plagen nicht erwähnt; bei der dritten ist sie aber in jB-Si-5, 116 expressis Verbis genannt: *ittakrū* « sie veränderten sich ». Der dazu parallele altbabylonische Ausdruck in D iv 12 = HE iv 9 « ihre Gesichtszüge waren mehr/größer » wird von B. Groneberg und W. von Soden geschickt interpretiert (Foster folgt den jungen Versionen), der singuläre Gebrauch von *watāru* für das postulierte Hervortreten oder schärfer Werden der Gesichtszüge und die Stativ-Form bleiben aber unerklärt.

Die m.E. nächstliegende Lösung des Problems bietet eine Formulierung der III. Tafel, die abermals von den Gesichtszügen der Menschheit spricht :

III v 45 *el-lu-tum zi'l-mu-si-na i'-a-ad-ru*
 « Now their clean faces have become dark »

(Lambert/Millard, Atr. 99)

« (Now) their bright faces are dark (forever) »

(Dalley, Myths 33)

« À présent, les visages des hommes ont disparu dans les ténèbres »

(Bottéro, Lorsque les dieux ... 553)

« (dadurch) wurden ihre Gesichtszüge verdunkelt »

(v. Soden, TUAT III 642)

« So now (the people's) clear countenances are turned grim »

(Foster, Muses₂ 183).

Hier ergibt sich die exakte Bedeutung von *ellu* aus dem Gegensatz zu « dunkel werden » und aus der Parallel zu *damqu* in I 415 und II D ii 35. Es geht nicht um Reinheit oder Sauberkeit sondern um das helle Leuchten des Gesichtes eines gesunden Menschen. (Die Lesung *it-tam-ru* in jB-K-Q wird damit eine plausible Neuinterpretation der alten, in jB-Si-5 auch jungbab. überlieferten Lesart.) Die Dunkelheit der Gesichter ist – die Menschheit ist ja (bis auf die Bewohner der Arche) in der Sintflut umgekommen – die fahle Gesichtsfarbe von Toten, die Leichenblässe. Mit demselben Verbum spricht Gilgameš in GE VIII ii 14 über den toten Enkidu: *ta'-ad-ram-ma ul te-šem-[me ...]* « Du wurdest mir fahl und hörst [mich] nicht ». Daß Blässe als « dunkel werden » verstanden wurde, zeigen auch die Vergleiche mit der Schnittfläche einer Tamariske (s. CAD N niksu 3c). In III v 45 ist darum zu übersetzen :

« Ihre leuchtend hellen Gesichtszüge wurden fahl »

Danach kann man auch in D iv 12 = HE iv 8 lesen :

i-na bu-bu-tim zi-mu-ši-na i'-a-ad-ru

« Vor Hunger wurden ihre Gesichtszüge fahl »,

(falls nicht nach III v 45 zu *i'-a'-ad-ru* zu konjizieren ist). Statt einer Rasur wäre ein verdrücktes Zeichen AH anzunehmen. Die Schreibung mit [ā] (= WA) paßt gut zum spätbabylonischen Datum der Abschriften des Atram-ḥasis-Epos.

Der Dichter spielt hier, wie so oft in diesem Epos, mit Wörtern und ihren Bedeutungen, um Sinnzusammenhänge aufzuscheinen zu lassen : Der Iterativstamm von *na'duru* « sich beunruhigen », « sich ärgern » ist das Verbum für die Reaktion Enlils auf den Menschenlärm, und mit *na'duru* « leichenblaß werden » reagieren die Menschen auf Enlils Plagen, werden ganz grau im Gesicht vor Hunger und sind schließlich nach der Sintflut fahle, blasse Leichen.

3. Die Wächter des Kosmos.

Nach zwei vergeblichen Plagen will Enlil die Menschheit mit einer noch größeren Hungersnot als dritter Plage heimsuchen und fordert die Götterversammlung auf, Wächter für Himmel, Erde und Wasserfluten einzusetzen, was auch geschieht (Taf. II, Kol. ii ; Passus nur jungbabylonisch und partiell ‘neuassyrisch’ erhalten ; Komposittext aus jB-Si-5, 51-58 ; jB-B-x Rs. i' 4'-11' ; jB-B-y 1-8 ; nA-S v 1'- 2' ; jB-B-x/y sind Texte x und y aus Babylon ; 'jB-B-y' ist nach J. van Dijk, VS 24 S. 13 zu Nr. 93 altbabylonisch!) :

51	<i>qí-ba-a-ma li-iş-ṣu-ru dA-num u dAdad e-le-n(i)</i>
52	<i>dSin u dNergal(U.GUR) li-iş-ṣu-ru KI-tim qab-li-tim</i>
53	<i>ši-ga-ru na-aḥ-ba-lu tam-tim</i>
54	<i>dÉ-a li-iş-ṣur(/ṣu-ru/ṣú-ru) qá-du (lāḥ-mi-šú)</i> (—————)
55	<i>iq(/qí)-bi-ma iş-ṣu-ru dA-num u(/ù) dAdad e-le-n(i)</i>
56	<i>dSin(dEn-líl[]) u dNergal(U.GUR) iş-ṣu-ru KI(er-še)-tim qab(/q[á]-li-tam</i>
57	<i>ši-ga-ru na-aḥ-ba-lu(/lum) tam(/ta-am)-tim</i>
58	<i>dE-a iş-ṣur(/ṣu-ru/ṣú-ru) qá-du(/da) lāḥ-(mi-šú)</i>

51 « Sagt, daß Anum und Adad oben wachen sollen,

- 52 daß Sin und Nergal die mittlere Erde bewachen sollen,
 53 daß die Riegel und Schlingen des Meeres
 54 E'a zusammen mit seinen *lāymū*-Wesen bewachen soll.
 (—————)
 55 Er sagte es, und da wachten Anum und Adad oben,
 56 da bewachten Sin und Nergal die mittlere Erde,
 57 (und) Riegel und Schlingen des Meeres
 58 bewachte E'a zusammen mit seinen *lāymū*-Wesen.

Die Nennung von Enlil in 'jB-B-y' spricht für das von van Dijk angenommene altbabylonische Datum des Textchens.

Die jungbabylonische Fassung bleibt bei den Wiederholungen dieses Abschnittes in der Auseinandersetzung zwischen Enlil und E'a/Enki (bis auf durch Sprecherwechsel bedingte Unterschiede in Person und Tempus) mit einer Ausnahme dieser Textgestalt treu; die Ausnahme ist jB-B-x Rs. ii' 16' [a-na dA-ni]m² taq-bi-ma dAdad iṣ-ṣur e-le-nu «Du hast [zu Anum?] gesprochen und (er?) hat Adad oben bewacht». Die altbabylonische Fassung in den Quellen D und HE formuliert aber (D v 16'-19' = HE v 2'-5'):

iṣ-ṣū-ur A-nu dAdad e-le-nu
 ḥa-na-ku¹ aṣ-ṣū-ur er-ṣel-tam ša-ap-li-ta
 a-ša-ar dEn-ki [i]l-li-ku-ma
 ḥip¹-tū-ur ul-l[a a]n-du-ra-ra iṣ-ku-un

« Es bewachte Anu den Adad oben ;
 Ich bewachte die unten (gelegene) Erde ;
 Dort, wohin Enki gegangen ist,
 löste er das Band, schuf 'Freien Lauf'. »

und (D v 30-32 = HE v 16'-19 = D vi 25-28 ; Komposittext) :

iṣ-ṣū-ur A-nu dAdad e-le-nu
 a-na-ku¹ aṣ-ṣū-ur er-ṣe-tam ša-ap-li-ta(/tam)
 a-ša-ar at-ta ta-al-li-ku-ma
 [ta-a]p-tū-ur ul-la an-du-ra-ra ta-aš-ku-un

« Es bewachte Anu den Adad oben ;
 Ich bewachte die unten (gelegene) Erde ;
 Dort, wohin du gegangen bist,
 löstest du das Band, schufst 'Freien Lauf'. »

Nach der altbabylonischen Fassung haben also die dem Anfang des Epos zufolge für die drei Sphären des Kosmos zuständigen Götter ihre Bereiche zu bewachen, damit die geplante Hungersnot der Menschen nicht wie zuvor unterlaufen werden könnte. Für die zweite Plage war Adad zuständig gewesen, und er hatte sich durch Geschenke von seinem Auftrag abbringen lassen, wie schon zuvor Namtar; darum muß er, der potentielle Bringer von Regen und Tau, nunmehr bewacht werden. Die bisherigen Übersetzer dieser Passagen (B. Groneberg, o.c., W. von Soden, o.c., B. Foster, o.c.) verstehen trotz der singularischen Verbalform die Namen *Anu dAdad* als Asyndeton.

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121) EA 293 – The name of the author of letter EA 293 is partly broken, but may safely be restored ^{md}[IM].DI.KUD (Ba'lū-shipti) (for discussion, see S. Izre'el, *Tel Aviv* 4 [1977], 159-60 ; W.L. Moran, *RA* 69 [1975], 153-54 ; idem, *The Amarna Letters*, 1992). The first part of the letter (lines 1-13) is easily read. After the opening formula (lines 1-7), Ba'lū-shipti cites the royal letter (« guard the place of the king where you are ») and assures the Pharaoh that he is guarding it « day and night » (lines 8-13). This part of the letter is closely related to lines 17-26 of Ba'lū-shipti's other letter (EA 292).

The second part of the letter (lines 14-22) is partly broken and was never restored. Following is a suggested restoration for these lines, with translation and notes.

(14) [ù] i-nu-ma (15) [ša-par] LÚ.KÚR L[UG]AL EN-ia (16) [a-wa-t]e^{meš} [u]l k[i-t]e (19) ḥa-wa-[te-š]u a-nu-ma
 (20) [ra-aš-pa]-te-ši a-[d]i (20) [yi-ka-aš]-ša-ad (20) [ERÍN^{meš}] pí-ṭa-t]a [ù]? aš-t[i]-m[i] (21) [a-wa-at LUGAL] EN-

[i]a (22) [a-di yu]-kaš-ši-id

Translation : « Since the enemy of the king, my lord, sent words, his words are not true. Now, I built it, until the arrival of the archers. And I obey the order of the king, my lord, until he arrives ».

Notes : It seems that the tablet was in a better condition when Winckler and Abel copied it and that lines 16-17 may be restored in light of their facsimile (WA 21). For line 15, see Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, No 293 n. 4. Knudtzon restored a ši sign in line 20, which may also be the beginning of an ù sign. For line 21, see line 8.

The passage in lines 14-22 deals with the same problem as EA 292 : 26-40. The designation « enemy of the king » refers to Maya, the Egyptian official mentioned in EA 292 : 33. Ba'lu-shipti has accused him of overcoming Man'atu, the fortified camp that he built for the archers, and placing his commissioner there (for the toponym, see R. Zadok, *UF* 27 [1995], 627-28). Maya, no doubt, answered the accusations and vilified the ruler of Gezer before the Pharaoh. In the restored passage, Ba'lu-shipti first attacks the Egyptian official and accuses him of telling lies. He then emphasizes that he has fulfilled the royal order to build a fortified camp and that he obeys the Pharaoh's orders until his arrival (on the expectations for the arrival of the Pharaoh, see N. Na'amani, in T. Abusch a.o. (eds.), *Lingering over Words*, 1990, 404).

Letter EA 293 no doubt follows EA 292 and refers to the same matters that are discussed in more detail in lines 17-40 of the latter.

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122) Dative-Locative - (i)š+um-ma in Naram-Sin's Inscription C 1 – Steve Tinney has published an interesting and convincing article in JCS 47 (1995), which states that OB literary text G of « the Great Rebellion against Naram-Sin » (RA 70, 107) originated from one of Naram-Sin's real inscriptions, FAOS 7, Naram-Sin C 1 (Gelb and Kienast, p. 226). He presents, in p. 9, the parallel lines of text G and NS C1. My translation of the parallel lines of the two texts is as follows.

G 26-28 : *Iphur-Kiš ... a-na šar-ru-tim iš-šu-ma*, « They (the people of Kish) raised Iphur-Kish to the kingship. »

NS C 1 : 11-20 [*i-nu?* in *Kiški Ip-hur]-kiš sar-ru₁₄-zum-<ma> i-ši-ù ù in Unug^{ki} Amar-gírid sar-ru₁₄(uru_{xa})-zum-ma i-ši-ù, « [... in Kish], they raised Iphur-Kish to the kingship, and in Uruk, they raised Amar-girid to the kingship. »*

In order to understand *i-ši-ù*, « they raised », as the third person single of *našū* « to raise », Gelb/Kienast put [*i-nu?*], « [when?] », in the damaged line 11, so *iššiū* is not in third person plural but in single subjunctive : « [when?] Iphur-Kish assumed his own kingship ». However, the restoration of [*i-nu?*] is not certain. The reason they treat *iššiū* as « he assumed », not « they raised », is that they consider « *zum-ma* » of *sar-ru₁₄-zum-ma* as *-su₁₄-(ma)* = *su-(ma)*, « his », treat it as the object of the verb and translate the phrase as « his kingship ». However, there is no *ZUM* (*-su₁₄?*) for suffix *-šu* « his » in any other texts in Old Akkadian, and, according to Gelb MAD 2, 129 8)-13), the *-šu* « his » of the Ur III Akk./OB is always written *-su* in Old Akkadian. Moreover, the *-ma* is usually not after *-šu*, but after the locative-adverbial *-um*, such as *an(n)ûm-ma < annûm+um+ma* = **ana annîm*, « to this (letter) », and *amārum-ma* (<*amārum+um+ma* = *ana amārim*) *āmur-šu* (the infinitive construction), « As (my) seeing, I saw him indeed », in the OB letters (see GAG 66b). Hence, it seems to me that the verb *iššiū* is the third person plural of *našū*, and *sar-ru₁₄-zum-ma* is equal to *ana šarrûtišu*, « to the kingship », since *-zum-ma* of *sar-ru₁₄-zum-ma* is the dative post-position (terminativ-adverbial in GAG) *-iš* plus locative post-position *-um*, *-(i)š+um-ma* = *šum-ma*, which after the *-t* sound of *sarrūt-* became *(i)z+um-ma* : **sarrūt+(i)š+um-ma* > *sar-ru₁₄-zum-ma* = *sarrūz-zum-ma* = Ur III/OB *šarrūs-sum-ma*. For *-šum* (*iš+um*)-(ma) in Old Akkadian and Old Assyrian, see MAD 2 145, GAG 67g and GKT 66-67. For *t+š* = *z+z* in OAkk. = Ur III *-s+s*, see MAD 2 122. Hence, both sentences in the Old Babylonian text G of « the Great Rebellion » and the Old Akkadian Naram-Sin C1 can be translated as « they raised Iphur-Kish to the kingship ». My guess is that when the Old Babylonian scribe of text G adapted his lines from the old text of Naram-Sin C 1, he changed the rare *sarruzzum-ma* in Old Akkadian into the normal « *ana šarrūtim* » in Old Babylonian, which supports the idea that text G is made from Naram-Sin C 1. URU×A (ru₁₄), perhaps, can be read *rut_x* (=URU×UT?) and the phrase is *sar-rut_x-zum-ma*.

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123) Sargonic Numeration Revisited – In a recent discussion of problematic numeration in Sargonic royal inscriptions, C. Wilcke (ZA 87 [1997], 18 with note 31) insists that « das Zahlensystem nur 5×600 erlaubt » and that higher combinations are « ausgeschlossen. » Lest this gain gain currency, one should note that in Old Akkadian, as opposed to Sumerian, inscriptions, the sign 3600 is not regularly used, so combinations of up to nine 600-signs can be found, followed by a 6000-sign. For example (line numbering after Kienast, FAOS 7 [1990], 165), PBS V 34 vi 44 has 9×600 GURUŠ (Akkadian) where PBS V 34 v 37 has $3600+3 \times 600$ ÉRIN (Sumerian), reign of Sargon ; (Kienast, p. 202) PBS V 34 xxi 31 : 9×600 LAL 120 LÚ × KÁR, reign of Rimush (and many others). In the instances cited, Poebel's copies accurately represent the numeration ; there can be no valid reason to doubt the use of Akkadian numeration in Akkadian inscriptions of Naram-Sin. As to why Akkadian did not normally use a 3600-sign but preferred multiples of 600 and a 6000-sign, I have no proposal : perhaps Akkadian numeration had a greater tendency towards decimal structure.

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124) PĀNI comme préposition dans l'accadien périphérique du Bronze Récent¹ – En accadien, c'est bien connu, le substantif *pānu* « face » fait partie des expressions prépositionnelles *ana pāni* « en disponibilité de, pour » et *ina pāni* « face à »². La possibilité d'un manque de préposition dans le dernier cas est un trait propre à l'akkadien du premier millénaire³. Néanmoins, on constate l'emploi de *pāni* au lieu de *ina pāni* déjà au deuxième millénaire dans l'accadien de Boghaz-Köi⁴ et dans quelques textes de la Syrie du Bronze Récent :

- à Alalah, dans l'inscription d'Idrimi (ligne 33) : *ù pa-ni HUR.SAG Ha-zi a-na tá-bá-lì ak-šu-ud* « et face au mont Cassius j'ai atteint la terre ferme »⁵,
- toujours à Alalah, dans le texte juridique *455 (lignes 14-15) : *NP₁ ù DUMU^{meš} NP₂ / pa-ni NP₃ DUMU NP₄*⁶,
- dans la lettre RS 20.16, provenant de Qadeš et trouvée à Ougarit (lignes 41-42) : *ù EN-ia pa-ni ŠEŠ^{meš}-ia / lu-ú la-a ú-ba-ša-an-ni* « Alors, que mon maître ne me fasse pas honte face à mes frères »⁷,
- dans l'inscription M.6525 de Sfiré, datée du début de la seconde moitié du II^e millénaire⁸ (lignes 3-4) : *É [DI]NGIR-ti-šú ab-ni / ALAM-ia pa-ni-šú ul-zi-iz* « j'ai construit le temple de sa divinité ; j'ai dressé ma statue devant lui »⁹.

On pourrait donc proposer les hypothèses suivantes. L'emploi de *pāni* comme équivalent de *ina pāni* trouve son origine dans l'accadien syro-anatolien du Bronze Récent. Ce fait lexical découlait de l'observation de la part des scribes périphériques de l'emploi prépositionnel de *māhrū* « face » dans l'accadien mésopotamien, où l'on trouve *māhar* et *māhrī* plus suffixe avec le même sens que *ina māhar* (*ina māhar* plus suffixe) « devant, en face de »¹⁰. Les scribes en ont probablement déduit qu'on pouvait employer *pāni* sans préposition avec valeur prépositionnelle de la même manière qu'on utilisait *māhar* sans préposition avec la même fonction¹¹.

1. Note rédigée pendant un séjour d'études effectué à Paris avec le soutien de la *Dirección General de Enseñanza Superior del Ministerio de Educación y Cultura de España*, grâce au *Programa Sectorial de Becas de Formación de Personal Investigador en el Extranjero*. Je remercie le Professeur J. Huehnergard (Harvard University) pour avoir bien voulu discuter avec moi le contenu de cette note et me faire profiter de ses suggestions. Bien entendu, la responsabilité reste la mienne.

2. W. von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*, *AnOr* 33/47, Roma 1969 (= *GAG*), § 115 1.

3. Cf. W. von Soden, *GAG* § 115 1 ; *AHw* p. 822a sub 25 (j/spB, nA).

4. R. Labat, *L'akkadien de Boghaz-Köi*, Bordeaux 1932 (= *AkkBo.*), p. 180.

5. On retrouverait à nouveau *pāni* sans préposition à la ligne 4 du même texte si l'on accepte la lecture *IGI* (= *pān*) proposée par l'auteur de l'*editio princeps*, S. Smith, *The Statue of Idri-mi*, London 1949, p. 14, 105, lecture suivie par E. L. Greenstein-D. Marcus, *The Akkadian Inscription of Idrimi*, *JANES* 8 (1976), p. 71, mais rejetée par G. H. Oller, *The Autobiography of Idrimi: A New Text Edition with Philological and Historical Commentary*, University of Pennsylvania, Ph. D. 1977, p. 19, 25, et M. Dietrich – O. Loretz, *Die Inschrift der Statue des Königs Idrimi von Alalah*, *UF* 13 (1981), p. 204, 210. À la ligne 36 la préposition *ana* précède *pāni* : *alpī ù immerī / a-na pa-ni-ia ub-lu-ú-nim*.

6. D. J. Wiseman, *Supplement Copies of Alalakh Tablets*, *JCS* 8 (1954), p. 1 ; G. Giacumakis, *The Akkadian of Alalah*, The Hague 1970 (= *AkkAl.*), p. 42.

7. J. Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* V, Paris 1968, p. 118-119 (n° 38).

8. D. Arnaud, L'inscription du torse viril M.6525 de Sfiré (Syrie), *AuOr* 5 (1987) p. 144. W. von Soden et W. Röllig, *Das akkadische Syllabar*, Roma 1967, p. 27, ont suggéré une datation au cours du I^{er} millénaire.

9. D. Arnaud, *AuOr* 5 p. 143.

10. W. von Soden, *GAG* § 115 j ; *AHw* p. 585a B ; *CAD* M/1 p. 106-107 ; J. Aro, *Studien zur mittelbabylonischen Grammatik*, *StOr* 20, Helsinki 1955 (= *StOr* 20), p. 106, avec citation d'un exemple intéressant par rapport à l'inscription de Sfiré : *ma-har DINGIR-šu uš-zi-iz* « er hat vor seinen Gott aufgestellt » (*MDP* II, 18, 5).

11. A Alalah, par exemple, on emploie *maħar* et *ana /ina pāni* comme des synonymes, cf. J. Aro, Remarks on the Language of the Alalakh Texts, *AfO* 17 (1954-1956), p. 364, G. Giacumakis, *AkkAl.* p. 41. Néanmoins, l'usage de *maħar* avec ou sans préposition dans l'accadien périphérique n'est pas uniforme. À Ugarit on ne rencontre que *maħar* sans préposition, cf. J. Huehnergard, *The Akkadian of Ugarit*, Atlanta 1989, p. 189, W. H. von Soldt, *Studies in the Akkadian of Ugarit. Dating and Grammar*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1991, p. 460-461. A Boghaz-Köi et dans les lettres d'El Amarna on n'emploie *maħar* qu'avec préposition, cf. R. Labat, *AkkBo.* p. 160, A. F. Rainey, *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets*, Vol. III, Leiden 1996, p. 44.

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125) A Nebuchadnezzar II Brick Inscription – The royal inscription presented in the following dates to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (605-562 B. C. E.) and is currently in private possession. The cuneiform text is stamped on the face of a mud brick a considerable portion of which is now broken away. The fragmentary piece measures 15.1 × 11.9 × 5.3 cm ; the measurements of the preserved section of the stamp impression are 6.5 × 6.9 cm. The brick renders a variant of Nebuchadnezzar's standard inscription classified as « Nebuchadnezzar II no. 41a » by Christopher B. F. Walker.¹

[^dAG-ku-dúr-ri-ÙRU]
[LUGAL Ba-bⁱ[i-lukⁱ]
za-ni-n[u] É-[SAG-ÍL]
ù É-ZI-D[A IBILA]
5 SAG.[KAL] šá [^d]A[G-IBILA-ÙRU]
LUGAL Ba-bⁱ[i-lukⁱ ana-ku]

Translation : I am Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who provides for Esagil and Ezida, foremost son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon.

1. See Christopher B. F. Walker, *Cuneiform Brick Inscriptions in the British Museum, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the City of Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, the City of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery* (London : British Museum Publications Limited, 1981), 85 no. 103. (with duplicates and previously published secondary literature).

For a recent study focusing on the typology and chronological significance of the individual variants of Nebuchadnezzar II's standard brick inscription, see Jeremy A. Black, « Brick Stamps of Nebuchadnezzar, » in Jeremy A. Black et al., *Habl as-Šahr 1983-1985 : Nebuchadnezzar II's Cross-Country Wall North of Sippar*, Northern Akkad Project Reports, vol. 1 (Ghent : University of Ghent, 1987), 26-28.

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126) a-na 1/2 GÍN-šú GAL-bi – This formula denotes one of the most frequent neo-Assyrian rates of interest.¹ Since Ungnad's suggestion,² it is translated as « (the silver) shall increase by 1/2 shekel (per shekel) »³ and is interpreted as referring to an interest rate of 50 per cent.⁴ The expression was studied in detail by Postgate, who tried to explain the role of the word GÍN, which has no parallels in formulas denoting the rate of interest. His conclusion was that the sign for a half is identical with that for 1 BÁN and this ambiguity was resolved by using the GÍN, as a post-determinative.⁵ There is, however, a much simpler way of explaining the phrase. In some early neo-Babylonian texts, partly from the time of Assyrian domination, we find the same expression, with the complement that the half shekel is to be paid per mina and per month.⁶ On the basis of these texts, I have proposed elsewhere to interpret the phrase in the same way in neo-Assyrian context as well.⁷ The Assur texts edited recently now furnish evidence for this interpretation.⁸ From the 34 documents containing a rate of interest four have 1/2 shekel in the appropriate formulas.⁹

text	capital	formula	translation of the editors
101	1/2 mina	1/2 GÍN šá ITU-šú GAL-bi	« It will increase by half shekel per month. »
102	8 shekels	šum-ma la-din 1/2 GÍN šá ITU-šú GAL-bi	« If he fails to give back, it will increase 1/2 shekels monthly. »
106	10+n shekels	šum-ma NU i-din a-na 1/2 GÍN-šú GAL-bi	« if he fails to give it back, it will increase by one-half. »
137	10 shekels	1/2 GÍN šá ITU GAL-bi	« It will increase by one-half shekel per month. »

From a comparison of texts 101, 102 and 137 it becomes clear that the half shekel designates the rate of interest (and not the interest as the translation seems to suggest), since 30, 8 and 10 shekels are unlikely to yield the same interest (which would be a yearly rate of 20, 75 and 60 per cent respectively). The fact, that we now have three neo-Assyrian tablets from the same city and from the same century with the same unabbreviated form as we found in the neo-Babylonian texts mentioned above, is a strong argument in favour to interpret the formula in text 106 as an abbreviation of this phrase. What we might have here is an abbreviated version of the complete phrase, known to everybody, which denoted the rate of interest in the neo-Babylonian period : *šá ITU ina UGU-hi 1 ma-né-e n GÍN KU₃-BABBAR UR₅.RA ina UGU-hi (-šú) GAL-bi (i-rab-bi/bu)* « it will increase monthly per mina n shekels of silver as interest to his debit », preserved in this form in a couple of texts.¹⁰ Consequently, the phrase *a-na 1/2 GÍN-šú GAL-bi* is to be interpreted with reference to the whole formula in neo-Assyrian texts as well, and should be translated as « it will increase (monthly per mina) by half shekel ». If we survey the magnitude of the rate of interest in the corpus we find that all¹¹ but n° 106 have 25 percent of interest or less.¹² It would be most surprising to find one case of the otherwise unattested 50% of interest in these texts, and the same conclusion is valid for the texts edited earlier.¹³ Taken together, these observations may serve as the final proof for the above interpretation. This means that the rate of interest involved in this expression in neo-Assyrian texts¹⁴ is 10 per cent annually, which is, to my knowledge, the lowest Assyrian rate of interest documented so far in the first millennium. Although Assyrian interest rates are thought to be higher than the Babylonian ones, the lowest Assyrian rate corresponds exactly to the lowest neo-Babylonian one.¹⁵

1. Its incidence rate is approximately the same as that of the phrase *ana mithar*, both expressions being often mentioned in addition to the most common 25 per cent interest rate.
2. *ARU* n° 260 « wächst es um 1/2 Sekel davon an (d. i. pro Sekel?) ».
3. *TH* 101, *BT* 108, *SAA* 6 234, etc.
4. See lastly R. M. Jas, *SAAS* 5, p. 18, n. 10 and F. M. Fales, *op. cit.* (note 8 below), p. 89, both referring to *FNALD*.
5. *FNALD*, p. 40.
6. *UET* 4 78 (year x+3 of Nabopolassar); *VS* 4 10 (year 6 of Nebuchadnezzar), see also *VS* 4 3 (year 9 of Šamaš-šum-ukin).
7. In footnote 27 of my paper « The Mina of Carchemish in the Neo-Assyrian Sources », forthcoming in *SAAB*.
8. K. H. Deller, F. M. Fales, L. Jakob-Rost, « Neo-Assyrian Texts from Assur. Private Archives in the Vorderasiatisches Museum of Berlin », Part 2, *SAAB* 9, 1995 [1997], p. 3-88.
9. There is yet another text, n° 123, which has 1/2 shekel as well, but this has to be studied separately.
10. E.g. A 119 (Joannès, *Borsippa*, p. 280); *BE* 10 3; *CT* 49 34; 111; 121; *Camb.* 428; *Dar.* 23; 437; 458; 529; *SCT* 94, etc., sometimes a little bit abbreviated as in Stolper, *Late Texts*, App. 2, n° 10; sometimes formulated as an annual interest, that is yearly 12 shekels : *NCBC* 8405 (Joannès, *Borsippa*, p. 353); *SCT* 82; *TCL* 13 202; *VS* 4 64, etc.
11. Not counting n°s 105 and 120 (*ana mithar*) and 110 and 128 (interest in kind).
12. 25% : n°s 67, 68, 69, 82, 84, 86, 88, 94, 95, 96, 107, 112, 113, 114, 117, 118, 125 and Appendix 1 and 2
- 20% : 108, 115 and 123; 16,66% : 70, 87 and 138; 12,5% : 121; 10% : 101, 102 and 137.
13. « Neo-Assyrian texts from Assur... », Part 1, *SAAB* 5, 1991, p. 3-157. Leaving aside the cases with *ana mithar* and *esip* and also some problematical rates of interest (n°s 25 and 38), in most of the cases we find 25% interest : n°s 14; 23; 32; 45; 60; 62 and 9661b (App. 1); 16,66% is documented in n° 64, and 12,5% in 19; 24 and 65; 10% (1/2 GÍN-šú) occurs just in one case (n° 9).
14. *BT* 101; 108; 120; *NALK* 233; 357; 388; 390; 404; *NATAPA* 1 9; *RA* 65, p. 85-87; *SAA* 6 36; 64, 143; 221; 234; 293; *SAAS* 5 7; *TH* 101; 102 etc.
15. There is only one neo-Babylonian text I know of that has a lower rate of interest, *VS* 4 4, where the 5 shekels per year correspond to a 8,33 per cent rate of interest. This texts was written under Assyrian rule as well.

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127) A Canaanite Indefinite idiom in the Amarna Letters – A recurrent idiom in the Amarna letters follows the pattern NOUN NOUN-*ma*. Here are the attested instances :

- (1) EA 147 : 7(Tyre) : *be-li* ^dUTU *ša it-ta-ši i-na muh-hi KUR ma-ta-ti i-na UD-mi* ^ù *UD-mi-ma ki-ma ši-ma-*
at ^dUTU *a-bu-šu SIG₅*
- (2) 147 : 28 (Tyre) : *ha-ad-ia-ti MA.GAL* ^ù : *a-ru-ú i-na UD-mi u U[D-mi]-ma*
- (3) 146 : 16 (Tyre) : PN *i-[ša-ap-par a-na]* *ia-ši i-na UD-mi [u UD]-mi-ma*
- (4) 109 : 24 (Byblos) : *ar-na ar-[na-ma]* *tu-ba-ú-na*
- (5) 109 : 54 (Byblos) : *du-na du-na-ma [ú]-ba-ú a-na-ku [a-n]a EN-ia*
- (6) 113 : 13 (Byblos) : *ya-aš-[ku-nu] lum-na lum-na-ma a-na ia-ši*
- (7) 116 : 41 (Byblos) : PN *lum-na lum-na-ma [ya-aš-ku-un] muhhi-ia*
- (8) 108 : 60 (Byblos) : *[ú]-ul ia-aš-ku-un lum-ni [lum-ni]-ma i-na ŠÀ-bi-ka*
- (9) EA 33 : 27 (Alashiya) : MU.KAN ú MU.[KAN-ma] DUMU *ši-ip-ri-ia-ma [a-na pa-ni-ka] li-li-ki*
- (10) EA 33 : 31 (Alashiya) : DUMU *ši-ip-ri-ka ip-pa[-x]* MU.KAN MU.KAN-ma *i-pa-ni-ia li-li-ki-ma*

- (11) EA 38 : 11 (Alashiya) : LÚ.MEŠ ša KUR *lu-uk-ki ša-at-ta ša-ta-ma i-na KUR-ia URU si-ih-ra i-lí-qi*

A general consensus seems to have been reached about the meaning of the idiom. When it refers to time, it is always translated as an « iterative » idiom : « Tag für Tag » and « Jahr für Jahr » (Knudtzon) ; « day by day » and « year by year » (Albright, Moran, Rainey), or also « day after day » and « every day » (Oppenheim, Rainey), « daily » (Moran, Rainey). When it refers to other nouns, it is translated as a « cumulative » idiom : « Frevel, Frevel », « Macht, Macht », « Böses, Böses » (Knudtzon) ; « crime upon crime », « evil upon evil » (Moran, who has once « power, only power »), « more and more crimes » (Rainey : AfO 36-37 [1989-90] 60).

Nevertheless, the idiom has never been properly analyzed. Even in the lengthy treatment recently devoted by A.R. Rainey to *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets* (= CAT), one would look in vain for a chapter or a paragraph related to it. A propos of the Tyre passages, Rainey (CAT III, p. 135) discusses the old proposal advanced by Albright, to assign to the NOUN NOUN-*ma* pattern an assumed (but halas undocumented) Egyptian origin for an expression which should be rendered in « good » Akkadian as *ūnišam* (as in fact done in EA 148 : 24 UD-*mi-ša-ma*, by the same Tyrian scribe). The alternative proposal by Rainey himself, to assign to the idiom a Canaanite origin, is based on Hebrew expressions (*yôm yôm* and *yôm wayôm*) lacking the distinctive feature of the final *-ma*.

Yet some thirty years ago (RSO 39 [1964], 199-202) I suggested to compare the Ugaritic indefinite idiom *bnš.bnšm* (NOUN NOUN-*ma*) or *mnk.mnkm* (PRONOUN PRONOUN-*ma*), both meaning « anybody » to the similar Akkadian pattern, attested especially in Old Assyrian in expressions like *ina kār kār-ma* « in every harbour » (cf. GAG § 62.g). The indefinite nuance of the final *-ma* is well known to Semitic philologists since long, and has a sound comparative basis in Arabic and other Semitic languages. The Ugaritic expression *bnš.bnšm / bunušu bunušu-ma* / means properly « man – man – whoever (he may be) », or simply speaking « any/every man », i.e. « everybody » or in the negative « nobody ».

It is evident that the same pattern (clearly West-Semitic in origin) is operating also in the Amarna passages listed above, and that their meaning is therefore « (in) any/every NOUN » – a meaning well fitting the relevant passages :

- (1) « My lord is the Sun who comes forth above the countries every day, according to the destiny of his good father, the Sun. »
- (2) « Since the royal breath came forth above me, I enjoyed much and I ... (Egyptian? gloss) every day. »
- (3) « PN writes to me every day. »
- (4) « They seek (to accomplish) every frevel, they are enemies against me. »
- (5) « That one is a man who seeks evil in his hearth, while I seek every strength/power for my lord. »
- (6) « What did I do to PN, that he puts every evil against me? »
- (7) « Strong is the enmity against me, PN puts every evil against me! »
- (8) « Do not put any evil in your earth! »
- (9) « Let my messenger come to you every year! »
- (10) « And you too, in the future(?) let your messenger come to me every year! »
- (11) « People of the Lukka-land every year take a small town in my land. »

It is true that such translations are not too different (in most cases) from those previously based *ad sensum* on the context ; but a proper linguistic analysis of the pattern can enforce our understanding of the idiom, and provide an additional paragraph to Canaanite syntax.

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128) Rib-Adda's alleged political Suicide – EA 138, the last and longest among Rib-Adda's letters to Pharaoh, contains a detailed and lively account of the political struggle inside Byblos, following Rib-Adda's journey to Beirut and the subsequent usurpation by his brother. It seems clear that the usurper, while letting Amorite troops into the city to support his own usurpation, also propagated the rumor of Rib-Adda's death (be it physical or political, see below) in order to convince his citizens that they had no alternative option. When Rib-Adda appeared again and asked to be admitted back into the city, the Byblos citizens questioned the usurper about the truth of Rib-Adda's alleged death. This is the key passage : « Wasn't it that our lord died?¹ – since (in fact) you did say : Rib-Adda is dead, *ki-ka-nu iš-tu qātē-šu!* » (64-69). A similar sentence is repeated again in a partly broken passage : « ... otherwise the city would say : Rib-Adda is dead, *ki-[ka-nu iš-tu qātē-]šu* » (111-112).

The word *kikanu* makes a problem. Until now two solutions have been suggested : (1) To take it as a first person plural of the permansive of an unknown verb or substantive, to be translated *ad sensum* : « We are free from his hands! » This is the traditional solution, from Knudtzon to Moran, although it has never been clearly explained. (2) An alternative explanation has been suggested by CAD K, 351 and accepted by Rainey : AfO 36-37 (1989-90), 63, on the basis of the alleged particle *kīka* « like » : « (Those) like us (are) free (lit. out of his hands) »². Both solutions seem unsatisfactory ; notice that the idea of « being free » is common to both

proposals, but is just deduced from the *ištu qātē-šu* which follows.

I have an alternative proposal, namely to read the *ki-ka* sequence as an ideographic writing : KI.INIM = *šēbu*, in the sense of « old man ». It is well known that in peripheral Akkadian the ideographic writings for *šēbu* « elder, old man » and for *šēbu* « witness » are easily mixed in their use (cf. CAD Š/2, 399). I suggest to refer *šēbu-nu* to Rib-Adda, and also to refer *ištu qātē-šu* to the really extant verb *mīt* and not the alleged idea of « being free »³. My translation of the debated passage is : « Rib-Adda, our old-man, died by his own hands! » Notice that the epithet of Rib-Adda as « the old man » is also attested in another letter (EA 126 : 46 ; cf. also EA 137 : 29) and could have been the current and derogatory term his citizens used to refer to him.

The sense we get is quite clear, and much better than the traditional one. The point is that Rib-Adda « died », i.e. went ruined, because of his own behavior. Of course we could understand such a statement in its physical sense, and imagine that the usurper disseminated the rumor that Rib-Adda suicidated, out of despair. Such a rumor proved false when the king came back to Byblos, well alive. But it is much better to understand the « death » in its political sense – a sense which is well attested in various texts of the time (cf. e.g. my *Prestige and Interest*, 233). The usurper's message (or rumor) is that Rib-Adda, because of his journey to Beirut, had made the fatal mistake to exclude himself from the city, thus committing a « political suicide ». On the other hand the city fears that he could still be able to recover thanks to Egyptian aid, and retaliate for the treachery (cf. lines 67-69).

1. This is a quite clear example of *allū(me)* meaning « Is it not (that) ...? », pace Brown : Maarav 4 (1987), 201-219 and Rainey : UF 20 (1988), 214-219 ; CAT III, 159-167.
2. The very existence of the particle *kīka* is doubtful, cf. Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, 4 fn. 10.
3. On the ambiguous meaning of EA *ištu* (= Canaanite *min*) as both « from » and « through, by » cf. VO 2 (1979), 66-67.

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129) The father of Lab'aya – EA 252 is one of the most difficult letters of the entire Amarna corpus. A seminal article of W.F. Albright (BASOR 89 [1943], 29-32 ; cf. ANET, 486) advanced the understanding of the central part of the letter ; but the final part remained quite obscure, with the alleged presence of personages (« god », « father », and « despoilers ») not fitting into the expected logic of the letter (Albright's translation is followed by Campbell, *Shechem*, 195-196 ; and still by Hess, AOAT 42, 96). Substantial advances in the understanding of the final passage have been done thanks to Moran's emendation of *i-bi* into *i-pé-<šu>* (*The Amarna Letters*, 306) and by Halpern and Huenergard interpretation of *i-li* as a form of *le'û* (Or 51 [1982], 227-230). I think that the understanding becomes quite satisfactory by adding still another emendation, namely *a-<ia>-bi-ia* « my enemies » instead of the otherwise unattested « father »¹.

The general sense of the entire letter becomes quite clear. After having contested Pharaoh's injunction to « protect » those very people who had just seized one of his cities (« If I would show fear, this (very) day another city of mine would be seized! »²), Lab'aya goes on with one of his characteristic paradoxes : « Nevertheless (*šanītam*), even if you would say : 'Fall down under them, so that they can hit you!', I would do (that)! I will protect the people who took (my) city! » Then the final statement comes, always in a sarcastic vein : *i-le šu-ṣú-mi a-<ia>-bi-ia ù ú-ṣur-ru-šu-nu* « I could drive out my enemies, yet I will protect them! »

The sarcastic tone of the passage is quite reminiscent of the other letters of Lab'aya, see especially the final passage of EA 254. On the other hand, no mention is left of any god or any father ; there are no « despoilers » or « plunderers » ; no « image of the family god » has been « violated » (Moran), or « stolen » (Hess), nor was it « related to a divine ancestor » (Hess). The religious-historical relevance of the letter comes down to nothing : while its inner logic, and the arguing habits of Lab'aya become more and more coherent.

1. Another emendation, *sa¹-bi-ia* (Halpern – Huenergard : Or 51 [1982], 228) provides a less satisfactory meaning.
2. CAD Š₁, 87 ; and CAT III, 90 on *kī* « if » (cf. EA 254 : 38.40-41 *kī šumma*)

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130) The wife of Milki-ilu and other pledges – In EA 270, Milki-Ilu king of Gezer complains to Pharaoh because Yanhamu (the well-known high official in the Egyptian administration of Canaan) pretends to receive 2.000 shekels – a quite substantial amount of money! – adding : « Give me your wife and children, *ù lu-ú i-ma-ha-ṣa* ». The reading of the last sentence has never been questioned, and the various translations are rather similar : « Oder fürwahr ich schlage (od. sie werden geschl.) » (Knudtzon) ; « or I will smite! » (Albright, ANET, 486 ; « or I will slay you! » (Oppenheim, *Letters from Mesopotamia*, 128) ; « Or else I will attack! » (Rainey : JCS 43-45 [1991-93], 114) ; « or else I will kill! » (Izre'el : IOS 8 [1978], 59) ; « or I will kill (you) » (Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 316-317) ; « and he certainly will kill (them) » (CAD M/1, 75). The variations put some problems on the fore : the lack of a personal suffix pronoun (who is slain?), the exact identification of the verbal form, the semantics of *mahāṣu* (if applied to persons, does it mean to kill? or else the retaliation is a more general act of attacking the rebellious kinglet?), the syntax (an additional threat, or an alternative punishment [CAD]?).

I am suggesting an alternative reading, which provides a better meaning and seems also more correct in morphological terms : namely to read *ù lu-ú ZAG! ma-ha-ṣa = lū pūta mahaṣā* « let them assume guarantee! » We have no reason to maintain that the requested 2.000 shekels are an « extortion » (Moran), or a punishment for a politically incorrect behavior (Ross : BA 30 [1967], 65). We have rather to assume that Milki-Ilu owed to Yanhamu such an amount of money, for reasons (fiscal arrears? trade accounts?) that he obviously avoided to mention in his complaint ; and we have to assume that Yanhamu requested wife and children as pledges, according to the common judicial practice of the time. In my opinion, the letter does not have any political or military implication : the creditor has no reason to attack (Rainey) or to slay (Knudzon, Oppenheim, Albright) or even to kill the debtor (Izre'el, Moran) or his relatives (CAD, Knudzon's alternative option), once they have been handed over to him.

A propos of persons functioning as pledges, the most famous passage of the Amarna corpus is found in several letters of Rib-Adda : *gamru mārē-(šu)nu mārāte-(šu)nu işē bītāti-(šunu) ina nadāni ina Yarimūta ina balaṭ napišti-(šu)nu* « Our/Their sons and daughters, and the house furnishings have been used up, in being given to Yarimuta in (exchange for) our/their living » (EA 74 : 15-17 ; 75 : 11-14 ; 81 : 38-41 ; 85 : 12-15 ; 90 : 36-39 ; cf. also EA 112 : 27-30). In one of the letters (EA 74) we find *qa-du-nu* instead of *ışē bītāti-(šunu)*, and this has been always translated as « with us » (since Knudzon's « nebst uns selbst », up to Moran « as well as ourselves »), albeit doubts have been advanced (see especially Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 144 fn. 5). Frankly speaking, such a translation has no reasonable meaning at all. Nobody – at least to my knowledge – seems to have suggested the obvious emendation *qa-<ta>-tū-nu* « our guarantors », « our pledges ». This suggestion looks acceptable, both if we refer the term to the « sons and daughters », or if we assume that it represents the movable pledges, the « house furnishings » of the parallel passages.

Lastly, another famous idiom connected with pledges is met twice in the Gezer letters, in the form of a popular dicton or comparison : « (Gezer) has become [like] a cauldron in pledge » (EA 292 : 46-47) ; « I became like a copper cauldron (gloss :) *ṣí-ri* in pledge » (EA 297 : 12-14). The last translation by Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 335, 339 is basically correct, except for rendering the term *riqqu* and its gloss *z/s/ṣīru* simply as « pot ». The commentary (ibid., 335 fn. 4) is even more explicit in hinting at « the modesty of such a security ». Now, if *riqqu* is a byform of *ruqqu*, this is not a simple « (clay) pot » but a cauldron, made of copper/bronze, weighing some 200 to 500 shekels (= ca. 2 to 5 kilos), and mostly associated with « stands » (*zablu*) of the same weight (cf. Salonen, *Hausgeräte*, II, 255-263 ; especially attested at Ugarit, cf. Syria 18 [1937], 246 ; PRU III, 79-81, 185 ; PRU VI 49 ; Ugaritica V 84)¹. The « philological » couplet *ruqqu - zablu* corresponds perfectly with the « archaeological » couplet « cauldron – tripod », which is well attested especially from mid-second to mid-first mill. B.C. in the entire West Mediterranean and Near Eastern area. The cauldron (supported by a tripod) was the ceremonial and functional core of the house, the symbolic reference-point for the family, besides possessing a notable value in bronze weight. The same is true of the other term, *zīru* (CAD S, s.v. *ṣīru* ; the current comparison with Hebrew *sīr* seems questionable), especially attested in Old Assyrian texts (cf. lastly Dercksen, *Old Assyrian Copper Trade*, 79 and 241) : a bronze container, weighing 20-30 minas and more, in one case (CCT IV 19) given in pledge and redeemed! As to the Gezer dicton, the rationale for comparing somebody in bad shape to a « cauldron in pledge », could simply be that objects hold in pledge did not receive much attention or care and rapidly deteriorated.

1. I assume we should keep distinct the heavy bronze tripod (*zablu*) from a small bowl/container (*saplu*) ; the term is not discussed by Held : JAOS 88 (1968), 90-96.

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131) Bronze Production in Byblos – EA 77 is a negative reply by Rib-Adda to an Egyptian request for bronze implements – a negative reply motivated by the difficult situation in Byblos, and used in order to substantiate the usual appeals for help and provisions. Some attention has been paid to the term *śinnu* (cf. lastly Zaccagnini, *Drinking in Ancient Societies*, 350 fn. 14), certainly not « ivory » (still Rainey : IOS 12 [1992], 187 ; CAT III, 84) since it is question of *si-en-ni* URUDU (l. 10), but some kind of implement. Keeping in mind the etymological value as « tooth », the most obvious proposal is « point », « (arrow/spear)head » (as suggested already in OA 10 [1971], 261 fn. 45), perhaps any kind of pointed blade ; while « ingot » (Na'amān : NABU 1997/21) seems to be just a guess. So I assume that the Egyptian request was for bronze blades.

Rib-Adda's explanation (or excuse) for his refusal contains the problematic word *iš-ka-PI*, which has been left untranslated (Knudzon), or transformed into a personal name <I>-*mil-ka-ya* (Na'amān, Moran), however with no benefit for understanding the passage : Moran's translation « Milkayu overlaid one with ... » makes no sense, and seems completely out of context. My suggestion is to emend into *iš-ka-<ri>-ya*, which provides the entire passage with a quite convincing sense : « The Lady of Byblos knows if I have copper and copper blades with me, and I keep it (i.e., instead of giving them to you). As soon as one quota of mine has been worked out (*iš-ka-<ri>-ya ištēn ul ti-ma-ha-asj*), I give its blades to the king of Tyre (in exchange) for provisions ».

Comments : (1) at the end of l. 11, read a form of *kalū*, following Na'amān : NABU 1997/21 (but not his

translation!); Moran's « her unjustly treated ones » have no meaning whatever. (2) As for the « pleonastic negative » construct *ul ti-ma-ha-aṣ ... ù na-ad-na-ti*, expressing the idea « no sooner ... than », cf. Albright-Moran : JCS 2 (1948), 240 (EA 82), and my article in *Festschrift Rainey*, forthcoming (EA 101). (3) *mahāṣu* must refer to an action of hammering, the last one to be performed by artisans (after casting the metal into the mould), before delivering the finished product to the king.

Byblos seems to have been an active bronze-producing center, exporting processed items like weapons to other cities nearby (Tyre, cut away from its hinterland, was probably short of fuel for metal working) as well as to Egypt. Metal working, and especially weapons production, was carried on under royal control, and organized into « quotas » to be completed and delivered by individual artisans or groups of artisans to the Palace (to be exported therefrom).

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132) The Shirma-People are Back – In the early studies on the Amarna letters, the existence of a couple of references to the Shirma-people were pointed out – apparently a gloss for an obscure ideographic sequence (X-X-Y, see below). In EA 108 : 15-16 *na-ad-nu* LÚ.MEŠ X-X-Y : *ši-ir-ma* ù LÚ.MEŠ *wi-i-ma a-na a-na* KUR *su-ri* « They gave XXY (gloss :) širma and (Egyptian) soldiers to the land of Su(ba)ri ». In EA 107 : 42-43 *i-ba-šu* LÚ.MEŠ X-X-Y *mar-ia-nu-ma a-na ia-ši* « I have XXY (and/i.e) charioteers ». A third possible attestation for the ideographic sequence is to be found in EA 124 : 51-52 *a-na mi-ni uš-ši-ir* LUGAL ÉRIN.MEŠ X-X-Y-*ma pi-ta-ti a-na la-qi* URU.MEŠ « Why did the king send XXY troops to take the cities? ». A last possible attestation (EA 109 : 21) is completely broken.

In a short note Schroeder : OLZ 21 (1918), 125-127 suggested that *ši-ir-ma* was an Egyptian gloss (cf. already Knudtzon, BA IV, 285-286, 288), but was unable to find a satisfactory solution both for the gloss itself and for the ideogram (that he considered a *gunû*-form of MA). In more recent literature the Shirma-people disappeared, or were considered as the equivalent to *maryannu*: cf. Moran's translation of the pertinent passages (and his restoration of the gloss-sign [:] in EA 107:43, following Schroeder), and cf. Rainey's translation in CAT III, 233. The sequence X-X-Y is left unidentified by Moran (fn. 3 to EA 107), or read as ŠIR by Rainey.

I have a possible solution, rather tentative indeed but based on a reading of both ideogram and gloss in a coherent way : (1) As for the ideogram « X-X-Y » (cf. copies by Knudtzon, 1003, autogr. nn. 92 and 93 ; and by Schroeder, VS XI nn. 55 and 56) I suggest either a very simplified writing of the sequence TUR.TUR.LÁ, or simply TUR.LÁ, with a reading *suḥāru* « young (soldiers) », in the sense of « recruits ». (2) As for the gloss *ši-ir-ma* I suggest the Egyptian term *d3mw*, a very common word for « recruits » (Schulman, *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, 20-21), presumably pronounced /zi'ma/. A rendering of Egyptian « 3 » by signs for « r » is unusual, but could get some support from cases of Egypto-Semitic roots like *k3m* = *karmu* or *q3b* = *qirbu* (cf. Vycichl : MDAIK 16 [1958], 371).

This interpretation – if accepted – could be also helpful in understanding the pertinent passage in EA 124, where Moran felt obliged to restore a missing « <not> » in order to provide a reasonable sense : « Why has the king <not> sent charioteers and archers to take the cities? ». The sense could be : « Why has the king sent (just) recruit troops to take the cities? And (in fact) they have proved unable to take them! (*la-a yi-li-ú la-qas-[ši-na]*) » – the reproach being about the type and quality of the troops: young recruits instead of more experienced troops.

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133) Kataḥha/Hatagga – H. Otten und C. Kühne, StBoT 16,49, leiteten aus der Datierung zahlreicher Belege der varierenden Graphien des Namens der Göttin Kataḥha eine Kette lautlicher Entwicklungen « Kataḥha > Katahga > Ḥataḥha/Hatahga > Hatagga » ab. Alt und charakteristisch bis ins 14.Jhd. sei die Ausgangsform Kataḥha, die Zielform Ḥatagga hingegen wäre erst im 13.Jhd. zu belegen. Seitdem gelten die unterschiedlichen Lautungen bzw. Schreibungen des Theonymes als datierungsrelevant, so zuletzt auch bei Th. van den Hout, StBoT 38,71, wogegen jüngst (BiOr 54 (1997), Sp.417) I. Singer mit Verweis auf id., Muwatalli's Prayer, 61 Zweifel erhob.

Zur weiteren Stützung dieser Zweifel kann jetzt das kleine Ritualfragment KBo 38.99 (1568/c) beigebracht werden :

x+2	^d JIM URU <i>Zi-ip-la-an-ta</i> [
3']EM-ŠÚ <i>a-aš-ka-az ú-da-a[-i</i>
4'] x <i>pa-ra-a pé-e-da-i nu-kán</i> [
5'	-] <i>in e-ep-zi na-aš-ša-an x[</i>
<hr/>	
6'	^d <i>Te-]li-pí-nu-un dHa-at-tág-ga[-an</i>
7'	-] <i>in EM-ŠÚ a-aš-ka-az ú-d[a-a-i</i>
8'] <i>pa-ra-a pé-e-da-i</i> [

9'] e-ep-zi na-aš-ša[-an
10']x-le-en[(-)
11'	a-aš-]ka-a[z

Der für eine Übersetzung allzu fragmentarische Text bietet in Z.6' die Schreibung ^dHa-at-tág-ga[-an, also die Zielform der von Otten/Kühne phonologisch plausibel postulierten Lautentwicklung – und wird paläographisch durch die Zeichenformen von EN, URU, IP, AZ, DA, TÁK eindeutig als mittel-hethitische Niederschrift bestimmt. Die in Rede stehende Graphie begegnet somit deutlich (100 bis 150 Jahre) vor dem 13. Jhd.

Vor einer erneuten Überprüfung sämtlicher Belege der Schreibungen von Kataḥha/Hatagga u.ä. sollte die Verwendung eben jener Schreibungen dieses Götternamens als Indiz zur Textdatierung somit besser zurückgestellt werden. Als kleiner Beitrag zur Überprüfung sei abschließend angemerkt, daß die StBoT 16,49 Anm. 111 als « nicht klar datierbar » ausgewiesenen Texte sich heute paläographisch wie folgt datieren lassen : 69/r = KBo 34.188 (^dḪataḥḥ[a] ist dem 14. Jhd. zuzuweisen, die Schrift ist charakteristisch etwa für die Zeit Muršilis II., vgl. LI, URU, E, AL. KBo 11.47 (^dḪa-tah^{ab}-ḥa), vgl. die Zeichenformen von ŠAR, LI, URU, IK, sowie Bo 1583 = KUB 54.67 (^dḪataḥga), – hier können die Zeichenformen von LI, KI, RU, DA, IT, URU, AL herangezogen werden –, sind ins 13. Jhd. zu datieren.

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134) KBo 22.66 IV 15'-19', § 200b/*86b der Hethitischen Gesetze und die Polyphonie der Keilschrift – Mit Verwunderung nimmt man zur Kenntnis, daß Hoffner in seiner grundlegenden Neuedition der Hethitischen Gesetze (Harry Angier Hoffner, Jr., The Laws of the Hittites. A Critical Edition (= DMOA 23), Leiden/New-York/Köln 1997) auf p. 160 den Abschnitt KBo 22.66 IV 15'-19' mit Lesung der Zeile IV 15' als *ták-ku TUR-an[* unter den *unplaced fragments* einordnet. KBo 22.66 IV x+1-7' enthält § 199/*85 der Hethitischen Gesetze, IV 8'-14' entspricht § 200a/*86a und der Abschnitt IV 15'-19' findet eben seine Entsprechung im Paragraphen 200b/*86b, kommt also als drittes Exemplar zu KBo 6.26 IV 27-31 und KUB 13.14 + KUB 13.16 Rs.4-8 hinzu. Für den Text jenes Paragraphen sei auf die angegebene Neuarbeitung, p. 158/159 verwiesen. Bei einer Lesung DUMU-an an Stelle von TUR-an in KBo 22.66 IV 15' klärt sich die Einordnung des Stückes, die von der Textabfolge her ohnehin zwingend ist, umgehend. Der Eintrag TUR bei Hoffner, p. 328 im Glossar ist zu streichen. Dort ist übrigens an Stelle von KBo 22.66 (Exemplar z) als Belegnachweis KBo 12.50 (mit falschem Zusatz Exemplar z) aufgeführt, zu Stande gekommen vermutlich dadurch, daß bei den *unplaced fragments* (p. 159/160) KBo 12.50 dem Stück KBo 22.66 IV 15'-19' unmittelbar vorausgeht.

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135) Baş continuo – The town of Baş has been discussed in this bulletin both recently, by Abraham (« TCL 13 193 : Şuṣan and Baş », *NABU* 1997/53) and earlier by Joannès (« LAM×KUR.RUK^l = Baş », *NABU* 1987/99) ; and elsewhere by Zadok RGTC 8 p. 70-72 & 208-9 and Bongenaar *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar : its Administration and its Prosopography* (Leiden, 1997). To summarise, Baş (= Šapazzu) was a town with a temple the Etušgina to the god Bēl-şarbi and probably situated on the Euphrates northwest of Sippar. The following are the published references to Baş and Šapazzu from the Ebabbara archives known to me :

Baş

Nbk 93	Nbk 11	Bunene-ibni the ironsmith pays in <i>dullu gamru</i> ; written in Baş
CT 56 605	Nbn 2	barley issued to a weaver of Baş
Nbn 104	Nbn 3	linen cloth to Baş
CT 57 195	Nbn 7	silver sent to Baş
PSBA 33 pl.22a	Nbn 8	letter order authorising the issue of flour for smiths going to Baş
CT 55 252	Nbn 15	iron shears sent to Baş
CT 57 223	Nbn 10	silver for ox paid to or by PN who lives in Baş
CT 56 10	Cam 5	linen curtains ¹ for Bēl-şarbi
CT 57 146	Dar 12	silver for oxen to PN ₁ and PN ₂ the <i>sepiru</i> of Baş
CT 57 376	-----	mentions oxen of the <i>šangū</i> of Baş

Šapazzu

CT 55 80	Nbk 33	loan of silver, tablet written in Šapazzu
CT 56 301	-----	rations to Šapazzuans who are bringing out barley
VS 6 248.15	-----	barley issue to two Šapazzuans (one a scribe)

To these may be added :

BM 63977 (Bertin 1638)	Nbn [x]+9 ²	šangû of Baş orders the release of wheat for the <i>sataku</i> of Bēl-şarbi, mentioning the <i>sepiru</i> 's Iddiya and Kalbâya ³
BM 65802	-----	account (not a letter!) mentioning ducks, the šangû of Baş, provisions (<i>ṣiditu</i>) and remnants (<i>rehētu</i>) of oil
BM 74604 (Bertin 2424)	Dar 12.6b.19	debt note for 1,000 <i>kur</i> of dates, issued in Baş and to be repaid in Sippar, with the šangû of Sippar acting as guarantor and affixing his seal (MacGinnis <i>LBLS</i> A.10)

In summary, Bas/Šapazzu is attested from Nebuchadnezzar year 11 to Darius year 19, i.e. pretty well the main span of the Ebabbara archives. Baş was home to a shrine to the god Bēl-şarbi called the Etušgina, the administration of which was headed by a šangû and also included a *sepiru*. The Etušgina was closely connected to the Ebabbara of Sippar. The Ebabbara provided linen cloth for Bēl-şarbi, issued silver (most commonly to buy oxen) and released wheat for offerings and barley for rations.

Iron shears were provided for the shearing and on at least two occasions smiths were sent by the Ebabbara to work in Baş. The fact that accounts for deliveries to the temple in Baş were part of the overall administrative operations of the Ebabbara is made particularly clear from Nbn 104, in which linen for the *bit agî* of the Queen of Sippar is detailed in the same text as a consignment for Bēl-şarbi. In all likelihood, the end of CT 55 80 line 1 should be read NÍG.GA ^{1d1}[UTU], i.e. silver being lent out in Baş came from the property of Šamaš (collated). An indication of the stature of the šangû of Sippar in the Baş community is given by the role he plays as guarantor of the very large dates transaction in BM 74604. Taken together, these texts paint a picture of the Etušgina as a satellite of the Ebabbara, bearing very much the same relationship to the Ebabbara as that of the Ebabbara of Larsa to Eanna in Uruk.⁴ Another such satellite to the Sippar Ebabbara was the Eulmaš temple of Agade.⁵

1. For this reading see Bongenaar *op. cit.* p. 234.

2. For this dating see Bongenaar *loc. cit.*

3. Bongenaar *op. cit.* p. 501.

4. Cf. Beaulieu *Orientalia* 60 (1991) and *RA* 87 (1993).

5. Cf. Jursa *WZKM* 86 (1996) and Bongenaar *op. cit.* p. 233-4. Eridu may also have born the same kind of relationship to Ur.

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136) The seventh death in the prologue to *Krt* – In connection with the introductory section to the Ugaritic Legend of Kirta, two problems have long been a matter of debate : (a) whether the series of deaths described refers to his wives or his children and (b) how the seventh victim actually died. At a stroke, an obscure word used in Mesopotamian texts may suggest an answer to both questions.

The final fatality in the list is narrated succinctly as follows : *mšb^cthn bšlh ttpl*, « The seventh of them fell by (the) šlh » (KTU 1.14 i 20-21). The last word has been translated in various ways as :

– *a throwing weapon* : Aistleitner, WUS, #2611 (« Wurf- o. Schießwaffe »), Gibson, CML², 82.158 (« spear »); J. Tropper, « Die sieben Frauen des Königs Keret », *UF* 27 (1995) 529-532 (« Wurfgeschoß »); from the verb *šlh*, « to throw ».

– *a sword* : Gordon, UT 19.2421 ; also accepted by H. Sauren – G. Kestemont, « Keret, roi de Hubur », *UF* 3 (1971) 181-221 (195) « poignard »; *TOug* I, 506 (« l'épée »); F. O. Hvidberg-Hansen, *Kana^canæiske myter og legender* (Aarhus 1990) I, 211 (« den syvende af dem fældedes ved sværd »); J. M. Sasson, « The Numeric Progression in Keret I : 15-20 Yet Another Suggestion », *SEL* 5 [1988] 181-188 (183) and Pardee, CS I, 333 (« the sword »);

– *war* : Sasson, *SEL* 5 (1988) 183 ;

– *lightning* : F. C. Fensham, « Remarks on certain difficult passages in Keret », *JNSL* 1 (1971) 11-22 (21).

– *Šalhu* : M. Tsevat, « The Canaanite god Šalah », *VT* 4 (1954) 41-49 ; « Additional Remarks on the Canaanite god Šalah », ibid., 322 ; M. Dietrich – O. Loretz, « Das Porträt einer Königin in KTU 1.14 I 12-15. Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie (XVIII) », *UF* 12 (1980) 199-204 (204, n. 67), J. C. de Moor – K. Spronk, « Problematical Passages in the Legend of Kirtu (I) », *UF* 14 (1982) 153-171 (« The parallelism argues in favour of the proposal to read šlh as the name of a deity, possibly the deified river of the Underworld ») (156) ; del Olmo Lete, MLC, 290 (« y su séptima parte, ya ves, por Šalhu fue abatida ») ; O. Loretz, « Der Gott šlh, he. šlh I und šlh II », *UF* 7 (1975) 584-585 ; « Ugaritische Lexikographie », *SEL* 12 (1995) 105-20 (113). See also B. Becking, « Shelah jlc », DDD, 1440-1443. E. Verreet, « Der Keret-Prolog », *UF* 19 (1987) 317-335 summarises all

these views : « šlh bedeutet wohl einfach « Spieß, Speer, (Wurf)waffe, Schwert », vielmehr als « Blitz », oder « Šlh », der Unterweltfluß » (331). Note also :

– *a parapet* : B. Margalit, « Studia Ugaritica II : « Studies in Krt and Aqht », UF 8 (1976) 137-192 (« The seventh-of-them fell from a parapet ») (144-145), comparing Akk. šalbū /šulhū, « wooden railing » (« ein Holzgitter? », AHw, 1147-1148). Add now : « outer city wall » or « palisade » (CAD Š/I, 243a-244).

A possible cognate or loanword which has been overlooked so far is Babylonian šulhū, which occurs only four times and denotes « (a type of witchcraft or affliction) » (CAD Š/III, 240a) or simply « ein Leiden » (AHw, 1267a). It occurs three times in medical texts : šumma šerru ina šalālišu ine'e ... ina kirimme ummišu šulhū kišpī epšušu, « if a baby tosses in its sleep (it means) š. of(?) witchcraft has affected it while cradled in its mother's arms » (text : Labat, TDP, 218 : 16 ; translation : CAD Š/III, 240a) similarly, TDP, 218 : 17 and 19. It also co-occurs with *migtu*, a disease which can affect babies, in PSBA 17 138 : 3, a literary text (cf. CAD Q. 331a for translation). It is particularly significant that the Babylonian term is used three times in connection with a sick baby while still in its mother's arms (in a series of 122 sets of symptoms affecting babies, TDP, 216-231, Tablet 40) since three of the other causes of death listed in the Ugaritic text are *ktrm*, « at birth » (KTU 1.14 i 16a), *zblnm*, « of disease » (line 16b) and *ršp*, « plague » (line 18a). Ug. šlh may then be a loanword with the same meaning as šulhū, since Akk. h = Ug. h. especially in the presence of l, as has been shown by J. Tropper, « Akkadisch *nubhutu* und die Representation des Phonems /h/ im Akkadischen », ZA 85 (1995) 58-66. If this is correct, then this death, like all the other deaths, affected Krt's children, not his wives. It should also be pointed out that the causes of death were all different, like the seven different actions by which Mot was annihilated, as described in KTU 1.6 ii 31-35 11 1.6 v 11-19 (as explained by N. Wyatt, *The Words of Ilimilkū and other Religious Texts from Ugarit*, in the press).

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137) A famous harpist – At the end of the first tablet of An Anum the compiler placed some miscellaneous gods who did not easily fit the pattern of the list because they were not associated directly with a particular master god. Instead they were related to a temple. They were « demons » (udug), « standing gods » (diğir gubba), « persons of the bolt » (lú si-ğar-ke₄), and a certain ^dDa-da-gu-la « the larger Dada. » He was « larger » presumably in relation to the unqualified ^dDa-da, one of the « persons of the bolt. » The larger Dada was described as lú balağ-ga tuš-a nam-mah diğir-e tu mu-un-du₁₂-du₁₂-a which is probably supposed to mean « who, sitting by a harp, plays for the greatness of the gods. » The Sumerian of the learned author of this description was not good. He did not know that the word balağ ended in the phonem /g/ and substituted the /g/ of the corresponding Akkadian word which was borrowed as *balaggu*. The function of the sign tu is not clear. He may have tried to put the verbal form in the precative because he wanted to stress the extraordinary accomplishment of the harpist and chose the Emesal pronunciation, in which case we should transliterate tu-mu-un-du₁₂-du₁₂-a and translate perhaps « who played – and how! – ... » It seems more likely that he, or one of his predecessors in the chain of transmission, misread an original sign ne as tu.

The divinity « larger Dada » appears also in the fragment VAT 8084 which was published by E. Weidner in Archiv für Keilschriftforschung 2 (1924-25) 6. The script ductus of the tablet is Ur III or later but surely earlier than Old Babylonian. It is clear that this « larger Dada » is the divinity of An Anum, and thus the harpist, because his name in VAT 8084 is followed by ^dAš-ta-GABA-ú-a who is obviously identical with ^dAŠ.GABA, one of the 2 « standing gods », who is mentioned in An Anum directly after the larger Dada.

The name Dada is well attested as personal name. It was especially liked in Ur III. One Dada was a chief cantor (gala-mah). He amassed a fortune during his lifetime. K. Maekawa collected the references in his article « Confiscation of Private Properties in the Ur III Period » in ASJ 18 (1996) 138-44. Cantors sang lamentations to the accompaniment of a harp. I suggest that the cantor Dada was an unusually gifted harpist who amassed his fortune because of his beautiful playing. Eventually, a statue of him was made showing him sitting and playing his harp. It was given a place in the Ekur and offerings of his admirers made it a god.

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138) Konkordanz der Inventarnummern neuassyrischer Urkunden aus Assur im Vorderasiatischen Museum – In den Sechziger Jahren hat K. Deller einen Teil der neuassyrischen Urkunden aus Assur im Vorderasiatischen Museum vorinventarisiert und Museumsnummer ab *VAT 16501 vergeben. Die Tafeln wurden jedoch nie endgültig unter diesen Nummern, die später anderen Tafeln zugeordnet wurden, inventarisiert. Trotzdem fanden die neuassyrischen Texte unter ihren vorläufigen Inventarnummer Eingang in die Literatur. Tatsächlich wurden die fraglichen Texte aber erst in den späten Achziger Jahren inventarisiert und erhielten Museumsnummern ab VAT 20335.

Während ich als Praktikant am Vorderasiatischen Museum tätig war, hatte ich Gelegenheit, einer Anregung K. Dellers folgend, die entsprechenden Teile der Tontafelsammlung des Vorderasiatischen Museums durchzusehen und die Texte zu identifizieren. Die Museumsnummer-« Deller-Nummern »-Konkordanz wurde in der Folge von mir selbst, K. Deller und F. M. Fales benutzt. Um zu verhindern, daß die « Deller-Nummern » weiterhin in der Literatur verwendet werden,¹ erscheint es mir sinnvoll, die Konkordanz allgemein zugänglich zu machen.

Museumsnummer	« Deller-Nummer »	Publikation	VAT 20375	VAT 16530	
VAT 20335	VAT 16518	SAAB 5 19	VAT 20376	VAT 16581	
VAT 20336	VAT 16524	SAAB 5 26	VAT 20377	VAT 16551	SAAB 5 50
VAT 20337	VAT 16511		VAT 20378	VAT 16573	SAAB 5 9
VAT 20338	VAT 16512	SAAB 5 18	VAT 20379	VAT 16580	SAAB 9 116
VAT 20339	VAT 16517	SAAB 5 11	VAT 20380	VAT 16583	SAAB 9 118
VAT 20340	VAT 16504	SAAB 5 54	VAT 20381	VAT 16558	
VAT 20341	VAT 16516 +16575	SAAB 5 31	VAT 20382	VAT 16550	SAAB 5 48
VAT 20342	VAT 16503	SAAB 5 13	VAT 20383	VAT 16572	SAAB 9 117
VAT 20343	VAT 16513	SAAB 5 56	VAT 20384	VAT 16576	SAAB 5 15
VAT 20344	VAT 16533		VAT 20385	VAT 16541	
VAT 20345	VAT 16509	SAAB 5 2	VAT 20386	VAT 16562	
VAT 20346	VAT 16514	SAAB 5 14	VAT 20388	VAT 16571	SAAB 9 App.c
VAT 20347	VAT 16525	SAAB 5 6	VAT 20389	VAT 16570	SAAB 9 108
VAT 20348	VAT 16546	SAAB 5 32	VAT 20390	YAT 16552	
VAT 20349	VAT 16510	SAAB 9 109	VAT 20391	VAT 16534	
VAT 20350	VAT 16519	SAAB 5 28	VAT 20393	VAT 16561	
VAT 20351	VAT 16531		VAT 20394	VAT 16574	SAAB 9 App.2a
VAT 20352	VAT 16523	SAAB 5 29	VAT 20395	VAT 16543	SAAB 5 45
VAT 20353	VAT 16527	SAAB 5 23	VAT 20396	VAT 16557	SAAB 5 46
VAT 20354	VAT 16522	SAAB 5 27	VAT 20397	VAT 16566	
VAT 20355	VAT 16520 ²	SAAB 5 58a	VAT 20398	VAT 16578	
VAT 20356	VAT 16515	SAAB 5 57	VAT 20399	VAT 16568	SAAB 9 107
VAT 20357	VAT 16521	SAAB 5 21	VAT 20400	VAT 16544	SAAB 5 49a
VAT 20358	VAT 16549	SAAB 5 58b	VAT 20401	VAT 16560	
VAT 20359	VAT 16526	SAAB 5 55	VAT 20402	VAT 16559	
VAT 20360	VAT 16528		VAT 20403	VAT 16564	
VAT 20361	VAT 16507	SAAB 9 111	VAT 20404	VAT 16577	SAAB 9 119
VAT 20362	VAT 16501	SAAB 5 64	VAT 20405	VAT 16535	SAAB 5 43
VAT 20363	VAT 16529a+c	SAAB 5 App.2	VAT 20406	VAT 16569	
VAT 20364	VAT 16547		VAT 20407	VAT 16555	
VAT 20365	VAT 16548		VAT 20408	VAT 16582	SAAB 9 App.2b
VAT 20366	VAT 16508		VAT 20410	VAT 16553	
VAT 20367	VAT 16537	SAAB 5 62	VAT 20411	VAT 16540	
VAT 20368	VAT 16505	SAAB 5 7	VAT 20412	VAT 16556	
VAT 20369	VAT 16532		VAT 20413	VAT 16545	SAAB 5 44
VAT 20370	VAT 16502	SAAB 5 65	VAT 20414	VAT 16563 od. 16565	
VAT 20371	VAT 16536	SAAB 5 49b	VAT 20415	VAT 16563 od. 16565	
VAT 20372	VAT 16538	SAAB 5 60	VAT 20416	VAT 16565	
VAT 20373	VAT 16539		VAT 20492	VAT 16579	SAAB 9 110
VAT 20374	VAT 16542				

« Deller-Nummer »	Museumsnummer	Publikation
VAT 16501	VAT 20362	SAAB 5 64
VAT 16502	VAT 20370	SAAB 5 65
VAT 16503	VAT 20342	SAAB 5 13
VAT 16504	VAT 20340	SAAB 5 54
VAT 16505	VAT 20368	SAAB 5 7
VAT 16507	VAT 20361	SAAB 9 111
VAT 16508	VAT 20366	
VAT 16509	VAT 20345	SAAB 5 2
VAT 16510	VAT 20349	SAAB 9 109
VAT 16511	VAT 20337	
VAT 16512	VAT 20338	SAAB 5 18
VAT 16513	VAT 20343	SAAB 5 56
VAT 16514	VAT 20346	SAAB 5 14
VAT 16515	VAT 20356	SAAB 5 57
VAT 16516 +16575	VAT 20341	SAAB 5 31
VAT 16517	VAT 20339	SAAB 5 11
VAT 16518	VAT 20335	SAAB 5 19
VAT 16519	VAT 20350	SAAB 5 28
VAT 16520	VAT 20355	SAAB 5 58a
VAT 16521	VAT 20357	SAAB 5 21
VAT 16522	VAT 20354	SAAB 5 27
VAT 16523	VAT 20352	SAAB 5 29
VAT 16524	VAT 20336	SAAB 5 26
VAT 16525	VAT 20347	SAAB 5 6
VAT 16526	VAT 20359	SAAB 5 55
VAT 16527	VAT 20353	SAAB 5 23
VAT 16528	VAT 20360	
VAT 16529a+c	VAT 20363	SAAB 5 App.2
VAT 16530	VAT 20375	
VAT 16531	VAT 20351	
VAT 16532	VAT 20369	
VAT 16533	VAT 20344	
VAT 16534	VAT 20391	
VAT 16535	VAT 20405	SAAB 5 43
VAT 16536	VAT 20371	SAAB 5 49b
VAT 16537	VAT 20367	SAAB 5 62
VAT 16538	VAT 20372	SAAB 5 60
VAT 16539	VAT 20373	
VAT 16540	VAT 20411	
VAT 16541	VAT 20385	

VAT 16542	VAT 20374	
VAT 16543	VAT 20395	SAAB 5 45
VAT 16544	VAT 20400	SAAB 5 49a
VAT 16545	VAT 20413	SAAB 5 44
VAT 16546	VAT 20348	SAAB 5 32
VAT 16547	VAT 20364	
VAT 16548	VAT 20365	
VAT 16549	VAT 20358	SAAB 5 58b
VAT 16550	VAT 20382	SAAB 5 48
VAT 16551	VAT 20377	SAAB 5 50
VAT 16552	VAT 20390	
VAT 16553	VAT 20410	
VAT 16555	VAT 20407	
VAT 16556	VAT 20412	
VAT 16557	VAT 20396	SAAB 5 46
VAT 16558	VAT 20381	
VAT 16559	VAT 20402	
VAT 16560	VAT 20401	
VAT 16561	VAT 20393	
VAT 16562	VAT 20386	
VAT 16563 od.16565	VAT 20414	
VAT 16563 od.16565	VAT 20415	
VAT 16564	VAT 20403	
VAT 16565	VAT 20416	
VAT 16566	VAT 20397	
VAT 16568	VAT 20399	SAAB 9 107
VAT 16569	VAT 20406	
VAT 16570	VAT 20389	SAAB 9 108
VAT 16571	VAT 20388	SAAB 9 App.c
VAT 16572	VAT 20383	SAAB 9 117
VAT 16573	VAT 20378	SAAB 5 9
VAT 16574	VAT 20394	SAAB 9 App. 2a
VAT 16576	VAT 20384	SAAB 5 15
VAT 16577	VAT 20404	SAAB 9 119
VAT 16578	VAT 20398	
VAT 16579	VAT 20492	SAAB 9 110
VAT 16580	VAT 20379	SAAB 9 116
VAT 16581	VAT 20376	
VAT 16582	VAT 20408	SAAB 9 App. 2b
VAT 16583	VAT 20380	SAAB 9 118

1. Die « Deller-Nummern » werden von O. Pedersén, Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur II (1986) und von R. Jas, Neo-Assyrian Judicial Procedures. SAAS 5 (1996) verwendet, um einige wichtige neuere Publikationen zu nennen.

2. Nicht VAT 16528, wie in SAAB 5 (1991) 118 Anm. 117 angegeben wird.

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139) The Form *i-na-a-ku-um-mi* in KBo 1 5 iii 59 – KBo 1 5 records a treaty between Tudhaliya II¹ of Ḫatti and Šunašura of Kizzuwatna. Toward the end of a section concerning an alliance against the Hurrians, in iii 56-59, we read the following :

56 [šum-m]a LUGAL *bur-ri* EGIR Išu-na-aš-šu-ra *i-páṭ-tá-ar*
 57 [LUGAL *b*]ur-ri ki-e-a-am *i-qá-ab-bi* KUR.URU *ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni*
 58 [KUR-s]ú ſa ^dUTU-ši-mi a-na-ku *ap-pu-na-am-ma*
 59 [a-na] KUR.URU *ki-iz-zu-wa-at-ni ú-ul* *i-na-a-ku-um-mi*

⁵⁶ If the king of Ḫurri would renounce his claim(?) on Šunašura, ⁵⁷ (and) the king of Ḫurri would say as follows : « The land of Kizzuwatna is ⁵⁸ the land of His Majesty ; I myself moreover ⁵⁹ will not ... the land of Kizzuwatna, » < then ...>

It seems that the apodosis of this stipulation was inadvertently omitted by the scribe ; see, e.g., the translation of G. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* (Atlanta, 1996, 19 ; vs. Weidner, *PDK* 105, who took the clause from *a-na-ku* to *i-na-a-ku-um-mi* as the apodosis ; but note the particle *-mi* on the final word, indicating that this is still part of the direct speech of the king of Ḫurri). The meaning of *arki RN paṭāru* in line 56 (also in iii 62) is uncertain, but is probably something like ‘renounce one’s claim on RN’ (see Beckman, *ad loc.*).

The form *i-na-a-ku-um-mi* is obviously problematic. It has been taken by most who have considered this text to be a form of *niākum/nāku*. But this verb, which means ‘to copulate with’, is rarely, if ever, used in an extended or metaphorical sense. The semantic difficulty is obvious in the resulting translations : Weidner, *PDK* 105, renders « so will **ich** gleichwohl [*auf*] das Land Kizzuwatni mich nicht *legen* » ;² Beckman (*Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 19) essentially follows Weidner : « I(!) will indeed have no illicit relations(?) [with] the land of Kizzuwatna. » There are also several formal difficulties : one, indicated by Beckman’s exclamation point, is that the verb, with *anāku* as its subject, should be first person, not the third person indicated by the prefix *i* if the form is a durative of *nāku* ; another is the final *-u* of the form, where the subordination (subjunctive) marker is unexpected³ and finally, given the addition of the unexpected *-u*, the theme vowel of the form should be *-i-*, not *-a-*. Thus, if the form is derived from *nāku*, we expect either *anāk-mi*, or, with *-u*, *anikku-(m)mi*, but not *ināku-(m)mi*.

As an alternative to a derivation from *niākum/nāku*, and given that we expect a first-person form as predicate of *anāku*, I would suggest that the *-a-ku-* part of the word in question is the predicative ending *-āku*. The word would thus be a predicative form of *īnu* ‘eye’. In normative Akkadian, of course, the form *īn-āku-(m)mi*⁴ would mean something like ‘I am an eye’. It may be suggested, however, that in a Boğazköy text such a form might well be a calque on a Hittite form, viz., the verb *šakuvāi-* ‘to see, look’ which, like our proposed *īnāku*, is derived from, or at least related to, the noun meaning ‘eye’, *šakui-*, pl. *šakuwa* (itself derived from *šak-/šek-* ‘to know’, Indo-European **sekʷ-* ‘to know, perceive’ ; cf. German *sehen*, Engl. *see*). If *īnāku* is indeed a calque on Hittite *šakuvāi-*, the clause in KBo 1 5 iii 58-59 would then mean ‘I myself moreover will not look at the land of Kizzuwatna’, i.e., probably, ‘will not covet Kizzuwatna’.⁵

The calque on Hittite *šakuvāi-*, if that is what *īnāku* is, would not be the only example of Hittite interference in KBo 1 5. We may note also the following probable instances, inter alia : *bašū* meaning ‘to be’ (rather than ‘to be present’) = Hittite *-za eš-* (i 6, iv 11) ; *arka ana* GN *illak* ‘he may go back to GN’ (with *arka* ... *alāku* rather than *tāru*) = Hittite *āppa pai-* (i 43-44) ; *arka*(EGIR) *nadānu* ‘to give back’ (vs. *turru* or the like) = Hittite *āppa pai-lpiya-* (iv 7) ; *šapal nīš ilānī šakānu* ‘to state under oath’ = Hittite *-za linkiya kattan dāi-*⁶ (iii 60, iv 10) ; unusual word order in some relative clauses (e.g., ii 29-30, 31-32).

Thus the unusual *i-na-a-ku-um-mi* might be seen, not as a formally and semantically inexplicable form of *nāku*, but rather as the creation of a Boğazköy scribe based on a form in his own language.⁷

1. See G. Wilhelm, in *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae : FS Heinrich Otten*, ed. E. Neu and C. Rüster (Wiesbaden, 1988), 359-70.

2. Weidner’s note on this form (*PDK* 105 n. 8) reads : Hier liegt wohl das Verbum *nāku* « beischlafen », ursprünglich wohl « sich legen auf » vor ... Der ganze Abschnitt hat wohl den Sinn, daß, wenn auch der König von Ḫarri Muwatalli [at the time thought to be the Hittite king responsible for this treaty] das Land Kizwatna zur völligen Besitzergreifung anbietet, dieser doch nicht gegen Kizwatna feindlich vorgehen, es nicht bedrücken (*nāku*) und ihm seine Selbständigkeit nicht rauben will.

3. One might suggest that the *-u* marks the clause as an oath (see *GAG* §185e), with *ul* for *lā* ; I am unable to document any other such instances in the Akkadian texts written by scribes at Ḫattusa, however.

4. For the doubling of the *m* of *-mi*, cf. in the same text *il-li-ku-um-mi* ... *uš-bu-um-mi* for *illikū-mi* ... *ušbū-mi* ‘they came ... they settled’ (KBo 1 5 i 15).

5. Note the use of *šakui-* in the Hittite treaty between Mursili II and Tuppi-Teššup of Amurru : *nu-za-kán da-me-e-da-ni šakuwa*(IGI.HI.A-wa) *le-e ne-ia-at-ta-ti* ‘do not turn (your) eyes to another’ (KBo 5 9 i 32'-33') ; see the *Chicago Hittite*

Dictionary vol. 3, 356b, s.v. *nai-* 3 b 1' a' 1"), where, however, the meaning is clearly not 'covet' but 'to change one's loyalty'; this Hittite phrase has been compared with Akkadian *ana GN/RN saħāru* 'to turn to GN/RN', which appears earlier in our text, KBo 1 5 i 7, 32 (see G. Kestemont, *Diplomatique et droit international en Asie occidentale* (1600-1200 au. J.C.) [Louvain, 1974], 314 n. 75).

6. See Kestemont, *Diplomatique*, 144.

7. I wish to express my thanks to Gary Beckman, who discussed the proposal offered here with me via e-mail. I should state that Beckman does not find my suggestion convincing, however, and noted some serious criticisms, viz., that predicative forms of nouns are at best rare in Boğazköy Akkadian, apart from common forms such as *šarrāku*; that a form *īn-āku* would probably not signify 'I look' to a Hittite scribe; and that the meaning of the Hittite verb that would form the basis of *īn-āku*, when used in legal contexts, is 'to look toward (property as compensation)' (see Güterbock, *Or.* 52 [1983] 78-79). These objections are formidable, and may well invalidate my proposal; but the near impossibility of deriving *'il-na-a-ku-um-mi* from *nāku* prompts me to offer this alternative suggestion nevertheless.

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140) The price of a bundle of reeds – The Neo-assyrian text *Ladders to Heaven* no. 84 was first published in a catalogue by A. Kirk Grayson¹, then re-transliterated and translated by the present author², and most recently included in a full-length treatise of NA judicial documents by Remko Jas³. As well established by Jas, the text records the settlement of a lawsuit brought by one Šarru-nūrī against Sēr-nūrī on a matter on which no specific details are given (*ina UGU GÉME.MEŠ*, «concerning the slave girls», Obv. 3). The case is heard by the god Adad, who imposes a fine of 1 1/2 minas on the defendant; the latter pays back Šarru-nūrī in full (*ú-sa-IGI*^{II}) the sum of 1 1/2 minas (ll. 5-7). The usual formulae of judicial «peace» conclude the main part of the document, followed by the names of the witnesses.

Starting from, the left-hand edge of the text, and heavily overflowing onto the surface of the Reverse⁴, is an interesting note of 7 lines, viz.: (L.H.E.1) 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR ¹MAN.ZALÁG (2) ¹se-er-nu-E! *ina URU.ni-nu-u* (3) TA* *e-bi-su qa-ni* (4) 2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR 1 1/2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR (5) ^dIM *e-te-me-di* (6) *ú-sa-IGI*^{II} *it-ti-din* (7) *šùl-mu ina bir-ti-šú<-nu>*. Since Grayson's rendering of was a bit too liberal («(In fact) Sir-nuri has paid in full two minas of silver (to) Sharru-nuri at Nineveh by means of bundles of reeds (worth) two minas of silver, (although) Adad imposed only one and one-half minas of silver. They are mutually satisfied»)⁵, the present author attempted to focus more precisely on the text, while basically accepting Grayson's idea that the reeds had a counterpart in weight/value of 2 minas of silver («(Concerning): The two minas of silver of Šarru-nuri. Ser-nuri was in Nineveh, and out of a bundle of reeds of 2 minas of silver in weight, the god Adad imposed the 1 1/2 minas of silver, and gave it to him (= Šarru-nuri) in full. There is judicial peace between them (?)»)⁶. This translation was objected to criticism by Jas, on the grounds that «the weight of the reeds is completely irrelevant here»⁷; his translation accordingly runs as follows: «Two minas of silver of Šarru-nūrī: Ser-nūrī, in Ninū, from a bundle of reeds paid in full (the equivalent of) two minas of silver. Adad imposed 1 1/2 minas of silver. There is peace between them».

The present author stands corrected by Jas' translation – save for the minor point of discussion on whether *URU.ni-nu-u* was a relatively rare orthography for Nineveh (SAAB 4, 75 note 4) or referred instead to «probably a town in the vicinity of Guzana» (Jas, p. 23), albeit lacking parallels as such. On the other hand, Jas' commentary sticks him back with all previous authors into the quagmire of considering the difference between the value of the reeds and the fine imposed by the god, with all sorts of ensuing speculations: «The reason why the fine in silver is paid in reeds worth 1/2 mina of silver more than the fine imposed by Adad is the conversion of the silver debt into a debt of reeds, a favor of the creditor which usually entailed expenses. It is also possible that the extra reeds were intended to make up for the cost of transporting them from Ninū to Guzana»⁸. And this, in turn, leads Jas to speculate that the text «must have been written after the defendant went to Ninū where he paid the silver fine imposed by Adad in reeds to Šarru-nūrī and came back to Guzana»⁹.

But there is actually no need to reach out this far. Taking a closer look at the next, the issue of places and prices is fully spelled out – although none of the previous commentators had hitherto seen it. Lines 1-2, in point of fact, may be understood as a sort of heading for the note: «(Concerning:) the two minas of silver belonging to Šarru-nuri, (when) Ser-nuri was in Nineveh». Now, these two minas are nowhere previously mentioned in the document itself. The sum must therefore refer to a preceding credit which Šarru-nuri had contracted with defendant Ser-nuri in Nineveh – and it was presumably the very sum «concerning the slave-girls» due to the lack of repayment of which the judicial hearing on the part of Adad had been held.

If this were the case, then the question of payment would become crystal-clear, since (ll. 3-7) «Ser-nuri paid back in full the 2 minas of silver – and the god Adad imposed on him 1 1/2 minas of silver – from a bundle of reeds. There is judicial peace between them». In conclusion, the famous bundle of reeds from which the defendant paid back all his dues would have fetched a price of not two, and not one and one-half, but *three*

and one-half minas of silver – presumably by the *mahišru*, « exchange-rate », of Guzana itself.

1. O.W. Muscarella (Ed.), *Ladders to Heaven – Art Treasures from the Land of the Bible*, Toronto 1981 ; pp. 126-127.
2. SAAB 4 (1990), 73-75.
3. R. Jas, *Neo-Assyrian Judicial Procedures*, Helsinki 1996, no. 11, pp. 22-24. See also a further treatment of the same text in E. Lipinski, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics*, II, Leuven 1994, 217ff. – where however *e-bi-su qa-ni* is read *e-pi-su qa-ni* and given a somewhat far-fetched interpretation as « an artifact of serpentine(?) ».
4. The disposition of this part of the text shows, in this writer's opinion, that the note was an afterthought, added just after the date had been written on Rev. 2, since the lines following, this – bearing the names of the witnesses – are all heavily indented, so as to make space for the overflow of the lateral text.
5. Grayson, *cit.*, 127.
6. SAAB 4, 74.
7. Jas, p. 23.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*

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[Cette nouvelle version remplace la note 1997/41]

141) Zur Lesung von KBo 32.14 I 10 – In KBo 32.14 I 10 hatten wir hurritisch *še-e-du-i-li-ia-ni-iš* gelesen (StBoT 32, 1996, 74, 111f.). V. Haas – I. Wegner (OLZ 92, 1997, 455 mit Anm. 54) schlagen nun statt dessen eine Lesung *še-e-du-ḥí-li-ia-ni-iš* vor. Leicht hätten sich aber die beiden Rezessenten am beigefügten Textphoto (Tafel III) davon überzeugen können, daß unsere Lesung korrekt ist. Die beiden Autoren hätten daher allenfalls eine Emendierung von *-i-* in *ḥí-* vorschlagen können; denn die Transliterierungen *-i-* und *-ḥí-* geben bekanntlich zwei verschiedene Keilschriftzeichen wieder (nämlich I und GAN), doch sehen wir trotz des Hinweises auf eine möglicherweise verwandte Verbalform des Mittani-Briefes keinen hinreichenden Grund, des im Agens überlieferte passive Partizip aus KBo 32.14 I 10 zu emendieren. Für eine Wurzelerweiterung *-u-* wie in *še-e-du-* sei auf hurritisch *a-lu-* « sprechen, sagen » gegenüber urartäisch *al-* gleicher Bedeutung verwiesen (StBoT 32, 155). Die Keilschriftzeichen I und GAN sind auf der Tafel KBo 32.14 deutlich voneinander unterschieden.

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142) Zum Alter von hethitisch *piški-* und *peški-* – Für mittelhethitisch KBo 32.15 III 15 hat H.A. Hoffner (CHD P/1, 1994, 43a ; P/2, 1995, 155a) eine Lesung *pé-e[-eš-k]i-mi* angenommen. V. Haas (OLZ 92, 1997, 340) und G. Wilhelm (AoF 24, 1997, 286) hielten diese Lesung für korrekt und übernahmen sie daher ihrerseits. Alle drei Autoren haben damit jedoch eine nachweislich fehlerhafte Lesung befürwortet; denn seit langem ist es sonst innerhalb der hethitischen Philologie und Sprachwissenschaft eine gut bekannte Tatsache, daß in der älteren Sprache bisher nur schwundstufiges *piški-* überliefert ist. Hinzu kommt, daß auf der gleichen Tafel die schwundstufigen *-šk*-Formen *pí-iš-ki-iz-zi* (II 27') und *pí-iš-ki-u-ua-ni* (II 28') bezeugt sind, die keinen Zweifel daran lassen, daß dort für die 1. Person Singularis *pí-iš-ki-mi* zu erwarten gewesen wäre. Das CHD P/1, 1994, 43f. bietet anhand einer reichhaltigen Beleglage für die *-šk*-Ableitung von *pai-* « geben » eine sehr nützliche Informationsbasis hinsichtlich der altersmäßigen Verteilung dieser *-šk*-Formen; sie zeigt aber auch, daß z.B. die dort aus dem mittelhethitischen Mašat-Brief ABOT 65 Vs. 14' angeführte Präteritalform *pé-e-eš-ki-it* nicht zu *pai-* gehören kann. Schreiber des 13. Jh. v. Chr. haben öfters beim Abschreiben älterer Vorlagen aus dem Stamm *piški-* den für die Sprachform ihrer Zeit charakteristischen Verbalstamm *peški-* (monophthongiert aus **paiški-*) werden lassen. In KBo 32.15 III 15 hat man *pé-e[-hu-t]e-mi* zu lesen (StBoT 32, 1996, 297 und schon FsOtten 1988, 241).

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143) War hethitisch ^{NINDA}šarāma ein wasserdichter Behälter für Brot? – In seinem 1974 erschienenen informationsreichen Buch « Alimenta Hethaeorum. Food Production in Hittite Asia Minor » (S. 180) hat H.A. Hoffner, Jr. im Zusammenhang mit der Behandlung des hethitischen Ausdrucks ^{NINDA}šarāman- zwei Textstellen aus dem inzwischen edierten mittelhethitischen Tafelbruchstück KBo 25 (= 56/s). 109 angeführt und aufeinander bezogen, die für die betreffende Vokabel semantisch auf einen wasserdichten Brotbehälter weisen sollen. Die erste nur lückenhaft erhaltene Textstelle KBo 25.109 III 12'-13' bietet nach ihm folgenden Wortlaut: *nu ^{NINDA}ša-ra-a-ma / [Ù DUG QU-UL-L]U-U ši-e-eš-ni-it šu-un-na-an-zi* (zu akkad. *qullû* statt *kullû* s. CAD 13, 1982, 297f., W. von Soden, AHw II, 1972, 926b) und erlaubt folgende Übersetzung: « Ein ^{NINDA}šarāma

[und einen Tonkrug füllt man mit Bier]. Die Verbalform *šunnanzi* setzt Hoffner dann auch in die Lücke zu Beginn der Zeile III 17' ein und gewinnt so für Z. 16'f. einen vollständigen Satz: *nu NINDAša-ra-a-ma* \dot{U} II DUG QU-UL-LU-U [šu-un-na-a]n-zi « Ein šarāma-Brot und 2 Tonkrüge [füllt mjan] ».

Diese Ergänzung ist jedoch aus Raumgründen nicht möglich, wie man sich schon anhand der Autographie leicht überzeugen kann, wenn man nämlich dort die Länge der keilschriftlichen Verbalform *šu-un-na-an-zi* III 13' auf dem Beginn der Zeile 17' abträgt. Das Textphoto bestätigt unzweifelhaft diesen Befund. Vielmehr wird man am Zeilenanfang [da-a-a]n-zi « man nimmt » zu ergänzen haben: « Ein šarāma-Brot und 2 Tonkrüge [nimmt mjan] » (III 16'f.). Bemerkenswert ist, daß in II 16' desselben Textfragments vor dem Satz: II DU[G QU-U]L-LU- \dot{U} ši-e-eš-ni-it šu-un-na-an-zi die Verbalform *da-a-i* « nimmt » steht, also ein Bezug von *šunnanzi* auf ein direktes Objekt *NINDAšarāma* nicht gegeben ist. Entfällt nun zu Beginn von III 17' die Verbalform *[šunna]nzi* und berücksichtigt man außerdem die Lücke am Anfang von Zeile III 13', wird die Feststellung Hoffners, wonach *NINDAšarāma* (III 12') direktes Objekt zu *šunnanzi* sein soll, zweifelhaft, ja, als Beweis hinfällig. Vielmehr dürfte der betreffende Satz (III 12'f.) etwa folgendermaßen herzustellen sein: *nu NINDAša-ra-a-ma / [da-a-i DUG QU-UL-L]U-U ši-e-e-s-ni-it šu-un-na-an-zi* « Ein šarāma-Brot [nimmt er. Einen Tonkrug füllt man mit Bier] ». Von den Raumverhältnissen her ist der Umfang der Zeile 13' gerade noch zu rechtfertigen, vielleicht hat sogar das Determinativ DUG gefehlt. Das Ergebnis der an der Bruchkante noch zu erkennenden Rasur können wir nur vermuten, aber nicht sicher wissen.

M. Popko (AoF 23, 1996, 100) hat für III 17' Hoffners Ergänzung [šu-un-na-a]n-zi kommentarlos als vermeintlich richtig übernommen und sieht daher auch wie dieser in *NINDAšarāma* erwartungsgemäß einen wasserdiichten Brotbehälter. In seiner Umschrift von III 13' steht die in jener Zeile nicht überlieferte Konjunktion \dot{U} sogar außerhalb der eckigen Klammern. Für seine akkadographische Wiedergabe als *NINDAŠA-RA-A-MA* (s. auch THeth 21, 1994, 127f.; vgl. F. Starke 31, 1990, 280f. mit so mancher grammatischer Fehlinterpretation der Einzelbelege) erscheint uns keinerlei Anlaß gegeben.

NINDAšarāma, assimiliert aus *šarāmna*, bezeichnet nach unserem Dafürhalten eine bestimmte Brot- oder Gebäcksorte und stellt eine kollektivische Bildung dar (vgl. FsRisch 1986, 113, StBoT 26, 1983, 159⁴⁶⁹), wofür auch die gelegentliche Zählweise mit *TA-PAL* « Paar » spricht (vgl. KUB 46.6 I 6'; Studia Mediterranea 7, 1992, 204, 207, 211²⁷). Als Kollektivbegriff kann *NINDAš* auch mit dem Zahlzeichen « I » versehen sein: I *NINDAšarāma*. In KBo 14.116 IV 7'ff. (mit Duplikat KBo 37.73) scheint man *miumiu*-Brote zusammen mit *šarāman*-Broten zu brechen (vgl. CHD, L-N, 310a).

E. NEU (02-12-97)

144) Zipplanda. Zum Verhältnis von Graphie und Lautung – Im Titel seiner verdienstvollen Monographie « Zippalanda. Ein Kultzentrum im hethitischen Kleinasien » (THeth 21; Heidelberg 1994) führt M. Popko den in den hethitischen Texten über den gesamten Überlieferungszeitraum sehr gut bezeugten Ortsnamen als *Zippalanda* an, weil, so seine Begründung, in der Großreichszeit die « klassische » Schreibung *URUZi-ip-pa-la-an-da* überwiege. Diese Graphie begegnet allerdings auch noch auf der später überlieferten Bronzetafel (Tuthalija IV.) III 83 und 63 (dort °-an-ta). Als altheth. Schreibung zitiert M. Popko (S. 10) *URUZi-ip-la-an-da*, als mittelheth. *URUzi-ip-la-an-ta*; für das 13. Jh. v. Chr. nennt er *URUZi-pa-la-an-da/ta*, *URUZi-pal-an-da/ta* und *URUZi-pal-da/ta*. Erwähnung verdient aber auch jungeth. *URUZi-ip-pal-an-da* neben wohl aus Raumgründen kürzer geschriebenem *URUZi-pa-la-an-da* (KBo 13.90, 2, 5; S. 186). Auch sonst begegnen verschiedene Schreibungen im gleichen Text; vgl. *URUZi-ip-la-an-da* neben *URUZi-ip-pa-la-an-da* KBo 22.50 lk. Kol. 1', 2', 7" (jheth.), *URUZi-ip-pa-la-an-da* neben *URUZi-pa-la-an-d[a]* KUB 20.96 V 2, 3 (jheth.). Im Gebet Muwatallis II. ist auf der Tafel KUB 6.46 *URUZi-ip-pa-la-an-ta* (I 61), statt dessen auf der Tafel KUB 6.45+ aber *URUZi-ip-la-an-da* (IV 28) geschrieben. In mittelheth. KBo 17.88+24.116 findet sich II 17 der Ablativ *URUZi-ip-pa-la-an-ta-az*, II 18 aber *URUZi-pa-la-*°.

Mit den unterschiedlichen Schreibungen verbindet M. Popko eine Veränderung der Namensform: « Vermutlich ruhte der Akzent zuerst auf der vorletzten Silbe, später jedoch ist aus unbekannten Gründen zwischen -p- und -l- ein neuer Vokal -a- erschienen, und in den letzten Jahrzehnten des 13. Jh. hat sich der Akzent auf ihn verschoben, wobei der vorher akzentuierte Vokal samt dem Nasallaut geschwunden ist » (S. 10). Dieser Interpretation vermögen wir uns nicht anzuschließen. So folgt seine « klassische » Schreibung *Zi-ip-pa-la-*° ganz dem bekannten Prinzip der Sturtevantschen Regel, wonach Doppelkonsonanz phonologisch als Tenuis zu werten ist, wobei der darauf folgende Vokal *a*, weil dem Silbenzeichen PA inhäriert, nur graphische Ursache hat; vgl. *ar-ha-ri*, *ar-ha-ti* gegenüber jüngerem *ar-ha-ha-ri*, *ar-ha-ha-at*, StBoT 5, 1968, 4f., zur graphischen Wiedergabe von /arħari/ und /arħat/. Die Schreibung mit dem KVK-Zeichen PAL weist auf eine Lautfolge /-pl-/ , vergleichbar etwa dem KVK-Zeichen TAR schon einer mittelheth. Niederschrift (KUB 23.78b, 9'; E. Laroche, CTH 139B; Verf., FsBittel I, 1983, 397), das dort als /-tr-/ zu interpretieren ist: *ku-tar-ú-e-né-eš* /kutruenes/ « Zeugen ». Ähnliches läßt sich auch für das KVK-Zeichen KAT beobachten, das z.B. innerhalb der Präteritalform *li-in-kat-ta* « schwor » als /-kt-/ zu verstehen ist (in anderer Graphie *li-in-ik-ta*, vgl. N. Oettinger, GsKronasser 1982, 164⁹). Gegenüber der Feststellung, daß Graphien wie *URUZi-pal-da/ta* oder *URUZi-ip-la-ta* (KBo 2.12 II 7') die Tendenz zur Reduktion des Nasallautes erkennen lassen (M. Popko, S. 10), ist mit Blick auf das Nebeneinander z.B. von *URUZi-ip-pa-la-da* und *URUZi-ip-pa-la-an-da* KUB 54.63 (13. Jh.) II 2', 6' (M.

Popko, S. 188) Vorsicht geboten.

ERGEBNIS : Abweichend von M. Popkos Auffassung, wonach die graphischen Varianten lautliche Veränderungen der Namensform widerspiegeln sollen, gelangen wir selbst zu der Feststellung, daß der betreffende Ortsname während der gesamten hethitischen Textüberlieferung einheitlich die Lautung /Ziplanda/ zeigte (mit dem Wortakzent wohl auf der vorletzten Silbe), deren graphische Wiedergabe jedoch von den im Laufe der Zeit wechselnden Schreib(er)gewohnheiten abhing. Daher dürfte graphisch *Zi-ip-pa-* kaum Anspruch auf lautliche Sprachwirklichkeit haben; gemäß der Sturtevantschen Regel liegt darin vielmehr eine eindeutige Graphie für /Zip-/ vor.

E. NEU (02-12-97)

145) Zur Bedeutung von hethisch ^{GIS}pár-aš-tu-e-eš in der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue – In unserer Bearbeitung der hurritisch-hethitischen Bilingue hatten wir uns auch mit der Interpretation der siebten und letzten Parabel der Keilschrifttafel KBo 32.14 Rs. 55ff. befaßt (StBoT 32, 1996, 94-97, 198-217). Es geht dort um die Errichtung eines riesigen Holzstoßes, dessen unterer Teil bis zur Unterwelt, dessen oberer Teil aber bis an den Himmel heranreicht. Kaum war jedoch dieser Holzstoß errichtet, verflucht das Holz den, der es aufgeschichtet hat. Daraufhin begann der Stapler (hurr. *mušuni*, heth. *handanz*) das Holz zu verfluchen. Der Unterbau des Holzstoßes soll in den Kanal, sein oberer Teil aber in den Fluß fallen! Es ist der gleiche Topos von «Kanal» und «Fluß», wie er sich auch schon in den vorausgegangenen Parabeln vom prunkvollen Becher und vom hohen Turm findet. In der hethit. Übersetzung ist die Bezugnahme auf den oberen Teil des Holzstoßes, der in den Fluß fallen soll, folgendermaßen ausgedrückt (lk. Rand 4): ^{GIS}pár-aš-tu-e-eš-ma-kán an-da ú-e-te-ni iš-*hu*[*-ua-a-an-ta-ru*] «die Triebe aber sollen ins Wasser geschüttet werden!» Hier steht *ueteni* «ins Wasser» stellvertretend für sonstiges ID-i «in den Fluß» (II 60, Rs. 47). Daß ein Holzstoß, der aus zersägtem Holz besteht, oben drauf Triebe oder Schößlinge hervorbringt, schien mir von der Sache her problematisch, weshalb ich mich nach langem Hin und Her aufgrund eigener Beobachtung für den durch Kursivsatz als unsicher gekennzeichneten Übersetzungsbehelf *Moosflechten* entschied. Dabei hatte ich leider unberücksichtigt gelassen, daß die Geschichte vom Holzstoß nicht in unseren Breiten, sondern im nordsyrischen Raum angesiedelt ist. Daher habe ich inzwischen einen Vertreter der Archäobotanik zu Rate gezogen. So ließ mich Herr Diplom-Biologe R. Neef auf meine diesbezügliche Frage dankenswerterweise wissen, daß es in der dortigen Region ganz normal sei, wenn einem aus zerkleinertem Weiden- und Pappelholz (den dort weitverbreiteten Holzarten) bestehenden Holzstoß oben drauf anfangs noch Triebe entsprössen. Insofern fügt sich die Bedeutung von ^{GIS}pár-aš-tu-e-eš der Bilingue dem bisherigen Bedeutungsansatz «Trieb, Schößling», wie er etwa im Telipinu-Mythos KUB 17.10 I 16f. (StBoT 32, 212) gut greifbar ist. Im CHD P/2, 1995, 190f. wird bedeutungsmäßig stärker auf «leaf, foliage» abgehoben. Für höchst unwahrscheinlich halten wir die im CHD a.a.O. 191a für die betreffende Textstelle der Bilingue vorgenommene Ergänzung zum Zustandspassiv *iš-*hu*[*wanteš ašandu*] «... sollen geschüttet sein» an Stelle des von uns oben angeführten Vorgangspassivs *iš-*hu*[*-ua-a-an-ta-ru*]. Die Pleneschreibung der Mittelsilbe richtet sich nach vorhergehendem *mu-ua-a-an-ta-ru*.**

V. Haas – I. Wegner (OLZ 92, 1997, 442; vgl. ibid. 341) verstehen diese Parabel völlig anders, indem sie das für das Gesamtverständnis zentrale hurrit. Wort *abri* (= akkad. *abru*) nicht in der Bedeutung «Holzstoß» anerkennen, sondern ungedeutet lassen, die Säge (hurrit. *šašarri*), mit der das Holz zerkleinert wurde, ebenso wenig berücksichtigen wie den Esel (hurrit. *serreneš*), der das zersägte Holz zum Standort des späteren Holzstoßes geschleppt haben dürfte. Für hethit. *titnu-*, (= hurrit. *šiial-*) dem sie ein im Text nicht bezeugtes *anda* zuordnen, wird ad hoc eine Bedeutung «einpflanzen» propagiert. So ergibt sich für die beiden Autoren das Verständnis von einer Parabel, die nach unserer Auffassung mit der hurritischen Vorlage inhaltlich nichts mehr gemein hat. Ebenso rätselhaft bleibt mir deren ad-hoc-Deutung von hethit. *handant-* als «Heger» bzw. von hurrit. *mušuni* in Verbindung mit der Göttin *Hebat* als «Hegerin». Es gibt keinen ernsthaften Grund, in jenem Zusammenhang für das Wortpaar *handant- / mušuni* von der seit langem gesicherten Bedeutung «gerecht» abzurücken. Über die Grundbedeutung der Verben hethit. *handai-* und hurrit. *muš-* (vgl. KBo 32.13 I/II 21) «ordnen, richtig anordnen, zurechtstellen» wurde schließlich die fachsprachliche Berufsbezeichnung «Stapler» (u.ä.) geschaffen. Nirgendwo im gesamten hethit. Schrifttum läßt sich für *handant-* die Bedeutung «Heger» nachweisen, und nirgendwo findet sich für *tit(ta)nu-* oder *anda tit(ta)nu-* die Bedeutung «einpflanzen», auch nicht innerhalb der Bilingue! Obwohl in der betreffenden Parabel keinerlei Rede ist von einem Baum, wird von V. Haas (Geschichte der hethit Religion, 1994, 135¹⁵⁸) auch noch die Vorstellung vom Weltenbaum mit hineingeheimnist. Zur Parabel VII sei noch auf J. Catsanicos, Amurru 1, 1996, 206, 233, 243ff., 257, 259, 267 verwiesen.

E. NEU (02-12-97)

146) Toujours à propos de cornes : les cornes éblaïtes. Archéologie – La destruction du Palais Royal G d'Ebla protosyrienne (vers 2300 a.C.) a causé le démembrément et la forte dispersion de tout le mobilier du bâtiment de sorte que le mobilier ne peut être reconstruit en partie qu'hypothétiquement ou grâce à des comparaisons¹. Par exemple, face à une riche documentation philologique sur l'emploi des cornes animales et sur les décorations de ces dernières avec des métaux précieux, les restes archéologiques – bien qu'ils soient

sporadiques – fournissent tout de même l'occasion de faire des réflexions importantes.

On peut d'abord exclure la présence d'autels ornés de cornes qui paraissent tout à fait étrangers à la culture syrienne, car ils ne sont attestés par aucun document et on ne les trouve pas non plus dans les représentations sculpturales ni dans la glyptique contemporaines².

En ce qui concerne Ebla, il faut remarquer la citation fréquente – dans la documentation épigraphique – de livraisons de métaux précieux pour la décoration des cornes, élément auquel on peut essayer de relier la documentation archéologique bien qu'elle ait un caractère fragmentaire. En tout cas, il vaut mieux rappeler – dans ce site – l'utilisation fréquente de matériaux différents aussi bien pour la statuaire en miniature que pour celle grande nature³, ce qui peut donner appui à l'emploi d'un métal pour la réalisation des cornes d'une statue bovine. Pour finir, on peut rappeler que dans la zone P Sud de la Ville Basse d'Ebla, où l'on a découvert un secteur d'établissement d'importance de l'époque du Palais Royal – probablement lié à la zone sacrée septentrionale – et où durant la période paléosyrienne a été bâti le complexe monumental consacré à Ishtar, on a trouvé des fragments, d'une très bonne facture, de statuettes de taureau en calcaire, formées par des parties séparées et présentant l'insertion de matériaux différents – par exemple pour les parties conservées – pour les queues.

L'élément le plus décisif, peut-être, qui corrobore l'hypothèse de la décoration de la pointe des cornes des bovins est la découverte, dans les salles du Palais G, de boucles de lapis lazuli, censées faire partie d'instruments de musique similaires aux harpes mises à jour dans le Cimetière Royal d'Ur, où les cornes des têtes de taureau qui en décorent la partie antérieure sont justement réalisées dans un matériau différent de celui de la tête ; en outre, il est possible que des embouts – toujours en lapis lazuli – dont la cavité à la base sert à les appliquer sur un autre objets⁴, rentrent eux-aussi dans le susdit mobilier.

La fragmentation extrême des pièces éblaïtes contemporaines des Archives d'Etat n'apporte pas de données significatives. En revanche, d'un côté la comparaison avec des productions artistiques mésopotamiennes plus anciennes telles que des amulettes en forme de bovidés qui ont toujours des trous pour l'application de cornes en matériaux différents, tandis que les images de bétail sont réalisées en un seul morceau⁵, et, de l'autre, l'évidence démontrée – par exemple – par un fragment d'une fresque du Palais de Mari qui reproduit un taureau dont la pointe des cornes est peinte en blanc⁶, peut-être pour évoquer un embout en argent, et, à Ebla même, par la découverte dans une des Tombes Royales paléosyriennes, de deux revêtements en or qui recouvriraient la pointe des cornes d'un bovin tirant le char du souverain mort, paraissent plus intéressantes.

On peut donc affirmer, même s'il n'y a pas une certitude absolue, qu'en Mésopotamie aussi bien qu'en Syrie, au moins à partir des périodes de Uruk et Jemdet Nasr et jusqu'au milieu du II^e millénaire a.C., on avait coutume de recouvrir la pointe des cornes des bovidés utilisés lors des cérémonies avec des métaux précieux – surtout argent et or – en renouvelant peut-être le revêtement à chaque cérémonie, pour en faire cadeau à la divinité, ce qui expliquerait les fréquentes citations de la documentation écrite. L'interprétation selon laquelle de vraies cornes bovines, ornées ou recouvertes par un métal précieux, étaient utilisées comme coiffure pour les statues divines ou pour les statues de leurs animaux symboliques – le taureau, justement, est lié soit à Ishtar, la grande divinité éblaïte de la période paléosyrienne soit à Hadad, le dieu de la tempête – n'est pas invraisemblable mais il s'agit seulement d'une hypothèse.

1. L'unique et importante exception est l'« Etendard d'Ebla », dont certains éléments ont été réemployés comme décosrations de pavement permettant ainsi d'en établir, de façon assez certaine, la composition : P. Matthiae, *Nouvelles fouilles à Ebla en 1987-1989 : CRAI 1990*, pp. 384-431 ; P. Matthiae, F. Pinnock, G. Scandone Matthiae (edd.), *Ebla. Alle origini della civiltà urbana*, Milano 1985, pp. 274-279.

2. Dans la glyptique protosyrienne, il y a des représentations d'autels ou de petits temples, mais ces derniers ne sont jamais ornés de cornes, même si parfois on trouve des images de taureaux sur ou dans ces autels.

3. P. Matthiae, F. Pinnock, G. Scandone Matthiae (edd.), *Ebla*, cit., nn. 63-64, pp. 298-299.

4. F. Pinnock, *Patterns of Trade at Ebla in the Third Millennium B.C. : Ann. Arch. Ar. Syr. 40* (1990), fig. 7, p. 49.

5. M.R. Behm-Blancke, *Das Tierbild in der altmesopotamischen Rundplastik*, Mainz am-Rhein 1979, *passim*.

6. A. Moortgat, *The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia. The Classical Art of the Near East*, London-New York 1967, pls. 202-203.

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147) Minima eblaitica 10 : /mapqad-um/« inspection, review » – This is the first Eblaite noun attested in all the three cases of the singular : *ma-ba-ga-tum, ma-ba-ga-tim/ti ; ma-ba-ga-dam, ma-ba-ag-da-mu*. Often, however, the case endings are not used correctly in the administrative documents.

Nom. (1) TM.75.G.10013 obv. II', 11 ff. : 1 'a-da-um TÚG 1 aktum-TÚG 1 fb+III-TÚG-gùn / I-bí-zí-kir / lú Iš-má-da-mu / níg-AN.AN.AN / ma-lik-tum / en / è / (III 1) in / ma-ba-ga-tum / IZI.GAR / ^dKu-ra « (1+1+1 clothes) (for) I. of I. (to) assist the queen (when) the king went out for the inspection (for) the IZI.GAR(-rite) of

the god Kura. »

(2) TM.75.G.10049 obv. XIII 22 ff. : 1 íb+III-TÚG-gùn / (XIV 1) níg-AN.AN.AN.AN / *ma-ba-ga-tum* / en / è « (1 cloth) (to) help the inspection of the king (when) he went out. »

Gen. (3) TM.75.G.1793 obv. III 8 95. : 1 íb+III-gùn-TÚG-sa₆ / *En-na-il* / lú A-ma-za<-ù> / níg-AN.AN.AN.AN / en / *ma-ba-ga-tim* / è « (1 cloth) (for) E. of A. (to) help the king with the inspection, (when) he went out. »

(4) TM.75.G.10153 obv. II 4 ff. : 1 íb+III-gùn-TÚG-sa₆ / *En-na-ì* / lú Ša-ù-um / níg-AN.AN.AN.AN / en / *ma-ba-ga-ti* / è / é / ^dKu-ra « (1 cloth) (for) E. of Š. (to) help the king with the inspection, (when) he went out (to) the temple of the god Kura. »

Acc. (5) TM.5.G.1936 obv. II 12 ff. : 1 íb+III-gùn-TÚG-sa₆ / *En-na-il* / lú A-ma-za<-ù> / níg-AN.AN.AN.AN / (III 1) [e]n / è / *ma-ba-ga-dam* / é / ^dKu-ra / in ud / IZI.GAR « (1 cloth) (for) E. of A. (to) assist the king (when) he went out (for) the inspection of the temple of the god Kura in the day (of) the IZI.GAR(-rite). »

(6) TM.75.G.11561 obv. IV 21 95. : 1 íb+III-gùn-TÚG-sa₆ / (V 1) *Hu-mi-zu* / lú Ra-i-zu / níg-AN.AN.AN.AN / en / [wa](?) / m[a-lik-tum](?) / !è! / in / *ma-ba-ag-da-mu* / é / ^dKu-ra « (1 cloth) (for) H. of R. (to) assist the king [and] the q[ueen] (when) they went out for the inspection of the temple of the god Kura. »

These different formula relate to the same event, the ceremony of IZI.GAR in the temple of Kura, the major god of Ebla. In (2) and (3) both the IZI.GAR-rite and the temple of Kura are omitted and these passages would be incomprehensible without the parallel passages.

The writing *ma-ba-ag-da-mu* /mapqat-am(u)/ in text (6) has, at the end, a « graphic » vowel ; cfr. D.O. Edzard, *ARET* V, p. 17, ll. 1, 3, 5 *a-za-me-du* /aşmid/ I have bound » ; see also P. Fronzaroli, *VO* 7 (1988), p. 13.

The root *pqd* means in West Semitic (Akkadian from Mari, see *AHw*, p. 825b, Ugaritic and Hebrew) « to give orders, to inspect. » « Inspection » is a meaning which fits well with *ma-ba-ga-tum* in all the passages in which this occurs.

The Lexical Lists, *MEE* IV nos. 661, 662, have : še-KA = i-z-i-zu-um / a-z-i-zú ; še-KA.KA = *ma-ba-ga-da*. For the first term, see perhaps 'ss, attested in nA and nB in the verb (*wu*)uṣṣuṣu(m), *AHw*, p. 1498a : « (be)fragen, ausfragen. » *ma-ba-ga-da* is a dual form, while the reduplication KA.KA should request a plural.

Ennail, quoted in the passages (3) and (5), was a « man of the gods », lú dingir-dingir, and played an important role in the ritual for the royal wedding, see *ARET* XI 2 (25)7 (34), and *passim*. He succeeded his father Amazau in this charge, see *ARET* XI 1 (25), and *passim*.

For níg-AN.AN.AN.AN « to assist, to take care of, to prepare ; assistance », see *ARET* XI 2 (67)-(68) (restored according to *ARET* XI 1 [64]) : wa / [(du₁₁-)]-ga / [(níg-AN.AN.AN.AN)] / [níg-AN.AN.]AN.AN / wa níg-AN.AN.AN.AN / ^dTu / ^dKu-ra gibil / ^dBa-ra-ma gibil / en gibil / *ma-lik-tum* gibil « Then he who must take care (of it) says that he will take care. Then the goddess Nintu takes care of the new god Kura, of the new goddess Barama, of the new king, of the new queen. » A different interpretation of this term is given by Fronzaroli, *NABU* 1991/49 and *ARET* XI p. 35, which, however, does not seem to fit several passages, see a study of the present writer in *VO* XI (in press).

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148) A Group of Late-Babylonian Letter-orders and Administrative Documents – This group, which consists of at least 89 documents, was first recognized by C.B.F. Walker and E.V. Leichty in M. Sigrist, H.H. Figulla and C.B.F. Walker, *Catalogue of the Babylonian tablets in the British Museum*, 2 (London 1996 ; henceforth *CBT* 2), 224ff.

BM 22166, 22169, 22217, 22222, 22259, 22268, 22283, 22291, 22305, 22357, 22358, 22361, 22362, 22366-22373, 22375-22378 belong to the 96-4-9 collection.

BM 25843 and BM 26862 bear the collection numbers 98-2-16, 897 and 98-5-14, 680 respectively.

BM 29253, 29262, 29267, 29268, 29271, 29294, 29295, 29300, 29307-29311, 29313, 29314, 29316, 29322, 29337-29344, 29347-29350, 29352-29354, 29356, 29357, 29359-29363, 29365, 29367 and 29504, 29527, 29533, 29537, 29560, 29565, 29568, 29570, 29576, 29578, 29579, 29583, 29584, 29589, 29591, 29595, 29598, 29603, 29604, 29607, 29610, 29612 belong to the 98-11-12 and 98-11-14 collections respectively.

I should like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to quote these unpublished documents and Mr C.B.F. Walker who allowed me to consult the Bertin copy.

Twenty of these documents (22.47%) are explicit letter-orders beginning with the word *tuppi* (BM 22166, 22169, 22217, 22222, 22259, 22268, 22283, 22291, 22361, 25843, 29262, 29268, 29295, 29309, 29313, 29314, 29342, 29359, 29504, 29565).

The other 69 documents (77.52%) record receipt of various items (mostly foodstuffs ; BM 22305, 22357, 22358, 22362, 22366-22369, 22371-22373, 22375-22378, 26862, 29253, 29267, 29271, 29294, 29300, 29307, 29308, 29310, 29311, 29316, 29322, 29337-29343, 29347-29350, 29352-29354, 29356,

29357, 29360-29363, 29365, 29367, 29527, 29533, 29537, 29560, 29568, 29570, 29576, 29578, 29579, 29583, 29584, 29589, 29591, 29595, 29598, 29603, 29604, 29607, 29610, 29612).

Most of them (72 out of 89, i.e. 80.89%) are dated not only by day and month, but also by year. All the dated documents are from the years 24-29 of Darius I (498/7-493/2 B.C.). The ruler's name is recorded only in sixteen documents (17.97%), viz. BM 22217, 22222, 22370, 25843, 29267, 29294, 29295, 29309, 29311, 29313, 29314, 29340, 29342, 29349, 29362, 29533.

47 (65.27%) of the dated documents are from year 26, seventeen (23.61%) from year 27, three (4.16%) from year 25, two (2.77%) from year 24, one (1.38%) from year 28, one from year 29 and one from year 20+[x]. BM 26862 is dated only by month (VIa). It is presumably from year 30 of Darius I (492/1 B.C.) which had an intercalated Elul according to BM 26613 (unpublished).

Here follows a list of all the documents arranged in chronological order :

9.IV.24	(BM 29560)	4.X.26	(BM 29356)
10.IX.24	(BM 22371)	7.X.26	(BM 29595)
22.VI.25	(BM 29314)	X.26	(BM 29607)
25.VII.25	(BM 22370)	23.XI.26	(BM 22375)
26.X.25	(BM 29504)	XI.26	(BM 29348)
I.26	(BM 29360)	14.XII.26	(BM 29313)
2.II.26	(BM 22366)	24.XII.26	(BM 29338)
3.III.26	(BM 29598)	29.XII.26	(BM 22372)
26.III.26	(BM 22373, 29342)	XII.26	(BM 29354)
1.IV.26	(BM 29311)	3.-.26	(BM 29295)
10.IV.26	(BM 22305)	3-8.-.26	(BM 29253)
11.IV.26	(BM 29367)	24.-.26(!) ([10]+16 ; BM 22367)	
13.IV.[26](?)	(BM 22369)	26.-.26	(BM 29610)
3.V.26	(BM 29349)	4.I.27	(BM 29359)
9.V.26	(BM 29589)	10.I.27	(BM 22368)
10.VI.26	(BM 22357)	12.I.27	(BM 29568)
11.VI.26	(BM 29337)	[2]17.I.27	(BM 29316)
20.VI.26	(BM 29309)	14.III.27	(BM 29340)
24.VI.26	(BM 29578)	19.V.27	(BM 22222)
VI.26	(BM 29294)	2.VI.27	(BM 29341)
8.VII.26	(BM 29591)	VI.27	(BM 29350)
9.VII.26	(BM 22169)	3.VII.27	(BM 22259)
20.VII.26	(BM 22166)	6.VII.27	(BM 22378)
6.VIII.26	(BM 29308, 29570)	21.VII.27	(BM 29361)
12.VIII.26	(BM 22268, 29310)	5.VIII.27	(BM 29271)
14.VIII.26	(BM 29347)	12.VIII.27	(BM 22376)
17.VIII.26	(BM 22291)	15.VIII.27	(BM 29565)
27.VIII.26	(BM 29353, 29363)	21.IX.27	(BM 22283)
VIII.26	(BM 29365, 29584)	12.X.27	(BM 29362)
10.IX.26	(BM 29307)	27	(BM 29267)
11.IX.26	(BM 29300)	XI.28	(BM 29533)
14.IX.26	(BM 29339)	VII.29	(BM 25843)
27.IX.26	(BM 22358)	9.II.20 [+x]	(BM 22217).
3.X.26	(BM 29576)		

- No year (eight including BM 26862 above ; seven with day and month and one with day only) :

18.1	(BM 22362)
12.III	(BM 29537)
30.V	(BM 29268)
4.VIII	(BM 22377)
VIII-x	(BM 29357)
29.X	(BM 29583)
8.-	(BM 29603)

- No date (nine : BM 22361, 29262, 29322, 29343, 29352, 29527, 29579, 29604, 29612).

There is no evidence that BM 29573 (date not fully preserved ; "tag" recording receipt ; ^fInşabtu is mentioned ; she or her namesake delivered one kor of dates to a certain Tattannu according to BM 29143 from 2.IV, no year).

The central figures are Nabû-ētîr and Bêl-ētîr, who are the respective sender and addressee of the letter-orders BM 22268 (Kinayyu is also mentioned), BM 22283, 22291, 22361, 29309 (*şibtu*-bread to be given to a female, presumably Mullittu-silim, cf. BM 29356), BM 29342, 29504 (Tabluû and another woman are mentioned), BM 29578, 29591, 29595, 29612 and probably BM 29359 (Nabû-uşuršu is to be given a *şibtu*-

bread, cf. BM 22222). Nabû-ētir also sent letter-orders to Bulluṭu (BM 29314) and Nabû-ittiya (BM 22222 ; Nabû-uşuršu is to be given *sibtu*-bread). Nabû-ētir received various foodstuffs from Bēl-ētir according to the administrative documents BM 29300 (Rēmūt-Bēl's daughters are also mentioned), BM 29337, 29349, 29578, 29591, 29595, 29598, 29612, as well as BM 29341 (Bulluṭu is also mentioned), BM 29576 (in the presence [*ina ašābi*] of Bēl-ētir/Guzānu and Nabû-uşuršu/Bāni-ahi ; cf. perhaps Guzānu in BM 29340). Nabû-ētir received foodstuffs from Nabû-uşuršu (BM 29354 and presumably BM 29311 where the text has Bēl-ētir, possibly due to a scribal error), Nabû-bullissu/Kit(or Sah)-pa-nu (BM 26862, Bēl-ētir is also mentioned), Bānītu-ittiya (BM 29308, 29310, 29322, 29568), and Mullittu-silim (BM 29356, in the presence [*ina ašābi*] of Ardi-Bēl the Younger) ; cf. BM 29352. Nabû-ētir is mentioned together with Bel-ētir also in BM 29316, 29610 and BM 29367 (with Nabû-ittannu), with a certain Aha-iddina (or Nāşir-šumi) in BM 22259, and with Nabû-ittannu, Kalbā and Iddina-Bēl in BM 29357 (in the presence of Nabû-ētir-napšāti). Iddina-Bēl is also mentioned in BM 29313. Bēl-ētir is recorded together with Nabû-balassu-iqbi and Nabû-uşuršu (cf. above), Nabû-rē²ušunu (BM 29348 ; Nabû-rēušunu is also recorded in BM 29579) and perhaps BM 29338 (with Nabû-kāşir). Other individuals are Bulluṭā (= Bulluṭu above?), Nabû-balassu-iqbi and Nidintu (BM 29350), as well as Balātu (BM 22367), Iddinā (BM 29584), Iqīšā (BM 29343), Nāşiru (BM 29271), and Šamaš-iddina (BM 29583). Nabû-bullissu/Ardiya is recorded in BM 29339. Like in other epistolary and administrative documents, the patronymic of the individuals are rarely indicated. Therefore the possibility that many of the names refer to different homonymous individuals cannot be excluded.

These documents record the following items :

Şibtu-bread (presumably a flat bread, cf. CAD §.162f. :4 «(a type of bread)» ; AHw. 1099a, s.v. *şibtu* III, 2 : «ein Brotfladen») is mentioned in most of the documents (e.g., BM 22358, 22362, 22366, 22371-22373, 22375-22378). The quantities range from half a piece (BM 29310, 29595) to 400 pieces (BM 22370), but otherwise, with very few exceptions (two and five *şibtu* : BM 29309, 29340 and BM 26862, 29348, 29350 resp. ; three *s.* with other foodstuffs, BM 29322 ; 2.5 *s.* with meat, BM 29314), just one *şibtu* is recorded (BM 22217, 22222, 22291, 22367, 22370, 29267, 29294, 29359, 29504, 29565, 29579, 29595 and perhaps BM 29610 ; mentioned together with other foodstuffs : BM 22259, 22283, 29300, 29316, 29341, 29349, 29352, 29353, 29357, 29361, 29362, 29365, 29578, 29591 and perhaps BM 29356). *Şibtu* in these documents cannot be the homonymous word for a type of garment (as listed in CBT 2, 229), not only because it is never preceded by the determinative *TÚG*, but also in view of the context and the fact that fractions of it (0.5 and 2.5 *şibtu*) were also distributed. Another type of baked foodstuff, *kusīpu* («flat, thin bread», pl. *kusīpētu*), is recorded in BM 29337 (ten *ku-sip-<pe>-tu₄*), BM 29583 (twenty *ku-si-ip-pe-tu₄*), BM 29576 (thirty *ku-si-ip-pe-tu₄*), and BM 29533, 29607. The ratio between *şibtu* and *kusīpu* (henceforth *s.* and *k.* resp.) is always in favour of the latter (ranging from 1:40 to 1:2) : 0.5 *s.* : 10 *k.* (BM 29595) ; 0.5 *s.* : 20 *k.* (BM 29310) ; 1 *s.* : 21 *k.* (BM 22283) ; 1 *s.* : 20 *k.* (BM 29300, 29341, 29353, 29362) ; 1 *s.* : 10 *k.* (BM 29361) ; 2 *s.* : 10 *k.* (BM 29340) ; 2(? *s.* : 20 *k.* (BM 29591) ; 5 *s.* : 10 *k.* (BM 26862). It is very probable that *kusīpu* was smaller than *şibtu*.

Barley : BM 29537 (cf. BM 29603 ; it is doubtful whether BM 29344 from 22.XI.-, where ten kors of ŠE.BAR *pe-si-t[i]*, i.e. «white barley», are recorded belongs to this group) ; barley for a barrer of barley beer (BM 29584, an earlier document is mentioned).

Parched grain (*qa-A+A-i-tu₄*, BM 29591).

Flour : BM 29560.

Dates : BM 29300, 29357, 29504.

Wine (*kārānu* = (giš)GEŠTIN) is always mentioned together with meat. The quantities are specified in BM 29347 (two seahs), BM 29307 (one seah and three SILA) and BM 29591 (two SILA). A larger quantity (three *pānu* and one seah) of wine(?) is recorded in BM 29253.

Meat : a shoulder cut (1-*en*) *uzu*ZAG.LU = *imittu*, BM 22357, 29253, 29568, 29591) ; *har-mi-ir* (e.g., BM 29253 ; = *uzu**har-mil*, BM 29338, 29339). Statistically, there are more spellings with *-r* (hitherto unattested in published documents) than with *-l*. Since the etymology of this word is uncertain (for a tentative Aramaic derivation of *harmil* see von Soden, AHw., 326a), there is no telling which form is the original one (the final liquid can be interpreted as due to assimilation to the *r* of the first syllable or by dissimilation to it which would have resulted in *-l*). The number of cuts is one (BM 29300, 29341, 29362, 29578), two (BM 26862, 29314, 29341 ; 29322 : *uzu**ha-<ar>-mi-ir*), five (BM 29342), ten (BM 29313, 29360), twelve (BM 29357 : *uzu**ha-<ar>-mi-ir*), eighteen (BM 29533) and as many as 21 (BM 29338). Compare BM 29316. The reading of another specific cut of meat (1-*en* *uzu**ši-ri-x-x*, BM 29352) is to be clarified. Unspecified meat cuts (the quantity ranging from one to sixteen is indicated in brackets) are recorded in BM 29356, 29361, 29365 (1 UZU ; BM 29349 : 1-*en* UZU), BM 26862, 29367 (3 UZU), BM 29271 (16 UZU). Meat is also recorded in BM 22305, 29308, 29347, 29527, 29576 and together with silver in BM 29253. BM 29589 has *har-ha-ru* which looks like the Akkadian word for «chains».

Some of these documents are very tiny and look like docketts (or tags), e.g., BM 26862, 29533, 29537, 29560, 29576, 29578, 29583, 29589, 29591, 29595, 29598, 29604, 29607, 29612.

Many letter-orders and administrative documents (of various sizes) end with a sign resembling DAR (e.g. BM 22222, 22370, 22372, 26862, 29253, 29309, 29313, 29314, 29316, 29340, 29342, 29348, 29361,

29362, 29533). It should be pointed out that the sign in question is not identical with DAR or with any other sign of the LB syllabary. Typologically, one may compare Aramaic ostraca from late-Achaemenid and early Hellenistic Idumea (likewise recording receipt of certain items) ending with a sign that is not identical with a letter (year 45 or 46 ; I. Eph'al and J. Naveh, *Aramaic ostraca of the fourth century BC from Idumaea*, Jerusalem 1996, 10 ad #1, 2, 3, 5, 52, 54 ; year 16 : #104 ; no year : #65 ; no year or year lost : #145 ; different signs at the end of #72 from year 3 [+x], #45, no year and #100, no year). It seems that these signs had the same function as a seal impression. More typological parallels may be mentioned here :

A sign resembling GĀT is written four times after the text of CBS 7969 (a list of personal names, found in Nippur, presumably from the late-Assyrian or « Chaldean » period ; PN₁ A PN₂ is used in administrative documents also long after 600 B.C. ; quoted with kind permission of Professors A. Sjöberg and E.V. Leichty of the University Museum, Philadelphia). The undated note BM77549 (= Bertin #2976, Sippar collection ; no place) ends in, a sign resembling BI and GAB. According to a deed from Urak (549/8 B.C.), the GAD sign was tattooed on the hand of a female slave : GAD šaṭ-ra-ti (fem.) « the cuneiform sign GAD » (fem. as in Arabic, see W. von Soden apud M. San Nicolò and H. Petschow, BR 6, 107 ad 99, 6). Regarding *s/za-du-ú* (M.W. Stolper, AMI 23, 1990, 174 ad 9 : « a hapax legomenon, perhaps describes a bran »), which in all probability derives from *S/Z-D-Y*, it may be related to *ṣdy*, name of a letter in the Canaanite and Aramaic alphabet (if ancient Aram. *ṣdh* ‘owl’ derives from *S-D-Y*, cf. W.R. Garr, *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine 1000-586 B.C.E.*, Philadelphia 1984, 46, 68, n. 100, then it may be homonymous – if not related – with the letter’s name). Was this letter marked on the animal?

As is usual in epistolary and administrative documents, the place of issue is not indicated in these letter-orders. It cannot be proven that BM 29328, a memo concerning work in the temple of Mār-biti between 5.VII and 5.VIII.26, belongs to this group (this deity was worshipped mainly, but not exclusively, at Borsippa ; none of the four individuals mentioned in BM 29328 reappears in the group under discussion). Neither is there internal evidence that these 89 documents originated in Borsippa. That the museum purchased them together with many N/LB tablets from Borsippa, provides only the weakest of arguments.

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149) Some Iranians in Cuneiform Documents – Nos. 2, 6 are NA. All the other names are LB (Nos. 1, 7 were kindly brought to my attention by T. Boiy, Leuven).

1. *Ár-šá-in-nu* (CT 49, 153, 15 ; Babylon, 94/3 B.C. ; Rahimesu archive). The suffix -aina- (cf. below, 4) is attached here to *Rša- ‘man, hero’ as in RAE *Ir-še-na* (M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana*, Vienna 1973 [henceforth *OnP*], 8.639).

2. *A-ú-i-ta-a* (STT 406+] 407, 11’ ; cf. K. Deller, *OrNS* 34, 1965, 475) is from Huzirīna (modern Sultantepe). The document refers to the personnel of the Ištar temple there (see B. Menzel, *Assyrische Tempel*, Rome 1981, 1, 90). It is undated, but the dated documents which were found in the same place are mostly from c. 740- 612 B.C., i.e. after the Assyrian deportations from the Iranian plateau to the West. The name is apparently < OIran. *Avita-, compare Old Indian *avita-* ‘protected, promoted, encouraged’ (cf. E.A. Grantovskiy, *Rannyyaya istoriya iranskikh plemen peredney Azii*, Moscow 1970, 100, n. 19). For NA <-Ca-a> = OIran. /-al compare Zadok in H. Waetzoldt and H. Hauptmann (eds.), *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten. 39e RAI, Heidelberg 6.-10. Juli 1992* (Heidelberg 1997), 213f., n. 5. A West Semitic interpretation is very doubtful (cf. F.M. Fales, *OrAnt* 16, 1977, 64 ; *idem, Atti del 1° convegno italiano sul Vicino Oriente antico*, Rome 1978, 227).

3. *Bi-mi-ia* (HSM 909.6.601, patronym of an individual from Borsippa, time of Darius I ; I would like to thank Prof. P. Steinkeller for permission to quote from this unpublished document which belongs to the Harvard Semitic Museum) is possibly < *Bīmiya-, an -iya- adjective of OIran. *bīma- (OInd. *bhīma* ‘fearful, terrific, terrible, awfull, formidable’) ; the hypothetical forerunner of Middle Pers. and New Pers. *bīm* ‘fear, terror’.

4. *Ha-ra-i-na?* held a bow fief in Haṭalā together with *Ba-gi-da-a-tú* in 425/4 B.C. (V. Donbaz and M.W. Stolper, *Istanbul Murashū texts*, Leiden 1997, 42, 3, 6, lo.e.). He presumably belonged to the *hatru*-organization of lūAr-ú-ma-A+A. His name ends with -aina- (possibly a (pro-)patronymic) which is attached to *Xara- ‘ass’ (cf. W. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*, Wiesbaden 1975 [henceforth *ASN*], 132f.).

5. *Ma-si-iš-tu₄* (NABU 1997/13 : NBC 6157 ; Nippur, 430/29 B.C.), i.e. < OIran. *Masīšta- ‘greatest’ (cf. Latin *Maximus*), ‘highest’ > ‘leader’, is homonymous with the ultimate source of Masīsthš, the name of Xerxes’ brother (J.M. Balcer, *A prosopographical study of the ancient Persians royal and noble*, c. 550-450 B.C., Lewiston, N.Y., 1993, 106:81 ; cf. J. Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia from 550 BC to 650 AD*, London 1996, 52f.). This modest addition to the documentation of this name strengthens the case for preferring the reading Masīsthš over Masīstrhš (so judiciously advocated by R. Schmitt, *Die Iranier-Namen bei Aischylos*, Vienna [SÖAW Phil.-hist. Kl. 337], 1978, 40f. : 3.1.8).

6. If -an- of *Pa-ra-an-šá-ka* (Aššur, Ālu eššu quarter, 20.XI. eponymy of Sagibu [sometimes between 647 and 612 B.C.] ; A.Y. Ahmad, *al-Raftān* 17, 1996, 274, 288:34 = M. Jas, *SAAS* 5, 39f. :22, 16 ; Aššur-māta-taqqin

archive, 2nd witness) is an NA *Umkehrschreibung* of *na* (for *VC* instead of *CV* see K. Deller, *OrNS* 31, 1962, 188f.), then the name may go back to OIran. **Farnah-saka-*, ‘remembering Farnah’ (cf. I. Gershevitch, *Studia classica et orientalia Antonino Pagliaro oblata 2*, Rome 1969, 217, s.v. *Bakašakka*; *OnP* 8.214; *ASN*, 58, s.v. **Baga-saka-*).

7. ‘*Re1-ba/ma-*’ (*CT* 49, 107 r. 9’ + *BM* 32170; Seleucid) < **Raiva-* ‘rich, splendid, magnificent’ (cf. *ASN*, 196f.).

8. *Si-ia-ma-nu* (*BM* 92990 = *Bertin* 2968; patronym; time of Darius [presumably I]; I should like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to quote these unpublished documents and Mr C.B.F. Walker who allowed me to consult the *Bertin* copy) is an -āna-(pro-)patronymic of **Syāva-* ‘black’ (cf. *ASN*, 229; for **Syāma-* one would expect LB <*mm*>).

Ran ZADOK (24-12-97)

150) Siruatti the Me'unite in a second inscription of Tiglath-pileser III – Siruatti is mentioned in ND 400, a detailed summary inscription of Tiglath-pileser III (H. Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III King of Assyria*, 1994, Summ. 8 lines 22-23). The text is badly broken on both sides. Line 22 opens the episode with the words « Siruatti the Me'unite, whose [territory is] ‘below’ Egy[pt] ». After a long break, line 23 relates that « [... my] exalted [name?] (and) my extensive conquest he he[ard and fear overwhelmed him ...] ». The end of Siruatti's episode is missing and the next fine opens with the episode of Samsi, queen of the Arabs.

Another inscription of Tiglath-pileser (Tadmor, *ITP*, Summ. 13) describes the episodes of Samsi (lines 3-8) and the Arab tribes (lines 8-15). Lines 15-16 are partly broken, but with the help of the facsimile (Plates LIX-LX) may be restored thus :

15. ... šul-ma-ni-šú-nu [qe-re]b! É.GAL ú'-[... "Si-ru]-at-t[i]

16. [*KUR Mu-*u-na-a-a ù] "I-di-bi-'i-i-lu a-na lúq[e-pu]-ti <ina> muħħi [x x *KUR Mu-uṣ*]-ri ap-qid

« Their gifts I [stored/exhibited] within the palace. [Siru]att[i the Me'unite and] Idibi'lu I appointed as ‘su[pervisors] over [the entrance? of Egy]pt.

Line 34 of Summ. 4, which (like lines 15-16 of Summ. 13) follows the episodes of Samsi (lines 19-27) and the Arab tribes (lines 27-33), may similarly be restored thus : [*Siruatti ù Idibi'lu ana qēpūti ina*] muħħi *KUR Mu-uṣ-ri ap-qid*.

According to Summ. 7 rev. 6, Idibi'lu was appointed to the office of « gatekeeper facing Egypt ». Siruatti, on the other hand, was possibly nominated to the office of *qēpu* over the area ‘below Egypt’ (Summ. 8 line 23). The author of Summ. 13 combined the two episodes and described the nomination of the two Arab leaders to supervise territory south of the Brook of Egypt (Naħal Besor), the southern border of the Assyrian empire in Asia.

Nadav NA'AMAN (03-01-98)

VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

151) The assyriological situation in the University of Pisa – At the University of Pisa, Assyriological section, is starting a Project of systematic study of the civilisation of Eshnunna. In particular, Dr. Paolo Gentili (Ph.D in Assyriology) is compiling a Catalogue of all the texts from the Diyala Region and an epigraphic collection of the cuneiform signs from some sites of the same Region. On the footsteps of what he did for Mari, Dr. Gentili is working also on some problems related to the professional workers of the same territory.

In the same sphere of work, Lucilla Rodinò is involved in the study of the economic texts from Tell Harmal, Salomè Guadalupe Ingelmo is completing her onomastic collection of Ishchali, Marco Repiccioli his study about loan contracts, Salvatore Viaggio his study of some archives of Ishchali and Stefano Lazzareschi his study about the last period of the old-babylonian history of Eshnunna.

Other onomastic, geographical and religious studies of other sites of the same Region are expected for the immediate future.

The regular teacher of Assyriology and chief of the Project, Prof. Claudio Saparetti, has just finished an epigraphy of Tell Harmal and is compiling a catalogue of the date-formulae of the zone of Eshnunna.

Prof. Claudio SAPORETTI (18-11-97)
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153) D. Charpin et J.-M. Durand (éd.), Florilegium Marianum III « Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Marie-Thérèse Barrelet » est paru en janvier 1998. Il peut être commandé auprès de la SEPOA pour le prix de 200 FF (abonnés de NABU), et 270 FF (non-abonnés).

154) La gestion administrative de NABU étant en cours de réorganisation, nous prions nos abonnés d'être indulgents à l'égard des erreurs qu'ils pourraient relever et de bien vouloir nous les indiquer pour que nous procédions aux rectifications nécessaires (nabu@msh-paris.fr ou fax au (0)1.48.87.82.58).

N.A.B.U.

1997

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