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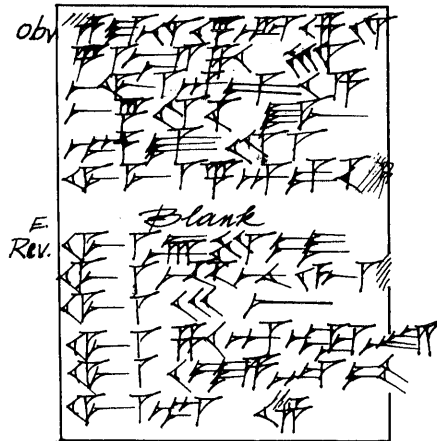
N°4 (Décembre)

NOTES BRÈVES

84) One Neo-Assyrian Text from Kazane Höyük – The authors' afore mentioned articles (P. Michalowski and Adnan Misir in *NABU* 1996/90 and *JCS* 50, 1998, p. 55 ff) also reminds me a Neo-Assyrian tablet brought by Ahmet Çiftçi of Konuklu village near to Kazane-Urfa, sometimes last year to the Museum. This text is bought by the museum's administration and we assigned to it A.3659 Assur number. 3.7×2.5×1,6 cm. Intact.

(A.3659)

- | | | |
|------|------|--|
| Obv. | (1) | 6 ma-na 14 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR |
| | (2) | ša ^m Si-ha-te |
| | (3) | ina IGI ^{md} PA-u-a |
| | (4) | ina 4-tú-šú GAL |
| | (5) | ITI.ZÍZ UD.1 |
| | (6) | lim-me mša ^d PA-šú- ^f a ^l |
| Rev. | (7) | IGI ^m Sa-te-i |
| | (8) | IGI ^m En-nu-IGIL[AL] |
| | (9) | IGI ^m 30-AŠ |
| | (10) | IGI ^m Ha-an-ka-su |
| | (11) | IGI ^m 10-ya-ba-bi |
| | (12) | IGI ^m ARAD-15 |



(1-4) 6 minas 14 shekels of silver belonging to Sihate are at the disposal of Nabû'ua: it will increase 1/4. (5) Month *Šabātu* (XI), day one (6) eponymy of Ša-Nabûšua. Witnesses: Sate'i, Ennu-lamur[?], Sîn-na'id, Hankāsu, Adad-yababi, Urad-Issār.

Brief comment:

The eponym mša^dPA-šú-^fa^l so appears in our text is dated to 658 B.C. (see A. R. Millard, *SAAS* II, p. 53 and 120 Pl. 4 A3. According to the copy in *SAAS* II, Pl. 4, the name is written as mša^dPA-šu and it follows a break there after. In our text it has the traces of an a[?]. See lately *AfO* 42, p. 93, Text A-4, 10.

2: mSi-ha-te: see *JADD*, 811, 5.

3: mEn-nu-IGIL[AL]: see *GADD* 661, rev. 20, where he reads En-nu-ši...

The names of the witnesses except Sîn-na'id, Ennu-lamu[r] and Urad-Issār are of Assyrian origin as this is obvious from the PN Sihate (1.2), an Egyptian who is the vendor of the loan. Our tablet has the same eponymy which is attested in the text SÉ 104 (Michael Jursa - Karen Radner, « Keilschrifttexte aus Jerusalem », *AfO* XLII-XLIII, 1995-1996) p. 93 with a slight variation of u- to -a.

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85) Zur zweiten Auflage von A Sumerian Reader (Rom 1999)¹ – Nachdem die erste Auflage von *A Sumerian Reader* (Rom 1997)² in äußerst kurzer Zeit vergriffen war, hat der Verlag eine zweite Auflage erbeten, die soeben erschienen ist. Diese zweite Auflage enthält die gleichen Texte, Kapitel und auch eine identische Gesamtseitenzahl; im Bereich der List of Phonetic Values und des Glossary ist das Seitenlayout an einigen Stellen allerdings etwas verschoben. Wo immer möglich, wurden Fehler der 1. Auflage korrigiert und Nachträge eingearbeitet. Damit die zahlreichen Benutzer der ersten Auflage von *A Sumerian Reader* (1997) die Nachträge und Verbesserungen der zweiten Auflage ebenfalls nutzen können, sind die sachlich wichtigsten nachfolgend zusammengestellt (auf die Angabe der Verbesserung von Schreibfehlern ist verzichtet):

Bibliographic Abbreviations (S. XI-XV):

Vervollständigung der bibliographischen Angabe: *Studies Borger: Tikip santakki mala bašmu ...* Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Mai 1994. Herausgegeben von Stefan M. Maul. Cuneiform Monographs 10 (Groningen 1998).

List of Texts (S. XVI-XVIII):

I. Royal Inscriptions. 1. s. jetzt: D.R. Frayne, RIME 3/2, 69ff. ('Ur-Nammu E3/2.1.1.33'); 2. s. jetzt: D.O. Edzard, RIME 3/1, 113 ('Gudea E3/1.1.7.8'); 3. s. jetzt: D.R. Frayne, RIME 3/2, 25f. ('Ur-Nammu E3/2.1.1.4'); 4. s. jetzt: D.O. Edzard, RIME 3/1, 156 ('Gudea E3/1.1.7.64'); 5. s. jetzt: D.O. Edzard, RIME 3/1, 154f. ('Gudea E3/1.1.7.62'); 6. s. jetzt: D.O. Edzard, RIME 3/1, 120f. ('Gudea E3/1.1.7.18'); 7. s. jetzt: D.O. Edzard, RIME 3/1, 135f. ('Gudea E3/1.1.7.37'); 8. s. jetzt: D.O. Edzard, RIME 3/1, 141f. ('Gudea E3/1.1.7.44'); 9. s. jetzt: D.O. Edzard, RIME 3/1, 130f. ('Gudea E3/1.1.7.31'); 10. s. jetzt: D.O. Edzard, RIME 3/1, 109f. ('Gudea E3/1.1.7.4'); 22. s. jetzt: D.O. Edzard, RIME 3/1, 29f. ('Gudea E3/1.1.7.StA'); 23. s. jetzt: D.O. Edzard, RIME 3/1, 38ff. ('Gudea E3/1.1.7.StC'); 24. s. jetzt: D.O. Edzard, RIME 3/1, 40ff. ('Gudea E3/1.1.7.StD'); 25. s. jetzt: D.O. Edzard, RIME 3/1, 46ff. ('Gudea E3/1.1.7.StF'); 26. s. jetzt: D.O. Edzard, RIME 3/1, 50f. ('Gudea E3/1.1.7.StH'); 27. s. jetzt: D.R. Frayne, RIME 3/2, 262ff. ('Amar-Suena E3/2.1.3.16').

II. Legal Documents. 30. Hinzugefügt: Z. Yang, PPAC 1, 119-120; 346-347 (loan of silver); 31. Hinzugefügt: (loan of silver). In Nr. 32-38 sind die deutschen Textbeschreibungen wie folgt durch englische ersetzt: 32. (marriage decree); 33. (purchase of slaves and workers); 34. (purchase of a cult singer); 35. (guarantee); 36. (record of an oath); 37. (suit for breach of betrothal promise); 38. (claim of property and a slave; liberation of the daughters of this slave); 39. füge hinzu: (decree of divorce).

III. Economic Documents. Hinzugefügt in Nr.: 40. (delivery of fodder); 41. (delivery of animal products for a festival); 42. (account of sheep and goats); 43. (purchase and branding of a steer); 44. (offering of beer to the gods).

Texts. Auch in der 2. Auflage ist in diesem Abschnitt noch ein Fehler stehengeblieben. So ist in Nr. 5 : 7 in der neuassyrischen Wiedergabe des Zeichens /sú/ (^dnin-šir-sú) 𒍪𒍪 (nicht : 𒍪𒍪) zu lesen; Nr. 10 rev.5 : Zur Erleichterung des Textverständnisses wird jetzt é-iri-kù-ga-ka-<ni> umschrieben (was aus didaktischen Erwägungen bisher unterblieb).

Die Setzung der Bindestriche – ohnehin bekanntlich im Grundsatz diskutabel – ist an einigen Stellen innerhalb des intendierten Systems inkonsequent und daher korrigiert: Nr. 22 right shoulder 3 : / lú é-ninnu- /; Nr. 23 i 2 : / dišir-gù-dé-a / ... 5 / lú é-an-na /; Nr. 26 ii 3 : / é hē-du-7-iri-kù-ga /; iii 1-2 : / nin dumu-ki-šg-an-kù-ga-ke₄ / ama ^dba-U₂ /.

In Nr. 23 ii 20-23 wird jetzt gelesen : / šá-ù-šub-ba-ka / šiš ba-ḥur / ka-al-ka / urin ba-mul /.

Sign List. S. 57 sub Nr. 114 ist die Lesung pisaḡ gestrichen; S. 58 ist als Nr. 123c ḡēštu (ḠIŠ.PI.TUG₂) [= L 296] eingefügt; S. 69 sub 211 ist nḡin verbessert zu : nḡin.

List of Phonetic Values (S. 75ff). Eingefügt: ḡēštu 123c; gestrichen: pisaḡ 114.

Glossary (S. 78ff.). Eingefügt sub g : ḡá-š^{iš}-ù-šub-ba (*nalbanum*): brick making shed (see D.A. Foxvog, *NABU* 1998/7); – der Eintrag ḡēštu(-g) ... ist korrigiert zu : ḡēštu(-g) / ḡēštu(-g) 1. (*uznum*) ear; 2. (*ḡasīsum*) understanding; wisdom. – sub k eingefügt : ka-al(-ak) (cf. *kalakkum*) loam pit (23 ii 22; 25 ii 14; see D.A. Foxvog, *N.A.B.U.* 1998/7); – sub p ist der Eintrag pisaḡ gestrichen; – sub s ist auch in der 2. Auflage leider nicht nachgetragen, daß /sù/ in Text 22 iv 2 in der gleichen Bedeutung wie sonst su₁₃(-d^r) (*arānum* G, D) erscheint; – sub u : gestrichen ist der Eintrag š^{iš}-ù-šub; stattdessen eingefügt der Querverweis (ḡá-)^{iš}-ù-šub-ba see ḡá-R; – sub z ist der Eintrag zú (*šinnum*) gestrichen.

Divine Names (S. 100ff.). Das Ende des Eintrages ^danzu(-d)^{mušen} ist korrigiert zu : « ... and thus became his ur-saḡ-kala-ga ». – Der Eintrag zu ^dinanna lautet jetzt : ^dinanna : 1) « Lady of Heaven » is a popular etymology; 2) Uruk; 3) The planet Venus; the heavenly courtesan; a warrior goddess; a Vegetation goddess whose sacred marriage to Dumuzi, repeated every new-years day, guaranteed Sumer's fertility. She was syncretised with the Semitic E/Ištar and was most commonly thought to be the daughter of Nanna-Su'en. As for her relationship to An, the god of the sky, see J. van Dijk, *Studies Borger*, 9-11; 30. – Aus redaktionellen Gründen nicht mehr eingearbeitet werden konnte der Verweis auf A. Zgoll, *Inanna als nu-gig*, *ZA* 87, 1997, 181-195.

Personal Names (S. 104ff.). Fehlende diakritische Zeichen wurden eingefügt in : ì-lí-A.ZU (39 : 2) ; ì-lí-DIĜIR^{lum} (36 : 7).

Place Names (S. 107ff.). Literaturergänzung am Ende des Eintrages uru_x(URU_xKAR₂)^{ki}(-b) : K. Volk, *NABU* 1997/60.

Sacred Buildings (s. 110ff.). Eingefügt als Stichwort : é-d^{an}zu^{mušen}-bábbar (8 : 8) : « House, White Anzu ». The name of this temple is attested only on brick inscriptions found at Ĝirsu, Tell I (see AnOr 30, 121 ; 123, a-ga-arena). – Unter dem Stichwort é-ninnu finden sich folgende Korrekturen : r.sh. (nicht : cartouche) ; 7 ii 2 (nicht : 7 ii 8) ; « House-Fifty, White Anzu » (nicht : « House-Fifty is White Anzu »).

1. K. Volk, *A Sumerian Reader*. Second, revised edition. With the collaboration of Silvano Votto and Annette Zgoll. Studia Pohl : Series Maior 18, Roma 1999.

2. K. Volk, *A Sumerian Reader*. With the collaboration of Silvano Votto and Annette Ganter. Studia Pohl : Series Maior 18, Roma 1997. Rezension : J. Cooper, *OrNS* 67, 1998, 556.

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86) The Origin of DB Aram. 66-69 – As shown by Nicholas Sims-Williams, lines 66-69 of the Aramaic version of the Bisitun Inscription (DB Aram.) are a translation of the last paragraph (9) of the lower tomb inscription of Darius I (DNb).¹ Yet the origin of the insertion of a section of DNb in DB Aram. is not clear. The presence in DB Aram. 66-69 of two Old Persian words in transcription, *prtr* (line 67) and *'ymnš* (line 69) proves that the Babylonian version did not serve as source-text for this section. Sims-Williams summed up three possibilities. Firstly, that the Aramaic version of paragraph 9 was copied from an Old Persian version of DNb ; secondly, that it was copied from an Elamite version of the same inscription ; thirdly, that it was dictated in Old Persian and written down immediately in Aramaic by the scribe.

At first sight the occurrence of these Old Persian words contradicts the theory that this text is translated from the Elamite version of DNb. Yet the Elamite text, which is unfortunately damaged at the relevant places, may have contained those two words in transcription and in that case still is a possible source-text.² Hinz expressed doubts about this « nach dem epigraphischen Befund »³ without, however, specifying this « Befund ».

1) *prtr*

The relevant phrase in Old Persian is *avaščiy : āxšnūdiy : hya : para[ta]r : θahy]ātiy* 'Rather listen to what is said openly' (53-55). The Elamite phrase (DNb 38) is partly damaged : *a-ak hu-be te²-u[m-ti ap-pa]* *šá* [...ti]-ri-man-ra 'listen to what one says ...'.

It is unlikely that in the first lacuna one should restore *'nu-in* 'to you'. In the Old Persian version of this phrase an expression for 'to you' does not occur. The *šá* is clearly visible on the photograph (E.F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, III, 1970, Pl.35), but the restoration *šá-[rāk]*⁴ is unlikely. El. *šarak*, which mostly represents OP *patiy*, does not mean 'in public', but 'ever, in case, etwa'.⁵

Precisely the presence of this *šá* offers some problems to restore an Elamite transcription of OP *paratar* in the gap. Such a transcription would be *pa-ra-tar, ba-ra-da-ir, ...* but certainly would not contain a *š*. Yet, if the transcription only needs three signs, there is still space enough in the lacuna before *tirimanra*. Thus the presence of an Elamite transcription of OP *paratar* is not entirely impossible.

2) *'ymnš*

Here the Old Persian sentence is *mā[patiy : š]iyātiyā : ayaumainiš : bavā* 'Do not be unfit in prosperity' (58-59). The Elamite context is heavily damaged : *a-[nu] šá-rāk [x⁶-da?] nap⁷ te [.. a-ak v.ma]-ul-[l]a [ak]-ka₄ li-na-a[k-k]án me-ni a-nu me-te-in, 'Do never [be unfit] in prosperity. A young man (ma-ul-la) who conducts disobediently will have no success' (41-43).*

Since OP *šyāti-* always appears as *ši-ia-ti-* in the Elamite versions of the Achaemenid royal inscriptions and since these Elamite versions mostly have the same word order as the Old Persian texts, one would expect also here [*ši-ia-ti-ia?*]. There is, however, in the first gap of this phrase only place for two (maybe three) signs. A restoration [*šá-da*] (the Elamite transcription of the OP adjective *šyāta-* 'happy' in XPh El. 39 ; also attested in Fort. 2649 : 3-4) is also excluded, as the partly visible first sign of that lacuna cannot be *ša* or *šá*.

If one accepts here a different word order between the OP and the Elamite version it is still possible that a [*ši-ia-ti-ia?*] stood in the second gap, which contains five signs. In that case the Elamite transcription of *šyātiyā* is the last word of the sentence : *nap? te x [ši-ia-ti-ia? a-ak v.ma]-ul-[l]a ...*

Whether it is possible to restore an Elamite transcription of *šyāti-* or not, the text most certainly did not contain an Elamite transcription of OP *ayaumainiš*. This means that the Elamite version of DNb was not the

text from which this passage was copied. Hinz was right in assuming this.

One could be inclined to think that the text was copied from an Old Persian version kept in the Royal Archive. It is, however, equally possible that the king dictated the text in Old Persian and that the scribe wrote it down directly in Aramaic. This process is parallel to the system of creating the Old Persian versions of the royal inscriptions:⁸ the king dictates in Old Persian, the scribe writes it down in Elamite and retranslates it later in Old Persian. This explains also the high frequency of Elamite transcriptions of Old Persian words in the Elamite versions of the royal inscriptions.

It is sure that the source-text was drafted at the royal court. Since there were only a few persons who could read and/or write OP,⁹ it looks probable that the influence of this language was confined to Persia proper. There is thus no reason for the presence of an Old Persian copy in Egypt.¹⁰

From the royal court the text was sent to the different provinces of the Achaemenid empire. It surely remains possible that the archive in Egypt contained an Aramaic version of the last paragraph of DNB and that the insertion of that paragraph in DB Aram. was done in Egypt. Nevertheless I believe that the text which came into the hands of the scribe in Elephantine and which was copied later on the papyrus, already contained the little section of DNB.

The date when this translation of DB, including the part from DNB, was first written, is uncertain. Perhaps the source-text was drafted somewhere between 520 and 425 BC, but only sent to Egypt around the throne accession of Darius II (the latest on 13 February 423). More likely, however, it was written shortly after this date, when Darius II had successfully occupied the throne, to celebrate the 100th birthday of the victories of Darius I.¹¹ Together with the Aramaic version probably a new Babylonian and Elamite version were recorded. These versions also included the insertion of the last paragraph of DNB).¹² The Aramaic text was then sent to Egypt and some other satrapies. In Egypt a scribe wrote it down on a papyrus (around 421 BC)¹³ which was later used for the accounts on the verso.

1. N. Sims-Williams, *The Final Paragraph of the Tomb-Inscription of Darius I (DNb, 50-60) : The Old Persian Text in the light of an Aramaic Version*, BSOAS 44 (1981), pp. 1-7.

2. N. Sims-Williams, BSOAS 44 (1981), p. 2.

3. W. Hinz, *Grosskönig Darius und sein Untertan*, A Green Leaf : Papers in Honour of Professor Jes P. Asmussen (Acta Iranica 28), Leiden, 1988, p. 476.

4. W. Hinz, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen*, Berlin, 1969, p. 58.

5. I. Gershevitch, TPS 1979, pp. 168-188. According to him, *šarak* is the Elamogram of OP *patiy*.

6. Two horizontal and one vertical wedge are visible on the photograph. Possibly *su, rap, tur, ...*

7. Possibly *pīr*.

8. I. Gershevitch, TPS 1979, pp. 114-155.

9. I. Gershevitch, TPS 1979, p. 116.

10. W. Hinz, A Green Leaf, 1988, p. 477 believes that DB Aram. was translated in Elephantine from the Old Persian text of DNB.

11. J. C. Greenfield and B. Porten, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great : Aramaic Version*, (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum 1/5/1), London, 1982, p. 3 ; B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, III, Jerusalem, 1993, p. 59.

12. Maybe one of the two fragments of DB Bab., found in Babylon, was a part of this version. They did not belong to it both of them, since they are not fragments of the same exemplar of DB (E. Von Voigtlander, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great : Babylonian Version* (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum 1/2/1), London, 1978, pp. 65-66.

13. B. Porten and A. Yardeni, *Textbook*, III, 1993, p. 61.

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87) The Iranian name Sá-ta-b/ma-ak-su – In a document drafted in 487 in D/Ṭamar, a certain *Šá-ta-b/ma-ak-su* appears together with his colleague Numagazu as the *rab bīī* of a person whose name is unfortunately not preserved (VAS 3, 159 : 3). The name *Šatab/maksu* is undoubtedly Iranian. Zadok recognized the first element as the Babylonian equivalent of Iranian *šyāti*- ‘prosperity’, but he gave no explanation for the second element of this name, *b/ma-ak-su*. Neither did Dandamaev.¹ My proposition is that the second part of this name is Iranian **-baxša-* (Av. *baxš-* ‘to give, *schenken, zuteilen*’) or **-vaxša-* (Av. ‘to grow, to make grow’).

This proposition implies that an Iranian /š/ can be rendered by a Babylonian *su*-sign. At first sight this looks improbable, as mostly the Iranian /š/ is rendered by a /š/ in Babylonian (cf. the royal names *Dārayava^h auš*, *Xšayarša-* and *Artaxšaça-*, always spelled with a š in Babylonian : ^m*Da-ri-ia-a-muš*, ^m*Aḫ-ši-ar-šú* and ^m*Ar-tak-šat-su*)². There are, however, some indications in favour of such a phonological feature.

Firstly, this feature is attested in the other direction: Iranian /s/ is rendered by Babylonian /š/, e.g. Iranian *Aspa-janta 'horse-rutting' appears in a Babylonian text as ^mÁš-pa-za-an-da.³

A second indication is that sometimes s and š interchange within one word. The city *abistāna is normally written a-ba-as-ta-nu (BE 9, 86a: 3; PBS 2/1, 7: 4, 8: 2 and 4, 20: 1, 120: 6, 193: 5, 207: 6), but in one document it appears as ab-ba-eš-ta-nu (PBS 2/1, 87: 6). The PN *Rta-raučah 'having the light of Arta' is spelled ^mAr-ta-ru-us (S.+ 409: 8, in Hebraica 8, p. 134) and ^mAr-ta-ru-šú (Camb.384: 11 and 19).

In addition to these indications, there may also be a real example of this phonological feature: the name of Artaxerxes III, ^mŪ-MA-SU. The last sign can be perfectly read as -su or -kuš-, hence the problems of this example. Schmitt believes that the underlying Iranian name is *Vauka- (a hypocoristic of Dārayava(h)uš) and therefore reads ^mUmakuš. Stolper argues that a reading su is preferable «by standards of Late Babylonian orthography» and that the Iranian basis for this form is *Va(h)uš, from which a name *Vauka- would be derived.⁴

A problem with the connection ^mUmakuš and *Vauka- is that the latter would never be rendered in Babylonian using a š at the end. As the nominative is the leading case in the transposition from proper names from one language to another,⁵ the š of ^mUmakuš probably renders the ending of the OP nominative singular of Iranian i/ī- and u/ū- stems. All Iranian names that appear in Babylonian with an ending š are representations of such i/ī- or u/ū- stems: ^mAḫ-ra-tu-uš = *(A)-xratu-š, ^mA-tar-ba-nu-uš = *Atr-banu-š, ^mPa-ar-mar-ti-iš = Fravartiš, ^mPa-ar-nu-uš, ^mPar-ri-nu-uš, ^mPar-ri-ni-iš, ^mPar-ri-nu-ú = *Parnu-š, ^mPar-ri-na-'ni-iš = *Frīmāni-š or *Farnāni-š, ^mTi-ri-a-iaš-muš = *Tirya-va(h)uš. As *Vauka- is an o/a-stem, its nominative would certainly not be *Vauka-š⁶ and would consequently not appear in Babylonian using a š. The name is thus to be read ^mŪ-ma-su and renders Iranian *Va(h)uš⁷ (cf. Elamite ma-hu-iš in PF 2006: 14). Possibly the beginning /u/ of Umasu is a representation of the Iranian word hu-.⁸

If one reads Umasu for Iranian *vahuš 'the good one', there is an unequivocal attestation of a Babylonian /s/ for an Iranian /š/. Yet the name is still not clear, as it cannot be determined whether it should be read ^mŠá-ta-ba-ak-su or ^mŠá-ta-ma-ak-su. The underlying Iranian form of the first possibility would be *Šyātabaxša-, meaning 'he who gives prosperity'. This is a plausible name, since both elements of it are also found in other Iranian names.⁹ As plausible, however, as *Šyātabaxša- is the name *Syātavaxša- (Bab. ^mŠá-ta-ma-ak-su, with Bab. /m/ for Ir. /v/) 'he, who makes prosperity grow'. The second element -vaxš- also serves as second element in other Iranian names.¹⁰

A second possibility for explaining this name is a scribal error. Since the LB forms of the signs su and šu are nearly identical, it is possible that the scribe wrote erroneously su for šu.

1. R. Zadok, *Iranians and Individuals bearing Iranian names in Achaemenian Babylonia*, in IOS 7 (1977), p. 95 n.39; M.A. Dandamaev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia* (Columbia Lectures on Iranian Studies 6), Costa Mesa, 1992, p.121.

2. These names prove that Iranian /x/ can be represented in Babylonian by a /k/.

3. BE 10, 66: 4. Cf. R. Zadok, review of W. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*, 1975, in BiOr 33 (1976), p. 213.

4. R. Schmitt, *Achaemenid Throne Names*, in AION 42 (1982), p. 88 n.13: «The last sign of that name -SU- in Late Babylonian texts has the values of both kuš and su, the first of which may be preferred here since the reading in that case seems to be nearer to the primary Iranian form». M.W. Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire: the Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia* (PIHANS 54), Istanbul, 1985, p. 115 n.21.

5. R. Schmitt, *The name of Darius*, in Iranica Varia: Papers in Honor of Professor Ehsan Yarshater (Acta Iranica 30), Leiden, 1990, pp. 194-195.

6. These stems have no endings in -š (R.G. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexikon* (American Oriental Series 33), New Haven, 1953², p. 58).

7. The end-u of ^mŪ-ma-su is not a problem for a connection with *Va(h)uš. Cf. OP maguš (DB OP I 36, 44, 46, 64, 66, 70, IV 8; DBb 2), Bab. ma-gu-šú (DB Bab. 15, 18 (two times), 25, 26, 28, 90; DBb 2).

8. Cf. R. Zadok (with I. Gershevitch), in IOS 6 (1976), p. 70.

9. For names constructed with one of these two elements, see W. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, 1975, pp. 62, 230-231, etc.

10. W. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut*, pp. 49 and 169; M. Mayrhofer, *Die Altiranischen Namen* (Iranisches Personennamenbuch 1), Wien, 1979, p. I/41.

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88) Updates to Šuruppak's Instructions, Proverbs of Ancient Sumer, and Ancient Rulers –

A) Šuruppak's Instructions: Corrections and additional lines to the text reconstruction

The most recent edition of the text is available electronically on the Website The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (etcsl) from Oxford, address: <http://www-etcsl.orient.ox.ac.uk/> under 5.6.1: The instructions of Shuruppak: composite text, translation, bibliography. The electronic version with a rather successful translation was prepared mainly by Gábor Zólyomi taking previous works by others into account. His line counting follows a revised manuscript, the basic core of which I prepared in Philadelphia in 1989, and

which I still hope to complete. For the time being I want to point out that unfortunately the line counting still has to be seriously modified at one point.

There must in fact be a lacuna following line 237 (in the new line counting, which as quoted here as well as in the etcs1 version is decreased by 4 compared to my 1974 edition). In other words, the few fragmentary signs left on the Ashmolean text OECT 5, 42 rev. ii do not connect directly with the beginning of the first of the major sources, U₂ (UM 29-13-326, rev. II), that starts after the lacuna, as has hitherto been assumed (cf. Alster's edition of 1974, pp. 46-48, and p. 67, where U₂ line 243' is supposed to connect with Ash line 243'). Judging from the length of the columns of the major sources, one may assume that there is room for approximately 10 more lines in the gap. This implies that the numeration of all lines in the section beginning with line 241 until the end of the composition should be increased consecutively by approximately 10, and that the composition was slightly longer than hitherto assumed. It is a pity that such a lacuna continues to exist. Yet, there is some hope that these lines may one day be completed, since some eight unplaced fragmentary lines on the reverse of an unpublished Ur duplicate, U. 7827, almost certainly belong here. This is a fragment from a six or eight column tablet originally containing the complete text. The possibility further exists that some unidentified lines on the Early Dynastic versions could belong here.

The reverse of U. 7827 is transliterated below from my own copy. It uses very narrow columns with groups of lines (mostly non-indented), so that one entry in the normal line counting may here be represented by clusters of up to four lines separated by horizontal lines. The numbers given on the left side below shows where the vertical separating lines occur. There is thus nothing missing after *addir* in the third part of line 3, which is the only completely preserved line on the reverse.

1'	ki-a nag-e [...]
2 cf. 236	lum-lum hé-ni-[...]
3	e gú dù lá-e [?] in-šè gál(?) [...] <i>addir</i> (NÍG.A.BI.GIŠ.NÍG.UD) x(like im or nam?) ga-ab-[...]
4	u ₄ -mín-šè x [...] / (erasure) x x [...]
5	du ₅ (?) x(like TUM) geme ₂ -gim 'igi+X ¹ ? [...] im-da šà(?) lá TÚG UD šà / gal-KU-NI in-lá
6	tu-ra dùg-ga-a-ni [x?]
7	nam-'gig-ga ¹ -àm 'im ¹ -[x] du ₁₄ nam-mú-m[ú-dè] / NI IM ni [...]
8	'x ¹ in [...]

No translation is ventured here, but note line 6: « His recovering from illness ... disease ... »

B) A Hurrian duplicate to Šuruppak's Instructions

The Akkadian-Hurrian bilingual fragment published by Manfred Krebernik, in ZA 86 (1996) 170-176, has been identified by M. Civil as an Akkadian-Hurrian bilingual duplicate to Šuruppak's Instructions. Civil kindly communicated the identification to me. This surprising identification promises well for future identifications of bilingual or unilingual Hurrian fragments, and suggests that perhaps other unexpected examples of Sumerian-Akkadian literature were translated into Hurrian, but as yet remain unrecognized. It is highly likely that additional duplicates or even fragments of the same tablet could be found among the published tablets from Emar, but of course they are difficult to recognize for someone like myself, who have no knowledge of Hurrian. It would be greatly appreciated if competent scholars would be on the look-out and communicate any observation to the following e-mail address: alster@coco.ihl.ku.dk.

The Akkadian translation is in the left columns, the Hurrian translation in the right columns on each side. The tablet is unnumbered in private possession in München. According to its graphic style it probably comes from Emar. Joins might even well be found among the published fragments from Emar. Obv. i a = 9-17 (10 missing); obv. i b is the corresponding Hurrian column. Rev. i a = variant of 55 (cf. 49); 60, (61 omitted), 62, 63, 65, 66, 67; 64, 67a(?) or 68(?); rev i b = is the corresponding Hurrian column (The line numbers accord with the etcs1 version).

C) The Proverbs of Ancient Sumer : Updates

Some additions and updates to my edition *The Proverbs of Ancient Sumer* (Vols. I-II, CDL Press, Bethesda, Maryland, 1997), here referred to as Alster, *Proverbs*, are listed below.

SP 1.186

The translation was based on source TT, reading íl-la-na and gul-la-na. Since the main source A as well as UU have -ni in both cases instead of -na, which obviously are less problematic readings, one should pre-

ferably translate « His gathered brushwood will be carried off, his destroyed parapet will be plundered », as in PSD B, p. 45, s.v. **bad₃-si**.

SP 1.199 and UET VI/2 328 : Anecdote about The Woman from Girsu

Cl. Wilcke has identified St. Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies* (= BL), Paris 1913, Pl. X, Nr. viii ter as a duplicate to SP 1.198-202 (Alster, *Proverbs*, p. 39). This was kindly communicated by Cl. Wilcke. Langdon's copy is not very reliable, but more reliable readings can now be obtained since the tablet, Edin. 09.405-3, was collated in 1985 by Wilcke in the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh, and a new copy has been made by M. Geller. An edition of the text will be published by Wilcke in a forthcoming Festschrift. This new duplicate makes it possible to recognize the small fragment UET VI/2 328 (Alster, *Proverbs*, p. 320) mentioning a woman from Girsu, with some apparently obscene allusions to « her lap, » « her after, » and a « gate, » as a duplicate to SP 1.199. In the commentary, Alster, *Proverbs*, p. 474, UET VI/2 328 is said to be an « unusual fragment of a limerick, unfortunately too poorly preserved to make connected sense ». It would now rather seem to be best described as a small humorous anecdote.

SP 2.30 : New translation

Translate rather « So lowly is the poor man that what is taken from his mouth is used to pay off his debts. »

SP 2.39 : Translation

PSD A/3, p. 24, s.v. ad-ša₄, translates « should a singer know (only) one song but make the sound pleasant : he is indeed a singer. » This is to be preferred to the translation in Alster, *Proverbs*, I, p. 52 « When a singer knows every song, » etc.

SP 3.2 : The prince's nurse

M. Civil, on the Website <http://www-uchicago.edu/OI/PROJ/SUM/SLA/SLA1.html>, translates SP Coll. 3.2: « you look from the parapet, like that nurse of the prince, » and explains this as an allusion to Lullaby 39ff., « where the prince's nurse watches anxiously the stars and the moon from the city wall ». Alster, *Proverbs*, p. 78, is to be corrected accordingly.

SP 3.140 = 7.95

Translate rather « A *gunida*-cake was made (to taste) like honey. The nomad ate it, but didn't recognize what was in it », rather than of « instead of honey », etc.

SP 4.3, etc

The first near-duplicate to this collection remarkably comes from Uruk, and was published in AUWE 23, nos. 120-121, with A. Falkenstein's copies of tablets from Uruk edited by A. Cavigneaux. Nos. 120 and 121 are transliterated pp. 62-63, and copied pp. 161-162. No. 120 almost certainly belongs to the same tablet as no. 121, as indicated by Cavigneaux, p. 62. In that case, 120 is the upper left corner of the complete tablet, and 121 belongs to the reverse. On the reverse the following sequence can be recognized, in this order : SP 4.4 ; SP 3.93 ; SP 4.5 ; SP 4.8 ; SP 4.9, which is the last entry on the tablet. The reverse of the complete tablet then seems to have contained no more than a short section from SP 4, and the lines now almost completely lost on top of it could have been approximately = SP 4.1-3. The obverse of the complete tablet, of which now only AUWE 120 remains, seems to have contained a composition different from SP 4 ; cf. Cavigneaux' comments, p. 62.

SP 5.56 : « a leash of spun wool » with comments on a reading in PSD A/2 :

Gordon, JCS 12 (1958) 48, read éš-síg-sur-ra, (« when the lion (came) to a sheep-fold, the dog was wearing a leash of spun wool »). Alster, *Proverbs*, p. 129, read éš-síg(?) -sur-ra, « a leash of spun wool », following Gordon, but with a question mark to indicate some uncertainty as to the reading of síg.

PSD A/2, sub á-AŠ-gar, 2. « (a kind of weapon?) », read á instead of síg, and rendered the whole as ÉŠ-á-AŠ-aš-gar. Whereas there could be some justification for reading á instead of síg, the reduplication of aš is not justified in any duplicate (apparently a handwritten modern « gloss » to the transliteration was incorporated as if it belonged to the text itself?).

Further, in SP 5.56, the two parts of the sign bur, AŠ and GAR, are written so close together that the reading sur is beyond doubt. The reading á-sur versus á-aš-gar was discussed by Civil on the Website Sumerian Lexicon Project (SLA), under the heading Corrections and additions to PSD, address : (http://www-oi.uchicago.edu/OI/PROJ/SUM/SLA/Add_PSD.html) under á-sur (which he gives as the correct reading for aš-gar => á-sur). He explains this as « A sort of ax (with det. uruda or zabar). » Civil comments « there seems to be no good reason to change E.I. Gordon's transliteration » (scl. in JCS 12, 48). Gordon's transliteration and translation, as followed by Alster, *Proverbs*, p. 129, are thus reasonably reliable and SP 5.56 does not contain the lexical item á-sur/á-aš-gar.

SP 5.83 : maškim-bi?

Note that, in the second part, source Q, the only one preserving the sign following maškim, has maškim-¹x¹ (hardly ak). Cf. the photograph in JCS 12, p. 55, which, however, shows a cast. The original tablet is slightly clearer. Maybe this is simply maškim-¹bi? PSD A/3, p. 95 reads : maškim a[k]¹ ¹x¹, which seems to

represents the text of two different readings of the same sign transliterated as if there were two, rather than a reading from the tablet.

SP 5.100.

The approximately correct reading is given by PSD A/1 s.v. a-MIR : ur-mu₂-da-gim a-mir x ir x-x-bi. The meaning remains obscure.

SP 6 : A new duplicate

A small school tablet in the Montserrat Museum, Barcelona, MM 1134, whose contents is similar to that of SP 6, will be published by Manuel Molina in the forthcoming Cagni Memorial Volume (kindly communicated by Manuel Molina). It has four lines dealing with birds. This reminds of SP 6.28, but may not belong to that collection at all.

SP 8 Sec. B 9 : « The dung strikes his face, like a hippopotamus »

Cf the discussion by M. Civil in JCS 50 (1998) 11-14, mentioned below, sub N 3395. Civil reads ðim-šáh-gin₇ šer₁₀-da KA-KA-na al-sìg (p. 12), and suggests the translation «The dung strikes his face, like a hippopotamus» (p. 13, sub 4). He sees the proverb as «an allusion to the “dunging,” a peculiar habit of *Hippopotamus amphibius*.» He argues that ðim-šáh is a Semitic loanword meaning «crocodile», whose Akkadian equivalent was originally derived from Egyptian *db* or *dbj*, but later traditionally confused with an Akkadian homophonous term, *dabû*, «bear». It originally denoted «crocodile», but was later confused with «hippopotamus».

SP 8 Sec. B 21 : « as if he were about to die of hunger »

ka₅-a šir-am-e al-ús-ús i-gi₄-in-šUB en-na šà-gar-ra-na ug₅-ga-{DÍŠ}-a : The translation given in the PSD A/3, p. 177 «the fox pursued the bull's testicles as if he were about to die of his hunger» is certainly convincing. This may be explained, lit., «as if (he were prepared to continue) until he died of his hunger». The correction of i-gi₄-in-šUB to i-gi₄-in-zu! suggested there, is, however, unjustified. The original tablet, YBC 7163 obv. ii 13 has clearly šUB, as copied (Alster, *Proverbs* II, Pl. 120). i-gi₄-in-šUB(= šu₁/zu_x) is a phonetic writing for i-gi₄-in-zu. Cf. e.g., the unusual phonetic writing i-gi₄-in-šUL for i-gi₄-in-zu in SRT 35 ii 4-8 (read i-gi₄-in-su₁₇, «just like», in PSD A/3, P. 191). Cf. the translation “indeed”, in Alster, *Proverbs* I, p. 170.

SP 9 Sec. H 4

ad-uš-bi means «(long)side plank, beam, board», cf. PSD A/3 p. 24, s.v. ad-uš.

SP 11.133 : « Debts not cleared makes debts to Utu »

The reading given in PSD A/3 115, šu nu-luḫ-ḫa, is unjustified. The tablet has clearly ur₅ nu-luḫ-ḫa, cf. Alster, *Proverbs* I, p. 198, where the entry is read : ur₅ nu-luḫ-ḫa [x (x)] níg-<gig> ^dutu-kam ak [x (x)] «debts not cleared». The sign can be checked on the photograph in Vol. II, Pl. 60, right column, 4. On closer inspection, however, the sign following ^dutu appears to be, not kam, but rather ur₅, so the whole entry should be corrected to read ur₅ nu-luḫ-ḫa [x (x)] níg ^dutu ur₅ ak [x (x)] «debts not cleared is something which makes debts to Utu» (or : «is something made debts by Utu»), i.e., Utu, the god of justice, will remember all debts not paid back.

SP 14.46 : GI.KID.MÁ.ŠÚ-a ak, « making a reed mat »

Also from Isin comes a duplicate, IB 1143 = IM 80803, kindly communicated by Cl. Wilcke, which allows a better understanding of SP 14.46. The translation of ak as «what functions as a reed mat?» should simply be corrected to «making a reed mat». This will also be dealt with by Cl. Wilcke in the same study as mentioned under SP 1.199, above.

N 3395 (Alster, *Proverbs*, p. 288-290), cf SP 8 Sec. B 9 :

Attention is drawn to M. Civil's comments on this difficult bilingual text in his study «Adamdun,» The Hippopotamus, and the Crocodile, JCS 50 (1998) 11-14, esp. p. 11 with n. 5, where he explains the «Anshan donkey» (di-bi-da, obv. 2 : 1) as the camel, and the «Meluhha cat» (obv. 2 : 3) as «something like the tiger». He further comments «It is not clear whether the passage is just a comment on the strength of some exotic animals, or whether it has a historical background, with the animals standing figuratively, or perhaps better by some alliteration or pun, for their countries of origin, or for cities/provinces therein». He also refers to an earlier discussion of the passage by P. Steinkeller, RA 71 (1980) 9, who points out that the geographical names mentioned seem to go from West to East. Cf. the comments on SP 8 Sec B 9 above.

UET VI/2 270 : Translation

PSD A/3, 33, translates «a dog (not only) contributes nothing for (the rental) of the ferryboat (but also), on board the ferryboat, he is constantly rocking (the boat)». This seems more convincing than «and yet it waved its hand toward the ferryboat» (Alster, *Proverbs* I, p. 312, cf. II, p. 469-470), but I know of no other references of šu sig with this meaning.

UET VI/2 328 (Alster, *Proverbs* I, p. 320)

See SP 1.199 above.

YBC 7693 (Alster, *Proverbs I*, p. 332)

The reading should be modified in line with the reading suggested by W.W. Hallo, in PSD A/3, p. 34, engar-gu₄-ra-ke₄ addir ḥa-ḥu-mu-ra-an-^fsig₃^l-ge « Let the peasant in charge of the oxen ... for you the wages ». Cf the copy in Alster, *Proverbs II*, Plate 132.

YBC 8929 (Alster, *Proverbs I*, p. 332)

This is Lipitištar Hymn B 10-11.

D) The Vanity of Vanity Theme in Mesopotamia : Nippur sources?

W.G. Lambert's outstanding study, « Some new Babylonian Wisdom Literature », in: *Wisdom in Ancient Israel*, Emerton Volume, Cambridge, 1995, 30-42, throws new light on the history of the « vanity » theme of Qoheleth, also reflected as the *carpe diem* theme present in a well known passage from the Old Babylonian Gilgameš epic, as well as in other Mesopotamian texts. It is present as the « vanity of vanities » theme in the composition I have labelled the poem of « Early Rulers, » of which I presented a complete edition in OLP 21 (1990) 5-25. In that edition it may seem that I erroneously I was too quick fullheartedly to accepted the interpretation of Cl. Wilcke, in *Vergangenheit in mündlicher Überlieferung*, Colloquium Rauricum, I, (Stuttgart 1988), pp. 113-140, as a « drinking song, » against my earlier statements in Acta Sumerologica 5 (1986) 1-11. There is in fact only a single variant reading of a line in the Syro-Mesopotamian version, introducing the beer goddess (^dSiraš: line 21, cf. OLP 21, 10), that positively could support the « drinking song » interpretation (cf. Lambert, p. 41). The point is rather that an earlier composition might have been reused or reinterpreted in a humorous way as a drinking song – and not a genuine one, but a sophisticated « academic » one – although its literary background was quite different.

Since Lambert. p. 38, mentions two unspecified unpublished Nippur duplicates, which would provide the first exceptional stage in this Syro-Mesopotamian link, I want to add the following comments, which I hope for the time being may clarify the point (cf. Lambert, pp. 37-42).

The text is known from bilinguals from Ugarit and Emar in Syria, and from two unilingual Sumerian tablets from southern Mesopotamia (in addition to two small unpublished joining Kuyunjik bilingual fragments, K 6917+13679, found by Borger). One of the Philadelphia duplicates, CBS 1208, was already used as text D in my 1990 edition (but overlooked in Lambert's discussion). However, this is not a Nippur source! The low CBS number as well as the style of the tablet suggests that it comes from somewhere else (possibly Sippar), like the two British Museum fragments, BM 80091 (ASJ 8, 10-11) and BM 80184 (CT 44, 18). So the information that there are two unpublished pieces from Nippur (Lambert, p. 38) is probably inaccurate.

The museum number of the other alleged Nippur duplicate is presumably CBS 13777. This tablet has caused a good deal of confusion (partly because it was incorrectly labeled as CBS 1377 in some University Museum records). CBS 13777 is a typical Nippur tablet whose obverse is very poorly preserved, but enough of it remains to recognize a sequence of sayings which in the Ugarit version follows the Poem of Ancient Rulers, published by J. Nougayrol in Ugaritica 5, No. 164, pp. 293-297. Obv. 15 is quoted in PSD A/3, p. 28: [...] lu₂-^fkaš₄-e^l i₃-^fdib-be₂^l, as a duplicate to Ugaritica 5, No. 164: 34' -35' : DUMU-lu₂-ad₄-ke₄-e dib-ba = *DUMU ḥu-um-mu-ri DUMU la-si-mi i-ba-^c*, with the following translation: « the son of the cripple catches up with the son of the runner ». The reverse is inscribed with the Sumerian composition zi nam-nu-kal zi ku₇-ku₇-da, « Nothing at all is valid, but life is precious ». This is probably the closest one can get to a Sumerian composition anticipating the *carpe diem* theme. In conclusion, the preserved parts of CBS 13777 do not duplicate the Poem of Ancient Rulers, but the upper now missing part of the tablet might perhaps have included it. The tablet is inscribed with other compositions so closely related in subject matter that it is tempting to see it as an excerpt from a « collection », of which « The Poem of Ancient Rulers » formed part.

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89) Qarqar = Tell 'Asharneh? – The city of Qarqar is mentioned in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III and Sargon II. Shalmaneser relates that he had destroyed Qarqar, Irhuleni's royal city (*āl šarrūti*), and defeated an alliance of 12 Syrio-Palestinian kingdoms in the plain near the city. Sargon relates that he had laid siege to Qarqar, conquered and destroyed it, and captured Yaubi'di, the king of Hamath. From the early days of research, Qarqar was identified with Tell Qarqar, located 3 kms south of Jisr esh-Shughur. The identification is mainly based on the similarity of names and the location of the site on the Orontes river, near the northern edge of the marshes of el-Ghab. However, the city of Qarqar is not included in the list of places conquered by Tiglath-pileser III and annexed to the province of Hatarikka, whereas Tell Qarqar is located within the confines of the newly-established province. Qarqar remained in the territory of Eni-Ilu, the king of Hamath, outside the area annexed by Assyria in 738 BCE (H. Sader, *Berytus* 34 [1986], p. 133 ; P.-E. Dion, *Les Araméens à l'âge du fer* :

histoire politique et structures sociales, Paris 1997, 159).

The northern boundary of Hamath after 738 BCE may tentatively be established on the basis of letter ND 2644 (NL 23 ; H.W.F. SAGGS, *Iraq* 17 [1955], 142-143). This letter was probably written soon after Tiglath-pileser's campaigns of 733/32, when he conquered the kingdom of Damascus and annexed it to the Assyrian territory. Four forts (*birāti*) were originally listed in lines 18-24, but the names of only two survived. Ni'u (Qal'at el-Mudiq) is located on the kingdom of Hamath's northern border with the Assyrian province of Hatarikka, and Qidisi on Hamath's southern border with the newly-established province of Šubat. Qarqar must be sought south of Qal'at el-Mudiq, along the Orontes river.

H. Sader argued that the determinative KUR (and not URU) accompanies the toponym Hamath almost exclusively, hence Hamath was the name of the kingdom and not a city. Qarqar is described as a royal city of Hamath, and Yaubi'di, the last king of Hamath, was captured there. In her opinion, Qarqar was the capital of Hamath and should be identified with the great tell of Hama, the most important site in the territory of Hamath (Sader, *ibid.*, 129-133 ; idem, *Les États araméens de Syrie*, Beirut 1987, 223-225 ; Dion, *ibid.*, 159). However, the letter sent by Marduk-apla-ušur of 'Anat to Rudamu (Urtamis), king of Hamath, which was found in the excavations of Hama, ends by the words : « May the city of 'Anat (^{URU}*An-at*) and the city of Hamath (^{URU}*Ha-ma-ti*) be strong, strong » (S. Parpola, in P.J. Riis and M.-L. Buhl, *Hama : fouilles et recherches 1931-1938 II/2*, Copenhagen 1990, 257-265). Marduk-apla-ušur is known from the relief caption on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III, and Urtamis was the successor of Irhuleni. It is clear that the city of Hamath was the capital of the kingdom of Hamath in the 9th-8th centuries BCE.

In this light I would suggest that Tell 'Asharneh was the site of the city of Qarqar. Tell 'Asharneh is located on the Orontes river, at the southern end of el-Ghab, commanding an important ford of the Orontes and the important north-south road that crosses Jebel Anšariyeh (J.-C. Courtois, *Syria* 50 [1973], 73-75). The large tell is of the same size as the citadel of Hama, and has recently been identified with the third and second millennium city of Tunip (H. Klengel, in *FS E. Lipinski*, Leuven 1995, 125-134). After its destruction in the late 13th century BCE, the site was abandoned and its old name forgotten (Tunip is never mentioned after the second millennium BCE). When it was occupied it was called by a new name, Qarqar, and was built by the kings of Hamath as a kind of a second capital. After its conquest, Sargon possibly restored the place and erected there his victory stele (F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 30 [1933], 53-56).

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90) A foreign origin for the word *bennu* ?* – As has been noted before by C. WILCKE¹, changes occur in the formulae of the Oldbabylonian juridical-administrative texts from the reign of Abi-ešuḫ onwards. More specifically, in slave-sale contracts from this period on, the seller of a slave has to provide surety over a certain period vis-à-vis the buyer for a number of things among which « the *bennu* ». *bennu* is traditionally translated as « epilepsy »². Thus the seller of a slave would provide surety for one month for any possible epileptic fit the slave being sold might have.

In the first place, we might remark that no form of epilepsy necessarily occurs at regular monthly intervals³. An interval of one month gives no guarantee at all that the slave in question is not epileptic. If *bennu* really means epilepsy, then the one month surety is quite simply to draw a relation between the *bennu*-demon and the moon-god Šin⁴, and had in reality no functional basis.

The crucial question is whether *bennu* really does mean epilepsy. The etymology of the word is unknown. The Sumerian an.ta.šub.ba (fallen from heaven) in a later lexical list⁵, has been equated with the Akkadian *miqtu* (fall) and *bennu*. Other texts too suggest a relation between these three terms⁶. But does this prove that *bennu* was indeed epilepsy? And does the word occur only in slave-sale contracts from Abi-ešuḫ onwards?

We have studied nineteen Oldbabylonian slave-sale contracts from both Sippar⁷ in which the seller has to provide surety for one month for the *bennu*. What is remarkable is the fact that in these nineteen texts the word *bennu* has been written in six different ways.

spelling ⁸	freq.	attestations
<i>be-en-nu</i>	8	<i>CT VIII</i> , 27a, <i>Di</i> 1904, <i>Di</i> 1191, <i>Di</i> 2056, <i>BAP</i> , 3, <i>JNES XXI</i> , 75a, <i>OLA XXI</i> , 39, <i>ARN</i> , 122
<i>be-en-ni</i>	4	<i>VS XVIII</i> , 15, <i>CT XXXIII</i> , 41, <i>Di</i> 1643, <i>Di</i> 1412
<i>be-en-nu-um</i>	1	<i>BM</i> 97134
<i>be-e-en-ni</i>	1	<i>TCL I</i> , 147
<i>be-in-nu</i>	1	<i>Di</i> 2074
<i>be-nu</i> (- [...])	1	<i>Di</i> 2083

These variants indicate that the ancient scribes had no idea how to write the word. They, themselves, were not familiar with the etymology of the word. A possible reason could be that *bennu* is not an Akkadian word at all, but a foreign one. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that the variations in spelling show certain contradictions on the level of Akkadian word-formation.

1) *be-en-nu(-um)* versus *be-en-ni*.

The formula in the slave sale contracts consist of two parallel groups of words: *ana ud.x.kam teb'itum, ana itu.1.kam bennu*. Just as with *teb'itum* in the first word-group, we would expect to find *bennu* (in the second word-group) in status rectus nominative singular.

The variants *be-en-nu* (without mimation) and *be-en-nu-um* (with mimation) would imply in this case a bi-consonantal root with doubling of the second radical, type R₁-e-R₂R₂. The e-vocalisation of this type is highly unexpected. W. VON SODEN mentions three types of bi-consonantal roots with doubled second radical; neither of them has an e-vocalisation: 1) *pass* (e.g. *šarrum* king), 2) *piss* (e.g. *libbum* heart) and 3) *puss* (e.g. *ummu* mother)⁹. Nor can any change of an a- or i-vowel (*pass, piss*) into an e-vowel (**pess*) be explained in this case¹⁰. Besides this unexpected vocalisation, a problem arises with the form *be-en-ni*. This spelling occurs minimally four times in our texts (cf. fn. 8). The « official » character of this spelling is evidenced, for instance, by its occurrence in § 278 of the Codex of Hammurabi, in a function which requires nominative singular as well (*šum-ma a-wi-lum ir géme i-ša-am-ma itu-šu la im-la-ma bé-en-ni e-li-šu im-ta-qú-ut a-na na-di-na-ni-šu ú-ta-ar-ma ša-a-a-ma-nu-um kù.babbar iš-qú-lu i-le-qé*¹¹). W. VON SODEN explains the function of *benni* as a status absolutus with an individualistic meaning (*auch nur ein epileptischer Anfall*)¹². Yet, he does not explain the formation of this word.

benni can never be the status absolutus of the word *bennum* as described above (B-NN), that would normally be **ben* (cf. *šar* from *šarrum*). If *benni* were indeed a status absolutus, from which root could it than be derived ?

benni can not be derived from a geminate root B-N-N. The status constructus / 3rd person singular stative G¹³ of a root B-N-N would normally be **benin* for *fientischen Verben* (cf. *ħarir* from *ħarārum*) and **bēn* for *Zustandsverben* (cf. *dān* from *danānum*).

Do we have to look for a tri-consonantal root with a weak third radical? A root B-N-R₃ where R₃ stands for a weak consonant is familiar to us not only from Akkadian, b-n-ī, but equally well from other semitic languages (e.g. Ugaritic and Phoenician: b-n-y, Old South-Arabian: b-n-y/w, Arabic: banā^y, Hebrew: b-n-h). The 3rd person singular stative G of *banūm* is *bani* (**beni*)¹⁴, with a single second radical. The 3rd person singular stative D of the same verb has a doubled second radical, but ends on -u: *bunnu* or *bannu* (**bennu*)¹⁵. In this regard, not **benni* but **bennu* would be the status absolutus of a D root b-n-ī. Yet, this does not solve our problem of *benni*.

The Semitic root B-N-weak has as its basic meaning « to build, to create ». The important question, however, is to what extent a derived form from a root with basic meaning « to build, to create » makes any sense in the context of the clause. Moreover, it seems highly unlikely to us that a clause consisting of two parallel word-groups would use a status rectus in its first part and in its second part a status absolutus for words within the same function.

2) *be-en-ni* versus *be-e-en-ni*

Another problem concerns the variation *be-en-ni* versus *be-e-en-ni*. Admittedly this last variant occurs only once, nevertheless we are faced with the problem of a long vowel -e- before the doubled N, which the scribe clearly wanted to mark by adding an extra -e-. Akkadian does not normally like a long vowel before a geminate consonant. Perhaps we are confronted here by nothing more than a scribal error. But it is just possible that the scribe heard a long vowel and expressed this within the writing system despite the rules of Akkadian phonology.

3) *be(-e)-i/en-ni/u(-um)* versus *be-nu*

Finally there is a problem in the variation *be-en-nu* versus *be-nu*. Though this last variant is only attested once, and it is probable that the scribe simply forgot a syllable -en-, we still have to take into account some doubt between a single and a doubled radical.

Akkadian?

Do we have to look for a root B-NN, B-N-N or B-N-weak? Is the N double or is the -e- long? These mutually excluding analyses based on the six different orthographies of the word, suggest that something else is at hand here. The question whether *bennu* is Akkadian at all seems justified. More even, can such a word be of semitic origin? Presumably *bennu* is a loan-word derived from a neighbouring non-Semitic language. *bennu* is never marked by a logogram, which excludes a Sumerian origin.

Where could it come from? To find out we have to return briefly to the context and the period in which the term was used for juridical and administrative purposes. It occurs within the slave sale contracts from the reign of Abi-ešuh on¹⁶. The remarkable thing about these slave sale contracts is the fact that they concern exclusively foreign slaves¹⁷. A large part of these slaves come from « *māt bīrītīm* » or « *bīrīt nārīm* » situated between the great bend of the Euphrates¹⁸, i.e. non-semitic slaves from the north. Possibly, *bennu* has

its origin in the north.

These non-semitic people from the north, within Oldbabylonian Sippar material generally marked as Subarians¹⁹, are known to us as Hurrians (later Urartians). The Hurrian language has a nominal inflection on *-inne*, *-u/onne*, and *-anne* (*-ine* in Urartian). These suffixes form relative- and possessive adjectives, often nominalized for the indication of professions²⁰. Later, the Urartians used the term *biāni-*, *bia-ini/e* to refer to themselves and everything « Urartian ». Could there be any relation between *bennu* and a former form of *biāni-*, *bia-ini/e*? Is it possible, then, that *bennu* has a hurrian origin, and through contact with these people was taken over in Akkadian and Akkadianised? Could the e-vocalisation of *benni* then be derived from the contraction of *i* and *ā* (*biāni-* > *bēnni*)? With the arrival of foreign slaves, was it used to mark a typical northern affliction, for which the supplier of these northern people had to provide surety for one month?

However, our proposal that *bennu* is a non-semitic loan-word from the north, does not rule out a relation with epilepsy. But, it does add a further dimension to the *bennu*-puzzle. This illness seems to involve a significant genetic factor, which could link it to particular groups of people²¹.

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1. WILCKE, 1976, 254-85.
2. Cf. CAD B sub *bennu* and most recently Stol, 1993.
3. Oral communication C. JANNES, Dept. of psychiatry and neuropsychology, University of Ghent.
4. In medical texts *bennu* is marked as « the demon, deputy of Sfn », cf. STOL, 1993, 6.
5. *Afo XVIII*, 83 : 168 sq. and *Afo XXVIII*, 100-4.
6. For references see STOL, 1993.
7. *TCL I*, 147 (Ae "h"), *CT VIII*, 27a (Ae "m"), Di 1904 (Ae), *VS XVIII*, 15 (Ad 1), *CT XLV*, 44 (Ad 2), *CT XXXIII*, 41 (Ad 4), *CT XLV*, 45 (Ad 4), Di 1191 (Ad 25), Di 2056 (Ad 27^b), Di 2083 (Ad 31), *TCL I*, 156 (Ad 37), Di 1643 (Aṣ 1), BM 97134 (Aṣ 2), Di 1412 (Aṣ 3), *BAP*, 3 (Aṣ 3), Di 2074 (Aṣ 4), *JNES XXI*, 75a (Sd 11), *OLA XXI*, 39 (s.d.) and *ARN*, 122 (s.d.).
8. In three texts the word is broken off : *CT XLV*, 44 and 45 have *be-en*[...], *TCL I*, 156 has *be-in*[...]. Presumably in these three texts we also have one of the six variants.
9. Cf. GAG § 54 l 8a, 9a, 10a.
10. Cf. GAG § 9, § 10.
11. « If a man buys a male (or) female slave, and before one month has passed *benni* upon him, he (the buyer) will return (the slave) to his seller, and the buyer will take (back) the silver that he had paid. »
12. Cf. Ergänzungen zu GAG § 62 e.
13. The 3rd person singular stative is equal to the status absolutus, cf. GAG § 62 c.
14. Note a G form with e-vocalisation *i-be-en-īni* (reference Stol, 1993, 5, fn. 3).
15. The CAD cites some late D forms with e-vocalisation, cf. CAD B, sub *banû* B and CAD M/II, sub *mubennû*, cf. also STOL, 1993, 5, fn. 3.
16. The term *bennu* is first attested in § 278 of the Codex of Hammurabi, but is only attested in daily life, i.e. in juridical and administrative texts, from the reign of Abi-ešūḫ onwards.
17. The foreign origin of the slaves in these contracts will be fully discussed elsewhere.
18. FINKELSTEIN, 1962, 82.
19. Op. cit., 76-7.
20. DIAKONOFF, 1971, 70.
21. Oral communication C. JANNES, Dept. of psychiatry and neuropsychology, University of Ghent.

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91) Another text belonging to the « Isin Craft Archive » – In his *Crafts in the Early Isin Period = OLA 24*, Marc Van De Mieroop lists the texts belonging to the « Isin Craft Archive » (pp. 2-5). The – then – unpublished texts announced in his book (pp. 4-5) have in the meantime all been published : (a) the texts from the Nies Babylonian Collection in *BIN 10* ; (b) the Ashmolean texts in *BIN 10* and *AAICAB 1,1* [note that Grégoire included one text more than Van De Mieroop had anticipated (Ashm. 1932-405) and thus republished *BIN 10* :

7]; (c) the de Liagre Böhl texts in *S/TLB* 5; (d) the Chicago tablets in *BIN* 10; (e) the text in the Harvard Semitic Museum in *BIN* 10.

The handcopy of *SET* 291 announced in *OLA* 24, footnote 12 on p. 3, has since appeared in *ASJ* 8 (p. 341) and Van De Mierop has recently communicated the present whereabouts of *MCS* 5 p. 121 no. 7 and compared the copy made of this text by Fish with a new one made by A. Podany (see *ASJ* 16 p. 210).

Additional texts belonging to this archive and identified as such are: (1) *AuOr* 7 p. 148 = Eames Collection YY 6 (for the museum number, see *ASJ* 16 p. 201); (2) *ASJ* 16 pp. 204-205 nos.1-4; and (3) *MHE* Occasional Publications II p. 247 text B (BIF VT 1992.2). Finally, *AuOr* 10 p. 94 no. 5 might indeed very well belong to the archive, as well, as Molina Martos suggests; at least I would not know of an argument against this identification.

While I was perusing some Ur III texts dubbed «of unknown provenance» by their editors, I noticed, as others surely have, one more text which belongs without a doubt to the «Isin Craft Archive». IM 44068 = *MVN* 8 : 239 not only features several persons known from this archive (Ur-Lugalbandak, Buququšum, Nanna-ki'ağ and Šū-Ninkarak), but also has its parallels in the corpus, see e.g. *BIN* 10 : 130.

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92) ÍB.TÛR^{ki} = Tummal – When browsing Ur III texts from Umma, one's eye is immediately caught by several «minimal pairs» of contrasting examples: we meet a «house» (é) or «palace» (é-gal) in both ÍB.TÛR^{ki} (see, e.g., *RGTC* 2 p. 83) and Tummal (e.g., *SNAT* 528), we meet the «mouth» (káğ) of both the ÍB.TÛR^{ki}-canal (e.g., *MVN* 14 : 465) and the Tummal-canal (e.g., *TÉNS* 434), and we meet a «storehouse at the mouth» (ğá-nun kág) of both the ÍB.TÛR^{ki}-canal (e.g., *AAICAB* 1,1 Ashm. 1924-665 iv 14) and the Tummal-canal (e.g., *RGTC* 2 p. 292).

It is, furthermore, more likely one should find an é-uz-ga in Tummal rather than in some rural settlement in the province of Umma (*MVN* 14 : 359 : é-uz-ga ÍB.TÛR^{ki}), since this would fit in with what we now of this «mysterious» royal accommodation (most recently discussed by Wu, *JAC* 11 pp. 65-109): there was an é-uz-ga in Nibru and one in Tummal, see Sigrist, *Drehem* p. 162 – these two are probably «the two é-uz-ga's» (é-uz-ga 2-a-bé) mentioned in several texts belonging to the Ğirsu file treated by Lafont in *RA* 88 (pp. 107-113), e.g. in *TCTI* 2 : 2796. (Incidentally, Sigrist and Lafont state that there are no attestations of an é-uz-ga in either Urim (*Drehem* p. 162; *RA* 88 p. 112) or Unug (*RA* 88 p. 112), but note that animals for the é-uz-ga are disbursed in these localities (for Urim, see, e.g., *BIN* 3 : 12 and for Unug, e.g., *OIP* 115 : 371).

Thus, although at least once these two place names occur in one and the same text (*MVN* 15 : 390), it is tempting to conclude that they are actually different writings of one and the same place situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Nibru, viz. the sanctuary of Tummal, for which see most recently Walther Sallaberger's excellent survey in *UAVA* 7/1 (pp. 131-143).

In conclusion, it remains to be established how ÍB.TÛR^{ki} may represent Tummal. Of the three BCE («Borger-Civil-Ellermeier») nos. 87a (NUN.LAGAR = TÛR), *87aa (NUN.LAGARxBAR = IMMAL) and 87b (NUN.LAGARxMUNUS = ŠILAM), the latter two have the respective values immal and immal₂. Although the present state of publication of Ur III texts does not allow for any definite statements on the paleography of these sign forms, it would appear that only no. 87a occurs in them, albeit with two or three variant writings (*KWU* 131 does not cover them all). I have not undertaken a serious study of the use and distribution of BCE 87a, *87aa and 87b in the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C.E., but at first glance it seems that the latter two signs are post-Ur III developments and the first therefore had all the values later expressed by the other two signs (note the 3rd millennium syllabic writing im-ma-al in *Cyl. B IV* 8). Even when this is not the case, it appears nonetheless perfectly plausible to me that the second element of the sign group ÍB.TÛR.KI has a value /mal/, derived from the second syllable of the noun /immal/, according to the same principle which produced for instance the values rí (from iri) and šur_{5,6,x} (from ušur_{3,4,x}). I propose, therefore, to read the sign group tum-mal_x^{ki}.

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93) The reading of UN.ÍL – In one of his recent contributions, Wolfgang Heimpel discusses the meaning and reading of the word UN.ÍL (*JAOS* 118 p. 398). As far as the meaning of the word is concerned his observations are quite astute, but one point he makes in his discussion of the proposed readings of the word is slightly beside the mark. Since it may possibly lead to other scholars building upon it, I hope Professor Heimpel will forgive me for pointing out an obvious slip of the pen. He states that it is known that, «at least in Ğirsu», the reading of ÍL was il «because it is occasionally followed by -la». While I agree that this is the case and

therefore *one possible* reading of this sign in Ĝirsu texts is indeed **ġl**, the word **UN.ġL** in these texts is *never* followed by **-la**. His example (footnote 60) would have been the *only* example, had it not been for Tohru Maeda, who collated the text which contains the passage quoted by Heimpel and which according to Maeda should be read **gurum₂ ak UN.ġL-e-ne** (see *ASJ* 2 p. 205).

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94) L'infixe directif /i/, /y/ – Dans *ELS*, j'ai admis que le préfixe local {e} « remplace » le préfixe [ix] {b + i} dans les cas où l'apparition de ce dernier est bloquée par la structure de la forme verbale : après les préf. III 'dimensionnels' et après {b + a} [...] (p. 240) et qu'il est, selon toute vraisemblance, étymologiquement identique à la postposition {e} et au préfixe III {i} (p. 246 et n. 625). Dans un article récent¹, G. Zólyomi a suggéré de voir dans /y/ (mon {e}) un allomorphe de /i/ après voyelle (p. 230). Quoique sans conséquence au niveau pratique, cette hypothèse est théoriquement importante, puisqu'elle propose un système plus élégant que le mien. Dans le cadre de cette note, je ne veux pas entrer dans les détails d'une argumentation complexe et – à mes yeux du moins – souvent spéculative, mais seulement attirer l'attention sur deux difficultés qui ne semblent pas avoir été prises en considération par l'auteur :

1. Contrairement à l'évolution /ay/ > /ē/, /uy/ ((-)Cu-u₃-, etc.) > /ē/ ((-)Ce-, etc.) est phonétiquement problématique.

2. Pour rendre compte du fait que les formes où /y/ est graphiquement explicité sont dans l'immense majorité des cas intransitives, Zólyomi admet que « if slot I is occupied by an FPP, the writing does not reflect the presence of any element » (p. 230). Indépendamment du fait qu'il est dangereux (à partir de l'époque d'Ur III) d'argumenter avec des absents, des formes **transitives** du type -a-B sont sporadiquement attestées ; un exemple particulièrement clair est M.C. Biga, SEL 3 (1986) 28-32 ii 21 sq., iii 25 et rev. iii 1 : (mu) PN dumu lugal-ke₄ šu-na ba-a-ge₄(-a-še₃) (cf. W. Heimpel, *BSA* 8 [1995] 106).

1. *Directive infix and oblique object in Sumerian : An account of the history of their relationship*, *Or.* 68 (1999) 215-253. Remarque en passant que l'idée de regrouper sous le terme « datif {ra} et le loc.-term. {e} » (pp. 251-253) a été avancée pour la première fois par B. Jagersma dans une communication faite à Münster en 1995, dans le cadre du *Sumerian Grammar Discussion Group (Basic structure of a Sumerian sentence)*, handout pp. 7 sq., 4.4 « A note on the dative case ». Cf. surtout p. 7 : « The dative case as I see it incorporates two traditional Sumerological cases : the dative as well as the locative-terminative case. In my view, the forms commonly assigned to a locative-terminative case differ from the forms of the dative case only in being of a different gender class, while they do not represent a different case ».

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95) an-na zabar – In *ASJ* 19 (1997) : 53-62 B.R. Foster published YBC 12130, which he described as 'a Sumerian merchant's account of the Dilmun trade'. In addition to purchasing 975 minas of copper (**urudu**), D-Utu the merchant acquired 27.5 minas of **an-na zabar** (iii 2), which Foster translates as 'tin (in/for?) bronze' (p. 55). Foster notes (p. 56), 'The meaning of this expression remains uncertain. It may refer to a specific quality of tin or, less likely, to tin already present in bronze according to some unexpressed proportion' (cf. Limet, *JESHO* 15 [1972] : 14, n. 2).

Recently published lead-isotope analyses of late 3rd millennium metal artifacts from Tell Abraç in the United Arab Emirates by one of my students (see L. Weeks, *Antiquity* 73 [1999] : 49-64) have now shown that, in spite of availability of copper from the Oman mountain range, 'at least some of the bronze' found at the site 'was being traded to Tell Abraç in its alloyed form, either as ingots or as finished objects ... The evidence for the use of foreign bronze at the site is interesting, given analyses of Iron Age material from Oman which suggest that, at this time, bronze was produced by alloying imported tin with local copper' (p. 59).

The implication of these analyses is clear. Copper from the Oman ophiolite was not the source of the metal used in manufacturing the unusually high percentage of tin bronzes found at the site. Rather, there existed in the late 3rd millennium a trade in already alloyed bronze which reached the Oman peninsula.

I suggest that the **an-na zabar** acquired in Dilmun was precisely the same material in circulation further south at Tell Abraç. It was, as its Sumerian name literally reads, 'tin bronze', as distinct from refined copper or pure tin. Whether it was acquired in ingot, object or scrap form we cannot say. If it was in object form then it was most probably intended for melting and re-casting once it arrived back in Mesopotamia. The lead-isotope analyses of the material at Tell Abraç confirm, however, that ready made bronze circulated alongside copper and tin in the base metals market of the third millennium B.C.

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96) **Back to Bazu** – In 1982 Israel Eph'al published an extensive discussion of the locations proposed for the Neo-Assyrian toponym generally referred to as Bazu¹. This region, against which Esarhaddon campaigned in 676 B.C., lay in the vicinity of a Mt. Hazû and was reached by the Assyrian monarch after a march of 140 (or 100) *beru*² through desert terrain³. While dismissing locations in the Syrian desert (between the valley of Lebanon and the Wadi Sirhan) or the Hijaz, Eph'al opted for a location in northeastern Arabia. This was based largely on the evidence of the so-called *Sargon Geography* which begins '[From.....] ... the bridge of Baza on the edge of the road to the land Meluhha'⁴. Assuming that Meluhha lay to the east of Babylonia and 'was primarily confined to the Persian Gulf region' Eph'al argued that the '*Ba-za*^{ki} would seem to have been in the north-eastern part of the Arabian peninsula'⁵.

In the same year that Eph'al's study appeared, I suggested that the reference to Meluhha in the *Sargon Geography*, like the references to Tema (1. 48) and the distance 'from the cistern of the Euphrates to the edge of the land Meluhha and Magan' (1. 30), had to be understood in Neo-Assyrian terms. The mention of Tema/Tayma', I argued, was anachronistic in a text purporting to describe the empire of a third millennium monarch, while the references to Magan and Meluhha had to be read in the context of Neo-Assyrian geography, by which time they referred not to Oman and the Indus Valley (?) but rather to Egypt and Nubia/Ethiopia⁶.

In 1987 Wolfgang Heimpel applied the same principle of a western Meluhha and, with some hesitation, suggested that if this were accepted, then the opening three lines of the *Sargon Geography* could be understood as definitions of the western and eastern borders of the empire described in the text. Thus, the phrase, from the 'bridge of Baza on the edge of the road to the land Meluhha' to the 'cedar mountain' described a western boundary⁷. Heimpel, however, accepted a northeast Arabian location for Bazu and hence on his map showed the western boundary not as a generally north-south line, but as an arc extending from the cedar mountain in the northwest to the bridge of Baza in the southwest. Since these studies were published, however, new evidence has emerged which, I believe, clinches the identification of Bazu with a locale in the north Arabian desert and thereby straightens out (i.e. makes vertical, north-south) Heimpel's western boundary.

A Latin inscription from the Azraq oasis in eastern Jordan⁸, almost certainly dating to the reign of Diocletian, contains the following geographical information: 'A Bostra Basianis m(ilia) p(assuum) LXVI et a Basienis Amat(a) LXX et ab Amata Dumata m(ilia) p(assuum) CCVIII' or, following Speidel, 'From Bostra to Basianis 66 miles, from Basienis to Amata 70, and from Amata to Dumata 208 miles'⁹. Thus, the text clearly provides an itinerary from Bostra, modern Busra, in southern Syria, to Dumata (ancient Adummatu, medieval Dumat al-Jandal, modern al-Jawf) in the Wadi Sirhan of northern Saudi Arabia. As Speidel noted, 'The sixty six miles from Bostra clearly means the distance to the find spot of the inscription at or near Qasr al Azraq. Basianis, therefore could be the ancient name of Qasr al Azraq'¹⁰. Speidel, however, further adduced the testimony of a second inscription, dating to 334 A.D., which was discovered at Khirbet Umm al Menara¹¹, midway between Bostra and Azraq. The inscription concerns one Vincentius, 'agens Basie', i.e. 'on duty at Basie'¹². As Speidel noted, 'Hence it seems that Basie is the name for Qasr al Azraq with Basienis (Basihei)' and, in a variant spelling, Basianis as the ethnic'¹³.

Returning to the problem of Bazu, Eph'al makes it clear that this is but one of a number of spelling variants which include: *kur/uru*Ba-a-zu/sú, *kur*Ba-a-zi/si¹⁴; *uru*Ba-az/s-zi/si¹⁵; *uru*Ba-as-su¹⁶; *uru*Ba-az/as-za/sa¹⁷; and *lu*Be-zu/sú¹⁸. Latin Basie is strikingly similar to Akkadian Bazi/Basi and it my contention that Basie = Bazi/Basi/Baz/s/a/u = the Azraq oasis. Considering the role played by Adummatu (al-Jawf) and several other towns in northern Arabia (e.g. Kapanu, now located with Kaf in the northern part of the wadi¹⁹) during the Neo-Assyrian campaigns against the Arabs, Bazu's position not far from the northern end of the Wadi Sirhan makes excellent sense. If this suggestion is correct, then the opening lines of the *Sargon Geography* describe a north-south line from Lebanon (the Cedar Mountain) to the Azraq oasis (the bridge of Baza) and the theatre of Esarhaddon's operations can be located in what was indeed a distant region reached only after a long and arduous, cross-country journey through the desert of western Iraq and northern Arabia. Such a journey, I would suggest, did not follow the line from Hit, on the Euphrates, southwest down the Wadi Arar to Sakaka and Jawf, as travelled by Butler and Aylmer in 1908²⁰, nor the more easterly route from Baghdad south across Al Widyan to the wells of Linah, as covered by Leachman in 1910²¹. Rather, I suggest that to reach the Azraq region from central Babylonia, the easiest route to follow would have been that which departs from the area of Ana on the Middle Euphrates, following the Wadi Hauran southwest via Rutba and Jabal Anaiza ('Unayza) and then on towards Azraq²².

Finally, it is interesting to return to the toponym Amata, said to be 70 Roman miles from Basianis and 208 Roman miles from Dumata. Speidel has suggested that this must have been located at 'the ancient way station of an-Nabq Abu Nakhlah in Saudi Arabia, even today one of the more important road stations in the Wadi [Sirhan]'²³. Further, he suggested that this otherwise 'unknown place name' might be identical to the place where Cambyses died which, according to Stephen of Byzantium, was called Amaqa²⁴. In fact, Amata, or more precisely, the Amataeans, appear in two of the extremely interesting mid-8th century B.C. texts from Sur Jar'a on the Middle Euphrates. In these the local governor of Suhu, Ninurta-kudurri-usur, based at his capital Anat (modern Anah), reports on the threat posed by a group of tribes which included, amongst its leaders, Iâ'e, son of Balammu, the Amataean (*lu*a-mat-a-a)²⁵.

1. Eph'al, I. *The ancient Arabs*. Jerusalem : Magnes Press and Leiden : Brill, 1982 : 130-137.
2. According to the Heidel Prism iii 11-16, the distance was 140 *beru*. Nineveh A iv 55-57 gives the distance as 100 *beru*.
3. For the sources, see Borger, R. *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien*. Graz : AfO Beiheft 9, 1956. Unfortunately, we cannot say for certain where this distance was measured from. For this reason, I am not going to engage in measurements, e.g. from Nineveh or Nimrud, Babylon, etc.
4. Grayson A.K. The empire of Sargon of Akkad. *AfO* 25 : 1974-77 : 60.
5. Eph'al, *The ancient Arabs*, p. 135.
6. Potts, D.T. The road to Meluhha. *JNES* 41 : 1982 : 283. Cf. Kummel, H.M. Magan und Meluhha. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 3 : 1980 : 1133-1134.
7. Heimpel, W. Das untere Meer. *ZA* 77 : 1987 : 66 and Abb. 2.
8. Kennedy, D. and MacAdam, H.I. Latin inscriptions from the Azraq oasis, Jordan. *ZPE* 60 : 1985 : 97- 108.
9. Speidel, M. The Roman road to Dumata (Jawf in Saudi Arabia) and the frontier strategy of *Praetensione Colligare*. *Historia* 36 : 1987 : 215-216.
10. Speidel, The Roman road, p. 217. MacAdam, H.I. Ptolemy's *Geography* and the Wadi Sirhan. In : Gatier, P.-L., Helly, B. and Rey-Coquais, J.-P., eds. *Géographie historique au Proche-Orient (Syrie, Phénicie, Arabie, grecques, romaines, byzantines)*. Paris : Notes et monographies techniques 23, pp. 55-75, read the name of Azraq as Dasianis but was frustrated in finding no name in Cl. Ptolemy's *Geography* which resembled it.
11. Kennedy, D. Roman roads and routes in north-east Jordan. *Levant* 29 : 1997 : 78, calls the site 'al-Minara'.
12. The text was later discussed by Isaac, B. *The limits of empire : The Roman army in the east*. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1992 : 175 who, however, omitted all mention of the toponym Basie.
13. Speidel, The Roman road, pp. 217-218.
14. Heidel Prism iii 9, 33 ; Nineveh A iv 53, 76.
15. Klch. A 26.
16. AsBbE obv. 5.
17. Bab. Chr. iv 5 ; Esarh. Chr. obv. 13.
18. ABL 839 rev. 8.
19. Frahm, E. *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*. Horn : AfO Beiheft 26, 1997 : 135
20. Butler, Capt. S.S. Baghdad to Damascus via El Jauf, northern Arabia. *GJ* 33 : 1909 : 517-535.
21. Leachman, Capt. G.E. A journey in north-eastern Arabia. *GJ* 37 : 1911 : 265-274.
22. Safar, F. Inscriptions from Wadi Hauran. *Sumer* 20 : 1964 : 9. Cf. Macdonald, M.C.A. The seasons and transhumance in the Safaitic inscriptions. *JRAS*³ 2 : 1992 : Fig. 1.
23. Speidel, The Roman road, p. 218. Cf. MacAdam, Ptolemy's *Geography*, p. 65, who suggested that Amata (he read Bamata) may have been the Banatha of Ptolemy's *Geography*.
24. Högemann, P. Über eine Notiz bei Strabo (XVI 4,2). In : Maddoli, C., ed. *Strabone : Contributi allo studio della personalità e dell'opera*, II. Perugia : Università degli Studi, pp. 161-169.
25. Cavigneaux, A. and Ismail, B.K. Die Statthalter von Suhu und Mari im 8. Jh. v. Chr. *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 21 : 1990 : 343, i 17.

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97) « Yo soy el engrandecedor del reino ». Un título real elamita – Desde tiempo inmemorial se ha establecido un cierto consenso entre los investigadores sobre uno de los títulos reales elamitas más singulares. Normalmente expresado en 1a. persona (*likame rishakki*) consta eventualmente también en 3a. (*likame risharri*).

La traducción que aparece en el encabezamiento de esta nota, es la habitual en los diferentes autores (p. ej. en francés : Agrandisseur du royaume ; en alemán : Der Mehrer des Reiches ; en inglés : Enlarger of the Empire). Esta traducción implica un sustantivo verbal (*ELW* p. 1040 lo considera incluso un verbo), que a su vez supone un matiz de conquista, pues el reino se engrandece a base de adicionar territorios, normalmente mediante acciones militares, lo que ha llevado a interpretaciones aventuradas de los hechos de algunos reyes (verbi gratia : F. Malbran-Labat, *IRS* p. 179 : “le titre *likume rishakki* est porté, semble-t-il, par des rois qui eurent à conquérir ou à affirmer leur pouvoir à Suse”. H. Hinz, *CAH*, chapter VII, 1973, p. 265 : “if this inscription was composed only after the humiliation of 1764, as we surmise, the title ‘Enlarger of the Empire’, which Siwe-palar-khuppak assumes, might appear strange. But it is conceivable that the grand regent tried to offset the reverse in Mesopotamia by making conquests in the mountainous region of Iran”. R. Labat, *CAH*, chapter XXIX, 1975, p. 384 : “the epithet ‘expander of the empire’ is probably more characteristic, as it alludes to the victorious campaigns which allowed him [Humban-numena I] to extend the kingdom that he inherited”). Comentarios de esta índole demuestran hasta qué punto una traducción puede influir en una determinada comprensión de los hechos históricos. Incluso yo mismo me he visto envuelto en ello.

Ignoro si alguna vez se ha dado una solución diferente, pero lo cierto es que una mirada más atenta permite discrepar de tal traducción. El primer argumento es de índole general y parte de una constatación negativa. El verbo elamita *riša* (= engrandecer) no parece estar claramente atestiguado, por más que su formación morfológica no revista problemas y sea factible. Pero de estarlo, un segundo argumento técnico-gramatical autoriza a considerar que no está presente en esta locución. Ya sea en 1a. persona (forma locutiva :

rišakki) o en 3a. persona (forma delocutiva: *rišarri*), nos encontramos en presencia de un adjetivo sustantivado (“el grande”, o bien “el más grande”, aunque la enfatización no es necesaria), seguido de dos sufijos clasificadores, uno relativo a la propia palabra (*riša.k/r*, a semejanza de *sunki.k/r*) y un segundo sufijo relativo al nombre que califica, en este caso la persona del rey, por ser sufijo personal animado (lo que F. Grillot, *Éléments de grammaire élamite*, Paris 1987, p. 24, ha denominado “suffixe nominal tertiaire”). Hay suficientes ejemplos de esto: *teimti rišarri*, *rutu rišarri*, *zana rišarri*, etc., (*ELW* p. 1041), que no se traducen evidentemente como: “el engrandecedor del señorío”, “de la esposa” o “de la señora”, sino como “gran señor”, “gran esposa” y “gran señora”. La escritura simplificada *rišaki/rišari* (propia de Huteludush-Inshushinak) puede tenerse por argumento suplementario, puesto que los elamitas no omiten los elementos esenciales de las formas verbales; en cambio el sufijo primario es prescindible. Por lo demás, sería extraño que la misma expresión en 1a. persona utilizase una forma verbal (conj. II *riša.k.ki*) y en 3a. persona otra bien distinta (conj. IV *riša.r.ri*, aunque impropia, pues debiera ser *riša.ri*). Uno esperaría más bien en este caso la forma *riša.k.ri* (conj. II), pero esta no se produce.

Por otro lado, la palabra *likame* parece funcionar como un genitivo anticipado, tal y como muestran las expresiones *ayin.ume.na rišah* (“yo soy el grande de mi casa/dinastía”; *EKI 75:7*) y *likume.na rišah* (*EKI 77:I*). La /h/ final en estos casos, no sería forma verbal (conj. I), sino escritura de sufijo de 1a. persona (cambio k/h, en la época neolamita, como bien se sabe).

Es pues inevitable cambiar el sentido de la traducción y proponer otra diferente, a saber: “el grande del reino”, o “el más grande del reino”, es decir, el mandamás. Esto no deja de ser un matiz con relación a la versión tradicional, pero con implicaciones importantes, no siendo precisa ya la connotación militar, puesto que se puede ser grande en un reino pequeño, como podría ocurrir en el caso de los reyes neolamitas Hallutash-Inshushinak -que emplea esta expresión-, o de Addahamiti-Inshushinak, que también la usa; ambos reyes gobernando en una época difícil, que pocas conquistas les permitió hacer.

Ahora bien, traducir “el grande del reino” es lo mismo que decir “gran regente” o “regente supremo”, lo cual nos lleva a la inevitable comparación con el epíteto sumerio *sukkal.mah*, que bien podría ser la contrapartida de *likame rišakki*. Se objetará que se trata de un título llevado por reyes no pertenecientes a la dinastía de los *sukkalmah*; pero esta denominación no es sino convencional, derivada precisamente del título sumerio que se dan a sí mismos estos gobernantes, que no escriben en elamita, aparte de que *Siwepalarhupak* sí pertenece a esta dinastía y lo usa. Así se explica la preferencia elamita por el término *sukkalmah* en vez del sumerio *lugal* (rey), pues ellos incluso lo anteponen a éste. Puede verse con *Humban-numena I* que se denomina *likame rišakka... sunkik anzan šušunka* (cf. *IRS 21 = EKI 4C II*), lo que no es de extrañar en este monarca que dice ser *ruhušhak* de *Silhaha*, y que parece pretender una intimidad mayor con la dinastía yábrida asumiendo la titulación de sus reyes. Esto hace de él un personaje extraordinario dentro de la casa de *Igehalki*, manteniendo viva la cuestión de su legitimidad al trono.

Por lo que podemos deducir de los textos disponibles, el título de “rey”, en su concepto, es para los elamitas o bien una denominación genérica de personas regias, o un título local, provincial, urbano, circunscrito normalmente a las ciudades de *Anshan* y *Susa*.

De este modo, se puede inferir libremente que el término *sukkal.mah* no está tomado de los sumerios -demasiado alejados en el tiempo-, a resultas de ser tenido por un título prestigioso a ojos de los elamitas, como se ha sugerido, sino que, más bien al contrario, *sukkal.mah* podría ser la versión sumero-acadia que los elamitas utilizan para traducir su propio término vernáculo *likame rišakki*.

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98) Reading of the Ur III Names of Puzram and Šelebutum – J. Klein, in *ZA* 80 (1990) 20ff, collected all the texts he knew about the envoys of *Marhaši* and *PÛ.ŠA-am*, the ruler of *Šīmanum*, as well as *Še-le-b/pu-tum*, a princess of the Ur III dynasty. However, he read the name of the ruler of *Šīmanum* as *Bušam* (he mistakenly transliterated *BÛ-ZUR₈-am* in the copy as *Bu-ša-am*) and the name of the princess, *še-le-b/pu-tum*, as *Šelepputum*, «she-turtle, or a kind of snake» (*CAD*). Now, we prefer to read the ruler's name as *PÛ-z(u)r₈-am* since Akkadian *puzram* means “it (god's power) is a hidden secret from me”, and the princess's name *šel(l)ebutum*, “vixen” in *CAD*. For *pù-zur₈* (or *puzur₄*) in the Ur III personal names, apart from the famous *PÛ-zur₈-iš-^dDa-gan*, we have *PÛ-zur₈-A-sur₅* in *TrDr* 84: 1 *har-kù-babbar-9-gín PÛ-zur₈-A-šur₅ lú-kin-gi₄-a PÛ-zur₈-am énsi Si-ma-núm^{ki}, ud-Si-ma-núm^{ki}-ta ì-im-gen-na* “1 ring of silver of 9 shekels, Puzur-Ashur, the envoy of Puzram, the governor of Simanum, when he came from Simanum”. Ashur may have been under Simanum since Puzur-Ashur, “the secret power of Ashur”, was the envoy of its governor. Apart from the Puzram of *Šīmanum*, we have another *PÛ-zur₈-am*, the *sukkal* messenger of Ur. Since I have only found five texts which write Puzram as *Pu-z(u)r₈-am*, not *PÛ-z(u)r₈/puz(u)r₄-am*, but three of them are only transliterated without hand

copying (*MCS* 7 24, *MVN* 5 113, *SET* 91) and two of them (*TrDr* 84, *UDT* 92) are certain, the name of BÙ/BU.ŠA-am possibly reads Puzram.

For *Šēlebum* “fox” as personal name of a man from the Old Akkadian period, see *CAD* Š/2, 269e). There is no reference for *šeleppû* “turtle” as a man’s name in *CAD*. Unfortunately, *CAD* Š/2 (p 272), following Klein’s reading, puts our *Šēlebutum/šellebutum*, “vixen”, as the only woman in the history of Mesopotamia who was named *Šeleppûtum*, “she-turtle”. According to Western and Chinese traditions, a charming woman can be called a vixen (Liao Zhai, a famous Chinese Classical novel written in the Ming dynasty, records many stories about beautiful girls who were transformed from vixens) and a cunning man « fox », but never a ugly turtle and she-turtle. As I know, Fox became a family name among the English and Chinese (Hu) speaking people, but Turtle is not one (Ancient Chinese knew that the tortoise has a long life so in ancient China some male personal name, not family names, were called « the years of tortoise »).

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99) The Drehem Archives of the Shulgi Reign Project in Changchun – In the beginning of 2000, I will return from the PSD Project of Philadelphia to Changchun. Under the help of the colleagues here, I have collected the published Drehem texts which are missed in Changchun, basically according to Sigrist/Gomi’s *Comprehensive Catalogue of Published Ur III Tablets*. Hence, I think that I could to start a new project in Changchun. The project will transliterate every found text of the archives of the anonymous distributing chief (the hiding Nasa?), Nasa, Shulgi-simtum’s office and others in the order of their dating (year, month and day). We will use the electronic texts on the internet of Leiden and others to speed up the project. We will appreciate it very much that colleagues in this field would send us their publications on concerned texts in form of computer diskettes or of print, and inform us of new published and unpublished texts of this period. We plan to finish the archives of the anonymous chief, Nasa and the office of Shulgi-simtum in the first three years (2000-2002).

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100) Parsing an Iranian Participle (Dar. 388 : 2) – The Neo-Babylonian tablet Dar. 388 contains in its second line a curious hapax form which merits examination :

“Ten loads of *paḥasēmunu*-fodder (10-*ta bil-ti šá šam-mu pa-ḥa-se-e-mu-nu*) are owed by Arad-Sutitum, son of Kidinnu son of Nanasagri, to Nabû-nadin-šum, son of Erība-Marduk son of Mandidu ; at the end of Šabāṭu he will deliver it ; the balance of the seed grain (ŠE NUMUN) Arad-Sutitum will pay in full to Nabû-nadin-šum by the end of Šabāṭu”

The *AHw.* surmises that the term *pa-ḥa-se-e-mu-nu* indicates a type of plant. Since the term is known only through a single Achaemenid-era document, there is a good possibility that *pa-ḥa-se-e-mu-nu* is of Iranian origin. I would like to suggest that (a) the final syllables of *pa-ḥa-se-e-mu-nu* are amenable to parsing in terms of early Iranian morphology, and (b) it is possible to make at least one plausible guess as to the identity of the underlying stem.

(a) The ending *-mu-nu* calls to mind the middle-voice participial suffix **-mn-a-* (fem. **-mn-ā-*) of Iranian, suggesting that the stem to which the suffix has been added is verbal. The *-ē-* preceding the participial ending may thus be interpreted as a reflection of the verbal stem-suffix **-aya-*, employed in early Indo-Iranian to derive causative and denominal verbal stems. The final syllables of *pa-ḥa-se-e-mu-nu* thus suggest that we might take this word to be the cuneiform rendering of an Iranian mediopassive participle built from a verb derived by means of the *-aya*-stem-suffix (**X-aya-mn-a-*, “*being-made-X”).

(b) As to the identity of the stem reflected in *pa-ḥa-se-*, we may compare the Modern Persian term *paxs* ‘melting, withering’ and its derivative *paxsīdan* ‘to become shriveled from heat.’ At the etymological heart of these words is the Iranian root **pak-* (< Indo-European **pek^w-*), which has as its basic sense “cooking” but which also shows the semantic development “ripening, maturation” (cf. Modern Persian *puxtān* ‘to cook, boil, ripen’). The lenited *-ḥ-* < **-k-* suggests that the velar was in direct contact with the following sibilant, since Iranian systematically lenited a voiceless stop in contact with a following consonant. The use of CV-characters to render the Iranian clusters (*-ḥa-* in *-ḥs-* and *-mu-* in *-mn-*) is paralleled in the rendering of such personal names as *Ba-ak-ka-su-ru-ú* = *Ba-ga-sa-ru-ú* (*Bagasrava-*) and *Ba-ga-bu-ki¹-šu* (*Bagabuxša-*) (see Zadok, *BiOr* 33 : 217). The identity of the stem-final sibilant is unclear, but the fact that the participle is spelled with *-se-*

rather than *-še-* suggests that it might contain either Old Persian *-ç-* (< Iranian **paxtra-*) or *-s-* (Iranian **paxs-*).

In the *pa-ḫa-se-e-mu-nu* of Dar. 388 we thus seem to find the cuneiform rendering of an Old Persian derivative **paxç-aya-mna-* or **paxs-aya-mna-* “*being made **paxça-/paxsa-*,” in which the underlying **paxça-/paxsa-* evidently expressed some aspect of fodder preparation—quite possibly a procedure involving heat, if we are correct in relating the form to the root **pak-* ‘cook’. It is quite likely that the “cooking” in question simply referred to the natural process of ripening or curing hay; on the other hand, the roasting or parching of grain to produce special fodder for horses (ŠE.SA.A) is documented among the Assyrians (see Salonen, *Hippologica Accadica* 186, CAD s.v. *qalītu*), and it is conceivable that the Persian verb **paxç/saya-* reflected a comparable procedure.

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101) A Verb Reread (TCL 12 122 :20) – The series of Neo-Babylonian tablets Nbn. 314, TCL 12 122, and Nbn. 668 has been identified by E. W. Moore (*New-Babylonian Business and Administrative Documents*) as chronicling the various phases of a single legal case, the clearing of a debt incurred by the cosigner to a loan after the deaths of the married couple who had been the principal borrowers; Powell (*ArOr.* 40 : 124-129) has added Nbn. 626 to this set, and Matthew Stolper has kindly pointed out to me that the two borrowers also figure in Nbk. 359. TCL 12 122, addressed by the cosigner Bēl-rīmāni to the kings judges, includes the record of a statement in which the relatives of the deceased borrowers waive any claim to the slaves left by the borrowers (cf. Nbn. 668 : 7ff.). This statement is immediately followed (line 20) by a passage read by Moore as *ù ṭup-pi ip-ṭu-ra-a-ma* (“And the document they canceled,” p. 119); this reading is also adopted by Meissner (“Sie lösten den (auf) eine Tafel (geschriebenen Vertrag) auf,” *AfO* 11 : 154), Petschow (“Und sie lösten die Tafel auf,” *Revue d’histoire du droit* 19 : 34 fn. 1), and the *AHw.* sub *paṭārum* 11c (“Urkunde *ip-ṭu-ra-a-ma* machten sie ungültig”). Since in this context the subjects of the verb are presumably the individuals who are identified as the heir (*ia-a-ri-tū*) and the sister-in-law of the deceased man, it remains to be explained why the verb shows the feminine plural ending *-ā*.

A more grammatically felicitous interpretation is possible if the first sign of the verb is read as *taš* (UR) rather than as IB. In the published autograph, the sign in question differs from a clear IB in that its central vertical stands as close to the vertical on the left as it does to the righthand vertical. In fact, the sign is virtually identical to the *taš* found in the name of the slave Ana-Tašmētu-atkal (*ana-taš-me-tu-at-kal*) in line 23. Taking the verb to be in the second person (*tašṭurā* ‘you (pl.) wrote’) relieves us of the difficulty posed by the ending *-ā*, and is in agreement with several other passages in the text in which the judges to whom the letter is addressed serve as the verbal subject (*tāmurā* (line 11), *tušaršāšuma* (line 12), *tušahḫisā’inni* (line 13), *tāmurāma* (line 17)). Once the relatives of the deceased had made their declaration, the judges seem to have provided Bēl-rīmāni with a tablet recording the waiver.

15. ^{md}U.GUR.TIN-iṭ ia-a-ri-tū šá ^mIR.^dgu-la ù ^fri-min₄-ni-^diš-tar
16. NIN šá ^fdam-qa-a al-ti ^mIR.^dgu-la a-na maḫ-ri-ku-nu ub-lam-ma
17. [rik]-sa-a-tu-ú-a ta-mu-ra-a-ma ^{md}U.GUR.TIN-iṭ ù ^fri-min₄-ni-^d15
18. [...] -ku-nu-ši (erasure) um-ma ia-a-ri-tu-tu šá ^mIR.^dME.ME ul ni-ip-pu-uš
19. [...] ar-ki šá DUB šá ^mIR.^dgu-la LÚ a-me-lut-tu₄ É maš-ka-ni-šú
20. [amēl]-ut-su i-na ŠĀ-bi liš-lim ù ṭup-pi taš-ṭu-ra-a-ma

“I brought Nergal-uballit, the *iāritu* of Arad-Gula, and Rīmīni-Ištar, the sister of Damqā wife of Arad-Gula, before you; you examined my [con]tracts, and Nergal-uballit and Rīmīni-Ištar [...] to you as follows: ‘We shall not exercise the *iāritūtu* of Arad-Gula, [...] according to the tablet of Arad-Gula, the slaves of his pledge are his [slav]es, let him be satisfied therewith,’ and you drew up a tablet (to that effect)...”

Evidently this is the same tablet that is mentioned in line 24 (*[ar]-ki šá ṭup-pi šu-a-tū... i-na pa-ni-ia [š]ú-nu* ([accor]ding to this tablet... they (i.e., the slaves listed) belong to me”).

David TESTEN (15-10-1999)

102) Minima Alalahiana V : The Reading of SIG₄.ZA and the Ghost Word luḫa in Al.T. 416 : 8, 32. – Al.T. 416 was catalogued by D.J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets, Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara* 2, London 1953, p.108, as a MB “List of various cloths, clothing, implements of bronze and silver...”. The author did not provide a transliteration of the text but did however supply a handcopy (*op. cit.*, Plate XLI). In line 32, a reading : ^{subāt}lu-ḫa was proposed by G. Giacomakis, *The Akkadian of Alalah*, Janua Lingarum Series Practica 59, The Hague-Paris 1970, p.85, who considered it to be a “type of garment”. The

editor, however, did not include this term in his "Selected Vocabulary" (*op. cit.*, p.162a), nor was it recognized in the Akkadian dictionaries.

In fact, another copy of this text in the Ugarit-Forschungsstelle at Münster (I am grateful to M. Dietrich and O. Loretz for permission to check it in 1996) allows instead of LU ("LU"-ha) a reading SÍG, yielding a complete reading of line 32 : 4 TÚG SÍG!.ĤA KUR A-ša-e^{kl}.

On the other hand, in line 8 of the same document one can read clearly : 8 TÚG SIG₄.ZA.ĤI.A GIŠ.NÁ. Since a compound logogram SIG₄.ZA seems to be unknown (a deviation from SIG₄.ZI = akk. *igaru* "Wand" [R. Borger, *ABZ* 567] cannot fit the context here), and since sum. *túg.síg* equals akk. *sissiktu* "Mantelsaum" (ABZ 536 ; *AHW* p.1050b ; *CAD* S, p.322a), a mistake in the writing or reading of line 8 is safely involved :

When comparing line 8 : (...) TÚG.SIG₄.ZA.ĤI.A (...) with line 32 : (...) TÚG.SÍG.ĤA (...), it becomes clear that "SIG₄.ZA" is used as an equivalent logographic writing of SÍG.ĤA (read therefore SIG₄.ĤA! instead of SIG₄.ZA (sic) in line 8), which probably represents in both cases *SÍG.GA.a(K) i.e. "(made) of wool" (cf. in this regard the short treatment of the velars k, q, g, in the *Akkadian of Alalakh* by Wiseman, *op. cit.*, p.19, and the interchange : GI/GI₄ discussed by Giacomakis, *op. cit.*, p.23).

In the light of this evidence, the values SÍG and SIG₄ also interchange on the basis of their phonetic closeness. Line 8 : 8 TÚG.SIG₄.ĤA!.ĤI.A GIŠ.NÁ may well be understood as "8 woollen hems of a bed", whereas line 32 : 4 TÚG.SÍG!.ĤA KUR A-ša-e^{kl} should be translated as "4 woollen hems from the land of Ašael".

Juan OLIVA (15-11-1999)

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103) VS 6, 252+276 – Diese beiden Tafelbruchstücke, VAT 14 und 535, konnte ich bei einem Besuch im Vorderasiatischen Museum im Juli 1999 zusammenschließen. Kollationsergebnisse :

8	... šá I ^r ba ^{šá} -a áš-bi
9	... I ^d ag-da
10	... šá šu ^{II} [I ^r ba]-I ^a s ^l -si-ia
11	... a-šú šá ^I na-...
12	...-nu-ú-ru u ...
13	... I ^d iškur-šeš-mu ^{lu} ma-da-a-a
...	
Rs.	
18	[x] I ^d ag-lugal-ùru ...
19	[x] I ^r . ^d ag ...
20	1 I ^k aš-di-dingir ...
21	1 I ^r -[^d]UL ^l ?-la ...
22	1 I ^d u.[g]ur-da-I ^a -nu ^{lu} dam.gâr ...
23	... -ia a-šú šá ^I [x x (x)] I ^x šá é ...
24	... lu ^{gal} bu-lu ⁴ I ^r šá ^{lu} gar-kur
25	... šá é ^{lu} gar-kur
26	... šá é ^{lu} ma-še-[nu]
27	... I ^r ^d ag-re ^l -he-et-ùru ...

Der Text verdient besonderes Interesse, da er mehrere königliche Beamte erwähnt, die sonst kaum belegt sind. Die Tafel stammt aus Sippar, d. h. aus dem Ebabbar-Archiv. Die beste publizierte Parallele ist CT 44, 72 (12.9.6 Nbk). Dies ist eine Liste von Personen (darunter verschiedene Beamte), die Häuser im Hafenviertel von Sippar besitzen oder zumindest bewohnen, und bei denen die Tempelverwaltung jeweils ein Schaf eingestellt hat. (Für diese Praxis vgl. van Driel, *BSA* 7, 226f. [lies dort CT 55, 153 statt 163].) Die Überschrift von VS 6, 252+ wird daher analog zu CT 44, 72 zu ergänzen sein. Die Tafel ist in die Regierungszeit von Nabopolassar oder in die ersten Jahre von Nebukadnezar zu datieren. Dies legt nicht nur die Parallele CT 44, 72 nahe, sondern auch die Zusammensetzung der Museumssammlung (Ugnads Gruppe I : VS 6, p. XII ; die sogenannte "Sammlung Maimon"), zu der die Tafel gehört. (Zur "Sammlung Maimon" s. Jursa, *Das Archiv des Bēl-rēmāni* (Istanbul, im Druck), 6f., wo die Zugehörigkeit von VAT 14+535 zum 'frühen' Ebabbar-Archiv noch nicht erkannt worden ist.)

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104) Der Schreiber des Sippar-Manuskripts der Šamaš-Hymne – Die Lesung des Kolophons von IM 124633, einem Manuskript der Šamaš-Hymne aus der Sippar-Bibliothek, die von George und al-Rawi in *Iraq* 60, 203 geboten wurde, ist schon von den Bearbeitern als problematisch erkannt worden. Der folgende Vorschlag für eine verbesserte Lesung basiert auf dem Photo; er scheint den erhaltenen Spuren und den Platzverhältnissen besser gerecht zu werden (wir danken A. R. George, der das Problem mit uns diskutiert hat):

202 [im.d]ub¹ Iníg.sum^{ti} bu-kúr <Idag-sur-zi^{meš} (o. ä.)?> a luensí (PA.TE¹.SÍ¹)
[šuu^{II} I]r¹-d¹amar.utu nu.til

“[Ta]fel des Nidintu, Sohn des <Nabû-ēter-napšāti (?)> aus der Familie Iššakku, [Hand des A]rad-Marduk; unfertig.”

Die Annahme, nach *bu-kúr* sei der Vatersname des Schreibers vergessen worden, bereitet angesichts der Belege für Filiationsketten dieser Form, die bei Hunger, BAK, gebucht sind, geringere Schwierigkeiten als die von George und al-Rawi erwogene Deutung von *bu-kúr* als kryptographische Schreibung für einen Gottesnamen. Der Vatersname wurde unter der Annahme ergänzt, es handle sich um den in mehreren in Sippar geschriebenen Urkunden des Bēl-rēmāni-Archivs bezeugten Schreiber (Jursa, *Das Archiv des Bēl-rēmāni* (Istanbul, im Druck), 285). Der Name Nidintu ist natürlich häufig, der Familienname Iššakku (zumindest in Sippar) aber nicht. Wenn die Identifikation zutrifft, stammt IM 124633 aus der Regierungszeit von Darius.

Bei dieser Gelegenheit sei auf BM 42652 hingewiesen. Dieser spätbabylonische Schultext bietet auf einer Seite die Zeilen 157-163 der Šamaš-Hymne, setzt also dort ein, wo der Text aus der Sippar-Bibliothek abbricht. In Zeile 159 findet sich in der babylonischen Version eine signifikante Abweichung von der Kuyunjik-Version (Lambert, *BWL* 136: 159). Statt *šá la-mu-ši-na-a-ti dan-nu a-gu-ú tu-še-zeb at-ta* “Die die mächtige Flut einschließt, rettetest du” heißt es: *šá ta-ram-mu-ši-na-a-ti ina [dan-na] [agē tušezzeb attā]* “Die du liebst, [rettetest du] aus der mächtigen [Flut].”

Michael JURSA (5-12-1999)

105) Die aramäische Beischrift auf Ni. 2670 – Diese Tafel, No. 103 in Donbaz und Stolper, *Istanbul Murašû Tablets* (Istanbul 1997), ist eine Zwiegesprächsurkunde. Nabû-ušēzib, Sklave des Enlil-šumu-iddin, übernimmt gegenüber Rēmūt-Ninurta//Murašû die Verantwortung (*pūt šēpi našû*) für drei Personen, die im *bīt kīli* festgehalten werden. Die zweizeilige aramäische Beischrift ist in der Edition zum großen Teil nicht gelesen worden. Wir schlagen folgende Deutung vor (neue Lesungen sind mit einem Asterisk gekennzeichnet):

šīr [nbw]¹šzb [m]¹*n^{*}*r*d*n*w*/ šīl* 1*+1*+1* n*š^{*}*

“Urkunde des Nabû-ušēzib: Er hat drei (Personen) von Arad-Ninurta übernommen.”

Die beiden Striche von *m* und *t* sollten einander kreuzen bzw. berühren (vgl. z. B. die Form der Buchstaben bei Delaporte, *Épigraphes araméens* (Paris 1912), Nr. 40 bzw. 59). Wahrscheinlich ist die Tafeloberfläche etwas abgerieben. (')*nwšt* ist die übliche Form, in der der Gottesname in den Beischriften erscheint (s. den Index bei Vattioni, *Augustinianum* 10, 527).

Arad-Ninurta könnte sowohl ein Untergebener Rēmūt-Ninurtas, vielleicht (in diesem Fall) sein ‘Kerkermeister’, als auch eine dritte Partei sein, die vor Nabû-ušēzib die Aufsicht über die drei ‘Häftlinge’ übernommen hat (vgl. *TMH* 2/3, 203, s. a. *PBS* 2/1, 110; freundlicher Hinweis G. Frame). Bemerkenswert ist, daß die Beischrift Information bietet, die der Keilschrifttext nicht enthält, also eine spätere Phase der Transaktion dokumentiert. Eine vergleichbare ‘Fußbürgschaftsurkunde’ mit Beischrift aus dem Eanna-Archiv wird G. Frame in Kürze veröffentlichen. Auch in dieser Urkunde wird die Übergabe im Aramäischen mit *nš*’ ausgedrückt. Die beiden Urkunden, dies sei abschließend betont, können nicht – unter Verweis auf das kognate akkadische (*pūt šēpi*) *našû* – als Quelle für aramäische Bürgschaftsterminologie herangezogen werden; *nš*’ in Ni. 2670 ist vielmehr das ‘Gegenstück’ zu *muš-šir*₉ in Zeile 5: “überlasse (mir)” bzw. “hat übernommen.”

Michael JURSA (5-12-1999)

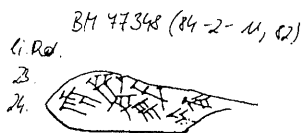
106) Kollationen zu Texten aus den British Museum (September 1999) –

1. Cyr. 278 (BM 77348): In seiner Kopie von *Cyr. 278* hat Strassmaier mehrere Zeilen vergessen: eine Zeile (= 10a) zwischen Z. 10 und Z. 11, sowie den beschädigten linken Rand (= 23f.).

Die Zeilen 7-10a lauten nach Kollation: [i¹]-na mu.an.na-šū-àm, itigu₄ ù [itⁱ] du₆¹, [Id]ag-bul-li^t-su na-áš-par-tu₄, [šá z]a-[ba₄-ba₄]-mu-ùru, [il]^{*}-lak* «In diesem, seinem Jahr wird Nabû-bullissu im Ajjāru und im Tašrītu Zababa-šum-ušur dienen». Zababa-šum-ušur ist der Vater und Vermieter des Mietlings Nabû-bullissu. Die Klausel PN₁ ana našparti PN₂ illak ist aus den Personenmietverträgen in dem Sinne «PN₁ (der Mietling) wird PN₂ (dem Mieter) dienen» bekannt; sie fixiert das Mietverhältnis und stellt eines von zwei Formularen dieser Verträge dar (s. NRV S. 182f.). Diese Phrase steht hier aber in einem anderen Zusammenhang. Nicht der Mieterin wird der Knabe dienen, sondern seinem Vater, dem Vermieter, und zwar genau für zwei Monate im Jahr. Die beiden Monate Ajjāru und Tašrītu fallen in die Gerste- (1.-3. Monat) bzw. die Dattelernte (7.-8. Monat).

Während dieser Zeit ist der Sohn dem Vater als Arbeitskraft offensichtlich unentbehrlich. In derselben Verwendung findet sich diese Klausel noch in Bootspachtverträgen. Der Verpächter, der sein Boot für mindestens ein Jahr verpachtet hat, hat aufgrund dieser Klausel das verpachtete Boot und die Arbeitskraft des Pächters für mindestens 40 Tage im Jahr zu seiner Verfügung.²

Die Umschrift zu Cyr. 278 : 23f. lautet : ...] 'x x x' [0?]
i*-nam*-din*



1. S.L. Oppenheim, *Untersuchungen zum babylonischen Mietrecht*, S.22. Der zweite Monatsname ist mit der Kopie eindeutig ^{iti}du₆ zu lesen und nicht ^{iti}kin, wie Oppenheim irrtümlich angibt (« 6.Monat »).

2. BM 16895.54061. Gurney, *Festschrift Diakonoff*, Nr. 2. Die Bootspachtverträge werden in meiner Dissertation über Schiffe und Schifffahrt in Mesopotamien behandelt.

2. MacGinnis, *ArOr* 66, 325f. (BM 61152) : Z. 6f. : nach *a-na ku-tu-mu šá* lies *zar*-ra-^ttu₄!*, ^tšá*
giš*^{má}1 statt *pa-ra-k[i]*, ^ù má... Das Zeichen ZAR steht deutlich auf der Tafel.

zar-ra-tu₄ ist wahrscheinlich zu *zaratu* « Zelt, Deckkajüte » zu stellen. Die Zeilen 5-8 sind dann mit « [Im/Pro J]jahr werde ich 16 gute, gegerbte Schafs- [und Ziegenhäute] zum Bedecken der Kajüte des *rukūbu*- Bootes als *iškaru* an den Ebabbar geben. » zu übersetzen.

Z. 9 : lies zu Beginn [^tšá] ^tta* statt [ⁱš]-^ttu.

Z. 16 : ^{kuš}du-šu-e^{meš} ist wie in der Kopie vollständig erhalten.

Z. 27 : Lies tin.ti[^rki u¹] kur*.kur*

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107) Ein Rind mit vernarbtem Buckel – In *Transeuphratène* 17 (1999), S. 17ff. (Kopie S. 33) publizieren F. Joannès und A. Lemaire einen Kaufvertrag für ein zweijähriges, weißes Rind, der am 19. 4. 24 Dar in Al-Jahūdu aufgesetzt wurde. Die Beschreibung des Rindes lautet nach Umschrift der Autoren, ZZ. 1-2 : 1+en gu₄ ninda₂ 2-ú babbar-ú šá sag-du, ^{uzu}hu-ru-up-pu i-ši-ba-at-qu šá, PNF ... « Un bouvillon de 2 ans, blanc, dont le sommet de l'échine (comporte) un *išibatqu*, appartenant à PNF ... » ; die Beschreibung findet sich etwas abweichend nochmals in ZZ. 8-10.

Die Lesung *išibatqu* stellt, wie von den Autoren diskutiert, ein Problem dar. Wir schlagen vor die Zeichen -i-ši von *batqu* zu trennen und als Possessivsuffix der 3. m. Sg. an *huruppu-* zu stellen. Die Schreibung von *hu-ru-up-pu-* statt richtig für den Genetiv *hu-ru-up-pi-* fassen wir als Schreiberfehler auf ; im Text finden sich, wie schon die Autoren bemerkten, noch einige andere Fehler.

-i-ši : Für die Schreibung eines Nomens im Genetiv mit um den Vokal reduziertem Possessivsuffix der 3.Sg.m., Längung des vorausgehenden Vokals und Anfügen eines beliebigen Vokals statt des reduzierten Suffixvokals vgl. z. B. *Dar*. 433. In Zeile 8 wird *a-na muh-hi-i-ši* für *ana muhhišu* bzw. *ana muhhiš* « zu seinen Lasten » geschrieben ; der Schuldner ist männlich.

Das Verb *batāqu* wird häufig verwendet, um eine Beschädigung in Form von Rissen an den Ohren(spitzen) oder (einmal) an der Backe von Eseln zu beschreiben, wofür in ähnlichem Sinne auch das Verb *hepū* « zerschlagen » verwendet werden kann¹. Es handelt sich hierbei um Verletzungen, die den Wert des Tieres offensichtlich nicht verringert haben.

(^{uzu})*huruppu* wird von den Autoren etymologisch zu Hebr. ^{oref} « Nacken » gestellt. Dieser Deutung wollen wir uns anschließen. Der so verletzte Teil des Rindes ist « sein Nacken » oder, wie wir hier vorschlagen möchten, « sein Buckel »² (aufgrund des Verbs *batāqu* kann nicht das « Rückgrat » gemeint sein). Verletzungen in Form von Rissen oder striemenförmigen Narben an Nacken bzw. Buckel können durch das Pflug- oder Zuggeschirr entstanden sein. *huruppu* als « Buckel » zu verstehen, wirft ein Problem auf. Aus dem Omentext STT 73, 133f. und einem Kommentar zu *šumma ālu* (CT 41, 28 : 14) geht nämlich hervor, daß dieses *huruppu* gehoben und gesenkt werden kann.³ Nach gängiger zoologischer Ansicht kann ein Buckelrind seinen Buckel nicht aktiv bewegen, der Buckel kann aber sehr wohl passiv, unwillkürlich, bewegt werden.⁴ Wenn es erlaubt ist, STT 73, 133f. auf unwillkürliches Heben und Senken von *huruppu* zu beziehen, könnte man *huruppu* wirklich als « Buckel » deuten. Für diese Deutung spricht weiters, daß

a) für Nacken oder Hals (auch den des Rindes) bereits zwei Wörter existieren und auch in den relevanten Textgruppen verwendet werden : *kišādu* oder *tikku* ;

b) *huruppu* eine ausgeprägte « Spitze » aufweist ;

c) der Nacken oder Hals nicht unbedingt gehoben oder gesenkt wird (man hebt oder senkt den Kopf, nicht den Nacken - vgl. *AHw.* und *CAD* s.v. *našū* und *šaḡū* D),

d) der Buckel, da er aus Muskelmasse besteht, auch ein schönes Stück Fleisch für Götteropfer

darstellen würde.

Gegen diese Deutung spricht eventuell, daß es bereits ein Wort für « Buckel » gibt : *asqubūtu*, und daß das Hebräische ‘*oref*’ nur für Nacken, aber nicht « Buckel » verwendet wird (Köhler-Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, ³ 1983, 840b s.v.).

huruppu findet sich überwiegend als Bezeichnung eines Fleischstückes (des Rindes) in religiösem Kontext (Opfer, Pfründe). In praktischen Texten als Bezeichnung eines Körperteils eines noch lebenden Rindes ist *huruppu* nur hier belegt sowie in *OECT* 10, 188, ebenfalls einem Kaufvertrag für eine Kuh. Er stammt aus Kiš aus der Regierungszeit Xerxes. Die Beschreibung der Kuh lautet, ZZ. 1-3⁵ :r¹ 1^{et1} GU₄ 1^{ml?} sa¹-hir¹-tu₄ e-pi-r[i²-...], 2-²-i-tu₄ ta-am²-ma-tu₄ šá¹ šil-i[n-du], ina sag.du hu-ru-up-šú šak-kan šá [P]N « Eine erd[farbene], zweijährige, vollkommene Kuh,⁶ deren Spitze des Buckels mit einem Brand[zeichen] versehen ist, gehörig [P]N... ». ta-am²-ma-tu₄ habe ich als fehlerhafte feminine Form des Adjektivs *tamīmu* « vollwertig » aufgefaßt, das gerne in Beschreibungen von Rindern, Eseln und Schafen verwendet wird.

Die Beschreibung des Rindes in *Transeuphratène* 17, 18 möchten wir daher folgendermaßen übersetzen : « Ein zweijähriges, weißes Rind, dessen ‘Spitze’ des *Buckels* ‘eingerissen’ ist, gehörig PNf... ».

1 S.M. Wesseli, WZKM 86 (*Festschrift Hirsch*), 469 bzw. 478.

2 Buckelrinder sind in Mesopotamien im ersten Jahrtausend belegt. Neben dem in *Transeuphratène* 17, 19 sub b) genannten Text Pinches, AJA 18, S. 190, in dem ein zweijähriges Rind (gu₄ šu-nu-ú) auf der Rückseite der Tafel als Buckelrind dargestellt wird, kann auch auf Reliefplatten des 1. Jt.s verwiesen werden. Auf einer Platte aus dem Zentralpalast Tiglat-Pilears III. (8. Jh.) von Nimrud ziehen zwei mal zwei Buckelrinder Wagen mit deportierten Frauen und Kindern (s. z. B : Hrouda, *Der alte Orient*, 204f. Beachte das Zuggeschirr der Rinder.) Auf dem Relief der Ostfassade des Apadana in Persepolis (5. Jh.) findet sich ein Buckelrind als Geschenk der Babylonier (ders., ib., 432).

3 Reiner, JNES 19, 35 : 133f.

4 Der Buckel von Buckelrindern bildet sich im Gegensatz zu den Höckern von Kamel und Dromedar nicht aus Fett, sondern aus dem stark vergrößerten Rhomboidmuskel. Er wird als sekundäres Geschlechtsmerkmal gedeutet, eventuell kommt ihm auch eine Aufgabe bei der Thermoregulation des Rindes zu (mündliche Mitteilung N. Ortner, Inst. für Zoologie, Abt. Ethologie, Universität Wien).

5 Es war uns nicht möglich, den Vertrag für diesen Artikel zu kollationieren. Von McEwans Kopie abweichende Lesungen werden mit « ! » bezeichnet.

6 Für die Terminologie von Rindern s. G. van Driel, BSA 8, 217ff.

Michaela WESZELI (10-01-2000)

108) Hurrita ḥešalli- « amigo » – En *SCCNH* 9 (1998) 3-40 B. André-Salvini y M. Salvini dan a conocer un nuevo vocabulario trilingüe (sumero, accadio y hurrita) procedente de Ugarit (RS 94-2939) con numerosas novedades. La línea 20 de la columna III de este texto ofrece, en dicha edición la siguiente equivalencia :

tab = tap-pu = ḥi/še?-ša?-al?-li?1 “compagnon”

Aunque el significado de la misma queda despejado a la luz de la correspondancia sumero-accadia : tab= tap.pu (cf. ac. tappû “Genosse, Gefährte, Kompagnon”, *AHW* 1321b), la correcta lectura del término hurrita quedó abierta. Los autores (*art. cit.* p.12) discuten brevemente las posibilidades de leer ḥi- o še- en el primer signo, en virtud de dos posibles vocablos hurritas para el significado “compagnon” atestiguados en Bogazköy :

1) šeššalli (ChS I/1 9 IV 2) y [šeš]alli=ne (Bo. ChS I/1 9 IV 4)

2) ḥišālum (KBo V 10 :8’ ; Laroche Ug. 5 453 n.2) y ḥešalla (KBo XXXV 171 5’)

André-Salvini y Salvini concluyen : « Si du point de vue paléographique un ḥi est plus probable, du point de vue des rapprochements possibles še serait à préférer ».

La Carta de Mitanni, en su columna IV, línea 121, resulta esclarecedora para la presente equivalencia, al documentar la forma nominal : ḥé-šal-lu-ub-ḥa-til-la-an (ḥešall=ohh=ā=tilla=ān), que parece poder entenderse como “nosotros en amistad” (cf. “*attachement solide*”, G. Wilhelm, EA 24, *apud* W.L. Moran, *Les lettres d’El Amarna*, Les Editions du Cerf, Paris 1987, p.150). A la luz del dicho pasaje, la lectura correcta en RS 94-2939 : III : 20 sería pues :

tab = tap-pu = ḥe-ša-al-li

Juan OLIVA (15-01-2000)

109) Omens and divination at Ebla – Deriving omens from reading the entrails of animals is a practice documented at Ebla to date only by one complex text published by P. Fronzaroli, *Divinazione a Ebla (TM.76.G.86)*, *Miscellanea Eblaitica*, 4 (Quad. Sem. 19), 1997, pp. 1-21. In this text the verb *igi-gar* indicates (deriving omens) observing the entrails of sacrificed animals. I would like to add some rare attestations in the administrative texts which undoubtedly refer to omens. The logogram to indicate omen is that used also in

sumerian inscriptions, máš, (see for example H. Steible, *Die Altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, Teil I, Wiesbaden 1982, Urnaše 34 III 6 and commentary in Teil II, pp. 7-8).

The first passage relates to the choice of the last queen of Ebla, Dabur-Damu, as principal consort of the king Išar-Damu. In text TM.75.G.2417 rev. VII 6-18 : 1 'à-da-um-TÚG-II 1 íb+III-TÚG-sa₆-dar /Ti-ti-nu /maškim /Ib-rí-um /níg-AN.AN.AN.AN / ama-gal /en /máš sa₆ / lú / dingir a-mu /Da-bur-Da-mu/ ma-lik-tum/ Ib-la^{ki} : textiles for Titinu, Ibrium's official-maškim, who brought the news to the king's mother that, following favourable omens of the god of the father, Dabur-Damu (could become) queen of Ebla. (The passage is still quoted, without translation, by A. Archi, *ARES I*, pp. 246-247 ; the translation "news" of níg-AN.AN.AN.AN is a suggestion of W. Sallaberger ; I thank him for it). Whilst in the divinatory text the verb igi-gar is used, a technical term for reading the entrails, here we have máš which seems to relate to the result of such an inspection, that is to say, to the omen.

A very similar passage concerns Darib-Damu, a princess, probably a daughter of king Irkab-Damu, who goes as priestess to Luban, see TM.75.G.2503 (king Išar-Damu, vizier Ibrium) obv. IV 4-15 : 1 gín DILMUN kù-gi 1 kù-sal níg-ba Dar-ib-Da-mu dam-dingir ^dBE-mí si-in Lu-ba-an^{ki}/ textiles (1,1,1)/ níg-ba /En-na-Il/ šeš-pa₄/ ^dNI-da-kul ; obv.V 9-19 : 1 sal-TÚG 1 íb+III-dar-TÚG/I-ti.^d'À-da/ maškim/I-šar/ níg-AN.AN.AN.AN/ máš/ Dar-ib-Da-mul sa₆/ in ud/ BAN-NE/ bur-kak-sù : 2 textiles for Iti-Ada, official-maškim of Išar, who has brought the news that the omen for Darib-Damu is favourable, on the day in which she ... her vase bur-kak.

Again, in TM.75.G.10078 (king Išar-Damu, vizier Ibrium) rev. III 1-9 : 1 textile/ En-da-za/ Gi-ti-ne^{ki}/níg-AN.AN.AN.AN/ máš/ Ib-rí-um/ è/ al₆/ A-da-ra-du^{ki} : 1 textile for Endaza of Gitine, who has brought the news that the omen for Ibrium is that he should go towards (against?) the city of Adaradu.

These three passages, in which the translation "omen" appears to be certain, are adequate to show that the people of Ebla obtained omens by examining the entrails of animals.

In TM.75.G.10019 (king Išar-Damu, vizier Ibbi-Zikir) rev. II 4-7 : textiles (2,2,2) 2 dumu-nita Puzur₄-ra-BE lú máš : textiles for the two sons of Puzurrabe, the man of the omen?.

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VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

110) Handbook of Ugaritic Studies : A Correction – Due to a regrettable oversight, the name and address of one of the contributors was omitted from this recently published work (W. G. E. Watson – N. Wyatt, eds, *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* ; Handbuch der Orientalistik I, Band 39, Leiden : Brill 1999). The following should have been included on p. 824 :

Prof. Dr. Walter Mayer
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Prof. Dr. Walter Mayer is the co-author of Section 3.3 : « The Hurrian and Hittite Texts » (*Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, pp. 58-75).

Our apologies for this omission. We, the editors, take this opportunity to thank all concerned for their contributions and for help with references.

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111) Babylonian Texts of the First Millennium B.C. – New topics were added to the "Babylonian Texts of the First Millennium B.C." (<http://www.nexus.hu/enkidu/enkidu.html>). The Archive is based on 24230 transcribed texts. It covers the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Achaemenid periods, Time of Alexander, Seleucid and Arsacide Eras. The following lists are available on this periods :

1. General lists
 - reference list of all text editions,
 - chronological lists,
 - geographical lists by towns in chronological order (Babylon, Sippar, Uruk, Borsippa and so on.)

2. Text editions

- BRM 2, BibMes 24, GCCI 1, GCCI 2, YOS 17,
- for each text editions were added :
- chronological list,
- provenience list,
- geographical list,
- list of words,
- list of personal names,
- list of divine names,
- list of professions,

3. Familial and individual archives

- Egibi family (Babylonian, Urukean branches, miscellaneous texts) Archive of Ardiya (Uruk), Marduk-remanni (Sippar), Nabu-ah-iddin (Uruk) and Tab-sil-Marduk (Babylon).

Any correction or suggestion is welcome.

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112) Position in Sumerian – The Oriental Institute and the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations of the University of Chicago seek applications for a faculty position (tenure-track or tenured) in Sumerian. Rank and salary will depend on qualification. The appointment is expected to begin in Academic Year 2001-02.

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Chair, Sumerian Search Committee
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Chicago, IL 60637 USA
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e-mail : m-stolper@uchicago.edu

Applications should arrive by Feb. 29, 2000, when review of candidates will begin.
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113) Nouvelles de la *Revue d'Assyriologie* – Que les abonnés et les lecteurs de la *Revue d'Assyriologie* se rassurent : le retard dans la parution va être comblé avec la sortie simultanée en mars de trois fascicules (1998/1 et /2 et 1999/1), consacrés en majeure partie à la publication des Actes de la Table ronde « les traditions amorrites et la Bible » qui s'est tenue à Paris (EPHE) en juin 1997, édités par J.-M. Durand et B. Lafont.

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Le fascicule 2 de 1999 sortira peu après et ainsi la retard de la revue sera comblé. Nous remercions abonnés, lecteurs et auteurs pour leur patience et prions les abonnés de mettre, si nécessaire, leur abonnement à jour de façon à recevoir la totalité des fascicules dans les meilleurs délais.

114) Thèse et Habilitation – Jaroslaw Maniaczyk a soutenu le samedi 22 janvier 2000 sa thèse de Doctorat à la IV^e Section de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Études (« L'administration royale à Mari. La gestion de la laine et des étoffes à l'époque de Zimrî-Lîm », préparée sous la direction de J.-M. Durand et S. Zawadzki) avec la mention très honorable et les félicitations du jury.

Pierre Villard a soutenu le samedi 29 janvier 2000 son Habilitation à diriger les recherches à l'Université de Paris I (« De Mari à Ninive ») avec les félicitations du jury.

115) Nouvelle adresse électronique (e-mail) de NABU – Vous pouvez désormais joindre NABU à l'adresse électronique suivante : nabu@college-de-france.fr

1999
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