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NOTES BRÈVES

63) *ippum* and *apāpum* – M. Held, considering in *JANES* 11 (1979) 59-62 the possible meaning of a word written *hi-iB-Bi* in the phrase “I tore out the *hi-iB-Bi* of the bank of the Euphrates” with which Yahdun-Lim credited himself in his disc inscription, came to the conclusion that the context suggests “hostile elements” and that “the etymology of *hibbum* must remain an open question, lest we become entangled in the thickets of philological fantasy.” Held probably had not yet had the chance to consider the occurrence of *hi-ip-pa-am nasāhum* in the first letter of *ARM* 10, which was published in 1978. G. Dossin translated it “enlever une blessure” according to a suggestion of J.-R. Kupper and added in a comment on page 252 two references of the same expression. They showed that the labial was */p/* and that the initial sound could be written without */h/*. One of the references, A. 1289⁺ I 8, was subsequently published by D. Charpin in *Marchands, Diplomates et Empereurs*, 147-57. In this passage, Zimri-Lim asks Ibal-Pi-El II of Ešnuna for troops, “and I shall seize those cities that I besiege, and *ippam ša pāniya lussuh.*” Charpin translates according to J. Sasson’s adoption of Held’s suggestion “déporter les forces hostiles qui sont au devant de moi.” The other reference has the same expression, *ippam ša pānim nasāhum*, but it remains unpublished and the context unknown. The context of the reference *ARM* 10 1 is a letter of a woman to Yasmah-Addu who was away from Mari at the time. The woman writes that she keeps praying for him to Šamaš and Dagan and hopes that Dagan will tear out *hi-ip šà-[ka] a-nu-mi-am*. J.-M. Durand, who had established through collation this text of the passage, translated in *MARI* 4 (1985) 433, “puisse Dagan terminer ce chagrin que tu as.”

The determination of the labial as */p/* rather than */b/* redirects our philological fantasy. Could it simply be a *pirs* formation of a verb *apāpum*? W. von Soden gave in *AHW* two references of such verb from Mari letters. He thought that it was an Amorite loanword and suggested that it had the meaning “umgeben” as in Hebrew. Durand, in *NABU* 1988/25, rejected one of these references on the basis of collation and added two from *ARM* 26. He noted that the verb is so far only attested in the N-stem and suggested as meaning on the basis of context “passer à travers une barrière, s’infiltre chez l’ennemi.”

The meanings of (*h*)*ippum* and the N-stem of *apāpum* clearly belong together, because if *nanpupum* means to penetrate, then it makes sense that the victim of such penetration wants to tear it out. *ippum* should accordingly designate the nomen actionis as is common for *pirs* formations (GAG § 55 c) and mean “penetration.” An uncertainty remains as long as the G-stem of the verb, from which *ippum* must be derived, is not known.

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64) Emar GARZA and Hebrew Terms for Priestly Portions – According to D. Fleming « One prominent element of NIN.DINGIR festival offerings is completely new in Akkadian writing : some portion of meat represented by the signs PA + AN. The best reading of the sign is GARZA/*parṣu*(?), which would have some previously unattested meaning. »¹ The meaning demanded by the text (Emar 369 28, 37, 49) is “ritual portion” as Fleming rightly observes. The reason Fleming considers this meaning new and problematic is that von

Soden, *AHW*, 835 following Landsberger, recognizes only three legitimate meanings to *parsu*, namely “Amt”, “Kultordnung” and “göttliche Kraft”. However, although Akkadian does not provide sufficient background for the peculiar Emarite usage of GARZA/*parṣu*, Biblical Hebrew supplies an exact parallel. There are two terms with the common meaning of “law” and secondary meaning “cultic ordinance” which are used also as designations of priestly portions of sacrificial meat. The first one is **qj** as found, e.g. in Exodus 29: 28 where the breast and thigh of the priestly ordination offering are assigned to Aaron and his sons as **μlw[qj**, “a portion for eternity.” Identical usage, designating various parts of different sacrifices as the priestly portion is found in Leviticus 6: 11; 7: 34; 10: 13, 14, 15; 24: 9; Numbers 18: 8, 11, 19 (cf. also Genesis 47: 22 and Ezekiel 45: 14.) All these passages come from the Priestly source (P.) **qj** as a designation of an allotted portion of food in non-sacral contexts is attested outside the Priestly source in Proverbs 30: 8; 31: 15 and perhaps Isaiah 5: 14. A non-Priestly term with similar semantic range but different etymology is **fpcm** (law) for which we can compare Deuteronomy 18: 3 which fixes the forearm, cheeks, and stomach of sacrificial animals as **μynhkh fpcm**, “the law (= assigned portions) of the priests.” Identical usage is found in I Samuel 2: 13 which describes the regular practice of the Shilonite priests. To be sure, Hebrew uses **qj** = “assigned portion” in phrases which bind it with the priest in either construct state or prepositional constructions (“the portion of the priest”), while at Emar GARZA/*parṣu* appears in construct state with a sacrificial animal as the nomen regens (“the assigned portion of the sheep/cattle.”) Nonetheless, the meaning of “assigned portion” is unaffected. In light of this evidence we may consider the Emarite use of GARZA/*parṣu* to be either a west-semiticism or a semantic development in peripheral Akkadian analogous to that which occurred in Hebrew². It should be of no surprise.

1. D. E. Fleming, *The Installation of Baal's High Priestess at Emar*, Harvard Semitic Studies 42 (Atlanta, Georgia : Scholars, 1992) p. 137. For the most recent treatment of the ritual see G. A. Klingbeil, *A Comparative Study of the Ritual of Ordination as Found in Leviticus 8 and Emar 369*, Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter : Edwin Mellen (1998). Fleming, in W. W. Hallo ed. *The Context of Scripture. Volume I. Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World*, (Leiden, New York, Köln : Brill, 1997) p. 428 n. 11, where he could have made the connection noted here, remarks only « The noun *parṣu* (GARZA) means “ritual,” but in this context refers to a specific portion of sacrificed meat, apparently determined by ritual standard. » M. Dietrich, « Das Einsetzungsritual der Entu von Emar (Emar VI/3, 369.) » *Ugarit Forschungen* 21 (1989) 47-100 reads PA + AN not as GARZA but as *pa-an* and translates « das Beste vom Rind, das Beste vom Schaf. »

2. For another undetected usage of *parṣu* with a parallel in Biblical Hebrew see S. Cohen, V. Hurowitz, « **μym[h twqj** (Jer. 10: 3) and Akkadian *parṣu* as Designations for Cult Statues, » *Jewish Quarterly Review* (forthcoming).

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65) A Late-Babylonian deed witnessed by gods –

FLP 659 -Sippar, 28.II.23 Dar, I (499/8 B.C.)

1. 10 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-ú šá AŠ 1 GÍN pit-qa
2. nu-uh-hu-tú šá la gín-nu šá ^{md}EN-I
3. A-šú šá ^mha-āš*-da-a A ^mAD-NU-ZU
4. ù 10 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-ú šá AŠ 1 GÍN pit-qa
5. nu-uh-hu-tú šá la gín-nu šá ^mKI-^dEN-nu-uh-šú
6. A-šú šá ^mki-rib-tu A ^{lú}SUR gi-ni-e
7. it-ti a-ha-meš a-na KASKAL
8. iš-kun-nu³ mim-ma ma-la AŠ URU
9. u EDIN AŠ UGU^{hi} KÙ.BABBAR-ÀM 20 MA.NA
10. ip-pu-uš³ AŠ ú-tur ^{md}EN-I
- 11 u ^mKI-^dEN-nu-uh-šú a-ha-a-ta šú-nu
12. e-lat MAŠ MA.NA 3 MAŠ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
13. BABBAR-ú ul-tu É-šú a-na
14. ^{md}EN-I i-nam-din
15. ^{lú}mu-kin-nu ^dXXX ù ^dUTU
16. ^{md}EN-MU-ÙRU ^{lú}UMBISAG A-šú šá ^mmu-še-zib-^dEN
17. sip-par^{ki} ^{iti}GU₄ U₄ 28 KAM
18. MU 23 KAM ^mda-ri-mu-šú
19. LUGAL E^{ki} u KUR.KUR^{meš}
20. 1-en A-TA il-te-qu-ú

Translation

Ten minas of white silver which have 1/8 (alloy) per shekel, (2) of low (or standard, *nuhhutu*) quality

without the *ginnu*- (quality) mark belonging to Bēl-na'íd (3) son of Hašdā descendant of Aba-ul-īdi (4) and ten minas of white silver which have 1/8 (alloy) per shekel, (5) of low (or standard) quality without the *ginnu*-mark belonging to Itti-Bēl-nuhšū (6) son of Kiribtu descendant of Šāhit-ginē (8) they invested (7) together in a business enterprise. (8) Whatever profit (10) they will acquire (8) in town (9) and abroad beyond the said twenty minas of silver, (10) with regard to the excess, (it) belongs to Bēl-na'íd (11) and Itti-Bēl-nuhšū in equal shares. (12) In addition to 33.5 shekels of white silver (which) (14) he will give (13) from his house to (14) Bēl-na'íd. (15) Witnesses Sîn and Šamaš. (16) Bēl-šuma-uşur, scribe, son of Mušēzib-Bēl, (17) Sippar, Iyyar, day 28th, (18) year 23 of Darius (19) King of Babylon and the lands, (20) They have each taken a copy.

Remarks

I should like to thank Mr. J. Randall Rosensteel, the Librarian of the Rare Book Department, of the Free Library of Philadelphia for permission to publish this tablet, and Dr. Maria DeJong Ellis who kindly allowed me to study the tablet while it was under her care at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia.

Lines lff., 8, 10. It is a *harrānu*-transaction ‘type B’ (cf. H. Lanz, *Die neubabylonischen harrānu-Geschäftsunternehmen*, Berlin 1976, 49f., 54).

Line 5. Itti-Bēl-nuhšū son of Kiribtu descendant of Šāhit-ginē acted as the debtor in a promissory note from Sippar on 11.X.498/7 B.C., where his brother Bēl-ittannu was the creditor (H.G. Stigers, *JCS* 28, 1976, 44 : 37, 6 and *pass.*). The deed is witnessed by their father and two brothers (Ina-qībi-Bēl and Saggillu), as well as by the same Bēl-na'íd (son of Haš-da-a) and another two witnesses. Itti-Bēl-nuhšū and his brother Bulluṭ are also mentioned a month later (12.XI.498/7 B.C.) in another document from Sippar (Stigers, *JCS* 28, 54 : 49, 6, 13, 17, 21f.). For the family of Šāhit-ginē see A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar temple, Sippar: its administration and its prosopography* (Leiden 1997), 476ff.

Line 15. For deities acting as witnesses see R. Jas, *Neo-Assyrian judicial procedures* (Helsinki 1996), 19, n. 72 : Gozan (two NA legal documents ; Nabû, Šamaš and Šalam-šarri), B. Parker, *Iraq* 16 (1954), 33 and pl. 5 : ND 2080 from Calah (NA) is witnessed by Šalam-šarri and Šamaš (cf. J.N. Postgate, *Fifty Neo-Assyrian legal documents*, Warminster 1976, 9, §1.4). SAA 6, 219 is witnessed by the former and SAA 6, 240 (both from NA Kouyunjik) by Šamaš and Nergal. For Aššur and Šamaš as witnesses of another NA deed see now K. Deller, F.M. Fales and L. Jakob-Rost, *SAAB* 9 (1995), 25 ad 68, 10. Sîn, Šamaš, Ištar and Gula witness a MA deed. Deities are recorded as witnesses in OB temple loans and in MB. Šamaš, the god of justice, occurs as a witness in *ROMCT* 2, 12, 7 (Nippur, 7.III.545/4 B.C.).

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66) Late-Babylonian *ušru* – Uš-ru-ú, a late-Babylonian equivalent of Akkadian *ešrû* ‘tithe’ has the same base as Aramaic ‘*wšr*’ (*qutl*). It is not recorded in Akkadian texts before the Achaemenid period. The earliest occurrence is from 509/8 B.C. (Babylon, *Dar.* 351, 7 : *uš-re-e-ti*, cf. *AHw.* 258a, s.v. *ešrû*, 3 ; the logographic spellings can render either *ešrû* or *ušrû*). The later occurrences are discussed by M.W. Stolper (*Late Achaemenid, early Macedonian and early Seleucid records of deposit and related texts*, Naples 1993, e.g., 14 ad 12, 2 [277/6 B.C.] ; A 2-4, 1 and A-2, 10, 2 [402/1 or 356/5 B.C.]).

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67) On some upper Mesopotamian toponyms – All the cuneiform forms are NA unless otherwise indicated (OSyr. = Old Syriac).

1. *A-za-me-re* (M. Streck, *ZA* 14, 1899, 165 ; *RGTC* 5, 46, MA, cf. *RGTC* 4, 22?) is recorded in a list of mountains belonging to Assyria which seems to be arranged in a geographical order from southeast to northwest. It is placed after Ebeh (Jabal Ḥamrīn), Uraše (compared by Gelb *et al.*, *NPN*, 273a, with the theophorous element *Urašše* which is recorded in the onomasticon from MB Nuzi) and before Ankurna, Pizitta (cf. NA *ušu Pa-ṣi-tu*, *CCENA* 23, v, 5?), Pizagiš(?) and Kašyari (Tūr-‘Abdīn), *A-za-me-re* reminds one of OSyr. Mt Zmr (e.g., J.-B. Chabot, ed., *Le livre de la chasteté*, Rome 1896 [henceforth *Chasteté*], 52, 63) in northwest Adiabene southeast of the confluence of the Greater Zab to the Tigris (Arab. Zāmir, see J.M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne* [henceforth *AC*], 1, Beirut 1965, 193) 125f., cf. 41 ; not to be confused with OSyr. Kpr Zmr = modern *Kafr Zammār* on the Tigris near Mossul, J.P. Margoliouth, *Supplement to the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith*, Oxford 1927, 169b). In view of the chronology and the Urartian onomastic parallel *A-za-me-ru-ne* (cf. *RGTC* 5, 46), the *a-* of *A-za-me-re* is presumably primary (for the insertion of *a-* in Assyrian toponymy cf. Zadok, in Y. Avishur and J. Blau [eds.], *Studies in Bible and the ancient Near East presented to Samuel E. Loewenstamm on his seventieth birthday*, Jerusalem 1978, 164f. with n. 3).

2. *kur Ha-sa-mu, uru Ha-sa-meš* (*AOAT* 6, 155 ; for the latter's *-meš* cf. Zadok, in M. Liverani, Neo-Assyrian geography, Rome 1995 [henceforth NAG], 275), OB (*kur*)*Ha-sa-am* (*RGTC* 3, 93 ; it has nothing to do with Αἰούμα, OSyr. '(y)šwm', which is more to the east!), MB *Ha-as-mi* (see Kh. Nashef, *RGTC* 5, 121f. with lit.). M. Falkner (*AfO* 18, 1957, 11) located it near Harran and M.C. Astour (*JAOS* 88, 1968, 740) more specifically east or east-southeast of Harran. Astour compares Eg. *Ha-da-mə* admitting that it renders an original *Has/zamu*. See also O. R. Gurney, *Iraq* 11 (1949), 139, n. 9, 140 ; W.W. Hallo, *JCS* 18 (1964), 75f. ; and D.J. Wiseman, *RIA* 4, 126f., s.v. *Hasam, Hasmi*. It survived as OSyr. *Hsmy* (*Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche [1166-1199]* ; ed. Chabot, Paris 1899], xii, 21, 543), a mountain(-range) near Harran and Bêt-qubbē (like *Ytb-ryš* = *Pr*^o ; mid. 9th century C.E.). At first glance the correspondance NA <s> = Aram. <s> does not look normal, but it can be assumed that *Hsmy* is the outcome of the shift /š/ > /s/ which occurred in Aramaic.

3. *Kap-ra-bi*, presumably near the east or northeast border of Bīt-Adini (see M. Liverani, *Studies on the annals of Ashurnasirpal II. 2 : Topographical analysis*, Rome 1992, 72) is perhaps *Kapri(URU.ŠE)-ra-bu* with haplology (see Zadok, NAG, 277). The latter is recorded in the 'archive' of Se²-ma-a-di (683-680 B.C. ; there is no need to emend *-ra-bu<-ti>* as T. Kwasman, *StPohl SM* 14, 353 ad 300, 15' does), where the slaves 1. *Mar-ia-te²*, 2. *Se²-em-me* (both with West Semitic names), and 3. *Mu-ra-a* (Akkadian-West Semitic, atypical) are mentioned. It may, however, be merely homonymous. Old Syriac has *Kpr' rb' dSrwg* (F. Nau, *Les légendes syriaques d'Aaron de Saroug, de Maxime et Domèce d'Abraham, maître de Barsoma et de l'empereur Maurice* = Patr. Orientalis 5, Paris 1910, 295f.) or simply *Kpr rb'* in the following section of the narrative (*ibid.*, 303f.). On the purely linguistic level, this form is the equivalent of the hypothetical Old Aramaic source of *Kap-ra-bi*. *Kpr rb'* is described as a hot and arid place where flocks were pastured (*ibid.* 296). Perhaps it was situated south of Sarūg/Baṭnān not far from a river (*nhr'*) if to rely on the description in 303f. If this is the case, then the identification with the town of Bīt-Adini is not impossible.

4. *Mil-qi/qī-a* was situated not far from Arbela (cf. B. Menzel, *StPohl SM* 10, 113f. ; W. Röllig, *RIA* 8, 1994, 207f.). A village and a mound/hill near Arbela are named *Mlqy* in an Old Syriac source (*Chasteté*, 11).

5. *uru Ni-ra-ma-¹A+A¹* belonged to the governor of *kur Se/Si-me-e* according to *SAA* 11, 222, 2 (cf. xxxivf.), but this does not necessarily imply that this settlement belonged to his province (although it could). This toponym is a gentilic of **Niram*. The text has only gentilics (cf. *URU-ŠÀ-URU-A+A*, *uru TIM-bu²-na-A+A*, and *uru Kal-ha-A+A*, lines 4, 14', and r. 10 resp. ; aptly normalized as *Niramu* in *SAA* 11, 182a, index, s.v.). This basic form is homonymous, if not identical with OSyr. *Nyrm*, name of two villages (*N.* and *N. dr'w't'* « of the shepherds ») in *The book of governors : The Historia monastica of Thomas bishop of Margā*, A.D. 840 (ed. E.W. Budge, London 1893 [henceforth *HMT*], 2, 592, 599). *Nrm* was presumably in Margā, i.e. central Assyria proper, north of the Greater Zab, probably in a mountainous terrain. *Nyrm* is identified by Fiey, *AC* 1, 252f. (cf. map on 224) with *Niram* (so Tfindji [report from 1911 quoted by Fiey, *loc. cit.*], which seems preferable to Fiey's « *Nerem* »), recently renamed as Gunduk (Kurdish) in eastern Marga. *Nyrm dr'w't'* is to be sought in the mountainous section of the district of Birta, not far from the river Ḥāzir and Wādi Nārdoš, likewise in Assyria proper (see Fiey, *AC* 1, 297ff.). On the face of it, this information seems to contribute towards a localization of the province of Se'mē. Postgate (*NAG* 11f.) cautiously suggested to locate Se'mē in the region between the Ḥāzir and the Greater Zab. He bases his suggestion on a list of fugitives from the governor of Se'mē with their home settlements (*ADD* 875+ = *SAA* 11, 163, undated). One of the settlements is Issutu which was situated on the route towards Nineveh from the east (see G.B. Lanfranchi, *NAG* 131f.). However, the governor recorded in the list of fugitives was not that of Se'mē but of *Ši-i-mu*. Therefore it seems reasonable to localize the province of Šīmu in the region between the Ḥāzir and the Greater Zab. The occurrence of [...]*Se²-me-e* in a broken context in the same document (*SAA* 11, 163, r. ii, 4') is of course inconclusive as its reading and definition (GN or PN) are not certain. Postgate (*NAG* 10) is of the opinion that *Se/Si²-me-e* and *Ši-i-mu* (cf. *RGTC* 5, 248 ; Deller and Postgate, *AfO* 32, 1985, 75) are not the same toponym. It is noteworthy that one of the settlements of the list of fugitives is *uru Ir¹-ba-A+A* (*SAA* 11, 163, i, 10). This toponym resembles *uru Ir-bu-A+A* which might have been situated not far from *uru Hu-ba-ba* in *StPohl SM* 14, 119 (see Zadok, *NAG* 261, prob. mid. 7th century B.C.). The latter belonged to the province of *kur Se/Si-m[e!-e?]* according to *SAA* 11, 225, 4'f. (undated).

Se/Si(-²)-me-e was in the upper Habur area according to S. Parpolo (*SAA* 1, 238, index, s.v.). This localization is based on *SAA* 1, 247, 5, where Se'mē is listed between Tillē and Naṣibīna. However, Isana is also mentioned in the same letter. According to the letter *SAA* 1, 257 (Sargon's time), Gozan was perhaps on the way from Se'mē to Marqasi, but this does not necessarily imply that Se'mē was in the upper Habur area : it might have been located anywhere east of Gozan, including Assyria proper. It is reported in this letter that deportees were brought from Se'mē to Gozan where they were given grain rations. Their final destination was Marqasi. It may be surmised that these deportees originated in hostile regions east of Assyria proper, were transported via Se'mē to Gozan and then to the recently conquered province of Gurgum/Marqasi. The Assyrian practice of settling easterners in the far west and westerners in the far east is well known.

6. *Pu-rat-ta-A+A* (738/7 B.C.) is a gentilic of **Purāt-*. It is mentioned in *CTN* 2, 98 together with another gentilic, viz. *Alu-ša-Libluṭayyu* (of the chief cupbearer, see K. Kessler, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Topographie Nordmesopotamiens nach keilschriftlichen Quellen des 1. Jahrtausend v.Chr.*,

Wiesbaden 1980, 158). A deed from 639 or 622 B.C. (found at Assur) records a certain Šulmu-ahhē son of Nabū'a *uru Pu-ra-ta-A+A* (gentilic; K. Deller, F.M. Fales and L. Jakob-Rost, *SAAB* 9, 1995, 121 : 131, 3f.). A village *Prt* (OSyr.) was situated in the region of Margā (in central Assyria proper, cf. 5 above; *AC* 1, 281). However, an absolute localization of **Purāt* is not possible.

7. *Qu-re-' (Sépē-Issar* was active there sometime between 647 and 612 B.C. according to *CTN* 3, 15). Cf. perhaps OSyr. *Qwry* in Assyria proper or near it (*HMT* 2, 296, 326); cf. also *AC* 1, 267 (without localization).

8. *Sa-ar-da-ur-ri-a-na* is an Urartian toponym based on the Urartian royal name *Sarduri*. Its variant *Su-ur-du-ra-fa^l-nu* (cf. H. Tadmor, *The inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, King of Assyria*, Jerusalem 1994 [henceforth Tadmor, *Tigl. III*], 126) is presumably with NA vowel harmony, Tadmor (*Tigl. III*, 52 ad 8'; 100 ad 24) rightly rejects von Soden's proposal to assign a value *sars*₅ merely on the strength of the single occurrence of NA ^dXV-BĀD for Urart. *Sarduri*. His basic idea is to retain the divine name here (apparently by popular etymology). Since *Ištar* has become *Issar* > *Sar* in NA, the form can be harmonized with the other Assyrian and Urartian spellings of the royal name.

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68) An Ur III Cuneiform Tablet in Córdoba (Spain) – The « Real Academia de Córdoba de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes » (Córdoba, Spain) keeps in its collection of Oriental art (« Legado Blanco Caro ») a cuneiform tablet dated to the Third Dynasty of Ur. I am grateful to the institution for the excellent photograph of the tablet I was provided with, and for its kind permission to publish it.

The text comes from the administrative archives of Umma and is dated to the fifth month of the first regnal year of Amar-Suen. It measures 76x55x30 mm, and the inventory number is I-13.

Transliteration and translation :

| | | |
|--------|--|--|
| obv. | 1) 10-la ₂ -1 guruš u ₄ -1-še ₃ | Nine workers for a day |
| | 2) še giš e ₃ -a | have (roughly) measured the grain with a stick. |
| | 3) gir ₃ Ur-dDumu-/ | Under the authority of Ur-Dumuzida, the šarrabdu. |
| | (erasure over Dumu?) -zi-da šar ₂ -<ra>-ab-du | |
| | 4) ugula Ur-d ^f Suen ¹ (EN. ^f ZU ¹) | The foreman was Ur-Suen. |
| rev. | 1) kišib Lu ₂ -kal-la | Sealed document of Lukalla. |
| | 2) iti RI | The month of RI (V). |
| | 3) mu-us ₂ -sa Ha-ar-ši/ ^{ki} Ki-maš ^{ki} ba-hul | Year following (the year) in which Harši and Kimaš were destroyed (AS1). |
| Seal : | 1) Lu ₂ -kal-la | Lukalla, |
| | 2) dub-sar | scribe, |
| | 3) dumu Ur-e ₁₁ -e KUŠ ₇ | son of Ur-e'e, the 'squire'. |

Notes :

obv. 2 : for the interpretation of še giš-e₃-a see M. Civil, *The Farmer's Instructions*, *AuOrS* 5, Sabadell 1994, p. 98.

Obv. 3 : the photograph shows just the very first part of the sign DU (in šar₂-<ra>-ab-du), which was written on the edge. About the šarrabdu see J.-P. Grégoire, *AAS* no. 103 : 2, p. 147 ; P. Steinkeller, *ASJ* 3 (1981) 87 ; H. Limet, *Akkadica* 78 (1992) 11-17.

rev. 1 and seal : the activities of Lukalla have been discussed by F. Pomponio, *ZA* 82 (1992) 169-179 ; M. Stepień, *Animal Husbandry in the Ancient Near East*, Bethesda 1996, p. 154 ; see also H. Waetzoldt, *NABU* 1990 : 48. The seal of the tablet is the one of Lukalla published in F. Yıldız - H. Waetzoldt - H. Renner, *MVN* 14, Roma 1988, s. 63a ; H. Waetzoldt - F. Yıldız, *MVN* 16, Roma 1994, s. 96a ; A. Archi-F. Pomponio - G. Bergamini, *TCNU*, Torino 1995, s.33 (with other references) ; H. Waetzoldt, « Siegelliste », in M. Molina, *AuOrS* 11, Sabadell 1996, s. 84a.

Seal 3 : for the titre KUŠ₇ see R.H. Beal, *NABU* 1992 :48 ; R. de Maaijer, *JEOL* 33 (1993-1994) 117 ; W. Heimpel, *RA* 88 (1994) 11-12 ; H. Neumann, *VAMZ* 26-27 (1993-1994) 133 ; M. Stepień, op. cit., pp. 39-40.

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69) Edurubisa = Du(r)bissu – Das Land, das Gegenstand des von Bruschweiler in RA 83 (1989) 153ff. publizierten, in Abū Qubür gefundenen Vertrags aus dem sechsten Jahr von Nebukadnezar II. ist, befindet sich im Verwaltungsbereich (*pīhātu*) von é.duru₅.bí.sa₆. Bruschweiler hat vorgeschlagen, dieses Edurubisa mit Abū Qubür zu identifizieren (RA 83, 160f.). Ein wichtiger (aber nicht der einzige) Grund für die Vorbehalte gegen diese Identifizierung, die ich in *AfO* 42/43, 261¹⁰ vorgebracht habe, war, daß Edurubisa sonst in Urkunden aus dem ersten Jahrtausend nicht bezeugt ist, obwohl man erwarten würde, daß der alte Name des nahe bei Abū-Habba gelegenen Tells Abū Qubür zumindest in Sippar-Texten auftauchen würde. Dieser Einwand ist nicht mehr stichhaltig, seit Bongenaar in unpublizierten Urkunden aus dem Archiv des Marduk-rēmanni einen offenbar nicht weit von Sippar entfernten Ort *uru BĀD-É-SU*, Variante *uru DU-É/E-SU* gefunden hat (s. Bongenaar, *Ebabbar*, 68. 492 oben). Die Lesung Dür-bit-Erība ist problematisch (der Personenname sollte mit dem Personendeterminativ geschrieben und als Kurzname wohl mit der hypokoristischen Endung -ā(ja) versehen werden : *-I-su^a). Der Name kann besser als *dūr/du-bit-su* für Du(r)bissu gedeutet werden, also als ‘syllabische’ Schreibung des Ortsnamens Edurubisa. Hierbei werden für akkadische Ortsnamen typische Zeichen verwendet (*dūru* « Mauer », *bītu* « Haus » in *bīssu* « sein Haus »), die Bestandteile des ursprünglich sumerischen Namens also ‘volksetymologisch’ aus dem Akkadischen gedeutet, ohne daß freilich der gesamte Name im Akkadischen einen Sinn ergäbe. Die einmal bezeugte Schreibung mit -E- muß bei beiden vorgeschlagenen Lesungen als Fehler gewertet werden.

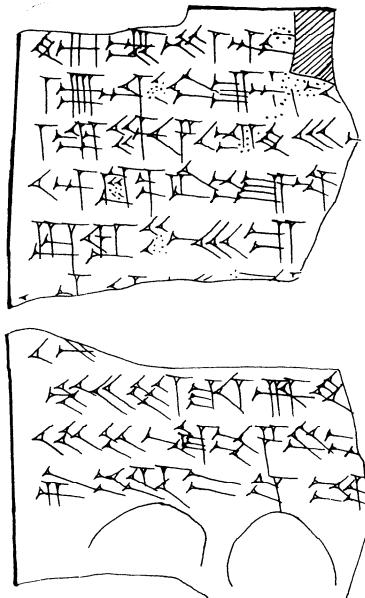
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70) Neues zum Zehnten – Im Februar 1998, nach Abschluß und Abgabe des Manuskripts von AOAT 254 (*Der Tempelzehnt in Babylonien vom siebenten bis zum dritten Jahrhundert v. Chr.*; Abkürzungen hier nach der Liste auf p. 128ff.), sind mir bei der Durchsicht der Sammlung 81-7-1 des British Museum, die mir durch die Freundlichkeit von I. L. Finkel ermöglicht worden ist, einige einschlägige Texte bekannt geworden (Editionen bzw. Zitate mit Genehmigung der Trustees des British Museum).

BM 42616 (81-7-1, 377)

1 im Id-en-mu Id-amar.[utu-re-man-ni u]
Iú-bal-lit-su.-dī gul-[la lúumbisag^{meš} a-na]
Ika-sir šá muh-hi eš-r[u-ú damar.utu]
u d̄sar-pa-ni-tu₄ a-na [šeš-(i)-ni]
5 lik-ru-bu 30 gur [še.bar/zú.lum.ma]
(Spuren, Rest der Vorderseite verloren)

Rs.
1' u [x] []
mu.20.kam Id-a-ri-^{rī} [muš lugal tin.tir^{ki}]
u kur.kur ina qí-bi-šá lúsa[nga sip-par^{ki}]
ni-il-tap-par-ka [0]
(unkennliches Siegel) (unkennliches
Siegel)



« Brief von Bēl-iddin, Marduk-[rēmanni und] Uballissu-Gula, [den Schreibern, an] Kāṣir, der über den Zeh[nten] (gesetzt ist). [Marduk] und Ṣarpanītu mögen [unseren Bruder] segnen. [Gib] 30 Kor [Gerste/Datteln ...] (größere Lücke) [Monat x, Tag y], Jahr 20 des Darius, [König von Babylon] und der Länder. Auf Weisung des šangū [von Sippar] haben wir dir geschrieben. »

Dies ist ein fragmentarischer Briefauftrag aus dem Ebabbar-Archiv. Für die Absender, Angehörige des Schreiberkollegiums des Ebabbar, vgl. Bongenaar, *Ebabbar*, 97. Der Zehntpächter Kāṣir war bisher noch nicht

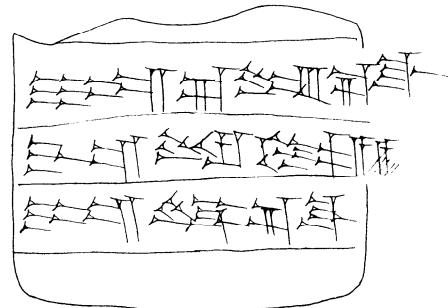
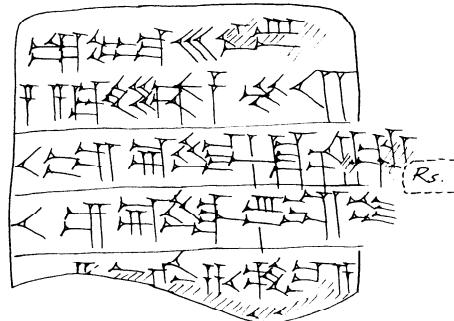
bekannt und ist in AOAT 254, 49 zu ergänzen.

In AOAT 254 wurde auf die Häufigkeit hingewiesen, mit der Güter und Ländereien königlicher Beamter und Personengruppen nicht-babylonischer Herkunft in den Zehntlisten vorkommen. Das folgende Fragment, ebenfalls aus dem Ebabbar-Archiv, ist hierfür ein weiterer Beweis.

BM 42607 (81-7-1, 368)

| | |
|---|--|
| 1 | zú.lum.ma eš-ru-ú šá íd hi.li šá mu.12 |
| | 12 gur é lúgal <<DIŠ>> tág KA.kešda |
| | 10 gur é lúgal ú-ra-tu₄ |
| 5 | [x gu]r é lú? ha-am-ma/ba-a (Rest der Vorderseite verloren) |

| | |
|-----|-------------------------|
| Rs. | |
| 1' | 8 gur é lúumbisag é.gal |
| | 4 gur lúru-ṣu-pa-a-a |
| | 5 gur lúdumu é.gal |



Diese Zehntliste nennt am När kuzbi liegende Grundstücke. Erhalten sind Angaben zu Ländereien vier königlicher Beamter, nämlich eines *rab kāsiri*, eines *rab urâte*, eines *tupšar ekalli* und eines *mār ekalli*, sowie zweier fremder ethnischer Gruppen, der Hamm/bäer (?) und der Ruṣu/apäer. Für *rab kāsiri*, vielleicht – trotz der Schreibung – äquivalent mit *ganzabaru* «Schatzmeister», s. Bongenaar, *Ebabbar*, 136f. Ein *rab urâte*, «Aufseher der Gespanne», ist in Sippar-Texten bisher noch nicht gefunden worden, Haushalt und Ländereien eines solchen Funktionärs sind aber häufig im Murašû-Archiv bezeugt (Stolper, *Entrepreneurs*, 95f. u.ö.): Wir haben hier einen weiteren Fall, in dem das Dossier zum Zehnten sonst nicht nachweisbare Parallelen zwischen den Institutionen des neubabylonischen und des achämenidischen Reiches zeigt (vgl. AOAT 254, 18). Land des oder eines «Palastschreibers», *tupšar ekalli*, findet sich auch in *Dar*. 198 und Wunsch, *Iddin-Marduk*, Nr. 214. *mār ekalli* bedeutet nach CAD M/1, 258f. einfach «Höfling». Der einzige weitere mir bekannte neubabylonische Beleg findet sich in VS 3, 138//139¹, wo von *dumu*^{meš} é.gal šá é ha-re-e gesprochen wird.

Die Lesung *ré lú? ha-am-ma/ba-a* in Zeile 5 ist epigraphisch nicht sicher, ein Bīt-Hamm/bāja ist offenbar sonst nicht belegt (sofern nicht zu Hambanāja zu emendieren ist); man kann allerdings den ‘Familiennamen’ Hamm/bāja vergleichen (Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*, 66b). Mit Ruṣupāja sind sicherlich Leute aus Ruṣapu (s. Zadok, *Rép*. 8, 263; van Driel, BSA 7, 225f.) gemeint.

Weitere Nachträge zu AOAT 254: S. 10f.: Es sind mehrere Belege für den Zehnten des Nidinti-Marduk//Ile'i-Marduk hinzugekommen; sie werden in meiner Arbeit zum Archiv des Bēl-rēmanni//Šangū-Šamaš besprochen werden. – S. 20⁷⁶ zu GCCI 1, 126: Die abweichende Deutung von CAD M/2, 219a hätte zitiert werden sollen. – S. 51: CT 57, 416 ist eine weitere Zehntliste Mardukās «und seiner Leute».

Bei dieser Gelegenheit auch ein Nachtrag zu *AfO Beih.* 25: In BM 42646 (81-7-1, 407) und BM 43612 (81-7-1, 1376), die ich bei der erwähnten Durchsicht der 81-7-1-Sammlung als Bruchstücke eines Briefauftrags aus dem Ebabbar-Archiv identifizieren und joinen konnte, lesen wir von zwei bisher nicht bekannten Generalpächtern (*bēl sūti*): Gimil-Šamaš und Bēlšunu. Der Text ist mit 11.11.33 Darius datiert. Eine Edition ist in Vorbereitung.

1. Nicht in CAD, aber in *AHw.* 616a. Zu dieser Urkunde aus dem Bēl-rēmanni-Archiv fanden sich in 81-7-1 vier Duplikate.

Michael JURSA (10-07-98)

71) Déménageurs ou messagers? – Parmi les textes paléo-babyloniens découverts dans le palais de Sîn-kâšid à Uruk, le n°203 (= *BaM* 24, 1993, p. 158-166) enregistre de petites sommes d'argent distribuées à des individus dont les missions sont parfois précisées : « lorsqu'il a apporté des dattes » (V' 4' : *i-nu-ma zú-lum ub-lam*), « lorsqu'ils se sont emparé de trois prisonniers » (V' 8' : *i-nu-ma 3 erin₂ a-sí-rum il-qú-nim*), etc. La mission la plus fréquente est ainsi libellée : *ša iš-tu NG ù-na-a-da ub-lam var. ub-lu-nim* (V' 17', 24'-25' ; VI' 20'-21', 38'-39' ; VII' 7'-8'). Sh. Sanati-Müller a commenté ces passages ainsi : « Wie Nr. 202 handelt Nr. 203 ebenfalls von Zuteilungen an Personen, die für ihre Dienstleistungen entlohnt werden. Häufig wird ù-na-a-da akk. *unātu*? Pl. von *unūtu*? „Mobilier, Ustensilien“ (s. Anm. 81) aus Dürum, Kisurra, Bît-Šûsîn, Isin nach Uruk gebracht ». Elle a commenté p. 161 n. 81 : « ù-na-a-da etw. akk. *unātu* Plural zu *unūtu* „Ustensilien, Mobilier“? (AHw 142f.) ist bisher mit Wortzeichen *nì-gú-na* bzw. *á-kár* belegt ». Il me semble beaucoup plus vraisemblable de considérer qu'on a ici affaire à une variante du plus courant ù-na-a-du₁₁, forme verbale parfois employée de manière substantivée pour désigner une « lettre » ; l'emploi de -da pour -du₁₁ est certes rare (cf. P. Attinger, *Eléments de linguistique sumérienne...* p. 403), mais l'absence de copie ne devrait pas faire douter de la transcription, puisque le mot est attesté cinq fois. Le scribe a préféré une notation en sumérien à l'emprunt akkadien bien connu sous la forme *unnedukkum*. Ces cinq passages ont donc trait au transport de lettres depuis Dürum, Kisurra, Bît-Šûsîn et Isin vers Uruk, la rétribution de messagers par de petites sommes d'argent étant bien attestée par ailleurs, par exemple dans les archives du palais de Mari (voir B. Lafont, *CRRAI* 38, p. 180).

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72) Namburbi? – Le fragment séleucide (?) W 22419 (UVB XXVIII, 1978, pl. 34) est si menu que le genre auquel il appartient est difficile à déterminer. J'ai cru y voir un commentaire (ibd. p. 57), mais à tort. J'aurais dû noter qu'il traite de rituels apotropaïques pour prévenir le mal annoncé par des serpents. Voir maintenant S. Maul, Zukunftsbewältigung, 270 sqq. Je proposerais maintenant, en forçant parfois la copie :

| | |
|--|---|
| 1' [...] x [NAM] B[ÚR.BI ...] | « ... la procédure apotropaïque ... » |
| 2' [...] MUŠ <i>bu-u</i> [n? ...] | « ... serpent ... » |
| 3' [...] HUL MUŠ šá <i>ina É L</i> Ú? <i>bu-ú-r</i> [u? <i>īpušu</i>] | « le mal (issu) d'un serpent qui a fait une prise dans la maison de quelqu'un » |
| 4' [...] GAR NAM.BÚ[R.BI ...] | « ... la procédure apotropaïque ... » |
| 5' [...] HUL MUŠ šá <i>ina É</i> [...] | « le mal (issu) d'un serpent qui ... dans une maison » |
| 6' [...] KI.MIN : HUL [x1 [...] | « idem ; le mal (issu) de ... » |
| 7' [...] [x1 MUŠ? <i>ana?</i> <i>ramanī</i> (IM)- <i>šu</i> [x1 [...] | « un serpent ... sur lui-même » |
| 8' [...] IGI [...] | « [...] si un homme] voit? [un serpent?] » |
| ... | |

3') Lire plutôt [u]b-bu-ú : x [...]?

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73) Un détail de la Figure aux Plumes – La plaque qui porte la ‘Figure aux Plumes’ (voir Gelb, Steinkeller, Whiting, ELTS (= OIP 104), n°18) est, avec les ‘Pierres Blau’, un des monuments archaïques les plus souvent représentés, un des plus énigmatiques aussi. Récemment Cl. Wilcke (*in* U. Finkbeiner, R. Dittmann, H. Hauptmann (ed.), Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasiens (Fs. für R. M. Boehmer), 1995, 669-674) a suggéré d'y voir le plus ancien texte littéraire (ou liturgique) connu, commémorant peut-être une donation de terres au temple de Ningirsu. La figure qui donne son nom au monument fait face à trois grandes hampes, sans doute des troncs d'arbres, puisqu'ils vont nettement s'étrécissant vers le haut. Sur la photo, les hampes semblent s'incurver vers le haut, mais c'est seulement parce que le dessin suit la courbe de la pierre. La hampe de droite est brisée dans sa partie supérieure, les deux hampes de gauche présentent, dirait-on, dans leur partie haute, mais pas tout à fait au sommet, deux objets arrondis (l'un plutôt piriforme, l'autre plutôt fusiforme) qui semblent enfilés sur la hampe et maintenus par une bande longue et étroite enroulée sur la hampe un peu comme nous en enrollons autour des guidons de vélos ou des manches de raquettes. Malgré la mention d'une massue (šita) dans le texte, il ne peut s'agir de massues, comme le pense Wilcke, puisque la hampe dépasse les objets arrondis. En lisant l'article que J. Marzahn a publié dans *BaM* 28, 87-95, avec la restitution très suggestive (art. cit. p. 95), il m'est venu à l'esprit qu'il pourrait fort bien s'agir d'objets d'argile tournés comme des vases, comme celui qui est publié par Marzahn. La forme de nos objets rappelle la ‘Frontière de Šara’ ou Enmetena 29 (voir en particulier l'étude de J. Cooper, RA 79, 102-103), mais ceux-là sont des vases avec une seule ouverture. Bien sûr ces objets auraient pu aussi être pleins, comme des grosses *bullae*. En tout cas, si mon hypothèse est juste, ils étaient peut-être inscrits avec un texte rappelant la transaction, peut-être

même avec le texte de la plaque elle-même.

Il est vrai qu'on n'a encore jamais retrouvé d'objet correspondant exactement à ceux de la 'Figure aux Plumes', mais ce n'est guère étonnant, s'ils étaient bien exposés comme le représente la plaque.

Comme le souligne Cooper (RA 79, 110), on ne comprend pas encore la rationalité des objets inscrits qui nous sont parvenus, on ne sait même pas comment ils étaient exposés. A juger uniquement par le sens de l'écriture, les Cônes Ukg. B et C ont pu être lus fixés par leur base large verticalement (comme dans Marzahn p. 95, dessin du milieu) ou horizontalement (cf. ELTS p. 10a en haut) ; Ent. 28 aurait dû être fixé verticalement par l'extrémité pointue (qui est justement libre). Selon ELTS (p. 8b en bas), les cônes percés de part en part sur leur axe étaient sans doute fixés horizontalement par leur pointe, comme le montre l'exemple de la vente de maison AO 13239 (= SR 31 = Cooper, RA 79, p. 109, pl. VIII). Toujours d'après ELTS (p. 44), un détail de la 'Stèle d'Ušumgal' représenterait un cône (kag) enfoncé dans la façade d'un bâtiment. Les vases comme la 'Frontière de Šara' ou Ent. 29 ont dû reposer, naturellement, sur leur base (pas comme le suggère le dessin de droite chez Marzahn p. 95, à moins qu'on n'ait lu le texte de haut, en se penchant, ce qui supposerait une hampe courte!). Le cylindre d'Uruk publié par Marzahn aurait pu se lire sans problème, s'il était fixé verticalement, comme le suggère l'illustration de l'auteur, p. 95 dessin de gauche. Ces considérations n'ont bien sûr de sens que si ces objets étaient vraiment exhibés pour être *lus*, et même cela ne peut être considéré comme certain.

Il est possible que l'objet devant lequel est agenouillé un des personnages de l'Obélisque Blau' en forme de KU archaïque (ELTS n°10) soit comparable aux hampes de la Figure aux Plumes, même si l'échelle paraît différente et si la partie supérieure est rectangulaire, et non arrondie. A moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'un mortier (?) à l'envers, comme ceux qu'on voit peut-être au revers de la 'Pierre Blau' en forme de BA' archaïque (ELTS n°11) entre les mains des figures accroupies et de la figure assise (C. Wilcke, ZA 86, 31, suggère, après Steinkeller, de voir aussi un mortier dans les mains du personnage en turban et 'Netzrock' de la face de cette même pierre ; mais cela me semble encore plus douteux).

Antoine CAVIGNEAUX (15-07-98)

74) YOS 11 n° 29 : 19-21 // n° 87 : 18-20 : séduction et thérapie! – La tablette YOS 11 n° 29 contient au moins cinq textes : trois recettes purement médicales sur la face et deux prescriptions précédées de formules orales au revers. Celle qui introduit le numéro 4 (ll. 19-21) est surprenante :

- 19. 2^dLAMA KÙ.GI ši-na i-te-en-ni-a-am mu-ši ù ur-ri IM [(x)]
- 20. at-ti a-na ra-mi-ia e tar-ku-sí-im bi-it-[ki]
- 21. a-na dam-qí-im bi-ši qá-ti-i-ki e ta-ap-pa-al-s[ti]

Ce sont deux poupées d'or ; ... jour et nuit change pour moi.

Toi à mon amour n'attache pas ta maison!

Ne regarde pas le beau bien que tu as dans les mains!

A la l. 19, les deux 'poupées' (littéralement 'deux statuettes de déesse protectrice') sont peut-être les yeux d'une belle (voir CAD L 60 s.v. *lamassatu*). *itenniam/itenniam* peut être Prés. Gt ou Impér. Gtn. Le sens de la ligne suivante semble être 'ne mets pas ta famille comme obstacle à mon amour' (avec peut-être *rakāsu* au sens d'imposer une obligation légale), ou, plus librement, 'pour l'amour de moi, oublie ta condition bourgeoise'.

Ces lignes ont un parallèle inattendu, dans le charme érotique YOS 11 n° 87 : 18-20 (voir J. van Dijk, YOS 11, p. 50 ; B. Foster, Before the Muses 1, 139-140 ; A. Cavigneaux, ASJ 18, 36), qu'on peut reconstituer ainsi :

- 18. 『e¹ t[a-ar-k]u-si-im bi-it-ki
- 19. 『a-na¹ [ri]-ik-si-im [ša] qá-ti-ki
- 20. 『la² t[a-ap]-pa-[la]-sí-i (ou 『e¹ t[a-ap]-pa-[al]-sí-i)

Ne m'attache pas ta maison!

Le lien de tes mains (le paquet que tu as dans les mains?)

ne le regarde pas!

Dans le texte médical, la formule – peut-être tirée d'une chanson ou d'une comptine – est mieux préservée ; elle paraît aussi plus complète et plus cohérente, pourtant elle semble mieux à sa place dans un charme érotique. Il est possible que, dans le premier texte, elle soit utilisée à contre-emploi, peut-être pour détourner l'attention du patient et lui faire oublier la douleur. Le plus ancien exemple d'humour de carabin?

Antoine CAVIGNEAUX (15-07-98)

75) É.AN.NA et le génitif sumérien – Dans RA 90, 42, le NP É.AN.NA-DI.MU est transcrit en araméen 'YKL[x] (mais le L est sans doute mal lu ; on peut peut-être envisager 'YKŠ[LM]). Il faut certainement y voir la transcription de l'akk. *ayyakku*, l'équivalent normal du sum. é-an-na, où on n'a pas le h initial de HYKL pour rendre le É sumérien, dont l'emprunt doit être bien plus ancien.

Si É-AN-NA se prononçait *Hayyakk, les sumérologues auraient toutes les raisons de désespérer, tant la distance serait grande entre l'image graphique et le son ! L'exemple est cependant trop isolé pour qu'on en tire aucune conclusion sur la forme du suffixe génitif sumérien ; il est presque seul contre une multitude de cas où le a est préservé, comme dans : é-ya-na (VS 2, 48 : 6 ; cf. E. Bergmann, ZA 56, 1) ; é-ya-na-ke (CBS 145+170 : 11') ; A.A-na, A.A-a[n...], A.A-an-na (ayyana = *é-an-na, NFT p. 209 i 4.5, iii 6) ; nin-na-na-ke₄ (*nin-an-na-ke₄, NFT p. 203 ii 2), nin-f.A.Al-na-ke₄ (*nin-é-an-na-ke₄, ibid. 3) ; ka-ša-na-na (PRAK C 54(= ASJ 9, 61) : 2 et pass.) ; ka-ša-an-na-na-ke (VS 2, 3 ii' 17') ; mu-ti-na-na (VS 2, 31 i 10), mu-ti-na-na-ke₄ (NFT p. 205 f. iii 2) etc... *ayyakku* devra donc sans doute s'expliquer comme un mot akkadien où a régulièrement joué la loi d'élation de la deuxième voyelle brève en syllabe ouverte atone : *Hayyan(a)k-u (ou *Häyyan(a)k-u) > *ayyakku*.

Une élation pourrait cependant, exceptionnellement, se produire en sum. aussi, si on peut accorder foi à la graphie ga-ša-an-an-ka (VS 10, 123 v 11 et pass. dans les textes liturgiques). Dans le cas du verbe AK, qui semble être l'etymon du suffixe du génitif (cf. Th. Jacobsen, JNES 32, 161-166), il semble qu'on ait aussi, sporadiquement, élation de la voyelle après n dans nu-mu-un-ke-ne (VS 2, 1 iv 3) et in-ke₄-eš-ša-a (PDT 1, 528). Par parenthèse, comme possible exemple de l'incertaine palatalisation du K du verbe AK (cf. ASJ 9, 50), j'ai relevé nam-mu[?]-e-a-ă (MSL 13, 47, var. de nam-mu[?]-a-ak, Plz II 225, avec l'espoir qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un AK juste esquisse ou mal gribouillé par un écolier!). Je n'en connais pas d'exemple pour le suffixe du génitif.

Antoine CAVIGNEAUX (15-07-98)

76) Collation of HS 479 : 7 (addendum to Gerber, ZA 88 [1998]) – Unfortunately, I came across P.-A. Beaulieu's article « The fourth year of hostilities in the land » (BaM 28 [1997] 367-394) only after completion of the paper mentioned in the title. In a forthcoming article the differences between our reconstructions shall be discussed and an alternative solution to the *edil bābi*-problem presented. Here, only one point shall be dealt with separately.

Many differing restorations of the fragmentary line 7 of HS 479 (TMH 2/3 35 = San Nicolò, BR 8/7 Nr.63) have been proposed over the past fifty years :

(1) San Nicolò, BR 8/7 Nr.63 : 7.

[...M]JU 3-KAM [^daššur-eti^d-DINGIR.ME] (?) šá-ṭir MU SAG NAM.LUGAL.E ^d30-LUGAL-iš-kun

(2) Borger, JCS 19 (1965) 66.

« [am] 23.(sic??) [Tag des Monats ... ist die Urkunde] geschrieben ... »

(3) von Soden, ZA 58 (1967) 246.

[ina tuppillabīri] MU 3-KAM [^d30.MU.SI.SÁ] šá-ṭir ...

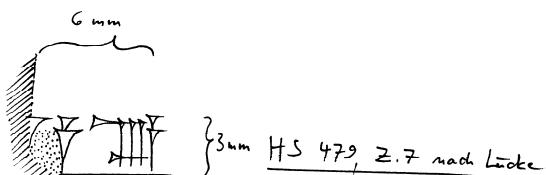
(4) Na'aman, ZA 81 (1991) 247¹⁰.

[a-di M]JU 3-KAM [MÁŠ inaddin kim]a šá-ṭir ...

(5) Beaulieu, BaM 28 (1997) 384.

[ina M]JU 3-KAM [^dAN.ŠÁR-NIR-DINGIR.ME] šá-ṭir...

J. Oelsner's collation, cited by von Soden, ZA 58 (1967) 245sq., showed that the horizontal wedge of MU after the first gap is certain, and that ME (or MEŠ, for that matter) are not compatible with the remains of the last sign in the second gap ; this invalidated (1) and (2). (3) is wrong because the accession years of Sîn-šumu-lišir and Sîn-šar-iškun cannot be separated from one another by more than one year (Gerber, ZA 88 [1998]). Since Beaulieu's restoration (5) implicitly calls in question Oelsner's collation, I asked M. Krebernik, Jena, to collate anew the doubtful part of HS 479. I am grateful for his permission to publish the result here :



The autograph leaves no doubt that Oelsner was right and that (5) is impossible. However, Aššur-eti^d-ilāni remains a potential candidate for a double-date if his name was written without ME (as e.g. in BE VIII/1,4 : 9) :

(6) [ina M]JU 3-KAM [AN.ŠÁR-e-til-lu-DINGI]R šá-ṭir ...,

with the end of the horizontal wedge of DINGIR in the shaded area. Hence, there are two equally plausible restorations : (4) and (6). Arguments for or against one or the other depend entirely on the reconstruction of the chronology of the years 631-619. Therefore, contrary to Beaulieu's opinion (BaM 28 [1997] 385) HS 479 : 7 contains no evidence for a synchronism Sîn-šar-iškun 0 = Aššur-etel-ilāni 3.

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77) A female dream interpreter – H. Waetzoldt noted in *NABU* 1998/60 new references for a dream interpreter in texts from Ur III Girsu. One of these demonstrates that the dream interpreter worked for the « dream interpreter of the gods » Nanše in her temple in Nina. Waetzoldt considered the question of the gender of the human dream interpreter, but left it undecided because of the lack of personal names. He overlooked G. Reisner, *Tempelurkunden aus Telloh* 256 (quoted by A.L. Oppenheim, *AOS* 32 to C 14), which mentions a dream interpreter with the very female name Nin-sal-la.

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78) Dirty ice – ARM I 21 is a letter of Samsi-Addu written from Šubat-Enlil to his son Yasmah-Addu in Mari about a Tilmunite messenger whom Samsi-Addu expected but who was delayed in Mari. This was the second time that the father had to ask his son for timely action in the matter. In response to his first letter Yasmah-Addu had offered the excuse that the messenger had lifted a block of cedar and injured himself. That seemed to be a lame excuse to the father who asked with apparent sarcasm « What? Let them ... Can he not ride donkeys? » The lower part of the tablet is missing. The last sentence before the break still deals with the topic of the Tilmunite messenger, and it was probably not the last of the topic because -ma « and » is the very last sign before the break. When the text becomes again understandable on the reverse, the matter of the Tilmunite messenger seems to be still the topic (the break may be short). « Dispatch him! » ordered the father, and he informed the son that he had dispatched riding donkeys to Qattūnan, which is about half-way between Mari and Šubat-Enlil, presumably to facilitate the journey of the Tilmunite messenger. Finally he gave instructions on the route to be taken from Qattūnan to Šubat-Enlil. The following passage deals with the collection of ice. It takes up lines 8' to 19' and is followed by the third and last topic of the letter, a request to send sesame. The sesame had been delayed (*uh-hu-[ur]*). It may be remarked that the segmentation into three topics, while contextually clear, does not correspond to the formal segmentation of the letter insofar as the sesame-topic is introduced by šanītam « further, » but the ice-topic is not. J.-M. Durand believes that the break contained the šanītam which introduced the second topic, which would thus combine the first lines of the reverse and the ice-topic (Documents épistolaires du palais de Mari 1 [1997] note c). Perhaps the topics of the Tilmunite messenger and the ice collection were felt by the scribe, or by Samsi-Addu when he dictated the letter, to form a unit despite their difference because they constituted Samsi-Addu's response to the contents of a letter of Yasmah-Addu.

The topic of ice collection is framed by instructions of an annoyed king and father to his tardy son. It seems therefore strange that it should have contained earnest and detailed instructions about the obvious need to clean ice from impurities, as is assumed by all translators after G. Dossin, who thought that šuripum was an iron ore. If Dossin's interpretation were right, the long instructions could be understood as necessary because Yasmah-Addu could not be expected to know such things. Dossin translated the words *ina iṣṣim kabû u šittam d[am-q]í-[i]š limsû* in lines 14'-15' as « A l'aide d'un ... les impuretés et la saleté qu'ils nettoient soigneusement. » Subsequently, šuripum was realized to be « ice, » but apart from this change, Dossin's translation survived. B. Groneberg in FM 1 (1991) 72, did not desanitize *kabû*, elsewhere « dung » (of animals), and *šittum*, for which she quoted J.-M. Durand's contribution of a passage from an unpublished incantation which contains the comparisons « like snout (*zu'tum*, literally “sweat”) in his nose, like shit (*šittum*) in his ass. » Another drastic reference of *šittum* has been quoted in CAD *šittum* C in the meantime. CAD suggested derivation of this word from Sumerian še(d). It may be remarked that the genuine Akkadian word for “shit,” which was also used in Mari (FM 1 122 : 43), was *zû*. The use of the loanword *šittum* is one of many examples for the propensity of expressing this particular concept in a different language. F. Joannès repeated Groneberg's undesanitized translation (FM 2 [1994] 141). A. Finet left the words untranslated (« Glace et glaciers au II^e millénaire avant notre ère dans la région du Moyen-Euphrate, » Actes de la première rencontre internationale sur le commerce et l'artisanat de la glace [1996] 82). Durand, despite the clear reference which he himself contributed, thought that the word might be a « specialization du terme urine, » or the word *šittum* « rest » as W. von Soden thought, and kept to the translation « saleté. » I do not see any reason to sanitize the well-established meanings of the two words. Samsi-Addu suggested that animalian and human excrements should be washed off the ice. Such advise cannot be taken seriously of course. Does anybody have to be told

such a thing? Yes, a son who voiced concern about clean ice for his drinks while procrastinating matters of state. I believe Samsi-Addu's word are sarcastic and respond to a remark of Yasmah-Addu that his waiters and *ušmu* persons were unhappy about having only dirty ice for their master's drinks. I paraphrase the passage in the tenor in which I believe it was written, adding in brackets what Samsi-Addu might have wanted to say : « About collecting ice : Jesus! Instead of (literally : at a time that) porters transporting ice from 10 leagues, 20 leagues, distance, tell these waiters and *u.*, your servants who are (after all) present before you (to serve, but who do not want to dirty their delicate hands), and let them collect ice (in the local ice-house). (And if it is not as clean as your sonship desires) let them wash off [...] (that ... [expletive]) dung and shit with a (... [expletive]) piece of wood (*aššum šuripim puhurim damiq inūma ša lú.meš ša bilātim šuripam ištu 10 bērī ištu 20 bērī izabbilūnim dumu.meš šaqī u ušmī wardika ša mah<ri>ka izzazzū wu”irma šuripam lipahhirū ina išsim kabī u šittam [damqiš?] limsū.*) » There are 4 more lines, poorly preserved and hardly understandable (but see the restorations and translations of Groneberg and Durand), on the subject of cleaning the ice. The fact that Samsi-Addu went on and on on the subject suggests that he was livid, not just annoyed.

Wolfgang HEIMPEL (19-07-98)

79) Addition to NABU 1996/104 - I gave there examples for enclitic *-ma* found after verbal predicates of dependant clauses. This finding is not new. A. Finet expressed the fact with complete clarity in RA 46 (1952) 23 note 4 : « Dans la langue de Mari, l'enclitique *-ma* est souvent jointe au verbe des propositions subordonnées. » He also treated the subject in ALM § 85 c. I am sorry to have overlooked these references. In contrast to Finet, who derives the function of *-ma* in these cases from the « *-ma* d'insistance », I retain my explanation of a *-ma* which festered without clear semantic relevance.

Wolfgang HEIMPEL (19-07-98)

80) On the Name of the Aleppo Kingdom at Ugarit – The Ugarit ritual KTU 1.40 presents a list of gentilic names that are referred to as sinners (v. J. C. de Moor and P. Sanders, UF 23 [1991], pp. 283 ff.) :

| | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| 'u <i>lp qty</i> | either like a ... |
| 'u <i>lp ddmy</i> | or like a Dadmian |
| 'u <i>lp hry</i> | or like a Hurrian |
| 'u <i>lp hty</i> | or like a Hittite |
| 'u <i>lp lty</i> | or like an Alašian |
| 'u <i>lp ḡbr</i> | or like a ... |
| 'u <i>lp ḥbtkm</i> | or like those who rob you |
| 'u <i>lp mdllkm</i> | or like those who oppress you |
| 'u <i>lp qr zbl</i> | or like ... |

In the second line *ddm* (surely a gentilic, see already C. H. Gordon, UT, p. 384) remains problematic : « we are unable to suggest a feasible solution for this enigmatic name. The syllabic Ugaritic god list RS 26.142 mentions the gods of *da-ad-me-ma* which Nougayrol connects with our *ddmy* [in *Ugaritica* V, 1968, pp. 321-322] » (J. C. de Moor and P. Sanders *ibid.*, p. 293). These dingir-meš *da-ad-me-ma* are dubiously compared by J. Nougayrol (*Ugaritica* V, pp. 57-58) with the divine name *dá-ad-mi-iš = ddmš*, found in the « Panthéon d'Ugarit » (published by Nougayrol, *ibid.*, pp. 44-45), and in the lexical list RS 20.123+ (Nougayrol, *ibid.*, p. 249), under the form [*da-ad*]-*mi-šu*, equivalent of *šu-zi-an-na*. The name of this divinity is derived by M. C. Astour, *SCCNH* 2, pp. 49-50, from the « Akk. *dadmū*, « dwellings » (cf. *bēlit/šarrat dadmē*, a title referring to Išħara in Babylonian texts), while *-iš/-išu* is a not uncommon formative in early Semitic toponyms in Syria and Transtigris », with reference to « the local goddess of the early Transtigridian city of Dadmuš ». See also *DLUI*, pp. 129 f. : « localidad y atribución inc. ».

However, given the western context of KTU 1.40, a solution could be a reference to the western meaning of the term *dadmum*. This substantive has been studied by J.-M. Durand, *Miscellanea Eblaitica* 2 (1989), pp. 28-31 ; some unpublished Old Babylonian Mari letters cited there show that it was the current Amorite equivalent of *mātum*. In particular, in the West during the Old Babylonian period, it was the name of the Aleppo kingdom. Therefore, the Ugaritic term *ddmy* may refer to the inhabitants of the Aleppo countryside, described as sinners in a similar way as the Hurrians, the Hittites, the Cipriotes and other peoples living in the countries bordering Ugarit. In this case, what is remarkable is the persistence (even if in some *élite* texts) of this Amorite Middle Bronze Age geographical designation at Ugarit during the Late Bronze Age.

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81) On the Old Babylonian Tuttul Tablets – Some minor improvements to the Old Babylonian Tell Bi'a tablets, published by M. Krebernik in *MDOG*, are presented in the following lines :

Bi 26/46 : 115 (*MDOG* 123, pp. 58-61) :

1. 13 : probably read as *ma-hi-la* (cf. the feminine PN *ma-hi-la* in the unpublished Old Babylonian

Mari text M.5165+ iii 31, quoted courtesy of J.-M. Durand)

1. 17 : ^{mí}*mu-uš-ta-al-^lma?*¹ is problematic. According to the copy, 3 *mu-uš-ta-al-dingir* is a better reading ; this PN is probably also attested in Bi 28/46 : 114 (*ibid.*, pp. 65-66), l. 3 (edition : *mu-uš-ta-ha-[...]*). It is almost certainly a masculine PN, cf. Muštāl-DN in CAD M/2, p. 284, s.v. *muštālum*, « judicious »

Bi 26/49 : 71 (MDOG 122, pp. 70-71) :

1. 9 : ^dEN.ZU-*r[e-me-ni]* (cf. Durand, NABU 1991/114) or ^dEN.ZU-*r[e-ṣú-ṣú]*

Bi 26/49 : 97 (MDOG 122, p. 76) :

1. 1' : ^[d]utu-*na-[ṣir]*

Bi 26/49 : 115 (MDOG 123, pp. 58-60) :

1. 1 : *mu-ut-ra-me-[e-e]m*

1. 2 : *ku^l-[za-ri]*

1. 5 : *[ra-ah]-ma-[d]da-gan*

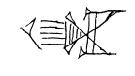
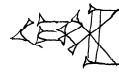
1. 9 : ^dEN.ZU-*ma-gir*.

Marco BONECHI (07-98)

82) On the line 145 of the Ebla « Sign List » – The sign written in the Ebla « Sign List » TM.75.G.1907+TM.75.G.12680, rev. VII 16 (see A. Archi, The « *Sign-list* » from Ebla, *Eblaitica* I [1987], p. 99 and 109, l. 145), corresponding to line 128² of G. Pettinato's edition (MEE 3, pp. 195, 200 and 205), is sofar unidentified : X for Archi, MI.LAGAB×SAL-[x] for Pettinato (who does not knew the fragment TM.75.G.12680). In the tablet this sign is explained as *sa-ga-tum*. It may be suggested it is the Ebla form of šagan = LAK-407.



Ebla "Sign list"



L A K - 4 0 7

Marco BONECHI (07-98)

83) Light from Mari on a Ugaritic word – The Ugaritic term 'rp occurs only twice, in the syntagm *lbšm 'rpm* (KTU 4.721 = RS 23.028 : 2.13), and two different meanings and etymologies have been proposed for it :

1. A derivation from common Semitic /ʃ/ /g-p-r/ « to cover », here with metathesis, meaning « (clothes fitted with) a hood(?) »¹.
2. The meaning « dark », from a presumed root 'rp, as in Akk. *erēpu*, « to become dusky, dark »², hence « dark-coloured (clothes) »³.

Some support for the second alternative is provided by an earlier number of NABU from the note « *Urpatum* = “tent” » by J.-M. Durand⁴. There he discusses Mari *hur(up)patum*, which he considers to be a form of *urpatu*, « tent », derived from 'rp « to be dark », and to denote something casting a shadow⁵. This indicates that the Ugaritic term 'rp in connection with clothing does not refer to its colour but to the shelter (from the sun) it provides. Accordingly, the meaning « cape » or « cloak » would be quite suitable. The same would also apply to Ug. 'rpt , « cloud », as covering or obscuring part of the sky⁶.

1. J. Sanmartín, « Tejidos y ropas en ugarítico : apuntes lexicográficos », *AuOr* 10 (1992) 95-104 (101) ; accepted in G. del Olmo Lete – J. Sanmartín *Diccionario de la lengua ugarítica I* (a/i/u)-l (Aula Orientalis Supplementa 7 ; Sabadell Barcelona 1996) 89. However, this etymology seems more appropriate for Ug. *ǵprt* ; see *ibid.*, 158b.

2. For discussion of the roots *erēpu*, 'rp, etc. cf. CAD E, 279b.

3. M. Dietrich – O. Loretz–J. Sanmartín, « Zur ugaritischen Lexikographie (XIII) », *UF* 7 (1975) 57-169 : « aus der syntaktischen Stellung von 'rpm geht hervor, daß er ein Adjektiv zu *lbšm* ist. Im Anschluß an akk. *erēpu* ... bezeichnet 'rp einen dunklen, schwarzen Farnton » (165) ; similarly, P. Xella – S. Ribichini, *La terminologia dei tessili nei testi di Ugarit* (Rome 1985) 45 and n. 50. See HALOT, 887b.

4. NABU 1995, Nr. 49.

5. Literally, « ce qui faisait de l'ombre » (see previous note).

6. Cf. Del Olmo Lete – J. Sanmartín *Diccionario de la lengua ugarítica I*, 90. For a different evaluation of Ug. 'rp in KTU 1.83 : 4.6 see N. Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit. The Words of Ilimilku and his Colleagues* (Sheffield 1998) 368 (« turn to foam ») and 368, n. 4.

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84) Misprints in « An Umma Messenger Text »(NABU 1998/61) –

Ligne 9-10 : the last sign should be tè not té.

Footnote 4 : the second « 2 of oil » should be « 3 of oil ».

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85) Re appum and káb-kud – The mathematical text problem of the *appum* = ‘nose’ (Thureau-Dangin 1935 No 1) was discussed by M.A. Powell in *BSA* 4 (1988) 167. The *appum* was interpreted as a truncated prism made of reeds and earthworks, but the function of the *appum* remained unknown. The problem is solved if an *appum* was the same as the ‘tongue’ of a ‘divisor’. A ‘tongue’ is a fixed structure placed in an irrigation channel to divide the water flow into two smaller channels.

The ‘divisor’ which incorporates the ‘tongue’ ensures that the water flow is uniform and without turbulence. This is achieved by making the bottom and sides of the channel as it approaches the ‘tongue’ and the sides of the two channels that flow past the ‘tongue’ level and uniform. The tongue can be placed in the channel so as to divide the water equally or in any other fixed ratio e.g. 3 : 1. A full description of their working in Moorish Spain can be found in Glick (1970)¹.

The dimensions of the two sides of the *appum* calculated by M.A. Powell of 15 m are consistent with Spanish ones. The need to have a mathematical text to calculate the volume of an *appum* would indicate that they were made in different sizes.

The Mari letter (ARM 5 6) quoted by M.A. Powell (*BSA* 4 (1988) 168) of a stone falling from an *appum* and blocking the flow of water is evidence that an *appum* formed part of a ‘divisor’. Blockages caused by silt and vegetation were a frequent cause of complaint and litigation in Medieval Spanish irrigation systems (Glick, 1970).

These two texts are sufficient to conclude that an *appum* serves the same function as the tongue of a ‘divisor’.

If then the **káb-kud = NAG-kud** (W. Sallaberger (1991) *NABU* 47) had the same function as Syrian and Spanish ‘divisors’ as postulated by P. Steinkeller in *BSA* 4 (1988) 74 ff and contained an *appum* then the working of the **káb-kud** becomes clear. Placed at intervals along an irrigation canal they enable water to be distributed in smaller volumes to the secondary canals. The main canal below the **káb-kud** will be carrying a smaller volume of water and hence will have lesser dimensions than the canal feeding into the **káb-kud**. This pattern appears in the text no 2 (*Or. 47-49, 511 + Waetzoldt, Oriens Antiquus 17, 56 [coll.]*) which is discussed by P. Steinkeller in *BSA* 4 (1988) 77 & 81 where the dimensions of three successive **káb-kuds** in a canal are : length 72m, 36m, and 15m, depth 5m, 3.5m, and 2.5m, and width 12m, 12m and 9m. The dimensions of successive **káb-kuds** will also depend on the proportion of water diverted to the secondary canal by the *appum* in the preceding **káb-kud**.

The use of reeds to make the sides of the **káb-kud** and *appum* would make frequent maintenance essential, as is shown by the evidence of Ur III texts. The use of baked brick and bitumen would be a structural improvement and may be recorded in later texts or archaeological sites.

1. Glick, T.F. (1970). ‘Irrigation and Society in Medieval Valencia’ (Harvard U.P.).

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86) History and Time – In an important study on the idea that the Sumerians and Akkadians had of their own past, Cl. Wilcke states that : « Die alten Sumerer und Akkader die Vergangenheit stets vor Augen hatten, eine Vergangenheit, die ihre Lebensumstände begründete und rechtfertigte. Wenn ich sage, daß die Babylonier die Vergangenheit ‘vor Augen’ hatten, so meine ich dies sehr wörtlich ; denn der Zukunft wendete man den Rücken zu. Das sumerische Wort für ‘Zukunft’ ist eger, eigentlich ‘Rücken’, ‘Rückwärtiges’, akkadisch (*w*)arkītūm, meist im Plural (*w*)arkītātūm ‘Hintere(s)’. » See Cl. Wilcke, « Zur Geschichtsbewußtsein im Alten Mesopotamien », in : H. Müller-Karpe, *Archäologie und Geschichtsbewußtsein*, München 1982, pp. 31-52 (quotation from p. 31).

Recently, St. Maul has developed the same point in this way : « Ein Blick auf die Etymologie der akkadischen Zeitbegriffe für ‘früher’ : *pān*, *pāna*; *pānānu(m)*, *pāni*, *pānū(m)* oder für ‘frühere Zeit’, ‘Vergangenheit’ : *pānātu*, *pānītu(m)*, *pānū* zeigt, daß diese Begriffe zu akkadischen *pānum*, ‘Vorderseite’, im Pl. *pānū*, ‘Gesicht’ gehören. Die sumerischen Entsprechungen ... sind mit dem Wort *igi* gebildet, das ‘Auge’ und dann ‘Gesicht’, im übertragenen Sinne ‘Vorderseite’ bedeutet. Ähnliches ist auch für die Begriffe, die

Zukünftiges bezeichnen, zu beobachten. (*W*arka Ohne daß hier dieses für das Verständnis der mesopotamischen Kultur höchst wichtige Problem der Eigenbegrifflichkeit näher betrachtet werden soll, wird doch deutlich, daß in der Sichtweise eines Babyloniers die Vergangenheit ihm ‘angesichtig’ daliegt, wohingegen das Kommende, Zukünftige (*warkītum*), das ist, was er als ‘hinter’ sich liegend betrachtet. ... Gewissermaßen schritten sie ‘mit dem Rücken nach vorn’, also rückwärts gehend, in die Zukunft ... » See St. M. Maul, « Die altorientalische Hauptstadt – Abbild und Nabel der Welt », in : *Die orientalische Stadt : Kontinuität, Wandel, Bruch*, hrsg. von G. Wilhelm, Saarbrücken 1997, pp. 109-124 (quotation from pp. 109-110).

This Eigenbegrifflichkeit is none other than a subjective concept of time, common also to other ancient cultures. The past is that part of time which the *individual* has lived through and experienced, or of which he knows something from those who have gone before him. This, therefore, is before his eyes (*igi, pānū*). The future follows the individuals and, thus, lies behind him.

In Hittite « future » is « the day after », *appa-siwatt-* (EGIR.UD-MI), « a hypostatic name » made up of the adverb *appa* « behind, afterwards » and *siwatt-* « day ». E.g. *KBo* III 3 II 7-9 (with dupl. *KUB* XIX 41 II 11-13) : *nu EGIR-pa-UD-ti kuwapi ... aki LUGAL-UTTA-ŠU-ma-za-kan... katta tālešdu* « in the future, when he dies, he shall leave behind his kingship. » Luwian *apparanti*(EGIR.UD-MI) « the future » is « probably a nominalization of an adjective *appara-n̄t-* (cf. Hier. *apara-* ‘later, posterior’), » see E. Laroche, *Studia Mediterranea I. P. Meriggi dicata*, Pavia 1979, p. 348. E.g. *KUB* XXXV 133 II 29 : *apparantien arin* « long future ; » XXXV 45 II 8-9 : *MU.KAM.HI.A GÍD.DA EGIR.UD-MI.HI.A-ti* « long years in the future. » For those passages (and several others), see J. Puhvel, *Hittite Etymological Dictionary* 1-2, Berlin 1984, pp. 96-98 ; *HWb*², pp. 166-1168.

An exact parallel is to be found in Latin with *posterioritas* « future time, futurity ; posterity ».

The opposite meaning is expressed by I.-E. *per*, which indicates the portion of space perceived by the individual, or that portion of time of which he is aware. The absolute locative, Hittite *peran*, Luwian *paran*, indicates in fact the space before the individual ; Greek *peran* (« in front ») « on the other side. » From directive *prai, per(a)i* it is derived *prior, prīmus, pristinus* « former, early » ; ahd. *furi, furiro* « der frühere, vordere. »

This does not mean that the Hittites did not perceive the movement of time to come as a form of progression. Nouns which have a temporal indication, when connected with the directive *para* (Luwian *pari*, Lycian *pri*), express a movement of the individual in the future : *parā UD(KAM)-ti, parā UD-an* « on the following day. » *parā MU.KAM-anni* « in the following year. » *parā hamešanda/hamešyi* « next spring », see *CHD*, P, pp. 123-124.

This same problem has been discussed years ago also in relation to the ancient Hebrew culture. J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language*, Oxford 1962, p. 77 (I owe this reference to the courtesy of Pelio Fronzaroli) criticizes in the following way the ideas of T. Boman, « Den semitiske tenknings egenart », *NTT* 34 (1933), pp. 1-34 ; Id., *Das hebräische Denken im Vergleich mit dem griechischen* (2nd ed., Göttingen 1954), English translation : *Hebrew Thought compared with Greek* (London 1960) : « According to Boman, we Indo-European speakers think of the future as lying before us, while the past extends behind us. Hebrew also, he says, uses *qedem* ‘before’ and ‘*aḥar* ‘behind’ of temporal relations, but, according to Boman, ‘in the contrary sense’ : *qedem* means ‘the time before’, ‘the first time’, the past, and ‘*aḥařit* ‘the latter part’, ‘the end of a time’, the future. It is very naive here not to notice that the same is the case in Indo-European, e.g. Gr. *pró* or Lt. *pro* of what happened in the past, Eng. ‘before’, Germ. *vor*, etc. ; Latin *post* ‘behind’, *postea* ‘afterwards’. Not only does the Hebrew language contradict ‘the Indo-European idea of time’, but the Indo-European languages do so too. It is typical of Boman’s method not to notice this as a fatal objection to the thesis of a Hebrew peculiarity here, and then immediately afterwards to cite words like ‘progenitors’ and ‘posterity’, the very words which contradict his statements about Hebrew, and say that we use them when we think in a special way of time as the transcendental design of history and the like. »

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87) Minima eblaitica 11 : More on en-nun-ag = igi-sig / ME-sig « to guard ; keeper ; to be kept » – P. Fronzaroli, ARET XI, pp. 41 ad (62) and 78 ad (65) has noted that where the older version of the marriage ritual from Ebla (ARET XI 1) uses *na-na-za-ab* (which he relates to *igi-sig* = *na-zī-bū-um* in VE 722), the recent version (ARET XI 2) uses *en-nun-ag*. This equivalence is now confirmed by the following documentation.

1) ARET IV 15 (13) and TM.75.G.4447 I 1'-4' run as follows : *I gu-mug-TÚG l̄-lum-bal en-nun-ag ambar d'Utu* « (1 cloth to) PN (for) guarding the reed marsh of the Sun-goddess ». These passages are parallel to TM.75.G.2252 rev. II 2-5 : (1 cloth) *l̄-lum-bal ME-sig ambar d'Utu*. The verb *en-nun-ag* has, therefore, the same meaning of *ME-sig* (see also below passages *c* and *e*). The *ambar d'Utu* is perhaps the reed marsh which lays to the east, where the Nahr Quoeiq runs dry south of Aleppo, in the plain where Tell Tuqan lies ; see ARET XI 1 (40) : *d'Utu GN è* « (When) the Sun rises in GN ... ». The bilingual lexical lists, see VE 908, have *en-nun-ag* = *na-*

za-lu-um (A), *na-za-lum* (B, C) /*naṣārum*/ «to guard», see M. Krebernik, ZA 73 (1983), p. 34. This verb is used in the literary text IAS 326+342: en-nun-ag kalam; its duplicate, ARET V 6, has instead *i-na-sar* (/yinaşşar/) TIM.TIM «(Enlil) guards the land», see W.G. Lambert, JCS 41 (1989), p. 8, ad II 7b-8 ; Krebernik, in: *Literature and Literary Language at Ebla*, P. Fronzaroli ed. (Firenze 1992), pp. 73, C3.1 and A2.6, and 122.

In the administrative texts en-nun-ag is found in relation to various sites:

- a) ARET III 272 III 1' ff.: [PN] «ur₄» en-nun-ag é-nun en; TM.75.G.1792 rev. V 6 ff.: *En-na-ma-lik* «ur₄» en-nun-ag é-nun 'À-da-ni^{ki};
- b) TM.75.G.2503 obv. IV 16 ff.: [PN] en-nun-ag é d̄l-da-KUL;
- c) TM.75.G.1785 rev. VI 3 ff., 2489 rev. II 2 ff., 10254 obv. XI 5 ff.: *Ab-ba Ib-al₆ki* en-nun-ag SU₇^{ki} *Ib-rí-um* lú *A-te-na-at^{ki}*;
- d) ARET III 468 obv. IV 14 ff.: *l̄-lum-bal* lú *Má-lum* en-nun-ag 1 GIŠ-tir.

2) Recently, P. Fronzaroli has showed, *Miscellanea Eblaitica* 4 (1997), p. 4, that ME-sig alternates, in parallel passages with igi-sig (in the later texts). «The writing ME-sig could derive from a reinterpretation of the sign IGI as a monogram U+ME» (*loc.cit.*, note 16). In VE 722 igi-sig = *na-zi-bù(-um)*, is interpreted by Fronzaroli, *op. cit.*, p. 13 as «a participle 0/1 from the Semitic verb *nṣb ‘be stand upright’. This verb is used at Ebla especially with the meaning ‘to wait, to take care of’. The use of igi-sig in certain administrative contexts of the final phase of Palace G (ARET IX, p. 39, s.v. *igi-si₁₁*: igi-sig / é en; igi-sig é d̄Ku-ra, etc.) suggests that the participle also indicates the name of function ‘attendant; keeper’». Fronzaroli has already given, *op. cit.* p. 4, the parallel passages: ME-sig é en / za_x en; ME-sig uruki-uruki / kurki; igi sig é en / é d̄Ku-ra; or with reference to individual persons, ME-sig en / PN. In the indexes of the edited texts ME-sig is transliterated as me-se₁₁/si₁₁.

The following passages with ME-sig are parallel to those with en-nun-ag.

- e) TM.75.G.1741 rev. X 5 ff.: (1 cloth) *Ab-ba Ib-al₆ki* ME-sig SU₇^{ki} *Ib-rí-um* *A-te-na-at^{ki}*;
 - f) TM.75.G.1795 obv. X 5 ff.: (1 cloth) *dumu-mí* ME-sig ti-TÚG *Ib-rí-um* in *A-te-na-at^{ki}*; 1835 rev. V 7 ff.: (1 cloth) *dumu-mí* ME-sig ti-TÚG *Ib-rí-um* lú é *Dur-NE-du^{ki}*;
 - g) TM.75.G.2243 obv. VI 1 ff.: (1+1+1 clothes) *Mi-da-rí-šu* lú *l̄-lum-bal* ME-sig GIŠ-tir?.
- 3) In passages such as ARET III 859 rev. III 2 ff. it is, instead, necessary to interpret ME-sig as «to keep (in the house of the king)», 4 ma᷃ PN šu-ba₄-ti ME-sig é en. Generally large numbers of objects are being dealt with. An exemplification of many similar passages is given by TM.75.G.1771 (see temporarily MEE VII 47) rev. IX 6-14: 10 + 5 + 10 + 10 *gú-li-lum* ... ME-sig é en «35 bracelets ... to be kept in the house of the king».

Alfonso ARCHI (08-98)

88) A Neo-Babylonian Brick in the Armenian Mechitarist Monastery in Venice – A Neo-Babylonian sun-dried brick with a stamped seven lines standard inscription of king Nebuchadnezzar II (604-562 B.C.) is part of the collection of the Armenian Mechitarist Monastery of the *San Lazzaro degli Armeni* island, in Venice lagoon. The inscription is a duplicate of text no. 41 published by S. Langdon, *Die Neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, VAB 4 (Leipzig 1912) pp. 202-203. The brick, measuring cm. 6.8 x 14.9 has a break on the right-hand side affecting part of the inscription:

| | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| 1. d̄AG-ku- ^r du-[úr-ri-URÙ] | <i>Nabû-kud[urri-usur]</i> |
| 2. LUGAL KÁ.[DINGIR.RA ^{ki}] | king of Bab[ylon] |
| 3. za-ni-in 'él-[sag-íla] | provider of the <i>E[sagill]</i> |
| 4. ù é-[zi-da] | and of the <i>E[zida]</i> |
| 5. IBILA a-[ša-ri-du] | the f[oremost] offspring |
| 6. ša d̄[AG.IBILA.URÙ] | of [<i>Nab-apla-usur</i>] |
| 7. LUGAL KÁ.[DINGIR.RA ^{ki}] | king of Bab[ylon] |

Additional duplicates of this inscription may be found in P.-R. Berger, *Die Neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, AOAT 4/1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1973) pp. 194-200. See also C. B. F. Walker, *Cuneiform Brick Inscriptions in the British Museum* (London 1981) n. 102, pp. 82-83. Attached to the brick is a brief ink-written note on paper in Armenian language and script reading: “From the ruins of Babylon, received the year 1846,” an indication added when the brick entered the collection, or left by the previous owner of the piece. Additional information regarding finding of the brick and acquisition by the Museum of the *San Lazzaro* Monastery is unfortunately unavailable. The Monastery was established in 1717 by the Armenian Father Mechitar, founder of the religious order called after his name *Congregation of the Mechitarists Fathers*. I am grateful to Father Vertanes Ouluhodjian of the *Armenian Mechitarist Congregation* of San Lazzaro for his kind help, and for his translation of the Armenian note. The brick is here published with the kind permission of the director of the Museum of the *San Lazzaro* Monastery. Publication of a catalog of Ancient Near East antiquities in the Museum is in preparation by D. Morandi Bonacossi, whom I thank.

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89) Ebl. *wammum* « watercourse ; stream » – The text *ARET* V 4 contains incantations and ritual directions. The incantations invoke the intervention of the Storm-god, Hadda, against a snake-like being (P. Fronzaroli, *MARI* 8 [1997], p. 284 f.). The latter probably identifies with the seven-headed dragon which also appears in incantations in *ARET* V 1 and 2+ (for their interpretation, see P. Fronzaroli, *VO* 7 [1988], pp. 13-17 and p. 20 f.; for *za-za-um* and for *zi-da-nu* // *zi-da-na*, *MARI* 8 [1997], p. 286, n. 23).

Hadda's antagonist is indicated in the prologue of *ARET* V 4 as *ba-ša-nu* (obv. 1 3, 4), « the snakes », probably with reference to the dragon's seven, snake-like heads. In the conclusive exorcism, the dragon is, instead, indicated as *LÚ ŠÀ / wa-mu-mu* (rev. II 6-7). This periphrasis recalls a Sumerian incantation where *muš-gi₆*, « the black snake » is placed in relation to *SU.AB-šà* « the middle of the *apsû* » (*ARET* V 19 rev. VI 9-10, for the interpretation of which see M. Krebernik, *BFE*, p. 181); more generally, compare the Sum. *ab-šà* « the midst of the sea » (*PSD*, A, II, p. 152, s.v.). It is, therefore, possible that *LÚ ŠÀ / wa-mu-mu* could be interpreted as /du hadar *wamm-im* / « he of the middle of the w. ».

LÚ : the determinative-relative pronoun was declined at Ebla (P. Fronzaroli, *MARI* 5 [1987], pp. 267-274); in the context of *ARET* V 4, the Sumerogram probably corresponds to the accusative, /da/.

ŠÀ : for the interpretation of this Sumerogram as /ħadar/ (construct state required by the context), the gloss 'à-da-ru₁₂-um (= šà, VE 595, A ; var. 'à-da-lu-um, B) is to be remembered. It has been agreed to interpret this gloss as /ħadr-um/ « interior ; (secluded) chamber » (P. Fronzaroli, *CRRA* 25 [1978 (1982)], 1, p. 134; *Seb* 7 (1984), p. 165; *QuSem* 13 [1984], p. 134; M. Krebernik, *ZA* 73 [1983], p. 14; *QuSem* 18 [1993], p. 137; W.G. Lambert, *JCS* 41 [1989], p. 29, who recalls the Hebr. *mhdrym* « within », Deut. 32, 25 ; also cf. F.M. Fales, *QuSem* 13 [1984], p. 181). G. Pettinato's hypothesis, according to which the Eblaic word could stand to indicate a type of fabric (*RSO* 68 [1995], pp. 188-191), is unconvincing (as already observed by M. Civil, www-oi.uchicago.edu/oi/proj/sum/sla/add-psd.html).

wa-mu-mu : This logographic spelling can be interpreted in the context as a genitive. The repetition of the sign *mu* may indicate mimation, following a scribal convention soundly attested in sources A, B, A₂ of the bilingual lexical list (e.g., *la-da-mu-mu*, VE 820, A ; *a-ga-mu-mu*, VE 1025, B ; *la-a-mu-mu*, VE 1208, A₂; M. Krebernik, *ZA* 72 [1982], p. 225 f.).

The seven-headed dragon is a marine animal which appears later on, strictly connected to and, perhaps, identified with the sea itself, Yammu (see recently, P. Bordreuil - D. Pardee, *MARI* 7 (1993), pp. 63-70 ; for identifying the sea and the dragon, p. 70). At least as a working hypothesis, the proposition is, therefore, possible that the Ebl. *wammum* is the etymon of the NW Sem. *yamm- (with the characteristic development of w>y in initial position). This does not, of course, implicate that the word should, in Eblaic, have the same meaning as in North-Western languages. Eblaic scribes interpreted the Sumerogram for « body of water ; sea, lake » in different words (*ti-'à-ma-tum* = ab:a, VE 1343, g ; var. *bù-la-tum*, A₂). The first gloss, /ihām-t-um/, continues with the more ancient and widespread Semitic word ; its topographical attestation (e.g., *Ti-'à-ma-duki*, TM.75.G.4679+ rev. III 4') shows that it was not a word limited to scribal circles. The second gloss, /bu'r-at-um/, may be interpreted as « water hole (to draw water) ».

In the bilingual lexical list, the gloss *wa-mu-um* (VE 623, A, B, C ; var. *wa-mu*, D), left until now without an etymological link, is the Eblaic equivalent of the Sumerogram PAP.A. In an administrative text, where PAP.A determines the place name *Ib-al₆ki*, the Sumerogram has been read as *pa₅* « canal » (*ARET* I 5 obv. XI 15-XII 1). Actually, the fact that the spelling PAP.A should be the equivalent of *pa₅(PAP.E)* is not certain. However, it is likely that, in the context of *ARET* I 5, the Sumerogram refers to a watercourse, seeing that, in another administrative text, the same place name seems determined by A.TUKU « water reservoir » (for the possibility that *Ib-al₆ki* lú PAP.A is the equivalent of *lb-al₆ki* A.TUKU [*ARET* IV 24 obv. VII 6-7], see G. Conti, *QuSem* 17 [1990], p. 170 f. ; about this toponym in general and its location, *ARES* II, p. 296 ff. ; *RGTC* 12/1, p. 187 f.).

If PAP.A designates a watercourse, the Ebl. *wammum* could also mean « watercourse ; stream ». In that case, the periphrasis of our exorcism could be interpreted as « he of the middle of the stream ». The semantic development attested in North-West Semitic, where *yamm-* indicates the sea, could have been facilitated by cosmological conceptions that considered the sea as the visible part of the watercourse surrounding the universe. It is because of this that Nahru (*nhr*) is a direct parallel to Yammu (*ym*) in Ugaritic myths. The description of El's abode, situated « at the sources of the two rivers, in the midst of the headwaters of the two oceans » (*mbk nhrm qrb apq thmtm*), may lead to the same conception. For the latter interpretation, see recently, G. del Olmo Lete – J. Sanmartin, *Diccionario de la lengua ugarítica*, I, Barcelona 1996, p. 45, s.v. *apq*.

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90) Ein neues Anschlußstück zu DS, Frg.15 : KBo 40.293 – KBo 40.293 ergibt einen Join zu KBo 14.3 Rs. IV 27'-37'. In Zeilen IV 27'-33' wird somit die durch das Duplikat KUB 19.18 Vs. I vorgegebene Textrekonstruktion von Güterbock, JCS 10 (1956), 76, bestens bestätigt. In IV 34'-37' vervollständigt das kleine Fragment die in den Zeilenanfängen bestehenden Lücken :

Rs.IV

- 26' [lu-uk-]kat-ti-ma-kán A-BU-¹YA¹ URU¹ Ti¹-[(wa-an-za-na-za kat-ta)]
 27' K([UR])¹el-kán an-da pé-en¹na¹-¹ EGIR-an¹na¹ ([LÚ.MEŠ QÁR-TAP-PÍ-ŠU])
 28' VI [(S)]Í-IM-TUM ANŠE.KUR.RA^{MEŠ 1} har-zi nu A-BU-YA [(ma-ah¹-ha-an)]
 29' na[(-an)]-na-i nu-kán e-[dal-ni pa-an-ga-u-i¹LÚ¹](KÚR I-an-ki-pát)]
 30' an[(-da h̄)]a-an-da²-iz¹zil na-an-za-an A-BU-YA [(za-ah¹-hi-ya-u-wa-an-zi-pát)]
 31' el[(-ep)]-zi nu A-NA A[-B]U-YA DINGIR^{MEŠ} pé-ra-an¹hu-i-e-er¹³
 32 dUT[(U URU)]¹A1-ri-in-na¹ dU¹URU¹HA-AT-T⁴ dU¹KARAŠ¹
 33 dI[ŠTAR LÍ]L-ya nu⁵ u-ni-in⁶ LÚ¹KÚR hu-ul-li-ya-at
 34' ¹LÚ¹KÚR [a-r]u-um-ma ku-¹it¹ me-¹ek¹-ki e-eš-ta nu NAM.RA GU₄ UDU
 35' me-e[k-ki] da-a-ir na-¹an¹ ar-¹ha iš¹-hu-wa-iš
 36' nu m[a-ah¹-ha-a]n¹ LÚ¹KÚR ša-a-¹rul-w[a-⁷ o o o]¹iš¹-hu-wa-iš
 37' LÚ¹[KÚR p]íd-da-a-i nu-za-kán HUR[.SAG-an]⁸ e-ep-zí

- 1) KUB 19.18 1 22' wa-x[- ; 2) ibid. 1 25' °-a-an-zi ;
 3) ibid. I 27' hu-u-e-er ; 4) ibid. I 27' URU¹KÚ[.BABBAR-ti]
 5) ibid. 1 28' A-BU-YA add. ; 6) ibid. 1 28' u-ni-in om. ;
 7) ibid. 1 30' [GI]M-¹an¹ LÚ¹KÚR MÈ[- ; 8) ibid. 1 31' EGIR-pa¹ add.

Für die Übersetzung sei auf Güterbock, loc. cit., verwiesen.

Ein weiteres Fragment zu den Deeds of Suppiluliuma könnte in KBo 40.6 vorliegen :

- x+2 [o o o o] x¹Ha-¹ša]-
 3' [pé-r]a-an hu-¹i-e¹-[er
 4' [o o o o o]-¹el-er nu-kán¹A1-B[U-YA
 5' [nu-w]a-an-na-aš [
 6' [o o o (-)t]i/T]I-nu-um-me-ni [
 7' [o o o]¹Ma-am[-ma-li-(?)]
 8' [pa-ra-]a na-a-i [
 9' [o o o o]x-aš na-aš-kán x[

- 10' [ma-ah¹]-¹ha¹-an-ma¹A1-B[U-YA

Die Nennung des Mam[mali, falls so richtig ergänzt, erinnert an DS Frg. 20, siehe Güterbock, JCS 10 (1956), 81.

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91) Zu Gzt. 1711 (V. Donbaz, AoF 25, 177f., Abb. 1 und Taf. III) – Das von Veysel Donbaz a.a.o. « veröffentlichte » Amulett ist bereits seit 1958 bekannt (H. Th. Bossert, OrNS 27, 402ff. und Taf. LVII 1-4 ; das dortige Photo ist allerdings spiegelverkehrt, da nach einem Plastillinabdruck gefertigt). H. Klengel, MIO 8 (1963) 26 erkannte erstmals die Darstellung als Lamaštu, gab eine kompetente Beschreibung des Stückes, der auch heute kaum etwas zuzufügen ist, und wies dem Stück die immer noch gebräuchliche Nr. 47 im Korpus der Lamaštu-Amulette zu.

Nachdem E. Weidner [ap. Bossert, l.c. 404] die Echtheit des Amulets anfangs in Zweifel zog, verteidigte Bossert ebd. die Authentizität mit dem Hinweis auf die Fundumstände : Bauern fanden das Stück in Zincirli und schenkten es, offenbar ohne daraus finanzielle Vorteile zu ziehen, dem Museum in Gaziantep. Dies wäre zwar an sich noch kein Beweis, zumal ein anderes offenbar gefälschtes Amulett aus der Umgebung von Zincirli ebenfalls als Oberflächenfund ausgegeben und dem Ausgräber, F. von Luschan, geschenkt wurde¹. Gzt. 1711 dagegen entspricht in seiner Darstellung im grossen Ganzen den anderen Lamaštu-Amuletten der Zeit und kann durchaus als echtes provinzialassyrisches Stück angesprochen werden². Dagegen spricht auch nicht die ursprünglich wohl dreizeilige (s. Bossert, l.c. 402) Phantasie-« Inschrift », die – wie auch sonst auf Amuletten gelegentlich zu finden – schriftähnliche Zeichen zur Erhöhung der magischen Wirkung einsetzt. Donbaz' auf W. G. Lambert zurückgehender Lesungsversuch ist daher m.E. unnötig – schon Bossert/Weidner und Klengel haben dies richtig gesehen. Zu danken haben wir V. Donbaz allerdings dafür, dieses Stück (diesmal mit einem

nicht spiegelverkehrten Photo) wieder in Erinnerung gerufen und mit lesenswerten bibliographischen Anmerkungen kommentiert zu haben.

1. Jenes grob gearbeitete Stück wurde in von Luschey/Andrae, Sendschirli 5 (1943), auf S. 25f. mit Tafel 9b und 10f publiziert. P. Amiet (AuOr 1, 109 Ann. 1) hielt es offenbar noch für echt, doch wies mich zuerst O. Muscarella darauf hin, dass es sich augenscheinlich um eine Fälschung handele. Dieser Ansicht kann ich mich nur anschliessen.

2. Ein nach Angaben von E. Weidner [ap. Bossert, a.a.O. 404f.] ähnliches Amulett mit Pseudoinschrift, das ebenfalls aus der Türkei stammt und sich offenbar längere Zeit in österreichischem Privatbesitz befand, konnte von mir bisher nicht lokalisiert werden. Lamaštu-Amulett Nr. 71 (s. W. Farber, Fs. für W. Rollig S. 115), heute in Salzburg, käme am ehesten in Frage, doch ist dem jetzigen Eigentümer nichts über die Herkunft bekannt.

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92) EZEN₄ a-śar-hi-ya-aś – In KUB 46.17 Rs. IV 16 begegnet, folgend auf EZE]N₄ ITU, eine Festbezeichnung EZEN₄ a-śar-hi-ya-aś, die nur hier belegt und in ihrer Isolierung ungedeutet ist (HW² I 385a). Die Graphie mit einem KVK-Zeichen, in diesem Falle ŠAR, lässt mehrere Möglichkeiten der Interpretation offen. In Parallele zu Schreibungen wie ^{URU}Zi-pal-da u.ä. (RGTC 6, 505ff. ; RGTC 6, 2, 196ff.), s. dazu jetzt E.Neu, NABU 1997/144, für Ziplanda, die für Zip()l^{a(n)}da stehen, oder ha-aš-pád-da KBo 23.4 + KUB 33.66 + KBo 40.333 Rs. III 5 (eine Bearbeitung dieses Textes durch den Verf. ist für ZA 89 (1999) vorgesehen) für hasp()da, ließe sich a-śar-hi-ya-aś als *aš(r)aḥiyaš verstehen. Eine analoge Festbezeichnung, diesmal in eindeutiger Graphie, begegnet KUB 59.6 [= Bo 3049] I 16', vgl. auch StBoT 31.170, EZEN₄ aš-ra-hi-ya-aś. Hierin sieht F. Starke, StBoT 31.170, einen hethitisierten Stamm zu der in KUB 5.10 I 7.9 belegten luwischen Festbezeichnung EZEN₄ ašrahitāšši-, zur Herleitung vgl. auch Melchert, CLL,37, s.v. *ašrahit-. Auf Basis dieser Herleitung sind EZEN₄ ašrahitāšši- und EZEN₄ ašrahiyaš als ‘Fest der Weiblichkeit’ bestimmt. Das Hapax legomenon EZEN₄ a-śar-hi-ya-aś, interpretiert als EZEN₄ aš(r)aḥiyaš, lässt sich nunmehr als ein weiterer Beleg für dieses Fest hierherstellen.

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93) À propos Maul, AoF 17 (1990), 189-190 Text Nr.1. – Die drei kleinen Tontafelfragmente aus Boğazköy, die Maul, loc.cit., in Autographie zugänglich gemacht hat, scheinen bislang wenig Aufmerksamkeit gefunden zu haben, verständlich auf Grund ihrer geringen Größe und ihres auf den ersten Blick geringen Aussagewertes. Der Text Nr.1 ist in der Edition bereits als Ritual angesprochen, auf das Vorkommen einer Stele in Z. 2' verwiesen. Wichtig wird das Fragment wegen der in Zeilen x+1,3',4' im Hinblick auf KBo 39.48 (wohl (+) KBo 24.117 (+) KBo 40.42) IV 13'-18' ergänzend zu lesenden Toponyme :

| | |
|-----|---|
| x+1 | [o o o o o o PÚ K]u-wa-an-na-ni-ya-x[|
| 2' | [o o o o o o N ₄ Z]I.KIN ar-t[a-ri |
| 3' | [o o o PÚ Ku-]wa-an-na-ni-y-a |
| 4' | [o] LÚMEŠ URUZ]i-ik-ma-`ra-at[|
| 5' | [o o o o]x-kán kat-t[a(-) |
| 6' | [o o o o o]iyal-an ŠA x [|
| 7' | [o o o o o o] x x x [|

Ungeachtet des fragmentarischen Zustandes des Textes lässt sich vermuten, daß die Leute aus Zikmar (Z.4' LÚMEŠ URUZ]ikmar=at) an einer Stele, die an der Quelle Kuwannaniya steht, rituelle Handlungen vollziehen.

In dem zur Ergänzung der Namen herangezogenen Fragment KBo 39.48 IV 13'-18'

| | |
|--------|--|
| IV 13' | dU URU Zi-ik-ma[r |
| 14 , | dPí-ir-wa-aś dA[- |
| 15 ' | r ^d Pé-en-tar-ul-ši-eš x [|
| 16 ' | x LÚ. MEŠ ZABAR.DAB x[|
| 17 ' | dU-an PÚ Ku-wa-an-na[-ni-ya |
| 18 ' | [LÚ.M]EŠ URU Zi-ik-mar [e-eš-ša-an-zī] |

liegt der Quellname Kuwannaniya in fragmentarischem Zustande vor. Wenn auch die Kasusendung abgebrochen ist, dürfte dennoch ein Dativ/Lokativ einige Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich in Anspruch nehmen. So

ergäbe sich die Aussage (IV 17'-18') « Den Wettergott [feiern] die [Bewohn]er von Zikmar an der Kuwanna[niya-Quelle.] »

Beide besprochenen Texte bezeugen somit die Nähe des Ortes Zikmar, ansonsten anscheinend nur noch KBo 20.87 (Vs.6, Rs.7'), s. RGTC 6,501, belegt, zur Quelle Kuwannaniya, vgl. dazu RGTC 6,536/537 sowie RGTC 6,2,206/207. Da nicht sicher ist, ob alle Belege auf eine Quelle Bezug nehmen, oder mehrere Quellen dieses Namens existierten, weiterhin die Lage dieser Quelle(n) nicht geklärt ist, ergibt sich hieraus für die Frage der Lokalisierung von Zikmar leider nichts.

Detlev GRODDEK (08-98)

94) Travaux sur Mari – L'éditeur des textes de Mari ne peut que se réjouir de l'attention que ces derniers – surtout s'ils ont été publiés ou republiés par lui – peuvent susciter chez ses collègues. L'adage antique « tant d'individus, tant d'avis », cependant, fait que les propositions nouvelles ou les commentaires nouveaux ne me paraissent devoir mériter réponses ou surenchères qu'à l'occasion. Les deux tomes de LAPO XVI et XVII, récemment parus, ont justement été les lieux de donner mon avis sur de tels travaux récents.

Je voudrais cependant ne pas laisser passer l'occasion d'illustrer quelques réactions « spontanées » de lecteurs.

a) Le genre de la « réaction rapide » à une première lecture, engendrant dans la foulée une note pour *NABU*, est malheureusement un peu trop représenté. Un exemple topique peut s'en trouver dans *NABU* 1998/59, à propos de A.2741. Lire une tablette de Mari ne suppose pas simplement des compétences philologiques, mais désormais que l'on fasse attention aux lieux (géographie) et aux personnes (prosopographie). Ainsi le malheureux Atamrel (« Atamri-El » n'existe pas!) était-il certainement passé *ad patres* depuis longtemps quand l'affaire du madarum (*madārum n'existe sans doute pas!) d'Ešnunna s'est posée. En fait sa correspondance constitue presque sûrement un lot de lettres saisies par les autorités marioites lors de la rébellion benjaminite. Tous ces renseignements se trouvaient *LAPO* XVI (mai 1997), p. 627 sq.

Par ailleurs, un principe strict de collation que j'ai adopté depuis les relectures de *ARM* VIII (cf. *MARI* I, p. 91) et que j'ai maintenu dans *LAPO* (cf. XVI, p. 19) est que l'on doit collationner une translittération, non une autographie. La première représente la vraie compréhension que l'éditeur a eue du texte ; la seconde est, elle-même, sujette à plusieurs interprétations et dépend souvent de l'humeur du moment. Je n'avais donc pas jugé bon de faire remarquer que dans A.2741 : 8 la copie de G. D. portait *ri-gi-im* et que le maître avait « oublié » le *-šu* puisque sa translittération était correcte.

Ces deux remarques sur la prosopographie et la translittération qui détruisent deux aspects majeurs de la nouvelle édition m'évitent donc de rediscuter la nouvelle interprétation du texte offerte dans *NABU* 1998/59.

b) De façon générale, j'aimerais être crédité d'un certain temps de réflexion préalable avant de livrer à d'éventuels lecteurs le résultat de mes hypothèses. Cette remarque vaut ainsi pour *NABU* 1998/2 où l'auteur note avec grande satisfaction que XXVI 196 permet de recueillir des propos prophétiques de Hanat. C'est justement ce qu'il faudrait prouver avant de changer l'interprétation générale du texte : le fait qu'un humain parle à cet endroit. C'est parce que le texte n'y invite pas que la lettre avait été interprétée différemment. L'accord entre J. Sasson et moi-même n'est pas très étonnant puisque nous avions justement réfléchi à deux sur le difficile problème de savoir s'il existait ou non des lettres apocalyptiques à l'époque amorrite et le mérite lui revient d'avoir clairement posé la question dès *MARI* I. J'avouerais volontiers que j'aurais bien aimé changer *aussi* dans *ARM* X 9 (= XXVI/1 208) l'interprétation de l'apocalypse en des dires de répondants ou d'extatique, mais nous n'avons vu ni Jack, ni moi, comment y arriver. Les deux textes sont malencontreusement cassés là où il ne fallait pas. Nous attendrons donc d'autres preuves avant de compter une statue de Hanat au sein de la cella de Terqa. En attendant, il reste suffisamment de difficultés philologiques réelles dans les parties conservées de XXVI 196 et 208 pour occuper les bonnes volontés.

c) J'aimerais enfin que les épigraphistes de Mari fussent crédités d'un savoir minimum. Dût-ce cela étonner l'auteur de *NABU* 1998/43, nous pouvons distinguer un DA d'un AR. L'excellente copie de M. Guichard (revérifiée) montre comment l'exemplaire d'apparence fort soignée du rituel d'Eštar fait les AR (cf. i 26). Il faut cependant se méfier des distorsions de la photographie sur le côté ; nous avons en effet privilégié la vue de face.

Cela pose en fait le problème du babylonocentrisme. Ces textes sumériens voyagent loin de leurs lieux propres. L'exemplaire de Mari vient peut-être de Šubat-Enlil, alias Tell Leilan, où il a pu être pris lorsque Samiya perdit la ville. Nul ne sait le cas que ces Amorrites faisaient de tels textes en pays amorrite, sur quoi ils avaient recopié leur exemplaire, s'ils en avaient une réinterprétation ou une lecture passive. En ce qui concerne les incipits sumériens du *Rituel d'Eštar* il m'a suffit, en tout cas, de trouver par collation confirmation de l'excellente idée de Civil que le rituel comportait mention de l'uruamaibrabi. Pour le restant des incipits, on verra quand on aura la version OB complète (cf. celui de iii 7!). Il est bien sûr certain que les autres incipits appartiennent eux aussi à la même composition sumérienne. À qui faut-il prouver qu'on ne passe pas sans mot dire à une autre œuvre? En tout cas, je doute fort, pour ma part, que toute la composition que l'on connaît à l'heure actuelle et qui est d'époque récente ait été récitée lors du soi-disant « Rituel de Mari », le rédacteur de

l'ordo faisant l'économie de tous les incipits intermédiaires. L'idée que le couplet mà-e ú-re-me (non reconnu avant notre édition et identifié sans problème par nous chez Cohen et Volk!) marquait une division de l'œuvre propre à l'époque (sans doute indiquant une tablette II) devrait être mieux prise en considération, car il devrait en être de même pour les autres incipits. Cela indiquerait une compréhension (et une extension!) très différente de l'œuvre à haute époque. En revanche, je serais fort reconnaissant d'une identification des chants pour le rituel du *Hum̄um*, pour lesquels j'avais sollicité, depuis Paris ou lors de la RAI de Venise, l'aide d'éminents sumérologues. À chaque jour suffit sa peine ; éditer les textes de Mari demande beaucoup de temps et le travail de recherche des détails, en fonction des spécialités, peut être profitablement divisé.

Une autre trace de « babylonocentrisme » serait de supposer au cours du rituel une visite de la déesse à l'Eanna d'Uruk, bien loin de la Haute-Djéziré ou de Mari.

Enfin, pour la déesse Nin-igi.zi-barra sur les bords de l'Euphrate (surtout à Tuttul, Tell Bi'a, d'ailleurs), attendre simplement les textes afférents à son culte dans XXVI/3 ; leur information nouvelle (cf. déjà *FM III*, p. 47) ne conforte pas l'idée qu'elle fût localement un bœuf-lyre ni même une « vache-harpe ». Et cela, sans illustration...

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95) uru Šal-[u](?) / URU NIN.URTA ville fantôme dans les lettres d'El Amarna – Dans l'édition anglaise des lettres d'El Amarna de W. L. Moran apparaît le nom géographique : URU NIN.URTA (*The Amarna Letters*. Baltimore, 1992, 392). Au sujet de la lecture de cette ville, J. A. Knudtzon avait fait dans *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln I. Die Texte*. Aalen, 1964 (Neudruck) p. 509 note g. le commentaire suivant : « Auf ein deutliches šal ist nach dem, was man sieht, ohne Zweifel entweder *ku* oder *lu* gefolgt, und zwar halte ich jetzt *lu* für viel wahrscheinlicher. Sollte aber doch *ku* richtig sein, so würde ich *àl bēlt[i]* statt, wie ich BA 4 S. 114 Z. 11 vermutet habe, *àl Ni[n-ib]* lesen ; denn ist *a-di* gefolgt, wäre ohne Zweifel kein Platz für *ib* ». O. Weber avait d'autre part signalé dans *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln II. Anmerkungen und Register*. Aalen, 1964 (Neudruck) p. 126 : « *alu šal-[l]u* kommt nur hier vor, Lesung unsicher ». Un demi-siècle plus tard, G. Kestemont publia un article dans *Berytus* 20 1971 intitulé « Le Nahr el-Kebir et le pays d'Amurru » où il analysait la ville d'Ullasa et ses problèmes de localisation (pp. 49-53) énumérant toutes les mentions d'Ullasa dans les lettres d'El Amarna. Cet auteur y proposait une nouvelle lecture : NIN.IB/NIN.URTA?, une restitution que W. L. Moran connaît (EA 117 note 7) mais qu'il ne reprend pas dans sa traduction : « (...) Les villes sont au se[rvice] d'Aziru. Que le roi n'en[tre] pas dans leurs villes. Ils ne sont pas en paix (avec toi) de ... [...] jusqu'à Ullasa, la ville où il a (souvent) en[voyé] des chars » (EA 117 : 38-43).

Notre proposition se fonde sur l'interprétation du signe ŠAL + K[U] comme les deux tiers du signe ŠU et, partant, nous préférons restituer ainsi :

(...) URU^{meš} i[t-ti] / ^mA-zi-ri u₂-ul yi-te-r[u-bu] / ⁴⁰⁾ LUGAL a-na URU^{meš}-šu-nu u₂-ul š[ul-mu] / a-na ša-šu-nu iš-tu uru Šu-mu-ra a-di] / uru Ul-la-za URU ša yu-w[a-ši-ru] / gišGIGIR^{meš} (...)

« (...) Les villes sont au se[rvice] d'Aziru. Que le roi n'en[tre] pas dans leurs villes. Ils ne sont pas en paix (avec toi) de Šumur jusqu'à Ullasa, la ville où il a (souvent) en[voyé] des chars! » (EA 117 38-43).

Pour conforter notre restitution, on peut citer trois exemples où Šumur et Ullasa paraissent ensemble :

a. EA 60 19-23 :

[... a-mur] / ²⁰⁾ [^mPal-ḥa-na-te lú[MAŠKIM-ia] / yi-iš-la-šu LUGAL d[UTU] / šum-ma la a-na-ṣa-ar / uru Šu-mu-ri uru Ul-la-za

« [Vois], (il y a là) [Pa]ḥanate, [mon] Commissaire. Que le roi, le [Sole]il, lui demande si je n'ai pas gardé Šumur (et) Ullasa ».

b. EA 105 22-24 :

ki-na-na la-a ti-pa-li-hu-na / a-nu-ma la-qu₂ uru Ul-la-za u₃ / uru Šu-mu-ra tu-ba-u₂-na la-qa

« En conséquence, ils n'ont pas peur. Maintenant ils ont pris Ullasa, et ils tentent de prendre Šumur ».

c. EA 140 13-19 :

(...) u₃ la-qa / URU^{meš}-šu-nu a-na ša-šu / ¹⁵⁾ Šu-mu-ra a-na ša-šu / URU^{meš} šar₃-ri 1-en uru Gub-la / iz-zi-la-at <a-na> šar₃-ri / ša-ni-ta₅ a-mur uru Šu-mu-ra / u₃ Ul-la {AS}-za pa-la-ša

« Il (: Aziru) a pris leurs villes. Šumur lui appartient, les villes du roi lui appartiennent. Seule Gubla (encore) va <avec> le roi². En outre, il a fait irruption dans Šumur et Ullasa ».

Šumur et Ullasa sont très bien connues à l'époque amarnienne comme bornes des limites septentrionales en Syrie du système des « bases » de l'orbite égyptienne³.

*Cette note a été rédigée dans le cadre d'un projet de recherche post-doctoral à l'Université de Tübingen (01.04.96 - 31.03.98) avec le soutien du *Servicio de Formación de Profesorado Universitario - Dirección General de Enseñanza Superior (Ministerio de Educación y Cultura)*.

1. Cette ville, à l'époque des conquêtes de Thutmès III, était déjà dotée d'une garnison égyptienne, comme centre névralgique pour les opérations côtières (*Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* IV 691). Cf. en plus EA 105 :83-85, où Rib-Hadda

s'exprime ainsi, après la chute d'Ullasa : « Les Égyptiens qui sont sortis d'Ullasa sont maintenant avec moi, mais pour eux, il n'y a pas de [grain à manger]. »

2. Cf. A. F. RAINY, « A New Translation of the Amarna Letters - after 100 Years », *AfO* 36-37 1989-90 64a : « 1-en *uru* *Gub-la / iz-zi-la-at <a-na> šār-ri* “One, Gubla, (still) goes <with> the king” (*EA* 140:16-17) ».

3. Cf. G. KESTEMONT, « Le Nahr el-Kebir et le pays d'Amurru », *Berytus* 20 1971 49-51 ; H. KLENGEL, « Šumur/Simyra und die Eleutherios-Ebene in der Geschichte Syriens », *Klio* 66 1984 9-11 ; et F. BRIQUEL-CHATONNET, « Tableau chronologique des attestations de Šumur/Šimirra dans les textes historiques », *Syria* 71 1994 353-354.

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96) EA 173 – Letter EA 173 is badly broken and parts of it (lines 3-12) were never restored. Following is a suggested restoration for these lines, with a few notes, followed by a translation of the extant parts of the letter and a short discussion.

(3) 『ùl in-ni-ri-ri p[u-hi-ir] (4) [gab?-bi?] LÚ^{meš} ḥa-za-ni L[UGAL-ri] (5) [ù ERÍN]^{meš} pí-ta-ti 2 UR[U^{meš}] (6) [an?-nu?] ta iħ-ha-zi dU[TU?^{ka?}] (7) [ki?-i?] me a-na KASKAL-ni [x x x] (8) [(ù) a-na LUGAL bē-li-i] a DUM[U?] KI[N?^{ri?}-ia?] (9) [x x x ù a]-nu-u[m-ma] (10) [e-te]-li 『a-na er-s[é-ti] (11) [LUGAL-r]i bē-li-i] a ù] (12) [da]-a-ki-šu-nu

Notes : Line 3 : compare EA 76:17 ; 91:23 ; 132:20 ; 295:20. Line 10 : compare EA 178:4. For the restoration at the end of line 6, see EA 189:rev. 14.

Translation : [... with troops and] chariots he attacks the land of ‘Amqi. And I came to aid (and) as[sembled all] the mayors of the k[ing and the ar]chers. [Your?] S[un?] holds [thes]e? two cities. [When?] I took?] the road, [I sent? my] messen[ger] to the king, m]y [lord. And n]ow I [went] up to the terri[tory of the kin]g, my lord, and [de]feated them. [And I here]with send 10 pr[isoners] to the king, my lord. [May] the king, my lord, [know about] the mat[ter] of his enemies.

Discussion : The author of the letter is either Biryawaza or an Egyptian commissioner as evident from his power to mobilize the Canaanite mayors and the Egyptian archers. His operation is a response to the attack on ‘Amqi either by Etaqama, mayor of Qidshu (EA 140:24-30 ; 174-176 ; 363), or Lupakku, the Hittite general (EA 170:14-18). He reports that he rescued the two towns attacked, which were presumably mentioned in the broken first part of the letter, and that his counter-attack was successful. He corroborates his report by sending the king 10 prisoners of war.

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97) EA 207 – The first part of letter EA 207 (lines 1-9) is partly broken, and was tentatively restored by W.L. Moran (*The Amarna Letters*, 1992). Lines 9-15 are badly broken and were never restored. Following is a suggested restoration for these lines, with a few notes, followed by a translation of the main parts of the letter.

(9) ù i-nu-ma [ta-a]q-bu (10) [lu?-ú?] mi 2-šu a-wa-t[fa ki]-fīl (11) [ša yi-i]q-bu lū-ra-[bi-iš] LUGAL (12) [EN-ka i]p-ša a-mur [a-na-k]u (13) [ù?? AD.?]?DA^{meš}-[ia?? īR^{meš??}] (14) [ki?-tu]m? i-nu-[ma ni?-da?-ga?]al (15) [DÙG.G]A/[ta-b]i š[a LUGAL-r]i E[N-ia] (15) ki-ma dUTU ù ki-ma (16) d[IM].

Notes : Line 10 : compare EA 289:26 ; J. Huehnergard, ZA 86 (1996), p. 101:26 and p. 111 n. 26. Line 12 : a horizontal line that runs under the two vertical wedges supports the reading [i]p (collated). Lines 14-15 : For the restoration, compare CAD D 21b. Lines 15-16 : The pair of the Sun and Ba'al in reference to the Pharaoh appears several times in the Amarna letters (EA 108:8-12 ; 147:5-15 ; 149:6-7 ; 159:7-10). It indicates that the Pharaoh is referred to in these lines.

Translation (lines 4-21) : I have obeyed a[ll the orders of the kin]g on the [tablet]. Look, I am a [loyal] servant [that] has served [the king. There is n]o ([ia-a-n]u) [loyal] servant like m[e]. As to [your sa]ying : « [you should c]arry [even?] twice the words [ord]ered by the commi[ss]ioner of the king ». Look, [I and my ance]stors?? [are loyal]?? [servants??] as long [as we loo]k? at [the favo]ur o[f the kin]g, [my] lo[rd], (who is) like the Sun and like [Ba'al]. But Puḥuru has not protected me. Lost from the hands of the ma[y]ors] to the ‘Apīru are all the cities of the king.

For lines 19-21, see N. Na'amani, *N.A.B.U.* 1994/2.

Nadav NA'AMAN (16-08-98)

98) A royal eunuch in the garden – In a recent article in *Mesopotamia* 32 (1997), Schmidt-Colinet identifies the enthroned person depicted in the banquet scene of Ashurbanipal as a eunuch (*ša reši*). The author asserts further, that : (1) the eunuch is Kandalan, the recently established city ruler/king of Babylon, and this individual appears with the Assyrian king in his chariot (Abb. 10, p. 306) ; (2) on the Louvre bronze relief, the mural-crowned person behind Sennacherib is the oldest son of the Assyrian king and he, too, is a eunuch (p. 305). This brief note raises several problems with the proposed change of gender for the two mural-crowned

persons.

(1) The statement that the beardless person in the Assyrian royal chariot is a royal Babylonian eunuch is incorrect. That individual is the bearer of the parasol. With one known exception, the parasol-bearer of the Assyrian king is always beardless, as seen on the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal II, Tiglath-pileser III, Sargon II, Sennacherib, Ashurbanipal. Of related interest, large numbers of beardless persons represented on the reliefs of Ashurbanipal are identifiable as male; are they all castrated eunuchs? On this question, a reasonable solution was proposed by Oppenheim (JANES 5 [1973] : 325-334).

(2) Two attributes associated with the feminine sphere are the mural crown and the mirror. Schmidt-Colinet acknowledges an association of the mural crown with women. Yet, without compelling evidence the author states that the wearers of the mural crown on the Assyrian examples are males (eunuchs). Traditionally, in ancient Near Eastern art it is women who wear mural crowns and variant tiara types. On this subject, see: Börker-Klähn, *CRRAI* 39 (1997), 227-237; Karageorghis, *Bibliotheca Mesopotamica* 21 (1986) : 129-139; Markoe, *BASOR* 279 (1990) : 18, fig. 8; Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains*, (1966, rev. ed., 1975), figs. 146, 148-151.

In the ancient Near East, information on mirrors is furnished by artifacts, representations in art, and texts. In my survey of ancient mirrors, the evidence supports the contention that mirrors were a special attribute of ranked females: goddesses, royalty, and upper class women (*Source. Notes in the History of Art* 4 (2/3) 1985 : 2-9). On the Louvre bronze relief the two attributes of femininity are given to the royal person standing behind the Assyrian king, who is either Sennacherib or Esarhaddon: therefore, the royal person must be Naqi'a (Reade, *CRRAI* 33 (1987), pp. 143-144).

(3) Finally, attention is directed to the renderings of the enthroned person in the garden and the servants who bring food to the royal banquet. It is clear that subtle modelling accentuates the fullness of their bodies, including the high breast line, the heavy thigh and the full, rounded chin. Surely the ample bodies of these figures identify them as women, whose physical features may reflect the desired outward aspect for the ladies of the royal harem. These women are rendered quite differently from the more slender, muscular Assyrian men. For good comparative illustrations, see: SAA 6, fig. 25 (queen), SAA 7, fig. 3 (female servants), fig. 33 (girl with tray), fig. 36 (male attendants).

Iconography and artistic style reaffirm the generally accepted identities of the mural-crowned persons: they are Assyrian queens.

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99) A new join to the Epic of Gilgameš Tablet I — The present writer, during a recent visit to the Students' Room of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities at the British Museum, identified Rm 956 as the beginning of Gilgameš Tablet I and joined it to Rm 785 + 1017 (join Lambert) + BM 34248 (Lambert) + 34357 (George). The small fragment contains part of the beginning of Tablet I, ll. 1-8 :

| | |
|---|--|
| 1 | ... i]š- ^f di ^l ma-a-[ti] |
| 2 | ...]-fú ka ^l -la-mu ha- ^f as ^l -[su] |
| 3 | ...] ^f i ^l -mu-ru iš-di ma- ^f a ^l -[ti] |
| 4 | ... i-d]u-ú ka-la-mu ha-a[s-su] |
| 5 | ... mit- ^f ya-riš pa-x[x] |
| 6 | ...] šá ka-la-mu [x(x)] |
| 7 | ... i-mur-m]a ka-tim-ti ip- ^f tu ^l (joins Rm 785+ here) |
| 8 | ... š]á ^f la-am ^l a-bu-bu |

The first line is evidently to be restored [šá nag-ba i-mu-ru i]š-di ma-a-[ti]. The reading *iš-di ma-a-[ti]* is confirmed by the parallel in l. 3. The broken sign after PA in l. 5 seems to be SAL (less likely DI), which might indicate that the last word is to be restored as *pa-r[ak-ki]* (George). It should be noted that the information concerning the NB tablets of Gilgameš I in S. Parpola's *The Standard Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh* (SAACT 1, Helsinki 1997) p. xiii is inaccurate. The four fragments listed there as parts of a 'MS b' (which include Rm 785+) cannot belong together. They are written in different scripts and display different profiles.

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100) The opening of the Epic of Gilgameš – Kwasman's splendid join of Rm 956 to CT 46 19 (Rm 785+), announced above, yields the first significant new evidence for the opening of the Epic of Gilgameš to appear since Paul Haupt's publication of the fragment 81-2-7, 93 in 1891 (in A. Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, pls. 2-4). It solves at last the conundrum set by the fragment K 2756C (Haupt, *Nimrodepos*, no. 1a), on which the beginning of the first preserved line reads, against our expectations, [. . . (= space for several signs) šá n]ag-ba i-mu-ru. R. Campbell Thompson recognized this problem in his edition of 1930 but glossed over it, stating that 'it is uncertain whether anything more than this catch-line [i.e. the well-known incipit, šá nagba īmuru] is to be supplied in the big gap at the beginning' (Thompson, *Epic of Gilgamish*, p. 71). The existence of the 'big gap' has been ignored ever since. The new join demonstrates that the first preserved line of K 2756C is not the incipit of the Standard Babylonian epic, as everyone had assumed from Haupt's time to the present, but is in fact line 3, and that the opening of the text takes the form of a repeated couplet of a type common in ancient Mesopotamian poetry :

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------|
| [ša nagba īmuru | i]šdī māti |
| [x x x-ti īd]ū | kalāma ḥassu |
| [Gilgāmeš ša n]agba īmuru | išdī māti |
| [x x x-t]i īdū | kalāma ḥassu |

[He who saw all, (who was) the] foundation of the land,
 [who knew . . . ,] was wise in all matters!
 [Gilgameš, who] saw all, (who was) the foundation of the land,
 [who] knew [. . . ,] was wise in all matters!

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101) More on Kassite Aššalban – In NABU 1997/109 J. A. Brinkman discussed a number of entries in the Kassite-Akkadian vocabulary published by Balkan, *Kassitenstudien I*, 3-4. For line 35 he proposed the reading áš-šal instead of Balkan's áš-rak and he pointed to the personal name Aššalban in a number of Kassite records. The same Kassite name is attested in the geographical name Āl-Aššalban, which occurs as uru-aš-šal-ban^{ki} in PBS 2/2, 100:7 (correct RG 5, 41 accordingly) and as uru-aš-ša-al-ban in the unpublished text CBS 2105:10 (list of persons grouped by town). The element aššal is translated by mūdū in the vocabulary (see above), the element ban probably has to be identified with the divine name attested in names like Karzi-Ban and Kašti-Ban, for which see Hölscher, *Die Personennamen der kassitenzeitlichen Texte aus Nippur* 118-119. The name can thus be normalized as Aššal-Ban.

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VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

102) Adreßänderung – Das Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wien zieht um. Ab September 1998 ist die Institutsadresse wie folgt: Institut für Orientalistik, Spitalgasse 2, Hof 4, A-1090 Wien, Autriche. Diese Adresse gilt auch für die Redaktionen von *AfO* und WZKM. Die derzeitigen Telephon- und Telefacsimilenummern (+43-1-4277-43401 bzw. +43-1-4277-9434) werden ebenso wie die e-mail-Nummern der Institutsangehörigen beibehalten.

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