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NOTES BRÈVES

1) The Number of Deportees from Samaria in the Nimrud Prisms of Sargon II – The Nimrud prisms of Sargon II (C.J. Gadd, *Iraq* 16 [1954], pp. 173-198) were written in 706 BCE, about the same time as the recently published Tang-i Var rock inscription (G. Frame, *Or* 68 [1999], pp. 31-57), and later than all other inscriptions of Sargon. This is indicated by the statement (col. vii 16-19) that he presented gifts to the gods of Babylonia «from the beginning of my reign up to (my) fourth year». Sargon counts his years in Babylonia from 709 BCE, and 706 is his fourth year. Indeed, in the Great Display Inscription written in 707 BCE, the gifts are said to have been given «from the beginning of my reign up to (my) third year» (line 144). Moreover, in the Nimrud Prisms and the Tang-i Var inscription, Ahundara is the name of Dilmun's king who had sent gifts to Sargon, whereas in the inscriptions from Dur-Sharrukin it is Uperi who sent the gifts. Ahundara was Uperi's successor who ascended the throne in about 706 BCE.

In a forthcoming article (*UF* 31, 1999) I suggest that when compared with Sargon's inscriptions from Khorsabad, particularly the annals, the Nimrud Prisms are shown to be mainly dependent on the earlier inscriptions, and are inferior sources for the reconstruction of Sargon's campaigns. This is especially indicated by the ways in which their author arbitrarily increased the data given in his sources. For example, according to the annals (lines 192-193), the tribute delivered by Ellipi, Allabria and Media to Sargon included 4609 horses, whereas in the prisms (col. III 55-56) the number of horses is 8609. According to the annals (line 75) 200 cavalry were taken from Carchemish, whereas the prisms give the number 500 (col. IV 21). According to the annals (line 15) and the Great Display Inscription (line 24) 50 cavalry were taken from Samaria; in the prisms the number is 200 (col. IV 33).

In this light we may examine the number of people deported from Samaria. According to the Khorsabad Annals (line 15) and the Great Display Inscription (line 24), Sargon deported 27,280/90 people. The text of the Nimrud Prisms (Gadd, *ibid.*, Pl. XLVI, line 31) reads thus: [x+]27 LIM 2 ME 80 UN.MEŠ. Gadd translated it «[2]7,280 people», and his translation was accepted by all scholars. However, the facsimile indicates that the number is not 27, which would have been written by the MAN sign (compare e.g., Gadd, *ibid.*, Pl. XLVI, line 51), but rather 47. I therefore suggest restoring it [20+]27 LIM, and translate «47,280 people». The number of deportees from Samaria is another instance in which the author of the prisms arbitrarily increased the numbers in order to magnify Sargon's achievements.

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2) An early Neo-Babylonian sale document – BM 114720 was issued in Babylon on 5.XII.656/5 BC. I should like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish this document. Tikva Zadok is responsible only for the copy.

1. 6-šú i-na 50-e šá md+AG¹-[xx]-šá?
2. šá i-na <<šá>> urušá-ṭir-ti pu-ut HA.LA
3. šá mdAMAR.UTU-NUMUN-ib-ni 41 1/3 KÙŠ

4. *[x] pu-tú¹ e-li-ti GÚ pu-rat-ti*
 5. *[x] du² ki-i 1/3 1 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR*
 6. *md+EN-BA³á DUMU m⁴e-gi-bi*
 7. *i-na ŠU⁵I mdAMAR.UTU-NUMUN-ib-ni*
 8. *DUMU m⁶ZÁLAG-d⁷XXX ma-hir a-pil*
 9. *[za]-ki ru-gúm-m⁸a-a⁹ ul i-ši*
 10. *[u]l GUR¹⁰meš¹¹-m¹²a¹³ a-na a-ha-[meš]*
 11. *[u]l i-rag-gu-mu ma-ti-[ma]*
 12. *i-na EGIR U₄^{meš} u₄-mu AŠ ŠEŠ^{meš} DU[MU^{meš}]*
 13. *<IM>.RI.A ni-su-[ti] ū sa-lat šá md+EN¹-BA^{šá}*
 14. *[šá] e-la¹-i (!) iq-bu-ú um-ma A.¹ŠA¹*
 15. *ul SUM-ma KÙ.BABBAR ul ū ma-hir pa-qíl-[ra-nu]*
 16. *KÙ.BABBAR [imhuru]*
 - r. 17. *a-di 12-TA-[A₄] [itanappal]*

 18. *i-na ka-nak ^{na⁴}[DUB šuāti]*

 19. *IGI md+EN-NIGIN^{ir} DUMU m⁷x¹ [*
 20. *m⁸á-ma-ia DUMU m⁹DÙeš-DINGIR*
 21. *md+EN-ú-šal-lim DUMU m¹⁰i-din-nu*
 22. *m¹¹MU-MU DUMU m¹²ZÁLAG-d¹³XXX*
 23. *m¹⁴ŠEŠ^{meš}-šá-a DUMU m¹⁵e-gi-bi*
 24. *md+EN-SUM^{na} DUMU m¹⁶DÙeš-DINGIR*
 25. *md+AG-ŠEŠ^{meš}-MU DUMU lúGÍR.LÁ*
 26. *lúUMBISAG mdAMAR.UTU-GI DUMU m¹⁷e-gi-bi*
 27. *TIN.TIR^{ki} itiŠE U₄ 5 KAM*
 28. *MU 12 KAM dGIŠ.NU₁₁-MU-GI.NA*
 29. *LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} ū-pur mdAMAR.UTU-*
 - NUMUN-ib-ni
 30. *ki-ma na⁴KIŠIB-šú*
- Triads of fingernail marks on all four edges.

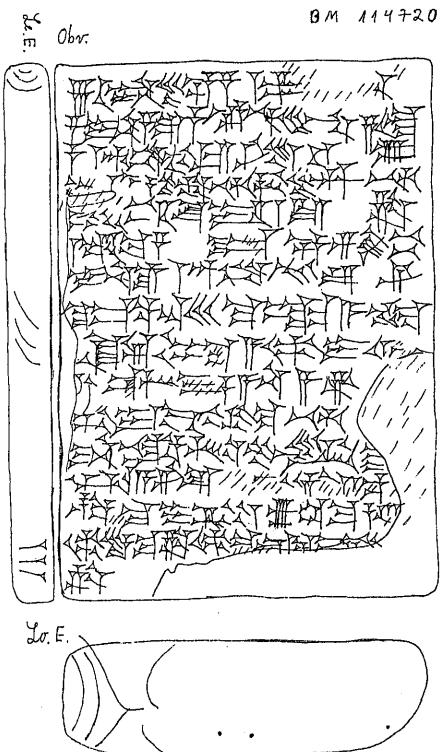
Translation

¹One-sixth share in the « fifty » of Nabû-[iqī]ša(?) ²which is in Šatirtu (and) to which ³Marduk-zêra-ibni has title (= his share); $41\frac{1}{3}$ (= 41.33) cubits.
⁴The upper cross-side (broadside situated on) the bank of the Euphrates.

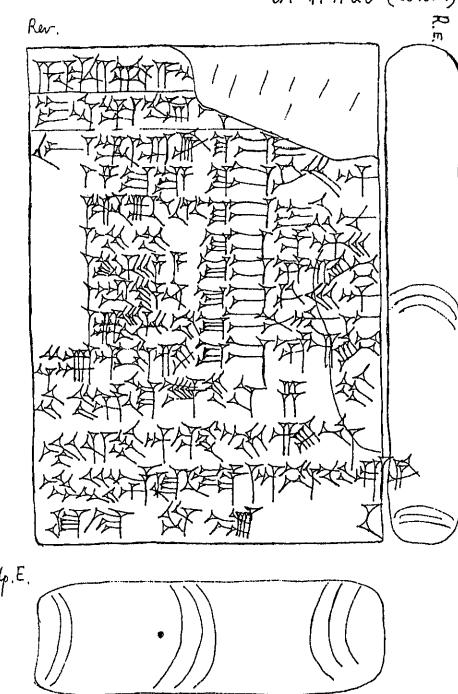
⁵ [x] (a sum) amounting to 1/3 mina and one shekel (= 21 shekels) of silver ⁶Bēl-iqîša descendant of Egibi ⁸has received ⁷from the hands of Marduk-zêra-ibni ⁸descendant of Nûr-Sîn. He is paid ⁹and has been quit (of claim). There shall be no (basis for) claim. ¹⁰They shall not initiate (reopen) ¹¹litigation ¹⁰against each other. ¹¹Whenever ¹²in the future any of the brothers, sons, ¹³family, kin or relatives of Bēl-iqîša ¹⁴will raise (a claim and) declare « The field ¹⁵was not sold and the silver was not received », the claimant ¹⁷will repay twelvefold ¹⁶the silver [which he received].

¹⁸(Witnesses) at the sealing of this tablet:

¹⁹Before Bēl-upahhir descendant of [...]; ²⁰Šamayyu (Šamâyu) descendant of Eppêš-ilî; ²¹Bēl-ušallim descendant of Iddinnu; ²²Šuma-iddina descendant of Nûr-Sîn; ²³Ahhêša descendant of Egibi; ²⁴Bēl-iddina descendant of Eppêš-ili; ²⁵Nabû-ahhê-iddina descendant of the Butcher; ²⁶Scribe: Marduk-ušallim descendant of Egibi. ²⁷Babylon, month XII, day 5, ²⁸year 12 of Šamaš-šuma-ukîn, ²⁹King of Babylon. Fingernail mark of Marduk-zêra-ibni ³⁰(is affixed) as his seal.



BM 114720 (cont.)



Commentary

1. 6-šú – « one sixth » (*šeššu* ; *šuššu* is recorded only in lexical texts ; of the « fifty » section?) ; presumably short for 6-šú zitti (cf. e.g., TuM 2/3, 12, early NB). Cf., e.g., TuM 2/3, 11, 12.

2. *urušá-tir-ti* – cf. *uruŠá-tir-tú* (TuM 2/3, 51, 16), from 549/8 BC, which may be sought either near Nippur or near Babylon : concerning a Nippurean, but also mentions payment at Bit-šar-Bābili. It cannot be proven that the homonymous MB *uruŠá-tír-tu* (UET 1, 165, i, 2, see Kh. Nashef, RGTC 5, 246) is a physical forerunner of early NB *urušá-tir-ti*.

3ff. The very short *Kaufabschlussklausel* resembles neither formulary A nor B of H. Petschow, *Die neubabylonischen Kaufformulare* (Leipzig 1939 ; henceforth : Petschow, *Kaufformulare*), 16ff. Concerning the absence of an announcement that the property is for sale and the lack of an *atru* clause, it should be remembered that the buyer had a share in the purchased property. The purchased object is explicitly defined only in line 14. The *Kaufpreisquittung* consists of two words only (*apil zaki*) like that of the early NB deed TuM 2/3, 8 (Nippur, 721/0-711/10 BC, cf. Petschow, *Kaufformulare*, 25 : 3 in fine).

9ff. The impeachment clause (*Anfechtungsklausel*) resembles, but is not strictly identical, with formulary B of Petschow, *Kaufformulare*, 29f. (B is recorded later on, only since Nebuchadnezzar II's reign). Since the pertinent clause of the deed under discussion here preserves several elements of the earlier formulary A (common in the early NB period), such as *ina arkāt ūmē*, *ša illamma* and *qabū* (for B *ragāmu*), it may be characterized as a « proto B » formulary being a transition from the A to the B formulary.

10. GUR^{meš} – cf. BRM 1, 34 = BR 8/7, 6, 22 (Dilbat, 666/5 B.C.) and C. Wunsch, AuOr 15 (1997), 167f. : 15, 3 (early NB, sometime before Nebuchadnezzar II's time).

14. The spelling *e-la-i* is unique.

22ff. The fourth and the fifth witnesses belong to the buyer's and seller's clans respectively. The scribe is of the same clan as the seller.

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3) Notes on Babylonian geography – New documentation concerning three regions of the Babylonian isthmus is presented below. I should like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish and quote unpublished BM tablets and Mr C.B.F. Walker who allowed me to consult the Bertin copies (henceforth : *Bert.*). Professor P. Steinkeller kindly allowed me to publish the tablet *HSM* 891.11.33 from the Harvard Semitic Museum. I should like to thank the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, as well as Drs. E. Vassilika and P. Wilson for permission to quote the tablet O.9.

1. Sippar region

Dür-Balāti (*BĀD TI*), which is recorded in P.-A. Beaulieu, *Late Babylonian texts in the Nies Babylonian Collection*, 1 (Bethesda 1994 ; henceforth *LBTNBC*), 59 : NBC 6218 from VI.521/0 BC (belonging to the Sipporean archive of Ardiya), is identical with NA *Dür-balāti* (*uruBĀD TI.LA*, A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian rulers of the early first millennium BC [1114-859 BC]* ; Toronto 1991, 55, 56) between Salate and Rahimme (listed in *AOAT* 6, 109 together with a homonymous town which is to be sought elsewhere, presumably in upper Mesopotamia). **[Ta]-nu-ú-de-e**, which is recorded in *LBTNBC* 56 : NBC 6160 from 486/5 BC, is identical with *Ta-nu-de-e* from 534/3 BC (*Cyr.* 221, 6).

M. Jursa, *Der Tempelzehnt in Babylonien : vom siebenten bis zum dritten Jahrhundert v.Chr.* (AOAT 254 ; Münster 1998), 94f. (cf. 38 with n. 123) : BM 77507, 14'ff. (c. 15 Nabopolassar = 611/0 BC) contains a description of a district extending from the bridge (*titurru*) of **När-kuzbi**, **Huşšetu-ša-Zēriya**, **Huşšetu-ša-malakhāni**, **Huşšetu-ša-Bēlet-iqbi** and **Huşšetu-ša-Elamiya** as far as **Dür-Šamaš** ; and from **Dür-Šamaš** as far as **Dannatu** and **birīt nārāti**, and as far as *uruGU4-i-ni* (*Kalbīni*? or rather **Alpīn*/**Aglīn*?). The same district is recorded (according to Jursa, *loc.cit.*) in *Ner.* 54 (557/6 BC). If my restoration is correct, then **Al-Šamaš** was situated on **När-Dannatu** according to *HSM* 891.11.33 (fragment of most of the left half of a tablet ; for administrative documents beginning with *mešhat ŠE.NUMUN* cf. BM 78091 quoted by Jursa, *AfO* Beih. 25, 206 ; **Šá-pa-az-za-A+A** is a gentilic of **Šapazzu/Bāṣ** in the Sippar region used as a given anthroponym) :

1. meš-hat ŠE.NUMUN šá URU-dUT[U šá GÚ]
 2. I₇-dan-na-tu₄ UGU x₁[x TA xx]
 3. a-di U[G]U mi-šir šá ED[IN? (less likely N[E or pi[l]] ...)]
 4. iti DIRI.ŠE.KIN.TAR U₄ 10 KAM [MU ...]
-
5. 6 GUR 4 (PI) 1 BÁN ŠE.NUMUN ^mba-la-[tu A-šú šá ...]

6. 1 GUR 1 (PI) 4 BÁN 3 QA ^mba-la-[tu..]
 7. 2 (PI) 5 BÁN ^mba-la-[tu...]
-
8. 3 (PI) 4 BÁN 3 QA ^{md+}EN-AD¹- [x A-šú šá ...]
 9. 3 GUR 2 (PI) 3 BÁN 4 QA ^{md+}AG-ta-li-[mu A-šú šá ...]
 10. 3 GUR 1 BÁN 3 QA ^{md+}AG-ta-li-[mu]
-
11. 1 (PI) 4 BÁN ^mšá-pa-az-[za-A+A A-šú šá ...]
-
12. 3 (PI) 4 BÁN 4 QA ^mŠEŠ-šú-nu A-šú šá ...]
-
13. 1 GUR 3 PI ^mšá-pa-az-za-[A A-šú šá ...]
-
14. 「1 (PI?) 4² BÁN? [x] 「Q」[A?] ^me-[... A-šú šá ...]
 15. [...] 「^me¹-[...]
- remainder broken
 r. 1'. PAP 20¹ + [x?...]
 2'. ir-[...]
 followed by space for another line (surface effaced); remainder uninscribed.

A section of the same district, namely from a locale near or in Dūr-Šamaš as far as Ālu-ša-Nabû-alsîka-abluṭ (= Bīt-Nabû-alsîka-abluṭ and Āl-Alsîka-[abluṭ]?, Jursa, *AOAT* 254, 93, s.vv.), is dealt with in *BM* 114785, another deed concerning tithe of Ebabbrara :

BM 114785 – Sippar, 15.II.545/4 BC

1. [x] ME 22 [+x? GUR ŠE].BAR eš-ru-ú
2. NÍG.GA¹ [d]UTU šá M^mJU 11 KAM ^dAG-I LUGAL
3. 「 TA É x¹-tu₄ BÀD d¹UTU a-di
4. [U]RU šá ^{md+}AG-al-si-ku-ab-luṭ AŠ UGU^{hi}
5. ^{md+}EN-MU A-šú šá ^{md+}EN-GI A ^mmi-ṣir-A+A
6. [^mp]ir-² A- šú šá ^{md+}AG-MU-SI.SÁ
7. A[Š iti]SⁱI₄ ŠE.BAR ga-mir-tu₄ AŠ É NÍG.GA
8. [šá UGU I₇]UD.KIB.NUN^ki i-nam-di-nu-¹
- lo.e. 9. [1-en pu-ut 2-i] na-šu-u
- r. 10. lúmu-kin-nu ^{md+}AG-MU-ÙRU A- šú šá
11. ^{md}[U.GUR-M^mJU A ^{md+}AG-na-A+[A]
12. r^mij[d]AMAR.UTU-PA]P A- šú šá ^mGAR-MU A lúSANGA d¹NNIN TIN.TIR^{ki}
13. [^mṣ]il-la-a A-šú šá ^{md+}AG-NUMUN-DU
14. 「A¹ [^m]dan-ni-e-a lúUMBISAG ^{md}UTU-DÙ- ŠEŠ
15. A-šú šá ^mSU-d AMAR.UTU A lúSANGA d¹NNIN TIN.TIR^{ki}
16. sip-par^{ki} itiGU₄ U₄ 15 KAM
17. MU 11 KAM ^{md+}AG-I LUGAL E^{ki}

Translation

¹x+122[+x?] kors of barley, tithe, ²property of Šamaš of the 11th year of King Nabonidus ³(from the area stretching) from bīt-x-tu, Dūr-Šamaš as far as ⁴Ālu-ša-Nabû-alsîka-abluṭ, which is charged against ⁵Bēl-iddina/Bēl-ušallim//Miširayyu (Miširayu and) ⁶Pir'u/Nabû-šumu-lišir. ⁷In Simānu (III) ⁸they will deliver ⁷the barley in (its) entirety at the storehouse, ⁸which is on the Euphrates. ⁹Each (of the debtors) is liable for the other.

10-15 Witnesses and scribe, 16-17 Sippar, 15.II.11th year of Nabonidus, King of Babylon.

Pir'u/Nabû-šumu-lišir was in charge of the tithe in 552/1-550/49 BC (see A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbrara temple, Sippar: Its administration and its prosopography*, Leiden 1997 [henceforth *NBET*], 432). Bēl-iddina/Bēl-ušallim//Miširayyu was a *rab-banê* (547/6-533/2 BC; see Jursa, *AfO* Beih. 25, 75 and for the title 57ff.; basically a honorific title). The first witness, Nabû-šuma-uṣur/Nergal-iddina//Nabûnayyu (Nabûnâyu), was a scribe (551/0-538/7 BC, *NBET* 492f.). The second witness, Marduk-nâṣir/Šâkin-ṣumi//Šangû-Ištar-Bâbili, was the scribe of Ebabbrara (*tupšar E.*). He is recorded in 548/7-533/2 BC, often acting as 1st-3rd or 6th-7th witness (see Bongenaar, *NBET*, 81f., 96). Cf. *ad O.9* just below. The third (last) witness, Ṣillâ/Nabû-zêra-ukîn//Dannea was a baker's prebendary (547/6-533/2 BC, *NBET* 174). The scribe of this deed is not recorded in the updated prosopography of Sippar (Bongenaar, *NBET* & Jursa, *AfO* Beih. 25).

The district stretching from Nâr-ṣarri as far as the Tigris is recorded in 546/5 BC (*Nbn.* 483; cf. Jursa, *AOAT* 254, 99). Tithe from Til-appari as far as the Tigris (time of Nabonidus; Mardukâ is mentioned) is recorded in Jursa, *AOAT* 254, 98 : *BM* 60757.

The Old Tigris, Akkad. *Idiqlat-labīru* (ⁱIDIGNA la-bi-ri, Fitzwilliam O. 9, 3f. from Sippar, 15.II.547/6 BC), is otherwise recorded only in texts from Nippur (flowed near Larak, cf. *RGTC* 8, 361 ; x4). For the Old

Tigris east of Sippar see R. McC. Adams, *Land behind Baghdad: A History of settlement on the Diyala plains* (Chicago 1965), fig. 4 (in the Illustrations section following p. 188); M. Gibson, *The City and Area of Kish* (Coconut Grove 1972), 111ff., 316 : fig. 69 ; and R. McC. Adams in Gibson, op. cit., 182ff. ; cf. L. Dekiere, *NAPR* 3 (1989), 14 : fig. 3. E. Herzfeld (*Mnemon* 1, 1907, 135f.) drew attention to Arab. *al-Dijla^h* *al-‘atīqa^h* in ‘Uqbara from the 14th century CE (for general background cf. R. Hartmann and S.H. Longrigg, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new ed., 2, Leiden 1965, 249f.).

O. 9 is a promissory note for 240 kors of barley property of the Ebabbarra temple in Sippar, tithe of Nabonidus' 9th year due to the temple for lands stretching from Āl-Šamaš as far as ^{uru}**B/Pu**(or **gíd**)-da-dūl(? hardly -nu) on the Old Tigris and **Bit-Bél-ēreš**(?) on Nār-mašenni. The latter canal issued from the east bank of the Euphrates and connected the region around Sippar with the region east of Kish (see Jursa, *AfO* Beih. 25, 236f.). For texts dealing with tithes from more than two settlements see Jursa, *AOAT* 254, 29, 110. The dates are to be measured and delivered to the accountants in the storehouse (situated on the bank of the Euphrates) in Sippar in Tammuz (IV, i.e. within two months from the date of issue). Sesame and cress (quantities not preserved) are mentioned at the end of the operative section.

Šamaš-apla-uşur/Niqūdu//Rē’û-sisi was in charge of the tithe in 551/0-510/9 BC (see Bongenaar, *NBET*, 429ff. ; Jursa, *AOAT* 254, 1998, 55f.). He is mentioned together with his patronym only since 25.XI.547/6 BC. His earliest occurrence with a title is from 21.XI.546/5 BC. This deed has his earliest occurrence with patronym and title.

The first witness is Marduk-nāṣir/Šākin-šumi//Šangū-İstar-Bābili, for whom see ad *BM* 114785 just above. The scribe of this deed, Šamaš-tabni-uşur/Eribā-Marduk//Šangū-İstar-Bābili, acted in this capacity (perhaps as scribe of Ebabbarra) in 559/8-541/0 BC (cf. *NBET*, 93 ; his father was also a scribe). The second witness, Itti-Marduk-balātu/Bél-ahhē-eriba/Ile’i-Marduk, is merely homonymous with Itti-Marduk-balātu/Ile’i-Marduk, the scribe of Ebabbarra who is recorded much earlier (626/5-619/8 BC). Both this witness and the remaining one, Šamaš-uballit/Šamaš-šuma-ibni//Ašlāku, are not recorded in the updated prosopography of Sippar (Bongenaar, *NBET* and Jursa, *AfO* Beih. 25).

Ālu (URU) šá me-e (or ^{uru}**Šá-me-e**) **É** ^{md+}**EN-ka-ṣir** is the place of issue of *BM* 74643 = *Bert.* 2601 from 496/5 BC (archive of Marduk-rēmanni/Bél-uballit//Šāhit-ginē). – ^{uru}**DU₆-gab-bi** (*BM* 77555 = *Bert.* 2491, 21) is very probably a variant spelling of **Til-gubbi** as the CVC sign *GAB* is indifferent to vowel quality. – ^{uru}**Ba-fil-in-nu** (collated) is contained in the operative section of *BM* 74622 = *Bert.* 2315 from 26.V.508/7 BC. – ^{uru}**Ut-ti-ru** on Nār-Kūtē (*I₇-GÚ.DU₈.A*) is mentioned in the operative section of *BM* 77829 = *Bert.* 2400 (delivery of barley ; creditor fInbā/Kāśiru//Eṭiru, debtor Iddiya/Itti-Nabū-gūzu). The deed was issued at **Til-zarāti** (^{uru}*DU₆-za-ra-a-tu₄*) on 23.IX.493/2 BC. – **Bit-Pāniya/İniya** (*É.-mIGPⁱ-ia*, *RGTC* 8, 99 ; M.W. Stolper, *RA* 85, 1991, 49ff.) is also recorded in *OECT* 10, 195, r. 7' (^{uru}*É.-IGPⁱ-iā*) from 9 Artaxerxes I/II/III (456/5, 396/5 or 350/49 BC) and in *BRM* 1, 100, 5 (according to Jursa, *AfOB* 25, 112, n. 220). The latter belongs to the Ebabbarra archive (year 20, presumably Nebuchadnezzar II, i.e. 585/4 BC ; x - [...] *SANGA Sip-parki* is mentioned). – ^{uru}**Ma-ad-ga-lu** (J. MacGinnis, *Mesopotamia* 31, 1996, 110f. : 11, 4) seems to originate from the Akkadian appellative « observation » (*CAD* M/1, 16, s.v. *madgalu*). However, this appellative is recorded only once. Moreover, this hapax is included in the account of Sargon II's eighth campaign (*TCL* 3, 249), which is composed in a highly literary style. Could the toponym go back to Aram. *mgdl* « tower, fortification » which is productive in toponyms (cf. ^{uru}*Ma-ag-da-lu*, on the lower Habur and Magdala in the south Jezireh, which have Ugaritic and other Syro-Palestinian homonyms, see Zadok, *NABU* 1995/3 : 9)? I compared NA ^{uru}*Ma-ag-da-lu*, on the lower Habur with Magdala. H. Kühne and A. Luther (*NABU* 1998/117) do not rule out a possibility that Magdal later replaced the name Dür-Katlimmu. However, regarding the latter's first component, it should be remembered that the appellative *dwr'* survived in eastern Aramaic, and is productive in the Aramaic toponymy of upper Mesopotamia and Babylonia. ^{uru}**Na-ṣir-ú** (cf. *RGTC* 8, 236 ; Zadok, in Kühne, H. and Pongratz-Leisten, B. [eds.], *Ana šad Labnāni lū allik*, *Festschrift W. Röllig*, Wiesbaden 1997 [henceforth *Fs. Röllig*], 447 ; Jursa, *AOAT* 254, 95, 97) is mentioned before <^{uru}*dUTU*> in MacGinnis, *Mesopotamia* 31, 121 : 24, 5, 7 respectively (perhaps Cambyses' time ; Ebabbarra archive). ^{uru}**Na-ṣir** is the place of issue of *FLP* 1599 from 10.XIIb.541/0 BC (courtesy of Prof. E. Leichty). An upper Mesopotamian homonym of Til-ṣalam (*RGTC* 8, 313 ; Zadok, *Fs. Röllig*, 447) is OSyr. *Tl slm'* (a village in Bêt-Nuhadrā, F. Nau, *Histoire d'Ahoudemmeh et de Marouta*, Paris 1905 [= Patr. Or. 3], i, 66, 7). It is rendered by J.M. Fiey (*Assyrie chrétienne* 2, Beirut 1965, 489 with n. 1) as « la colline de l'arbre ».

A survival from the Achaemenid period may be *Gwbr* ('*gwbr* is – for all we know – a secondary form), the « eponym » of the place **By(t)-Gwbr**. *Gwbr* was not necessarily the founder of the synagogue (as argued by Oppenheimer in A. Oppenheimer, B. Isaac and M. Lecker, *Babylonia Judaica*, Wiesbaden 1983 [henceforth *BJ*], 69). The forerunner of this anthroponym is OIran. **Gaubarva-* (OPers. *Gaubaruva-*), borne by at least two satraps of Achaemenid Babylonia. Moreover, their name is contained in the late-Babylonian toponym **Nāru-ša-Gu-bar-ra/ri** (« G.'s canal ») from the Achaemenid period (*RGTC* 8, 391 ; cf. Zadok, *Abr-Nahrain* 27, 1989, 155). It refers to a canal which is mentioned in a document from Sippar. Arab. *Nahr Jawbar* refers to a canal near Be Ardašir. The latter was situated in the same region as ancient Sippar (cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabari* ..., Leiden 1879, 10, 16,

19f., 352 ; J. Obermeyer, *Die Landschaft Babylonien im Zeitalter des Talmuds und des Gaonats*, Frankfurt a/M. 1929, 178 ; M. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1982, 108, 144, 146, 195, 200). Hence it stands to reason that the synagogue was named after the settlement where it was located. We have here the combination (genitive compound) *knyšt'* (Aram. « synagogue ») + *d-GN*, like (*by*) *knyšt' dMt' Mhsy'* and *by knyšt' dHwṣl* (BJ 156, 415f.). *Hwṣl* (BJ 159), which goes back to Akkad. *ḥuṣṣu* « reed hut, reed fence ; rural settlement consisting of reed huts or surrounded by reed fences » (see W. von Soden, *AHw.*, 361a ; cf. Zadok, *WO* 12, 1981, 55 with nn. 71, 79 ; 64 ; *RGTC* 8, xiii), is to be differentiated from *Hwṣl*. The latter (BJ 156) was understood as a derivation of *N-S-L*, the Hebrew semantic equivalent of Aramaic (< Akkad.) *Š-Z-B*. This is a case of folk etymology. – *Bdt* and the second component of *Pwmbdyt'* (BJ 364) are merely homonymous.

Property of Ebabarra of Sippar is recorded in **Dilbat** between 608/7 and 544/3 BC (see Jursa, *AfO* Beih. 25, 160a, 220b). Ebabarra had property near the *Abul-Šamaš* in Dilbat according to *BM* 61153 (sale of a building plot) from 10.VI.550/49 BC. The deed was found in Sippar if to rely on the collection number (*AH* 82-9-18, 1129), but was issued at Dilbat. The obverse is partly effaced. The edges are mostly preserved, but neither fingernail marks nor seal impressions are discernible. For the form *qatanu* (line 5) cf. *Dar.* 275, 2 ; *VS* 5, 32, 4 has *qa-ta-an* (see *CAD Q*, 175a, top).

1 [13 G]imēš ki-šub-bu-ú ¹KI^{ti(?)} 2 [K]Á.GAL dUTU šá qé-reb dil-bat^{ki} ÚS AN.TA 3 IM.SI.SÁ DA
md AMAR.UTU- Ši-man-ni A-šú šá 4 m^tap¹-la-a A^{md+EN-} Ši-man^{an}-ni ÚS KI.TA 5 IM.Ux.LU DA SILA qa-[t]a-nu a-
šu-ú 6 SAG AN.TA IM.KUR.RA DA SILA rap-[šú] 7 mu-taq-qí DINGIRmēš u LUGAL SAG K[I KI.TA] 8 IM.MAR.TU
DA SILA qa-ta-nu 9 PAP 13 GI^{mēš} ki-šub-bu-ú ù É mu-x¹-[(x)] 10 ki-i 5/6 MA.NA 2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR DIR^{IG??}
xxx¹ (illegible traces) [...] 11³⁰ GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA šá MU 4 K[AM ...] 12^{x¹} GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA šá MU 5 KA[M...]
13[x¹-x-AD/T NÍG.GA dUTU šá x [PN] 14 A-šú šá m^txxxx¹ [...] 15[x] x [...] 16a-n[a]/A[N...]

r. 1 AŠ ka-nak-ka imDUB M[Umeš]

2 IGI m<d>KÁ-BA šá A-šú šá m^tab-x¹- [...] 3 A m^tre-mut-dBE mdEN-^tM[[U?-x A-šú šá] 4 m^tba-zu-zu
md U.GUR-ŠEŠ-^tM[U? A-šú šá] 5 m^tšá-d^tAG-šú-ú A^{1[ú...]} 6 m^tmu-ra-nu A-šú šá m^tNÍG-DU ^tA m^t[...] 7 md IŠKUR-
NUMUN-DÙ A-šú šá md AMAR.UTU-N[UMUN-x] 8 A m^tba-si-iá 9 lú UMBISAG m^tAŠ-SÙH-SUR A-šú šá md+AG-ŠEŠ-
MU 10^tA lú NAGAR dil-bat^{ki} iti^tKIN 11^{U₄} 10 KAM MU 6^tKAM^t d^tAG-nal^t-id 12 LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}.

The city gate (*abullu*) of Ebabarra is also recorded in **Cutha** (Kohler and Peiser, *Rechtsleben* 4, 77 : 82-5-12, 310 [= *BM* 54188], from 451/0, 391/0 or 345/4 BC and *BM* 92715, 1, also time of Artaxerxes) ; principals : Nidinti-Bēl/Bēl-ittannu//Dābibī (brother of Nergal-bullissu ; seller) and Bēl-uballīt (buyer).

It seems that the name *Akkad* (OSyr. *'kd*) persisted as late as the 13th century CE, provided the reading is not *'kr* (toponyms containing *ikkaru* [> OSyr. *'kr*] are recorded in N/LB, cf. *RGTC* 8, 11, 355, s.vv. *Ālu-ša-ikkarē* and *Harru-ša-ikkarē*). Aba the Catholicos went from Ctesiphon to *'kd* in order to perform a baptism there. It stands to reason that *'kd* was in his diocese. However, this does not necessarily mean that *'kd* was located near Ctesiphon, as stated by J.P. Margoliouth (*Supplement to the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne-Smith*, Oxford 1927, 17a ; she did not identify *'kd* with *Akkad*). The passage (P. Bedjan, *Vies de Mar Jab-Alaha, de trois autres patriarches et de quelques laïques nestoriens*, Leipzig 1893, 216, 12) is not an itinerary in the strict sense : before Ctesiphon Aba was in Rdn ; later on he went to the desert, to the hill country and to Nisibis. In addition, he was in charge of a large diocese, which was not confined to the environs of Ctesiphon and Baghdad. Therefore this latest and just optional occurrence of *'kd* is not conclusive proof for the much-debated localization of the city of *Akkad*. All one can conclude is that *Akkad* is to be sought in northern Babylonia, presumably in the general region of Baghdad-Ctesiphon.

Dwyl is hardly a forerunner of modern Diyāla (*pace* B.Z. Eshel, *Ywby hYhwym bBbl btqwppt hTlmwd*, Jerusalem 1979, 92). The ancient name of this river, viz. *Turnat* > *Tornadotus* (cf. BJ 391f.), was still in use as late as the Parthian period. Could *Dwyl* be a survival of N/LB *Du^t-i-il*, *Du^t-il* (cf. Zadok, *Fs. Röllig*, 451, n. 3)?

2. Babylon region

Nār (I₇)-Zu-um-mi-i (C. Wunsch, *Die Urkunden des babylonischen Geschäftsmannes Iddin-Marduk*, 1, Groningen 1993, 254, 6) flowed near Nār-Barsipa and the settlement of the Urukeans. – **Har-ri** šá m^tZa-bu-nu, which was located not far from Babylon (*RGTC* 8, 359 ; *Fs. Röllig*, 448), is also recorded in *BM* 41446 = Bert. 2835,2 from Babylon, Egibi archive (7.VI.- Darius I, i.e. sometime between 522 and 486 BC).- Regarding an area near Babylon, Dr. M. Jursa kindly suggested to me that *BM* 59568, 9 (*NABU* 1997/11, 2) following m^tre-e-mu-tu, should be corrected to *ki-i 1* QA* [ŠE.N]UMUN a-na 10 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR*.– *BM* 41445 = Bert. 2658 was issued at Ālu (URU) šá m^tŠá-pi-i^l-kal-bi (494/3 BC, perhaps belonging to the Egibi archive). – **Bit-Tābī** ("urū É-DU₁₀.GA-i) is mentioned in *BM* 54071 = Bert. 2927 from **Bit-mār-śarri** ("urū É-DUMU.LUGAL), 12.V.32 Artaxerxes I/II, i.e. 433/2 or 373/2 BC (parties : d^tEN- [...] /Nu-uh-ši-ia, Tattannu/Nuhšiya and Ahušunu/Bēl-upahhir). – urū **Hu-ra-ra-**³ is recorded in *BM* 54187 = Bert. 2036, 20 from 7.VIb.517/6 BC. The document belongs to the Sippar collection if to rely on the *AH* number, but the delivery was due to take place in Babylon (principals : Nabū-ahhē-bullit[...]//Mandidi and Bēl-upahhir[...]//Pahhāru). – **Nār (I₇)-Tu-pa-šú** (cf. *GCCI* 2, 220, 2) is recorded in *BM* 30762 = Bert. 2041, 6 from Babylon, 19.IV.4[+x, Darius I, presumably 517/6 or 516/5 BC]. The document belongs to the Egibi archive (Marduk-[našir-apli]/Itti-Marduk-balātu//E.). The debtor,

Mušēzib(KAR)-Bēl/ Šuma-iddina, had a field on Nār-Tupašu and Har-ra šá Nergal (^dU.GUR). – ^{uru}Ši-li-im-ma (RGTC 8, 280, perhaps not far from Babylon) is also recorded in BM 31793 = Bert. 2159, 5 from the Egibi archive (Marduk-nāṣir-apli/Itti-Marduk-balāṭu//E.), which is dated to 11.X.495/4 B. The place of issue is not preserved. The debtors, Bēl-upahhir/Nergal-iddina and his son, Bēl-ibni, had to pledge a field in Šilimma.

3. Borsippa region

Property of Ebabbarra in Borsippa and on its canal is recorded between 608/7 (if not 611/0) and 495/4 BC (see Jursa, *AfO* Beih. 25, 209). Three out of the five individuals employed by Ebabbarra there were presumably Borsippean in view of their names (two Nabû anthroponyms and one member of the Nūr-Papsukkal family). In the same manner, Nabû-āla-lukīn descendant of Iddina-Papsukkal, the gardener mentioned in BM 114742 (elsewhere unknown), was a Borsippean in view of his given name and his surname. On the other hand, the first witness, Bēl-iddina descendant of Šangû Sippar, is probably identical with his namesake son of Inaqībi-Bēl (617/6-604/3 BC or later, Bongenaar, *NBET*, 449, 460). None of the other four individuals mentioned in BM 114742 is recorded in *NBET* or *AfO* Beih. 25.

BM 114742 (sometime between 626 and 605 BC)

1. 48 GUR ZÚ.LUM.MA
2. šá gišKIRI₆ šá ^dUTU šá bar-sip^{ki}
3. AŠ IGI ^{md+}AG-URU-lu-kin
4. A ^mSUM-^dpap-šukkal ^{lú}NU-gišKIRI₆
5. [AŠ] ^{itī}GAN AŠ ma-ši-hu šá ^dUTU
6. [Z]JÚ.LUM.MA-XX (two Winkelhakens) AŠ UGU^{hi} ^lbar-sip^{ki}
7. [a²-n]a^{1(?)} ^dUTU i-nam-din ^{lú}UMBISAG
8. [^{lú}man]-di-di u ^{lú}DU₈ et-ṭir
- lo.e. 9. [si]-s-sin-nu-šú e-ṭi^lr
10. ^{lú}mu-kin-nu ^{md+}EN-^lMU
- r. 11. A ^{lú}SANGA sip-par^{ki}
12. ^{md+}AG-KAR-ZI A ^{lú}BÁHAR
13. ^{md}za-ba₄-ba₄-PAP A ^mmi-ṣir-A+A
14. ^mta-qiš-^dgul-la A ^me-gi-bi
15. u ^{lú}UMBISAG ^mA-a A ^{lú}šá-na-ši-šú
16. ba[r]-sip^{ki} ^{itī}KIN[?] U4 8 KAM
17. [MU [x KA]M ^{md+}AG-A-PAP
- u.e. 18 LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki}

Translation

¹48 kors of dates ²of the palm grove of Šamaš of Borsippa ³are at the disposal of Nabû-āla-lukīn ⁴the gardener, descendant of Iddina-Papsukkal. ⁵[In] Kislimmu (IX) ⁷he will deliver ⁶the aforesaid dates ⁷to Šamaš ⁵in the measure of Šamaš ⁶on the Borsippa canal. ⁸He will pay ⁷(the food rations of) the scribe, ⁸the measurer and the porter. ⁹Its *sissinnu* impost has been paid.

¹⁰Witnesses : Bēl-iddina ¹¹descendant of Šangû Sippar ; ¹²Nabû-ēter-napišti descendant of the Potter ; ¹³Zababa-uṣur descendant of Miširayyu (Miširāyu) ; ¹⁴Taqiš-Gula descendant of Egibi ; ¹⁵and the scribe Aplā descendant of Šanāšišu. ¹⁶Borsippa, month VI(?), day 8, ¹⁷year [x] of Nabopolassar ¹⁸King of Babylon.

Remarks

7f. For administrative imposts in the form of food rations see Jursa, *AfO* Beih. 25, 138f. : in Sippar and its region they were given to the provincial governor and the inspector (« resident », *q̄ipu*) as well. This is recorded in BM 75542 from 534/3 BC, which postdates Belshazzar's edict. BM 114742 is important because it considerably predates this edict. For the *sissinnu* impost see Jursa, *AfO* Beih. 25, 126 with previous literature.

The Borsippa region was especially swampy as early as the middle of the first millennium BC (see S. Cole, *JNES* 53, 1994, 81ff., esp. 96). This was a phenomenon of long duration : A lake near Borsippa is recorded in medieval sources (cf. *BJ* 102, 263). – BM 25837 from Borsippa, 494/3 BC (archive of Tabluṭūtū wife of Šūlā) is a receipt for dates from the irrigated area of Parak-Mār-bitī. This toponym recurs in Moore, Mich. Coll. 46 which was issued at Borsippa in 461/0, 401/0 or 355/4 BC. – ^{uru}SŪR(?) šá Arad-Ea(^dIDIM) bīt (Él rather than E^l)-^mNap-sa-nu is the place of issue of the deed HSM 8408 from 15.IX.28 Artaxerxes I (437/6 BC, Stolper, *AMI* 23, 1990, 175f., 19). *Bīt-Nap-sa-nu*, which was situated in ^{uru}SŪR(?) šá Arad-Ea, refers to the mansion of Napsānu/Tattannu, the archive owner, where the deed was issued (analogous to the case of the house of Bēl-kāṣir in Ālu-šá-me-e or ^{uru}Šá-me-e, above, 1).

The deed belongs to the Tattannu archive for which see G. van Driel in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (ed.), *Achaemenid History* 1 (Leiden 1987), 177. The settlement ^{uru}SŪR(?) šá Arad-Ea is presumably related to Ālu-šá-Arad-Ea in the same archive (VS 3, 195 from 5.VI. 417/6 BC, cf. RGTC 8, 8). VS 5, 120 from there ([Ālu (URU)] -Arad-Ea), dated to 27.III.33 Artaxerxes I (= 432/1 BC), is witnessed by at least one servant of Tattannu (I-si-na-a). The principal Za-bi-na-²/Ad-ri-ni-Bēl(^d+EN, ^līR¹ [...]) is identical with Za-bi-na-²/I-dar-ni-Bēl (VS 6,

188 ; place of issue not preserved ; 13.VI.- Artaxerxes, presumably I, 464-424 BC) and was also a servant of Tattannu. Ba-ri-ka-il-ta₅-mīš/Iqīšā, a principal in a deed from ^{uru}**Na-ba-tu**, 436/5 BC (Stolper, *AMI* 23, 172f. : *YBC* 11629, 1), is identical with Ba-ri-ki-il-ta₅-mīš who witnessed a deed from ^{uru}**Šá-ra-ni-tu₄** in 422/1 BC (2 Darius II, *VS* 5, 122). Both deeds belong to the Tattannu archive.

Regarding *PTS* 2284, which contains information on the Borsippa region, my personal collation (6/1998) yielded the following corrections : Line 1 : 62 GUR (1 + ŠU* 2 GUR) ; line 3 : ^mšā-^d AG¹-[šu-ú] ; line 12 : [ši-hi^(?) ...] ; line 13 : id/t/ł-d/t/tub/p[?]-[...] (it does not resemble the RA sign in lines 5, 24) ; line 16 end : i- very doubtful ; line 17 end : in-xl-[xx]-r[?]

Ran ZADOK (3-02-00)

4) Die Profession des « Ur-é » – Im Zusammenhang der Edition der Briefe der Akkad-Zeit (*FAOS* 19) wurde die Siegellegende des sargonisch-sumerischen Briefes RA 60, 1966, 71, Rs. mit Ur-é ugula-TÙN.KU umschrieben und durch « Ur-e, der Aufseher der/des ... » wiedergegeben. Im Kommentar zu dieser Stelle wurde vermerkt : « Die genaue Bedeutung von TÙN.KU bleibt unklar ».¹ Schon die früheren Bearbeitungen dieses Textes,² aber auch die jüngst erschienenen Rezensionen zu *FAOS* 19³ konnten die Deutung der Siegellegende nicht grundsätzlich voranbringen. Dies galt, obwohl seit der Erstveröffentlichung des Textes durch E. Sollberger nicht nur eine Kopie, sondern auch ein Photo des Textes (RA 60, 1966, 71) zur Verfügung stand.⁴ Eine jetzt vorgenommene Autopsie des Originals durch A. Cavigneaux⁵ erweist, daß die fragliche Zeichenverbindung nicht – wie bisher angenommen – TÙN.KU, sondern UŠ.KU (traditionelle Transliterierung),⁶ d.h. /gala/ zu lesen ist. Mit der nunmehr gewonnenen Lesung ergibt sich jedoch nicht gleichzeitig eine zweifelsfreie Lösung. Der Vorschlag von W. Sallaberger, die erste Zeile der Siegelinschrift als Personenname zu deuten und Ur-é-ğidri zu lesen,⁷ orientiert sich unausgesprochen an einem der Standard-Formulare, nach dem Personenname und Berufsbezeichnung in zwei aufeinanderfolgenden Zeilen notiert werden.⁸ Somit könnte die vorliegende Siegelinschrift Ur-é-ğidri / gala, d.h. « Ur-egidri, der gala(-Priester) » gelesen werden. Dies bleibt aber problematisch, da ein Personenname Ur-é-ğidri meines Wissens weder sargonisch noch altsumerisch bezeugt ist.⁹ In sargonischen Texten gut bekannt hingegen sind Träger des Namens Ur-é, die zuweilen durch die Tätigkeitsbezeichnung ugula weiter charakterisiert sind.¹⁰ Ausgehend von dieser Beobachtung, könnte dann, trotz der selten derart angelegten Zeilenbrechung,¹¹ gala als nomen rectum interpretiert,¹² d.h. der Gesamtzusammenhang als Ur-é ugula- / gala, d.h. « Ur-e, Aufseher über gala(-Priester) » verstanden werden.¹³ Angesichts der aufgezeigten Unsicherheitsfaktoren ist diese Deutung allerdings nur über neu hinzukommende Belege als sicher zu erweisen.

1. Vgl. B. Kienast, K. Volk, Die Sumerischen und Akkadischen Briefe des III. Jahrtausends aus der Zeit vor der III. Dynastie von Ur. *FAOS* 19, 1995, 108f. sub Gir 30.

2. E. Sollberger, RA 60, 1966, 71 ; D.O. Edzard, SR Nr. 95.

3. Vgl. W. Sallaberger, OLZ 91, 1996, Sp. 389 – 407. G. Zólyomi, BiOr 54, Sp. 720-727.

4. Zur Qualität des Photos vermerkte W. Sallaberger, OLZ 91, 1996, Sp. 404 ad Gir 30 : « Das Photo RA 60 71 ist zu undeutlich, um die Lesung zu überprüfen. »

5. Ich danke A. Cavigneaux herzlich für die Kollation dieses Textes, die ich bei der Vorbereitung der Edition von *FAOS* 19 nicht selbst durchführen konnte. Nach Auskunft von A. Cavigneaux war die Siegelinschrift nur unter wechselnden Lichtverhältnissen zweifelsfrei lesbar.

6. Zu interpretierendem ĜIŠ.DÚR nach älteren Quellen, vgl. P. Steinkeller / J.N. Postgate, MC 4, 37.

7. OLZ 91, 1996, Sp. 404 : « Die Legende ist auf zwei Zeilen aufgeteilt, daher vielleicht : Ur-é-ğidri / x x ».

8. Dies gilt jedoch nicht für PN ugula, was in den Akkad-zeitlichen Siegeln stets in einer Zeile realisiert wird ; vgl. D.O. Edzard, AfO 22, 1969, 14f. sub 15.10, 13, 14, 24, 38, 43 ; 16.5.

9. W. Sommerfeld danke ich für die Abgleichung meiner eigenen Belegsammlung. Inwieweit ein PN Ur-é-ğidri in der nachfolgenden Ur-III Zeit verbreitet ist, vermag ich in Ermangelung einer vollständigen Sammlung von Ur-III Personennamen nicht zu sagen.

10. Ur-é als PN ohne weitere Angabe eines Berufsnamens ist u.a. häufig bezeugt in Umma, vgl. B. Foster, OrNS 51, 1982, 348 ; im Mesag-Archiv, vgl. S. Bridges, The Mesag Archive. Diss. Yale 1981, 510, aber auch an anderen Orten wie etwa Adab (s. Z. Yang, PPAC 1, 439f.), Nippur (s. A. Westenholz, CNIP 3, 198), Ĝirsu (s. B. Kienast, K. Volk, *FAOS* 18, 109) um wenige zu nennen. Mit verschiedenartigen Berufsbezeichnungen : B. Foster, op. cit. 313 ; 320. Für Ur-é ugula vgl. Nik II 20 iii 5 ; NBC 6967 i 7 (s. S. Bridges, The Mesag Archive. Diss. Yale 1981, 453 ; gleicher Text bei B. Foster, CRRAI 33, 1987, 60) ; ITT I, L 1448 i 4 (ugula / nu-bànda – Liste) ; s. auch MAD 4 35 obv. 8 (Ur-é ugula-é).

11. Zu vergleichen wäre an dieser Stelle das bekannte Siegel des Adda (s. R.M. Boehmer, Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkad-Zeit, Tf. VI, Abb. 53), das folgende Zeilenaufteilung aufweist : Ad-da / ugula-é- / en-ħé-du₇-an-na.

12. Einen zweiten, auf Ur-é ugula folgenden Personennamen (Gala) ausgeschlossen.

13. Diese Lösung kann erst dann befriedigen, wenn zumindest ein weiterer Beleg für einen ugula-gala in sargonischer Zeit nachweisbar ist. M.W. ist dies innerhalb der veröffentlichten sargonischen Texte bisher nicht der Fall.

5) On the extent of Sargon II's sixth campaign in Media – Levine (1977a, 140ff.; 1977b, 181) is of the opinion that after leaving Harhar, Sargon II proceeded (in 716 BC) in an easterly direction along the Great Khorasan Road in Media. He states (Levine 1972, 30): « ... the last [places] mentioned are probably to be located in the eastern end of the Kangavar valley or in the Asadabad valley. It is highly unlikely that any refer to places beyond the Kuh-i-Alvand ». Levine did not notice that *kur Ra-ma-an-da* (Levine 1972, 42, ii, 63; < Old Iranian *Rāmanta-¹) can be modern *Rāmend* (medieval *Rāmand*, Schwarz 1926, 724) much to the northeast: in the Ziyā'ābād district (*baht*) of the Qazvīn province (*šahrestān*, Razmārā 1950, 1, map at the end; Adamec 1976, 533) at 36°4' 49°39'. If this identification, which was suggested by me (Zadok 1976, 388b with n. 13, misprinted « Ramēnd »), is correct,² then Sargon II's sixth campaign (716 BC) proceeded at a certain point to the north-northeast of the Great Khorasan Road and reached its easternmost point in the Qazvīn region. Moreover, the remote location of the identifiable easternmost point of the campaign would account for the fact that the itinerary of this campaign had no less than 13 stages between Harhar and Rāmanda; at several stages Sargon received not only the tribute of the local ruler, but also that of the neighbouring ones (see presently):³

Zaqrūti, Kurabli (received the tribute of Saparda, [...], [x]kullu, Bigali, Sig/kris and Bīt-Uargi as well), Sig/kris, Arussa, Uquta, Arusaka, Anzaknē (probably near Uriyaka), Upurya (received the tribute of Upurya and Aratišta), B/Pus/štus, Datumbu (received the tribute of Ka(n)zabakani),⁴ Karzinū, Pirnakān (received also the tribute of Barikānu and Ku[x]ti), Sakā (received the tribute of Harzianu and Kaitānu; Darue river). Rāmanda is followed by Irnisa (received the tribute of Irnisa and Bit-Kapsi; also used as a base for pacification of Ayalaia). The remainder of the itinerary presumably describes the way back. In this case, the itinerary of Sargon II's sixth campaign would be basically identical with one of the two main routes (viz. the more southerly one) linking the Iranian Plateau and central Asia with Mesopotamia via the central and northern Zagros (cf. Levine 1977b, 173).⁵ My suggestion that Rāmanda/Rāmend is the easternmost identifiable point of the campaign, is not contradicted by the fact that the stele was found much further to the southwest, at Najafehābād (or originally in Gōdīn tepe, for the problem cf. Levine 1972, 33; both sites are not far from each other on the east-west axis of the Great Khorasan Road). For Rāmanda/Rāmend was not the termination point of the campaign. It stands to reason that the stele was erected at some point on the way back from Rāmanda to Assyria, conceivably in one of the provincial centres, viz. Harhar or Kišesi.

The statement of Levine (1974, 118) that Media defined just a narrow strip restricted to the Gamas-āb river system and the Great Khorasan Road should be modified accordingly. The term « Media » has attained a greater geographical extent as soon as Mannea and Ellipi have become largely Iranianized. *kur Bi-ig/k-ni/nu* may be identical with modern Alvand according to Levine 1974, 118f., but if the identity of Rāmanda with modern Rāmand is correct, then a more easterly location (beyond the Alvand) for Bikni (such as Damāvand) is required.

Notes :

1. Present active participle (± thematic extension) of Old Iranian *rāma-* (fourth class), i.e. « resting, reposing », a suitable denotation for a toponym.
2. A homonymous Median place named *Rāmend* is unknown. The archaeological evidence for an Iron Age occupation at Rāmend or near it is not available to me.
3. Keeping in mind that even detailed itineraries tend to be selective while incorporated in a royal inscription, which is basically a literary composition.
4. The name of *Uš-ra-a*, the ruler of Kanzabakanu, can render Old Iranian **Ušra-* « red » (cf. K. Hoffmann *apud* Kellens 1974, 214; for an implausible previous etymology see Diakonoff 1956, 214, 221f. n. 2; 1970, 111, n. 37; Grantovskiy 1970, 325).
5. Regarding the beginning of the itinerary (from Mannea-Karalla to Kišesi), *kur Pat-ta* (Levine 1972, 38, ii, 33), which is otherwise unknown, may be read *uruŠur-ta*, in which case it would be a variant of *kurŠur-da* (d/t interchange is not uncommon in pre-Iranian names in this region). This identification seems plausible also in view of the geographical context.

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6) Au sujet du nom du chancelier d'Ur III, Ir-Nanna ou Ir-mu – Les sources néo-sumériennes et postérieures mentionnent Ir-Nanna et Ir-mu¹ en alternance sans qu'il semble possible d'en comprendre les modalités. L'identification est généralement acceptée et le second nom propre est tenu pour un hypocoristique du premier, mais H. Waetzoldt s'y est opposé². Il considère qu'il faut distinguer trois individus, selon la répartition des différents titres portés par Ir-Nanna ou Ir-mu.

- IR₁₁-ḡu₁₀ sukkal-maḥ de AS 3 à ŠS 1.
- IR₁₁-ḡu₁₀ ensi₂ gír-su_{ki} de AS 8 à ŠS 4.
- IR₁₁-^dnanna sukkal-maḥ (ensi₂) de AS 3 à IS 3.

Il est en effet troublant de constater que Ir-Nanna ne se dit jamais ensi de Girsu tout comme Ir-mu n'est jamais ensi de Lagaš. Mais son postulat soulève plus de problèmes qu'il n'en résout : deux chanceliers cohabiteraient entre AS 3 et ŠS 1. Ceci n'est pas attesté et reste un argument *a silentio* contre l'hypothèse de Waetzoldt³.

En faveur de l'identification d'Ir-Nanna à Ir-mu militent deux documents. Ils indiquent que Ir-mu est responsable (ugula) du tribut de NI.HI en Š 48⁴ pour le premier et du tribut d'Urbilum en ŠS 7⁵ pour le second. Depuis l'étude menée par P. Steinkeller⁶, nous savons que cette fonction est assumée par le plus haut responsable en fonction dans la province. Ces deux textes sont donc en parfaite concordance avec l'inscription monumentale d'Ur-Nanna datant de Šu-Suen qui mentionne le šagina de NI.HI et celui d'Urbilum⁷. Cette concordance confirme qu'il existe bien un seul et même individu, chancelier et ensi de Girsu-Lagaš portant le nom d'Ur-Nanna et son hypocoristique Ir-mu.

En conséquence, s'il y a lieu de rejeter l'hypothèse de H. Waetzoldt, il convient de garder en mémoire que les zones d'ombres sur l'origine et la carrière d'Ur-Nanna, ainsi que l'usage de ses différents titres mériteraient un examen attentif.

1. Cette lecture est conventionnelle. IR_{3/11}-ḡu₁₀ doit être lu Urdu-ḡu, ainsi que l'atteste la version syllabique (ur-du-um-gu) de RCU 15 (Suse XII/1, col. ii, li. 32-33), cf. EDZARD D.O. (1974), Textes littéraires de Suse, MDP 57 : 15.

2. WAETZOLDT H. (1980), WO 11 : 139-140, avis réitéré en 1991 dans JAOS 111 : 640.

3. Cf. SCHARASCHENIDZE D.M.. (1974), Die sukkal-maḥ des alten Zweistromlandes in der Zeit der III. Dynastie von Ur, *AcAnHum* 22 : 108, attestations auxquelles il faut rajouter les deux nouveaux individus mentionnés par WAETZOLDT, *ibid.* : 139. Relevons que ITT 2 937:6, cité par celui-ci comme argument, n'atteste en aucun cas que le gouverneur de Girsu mentionné dans le document soit Ir-mu : ce dernier n'est pas attesté à Girsu depuis ŠS 4 (*BIN* 3 241 :7). En outre, à la tête de Girsu, les gouverneurs se sont parfois succédé sans que nous puissions en comprendre les raisons, cf. RIM E 3/2 : 274-275 (entre AS 4 et AS 8).

4. JEAN, ŠA 36 1e : 1-3.

5. CONTENAU, *Contribution* 6, i 1- iv 5.

6. STEINKELLER P. (1987), The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State : the Core and the Periphery, in McGUIRE GIBSON, BIGGS R.D., *The Organization of Power. Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East*, Chicago : 31-35.

7. RIM E3/2.1.4.13.

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7) Some non-Semitic names in Akkadian sources –

A. Anthroponyms

1. LB ^dBa-ga-'-par/pir-da-tú, ^dBa-ga-'-par/pir-da-a-tú (Nippur, 3.IX.441/0 B.C. ; M.W. Stolper, JAOS 114, 1994, 622a : UM 29-13-729, 6 and 8 resp.) < Old Iranian (= OIran.) *Baga-fradāta- “created, brought forward/forth, promoted by (the) god” (cf. R. Schmitt, in Tischler, J. (ed.), *Serta Indogermanica. Festschrift für Günter Neumann zum 60. Geburtstag*, Innsbruck 1982, 382 ; *idem*, *Iranische Namen in den indogermanischen Sprachen Kleinasiens*, Vienna 1982, 26f. :26). LB <par> renders OIran. */fra-/ as in *Par-ta-am-mu* (*Dar.* 379, 3), *Pa-ar-ta-am-mu* (*Dar.* 410, 2) for OIran. *Fratama- “Primus” (see W. Eilers, ZA 51, 1955, 230).

2. NA Ha-la-šu-ri (Kwasman, StPohl SerMai. 14, 107, 9) is probably non-Semitic. For *Hala/u* see Balkan, *Kass. St.*, 106 (cf. M. Hölscher, *Die Personennamen der kassitenzeitlichen Texte aus Nippur*, Münster 1996 [= PKTN], 267a) and for šuri Balkan, *Kass. St.*, 182f.

3. NA [S]a-am-bi (SAA 11, 164 r. 5) is Hurrian (cf. NPN, 250b).

4. NA Se-na-in-ni was etymologized by me (BNF NF 14, 1979, 298:25) as an Old Iranian name. However, I cannot rule out a possible alternative that it may be based on Hurro-Urartian. šen- “brother” if it is a broken spelling for the NA outcome of a name like Še-en-na-ni (NPN 255b). For the Assyrian rendering of the sibilant in question cf. MA Se-e-ni (king of Da-IA-e-ni, Grayson, RIMA 2, 21 : Tigl. I A.0.87.1, v, 22 ; see M. Salvini, *Nairi e Ur(u)aṭri*, Rome 1967, 51f. ; for the location cf. H.F. Russell, AnSt 34, 1984, 199, map). The anthroponym Ku-ú-a-i-ni is also explicable in Old Iranian terms (see Zadok, BNF NF 14, 1979, 297:15), but it looks like a homonym of the NA toponym ^{uru}[K]u-a-ia-in (TCL 3, 281, time of Sargon II) referring to a

settlement of Aiadi in the periphery of Urartu, where Iranian anthroponymy and toponymy are rare. However, in this case the suspected Hurro-Urartian alternative source of the anthroponym in question is not discernible.

5. LB Šá-ta-ba/ma-ag/k(?)-su (487/6 B. C. ; VS 3, 159, 3) is now etymologized as *Šyāti-baxša- or *Šyāti-vaxša- by J. Tavernier (NABU 1999/87, retaining my etymology of the first component in IOS 7, 1977, 95, n. 39). Tavernier discusses the problem of the rendering of the sibilant of the last syllable, which is exceptional. I would like to add two additional remarks at this point :

(1) LB <-SU> is hardly a scribal error for <-ŠU> as the latter sign is very rare at the end of LB vocables and proper names, where the scribes employed the shorter sign -šú ;

(2) The interchange st/št (e.g. in A-ba-as-ta-nu/Ab-ba-eš-ta-nu) is a special case (see Eilers, *Beamtennamen*, 39, 98ff. ; cf. Zadok, IOS 6, 1976, 65 :1) and cannot be compared with the hypothetical interchange š/s after an original */x/, which is encountered here. A comparable phenomenon is extant, albeit rarely, much later in middle eastern Iranian : Sogdian has the anthroponym Bwxs'k. N. Sims-Williams, *Sogdian and other Iranian inscriptions of the Upper Indus*, 2 (= CII, 2/3, London 1992), 47, derives this name from bwxs- "to be saved", if Bwxs'k has xs < *xš as in xsrd, 'xsyn'kk (comparing *buxša- of OPers. *Bagabuxša-*, Elam. *Bukša*, etc. and stating on p. 79 that Sogd. 'xsyn'kk originates from OIran. *axšaina-(ka-) "greenish, bluish"). It seems advisable not to discuss here Parthian Bwxs from Nisa (cf. R. Schmitt, in J. Wiesehöfer, ed., *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse. Beiträge des internationalen Colloquiums, Eutin, 27.-30. Juni 1996*. Historia Einzelschriften 122, Stuttgart 1998, 193, I, 10).

6. NA Ta-an-da-A+A (R. Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals. Die Prismenklassen A, B, C = K, D, E, F, G, H, J und T sowie andere Inschriften. Mit einem Beitrag von Andreas Fuchs*. Wiesbaden 1996, 180, 33), N/LB Ta-an-da (Babylon, Egibi archive, 497/6 B.C., BM 33112 = Berlin 2587 ; I should like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum and Mr C.B.F. Walker for permission to quote from this unpublished BM tablet and to consult the Berlin copy) may be based on a form related to Tamda, cf. Tam-da-Sah (Hölscher, PKTN, 217a), NPN 262b, s.v. tant (not necessarily Hurrian, cf. Balkan, Kass. St. 83f. ; md and nd/t are interchangeable) and add Ta-an-ta-A+A, Ta-an-ta-ku, Ta-an-du-ku-un-ni, Ta-an-du-ku-ni-du and Ta-an-ta-ú-a (E. Cassin and J.-J. Glassner, AAN 139). The last but one name ends with a form, which may be compared with Kass. Kunudi/u, Kunindu, Kunundi (Balkan, Kass. St. 65). The bearer of the last name was the father of Ša-qara-a (perhaps Kass., cf. NPN 250a, Balkan, Kass. St. 78, s.v. šagar).

B. Toponyms

1. NA ^{uru}An-za-li-a of Aiadi (TCL 3, 281) in the periphery of Urartu may be based on anzal/anšal, which is recorded in Hurrian anthroponymy, e.g. OB An-ša-al-ew-ri from Tikunani (M. Salvini, *The Habiru prism of King Tunip-Teššup of Tikunani. Documenta Asiana. Collana di Studi sull'Anatolia e l'Asia Anteriore antica diretta da Mirjo Salvini*, 3 [volume editor Neda Parmegiani], Rome 1996 [= Salvini, *Prism*], 20 ; vi, 23, cf. T. Richter, SCCNH 9, 1998, 130). The suffix -ya is common in Hurro-Urartian names (cf. NPN 219a).

2. MA ^{kur}Pa-i-te-ri, a kingdom in Nairi (Grayson, RIMA 2, 21 : Tigl. I A.0.87.1, iv, 77), perhaps on the upper Euphrates (cf. Nashef, RGTC 5, 213 with lit.), is homonymous with the late OB anthroponym Ba-i-it-te-er from Tikunani (Salvini, *Prism*, iv, 56).

3. The location of the mountain ^{kur}Se/Si-lu-na, somewhere east of Assyria proper (Grayson, RIMA 3, 213 : Adad-nārā III A.0.104.8, 5, NA) is unknown. It is the first locale in a passage enumerating the conquered countries in the Iranian Plateau. It is followed by Namri, which is the westernmost country, the easternmost countries being Media and Gizilbunda. Se/Si-lu-na was presumably within the geographical horizon of the Hurrians (at least those residing east of the middle Tigris) in view of the anthroponym Ar-se/šé-lu-ni from MB Nuzi (NPN, 31b [x 2], 249a).

4. NA ^{uru}Ša-ru-um (OIP 2 , 36, iii, 76 ; var. ^{uru}Ša-ar-ma, 64, 13 : ^{uru}Ša-ri-im) is mentioned in the course of Sennacherib's fifth campaign against seven settlements situated on Mt. Ni-pur (generalized as people of *Tuh/murra*, *Tu-hur/mur-ra-A+A* in OIP 2, 71, 38 <A>, 77, 22, 86, 16 ; ^{uru}*Tu-hur/mur-ri* in OIP 2, 35, iii, 75, 64, 12 : -ra ; see E. Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inchriften*, Vienna 1997, 13). This toponym may be restored in an inscription of Aššur-dan II : ^{uru}Ša-ra-[am?] (Grayson, RIMA 2, 133 : Aššur-dan II A.0.98.1, 33 ; conquered from Kundibhalē of Katmuhhi). The other settlements on Mt. Nipur are ^{uru}E-za-(a)-ma (cf. perhaps D.R. Frayne, *The Early Dynastic list of geographical names*, New Haven 1992, 48), ^{uru}Kib/p-šu, Ki-ib/p-ša (OIP 2, 36, iii, 76 and 64, 14 resp., cf. with -unV ^{uru}Ki-ib/p-šu-na of Qumeni, a Hurrian-speaking region), ^{uru}Hal-gid-da, ^{uru}Qu-u/ú-a, and ^{uru}Qa-na (OIP 2, 36, iii, 76f. ; 64, 13ff.), with a word play on the last name : "like the eagle's nest" (*qin-ni*, gen. sg. of *qinnu* ~ *qannu*). Seven settlements is a stereotypic ("typological") number, like the seven settlements on the foot of Mt Ubianda in the periphery of Urartu, the seven mountains situated between Sumbi and Mannea on the way to Surikaš (TCL 3, 270ff. and 28f. resp.) and the 12 walled cities of Zikirtu (actually 13 are mentioned by name, cf. M. De Odorico, *The use of numbers and quantifications in the Assyrian royal inscriptions*, Helsinki 1995, 53 with n. 38) with 84 unnamed villages in their vicinity (i.e. 12x7, TCL 3, 88f.). All the three series of the stereotypic numbers are included in the account of the eighth campaign (Letter to Aššur) of Sargon II, Sennacherib's father. The seven settlements on Mt. Nipur (Cudi Dağ)

were on the border of Katmuhhi. The latter region (west/northwest of Cizre) included Mt. Nipur, as well as Šahuppa and Šerešše (see J.N. Postgate, RIA 5, 487f.). *uru.lú Qu-da-A+A* (gentilic like *uru.lú Uš-ha-A+A* and *uru Mu-ma-A+A*, all on the slopes of Mt. Nipur, G.B. Lanfranchi and S. Parpolo, SAA 5, 78, 5) is homonymous with *uru Qu-da* (H. Tadmor, *The inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III King of Assyria*, Jerusalem 1994, 76 : Ann. 5, 5), which is to be sought more to the west (like Katmuhhi in a basically Hurrian-speaking region).

5. MA *uru Ú-i-ra-am*, a region of Nairi (Grayson, RIMA 2, 21 : Tigl. I A.0.87.1, iv, 78), cf. the late OB anthroponym *Ú-i-ra-am* from Tikunani (Salvini, *Prism*, 68, v, 35).

6. MA *kur Ú-zu-la*, a region of Nairi (Grayson, RIMA 2, 21 : Tigl. I A.0.87.1, iv, 73), cf. the OB anthroponym *f' Ú-zu-li/Ú-zu-ul-lí* (J.-M. Durand, MARI 8, 1997, 604 with n. 81).

Ran ZADOK (25-03-00)

8) A New Assyrian Queen – In the course of editing the cuneiform inscriptions for a study of Assyrian stone vessels in the British Museum currently being prepared by J. E. Reade and A. Searight, the present writer has discovered that a fragment of burnt limestone vessel very probably from Nineveh which has been in the Museum since 1855 is inscribed with the name of a hitherto unknown Late Assyrian queen.

The vessel, 55-12-5, 252, is a shallow dish of uncertain but no doubt specific purpose, and the inscription runs around the top, flat edge of the rim. The burnt state of the object makes it uncertain pending further study whether the wedges, now pale-brown in colour, were originally painted on, or inlaid into the stone surface. The complete inscription was probably nothing more than a mark of ownership, although only about one half of the circumference is preserved, and the inscription could have been longer. What remains of the signs is to be read as follows.

[šá (?) *f'a-na ^dtaš]-me-tu₄-takl-lak MÍ.É.GAL*
[Belonging to(?) Ana-Taš]mētum-taklāk, the Queen.

For the name type, see the recent remarks in Radner (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* Vol. 1/ I A p.109, under Ana-Bēl-taklāk and Ana-ilīja-taklāk, from which it may be deduced that the name of the Queen has not been previously discovered.

Judging by the provenance and period of the 55-12-5 material, Ana-Tašmētum-taklāk seems likely to have been most probably the second wife of Esarhaddon (after the death of Ešarra-ḥammāt; see Weissert in Radner, op. cit. p. 160), or perhaps the wife/widow of Sargon II, the second wife of Assurbanipal, or the wife of one of Assurbanipal's sons.

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9) Minima Eblaitica 11 : The two arches (GIŠ-ban) of the chariot – The following five passages register amounts of silver (from 6 to 30 shekels) for a sheet, *ni-zi-mu*, with which to decorate the arches, GIŠ-ban, of a two-wheeled chariot, GIŠ-gígir-II. Each chariot has two arches. The value of its decorative element is justified by the fact that the chariots in (1)-(3) (here below) were destined for the king, *en*; those in (4)-(5) for the minister Ibrium.

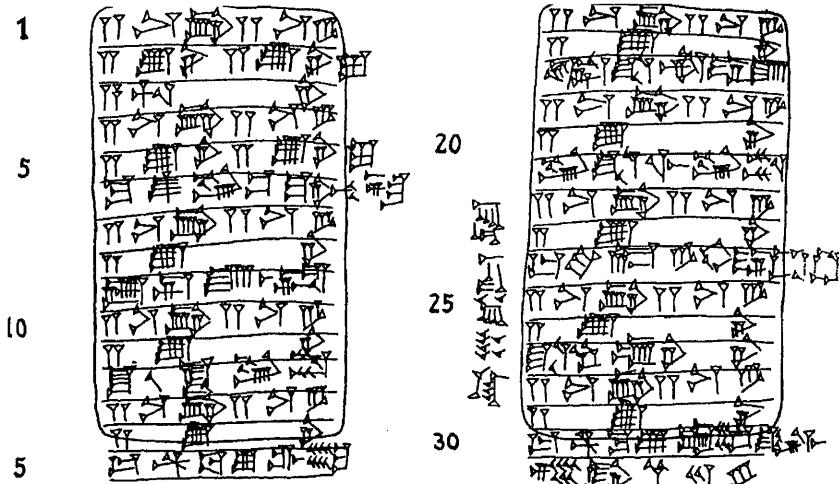
In (2) and (5) there follows a lesser quantity of gold (1 and 1 1/2 shekel) for the rim of the side, *zag*, of the chariot box. For other passages concerning the decoration of the *zag*, see G. Conti, *Miscellanea Eblaitica* 4 (Firenze 1997), pp. 36-37. The sequence GIŠ-ban-*zag* obliges us to connect the two terms. Therefore, GIŠ-ban is here the handrail in the form of two semi-circular superstructures on the edge of the box. Several four-wheeled chariots depicted on Early Dynastic seals present this structure, see G. Jans - J. Breitschneider, *Subartu* IV, 2 (1998), pp. 155-194.

- (1) TM.75.G.1464 obv. IX 17-X 1 : (10 shekels of gold) *ni-zi-mu nu₁₁-za 2 GIŠ-ban GIŠ-gígir-II lú ra-'à-tum ša-ti en*
- (2) TM.75.G.10088 rev. XIX 4-19 : (30 shekels of gold) *nu₁₁-za 2 GIŠ-ban 1 shekel of gold 1 zag ... 1 GIŠ-gígir-IV en*
- (3) TM.75.G.10144 obv. VIII 12-16 : (9 shekels of gold) *ni-zi-mu 4 GIŠ-ban 2 GIŠ-gígir-II en*
- (4) TM.75.G.2465 obv. XII 28-XIII 3 : (6 shekels of gold) *ni-zi-mu nu₁₁-za 2 GIŠ-ban GIŠ-gígir-II Ib-ri-um*
- (5) TM.75.G.10210 rev. III 27-IV 4 : (30 shekels of gold) *nu₁₁-za 2 GIŠ-ban (1,5 shekels of gold for) I zag GIŠ-gígir-II (of the minister Ibrium)*

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10) Ein Ur-III-“Messenger” Text aus Lagaš - Die Keilschrifttafel befindet sich in Schweizer Privatbesitz, über die Umstände des Erwerbs ist nichts Genaues bekannt. Ich bedanke mich für die freundliche Erlaubnis den Text zu publizieren. Besonderer Dank gilt auch Herrn Prof. Dr. Sigrist von der École Biblique et Archéologique Française in Jerusalem für grosszügige Hilfestellung.
Der Text stammt aus den Verwaltungsarchiven von Lagaš/Girsu und wurde am 21.XII. eines nicht genannten Jahres ausgestellt. Er misst 59x34x20 mm.

Handkopie und Transliteration :



Vs.	1	2 sìla kaš 2 sìla ninda 2 gín ì 2 gín ì-udu A-ḥu-ni	Rs.	2 sìla kaš 2 sìla ninda 2 gín ì Puzur ₄ -Èr-ra sukkal
	5	2 sìla kaš 2 sìla ninda 2 gín ì 2 gín ì-udu Ma-āš lú gištukul gu-la	20	2 sìla kaš 2 sìla ninda 2 gín ì Lú-ṣa-lim lú kaš ₄
	10	2 sìla kaš 2 sìla ninda 2 gín ì àga-uš sukkal-mah	25	2 sìla kaš 2 sìla ninda 2 gín ì Ur-ni ₉ -gar šár-ra-a[b-du]
	15	2 sìla kaš 2 sìla ninda 2 gín ì Šu-eš ₄ -tár lú kaš ₄ 2 sìla kaš 2 sìla ninda 2 gín ì Ur ^d Ba-ba ₆ mar-tu	30	2 sìla kaš 2 sìla ninda 2 gín ì Ša-ru-um-ì-lí 2 sìla kaš 2 sìla ninda 2 gín ì Ur ^d Ba-ba ₆ dub-sar-lugal-me zi-ga u ₄ 21-kam iti še-fl-la
				Seite

Bemerkungen :

- Z. 3 : Da meines Wissens Schaffett (ì-udu) nur an Personen des Berufs lú gištukul gu-la ausgegeben wird (vgl. auch Z.6), liegt es nahe anzunehmen, dass auch Aḥuni dieser Beschäftigung nachging.
Z. 24 : Der Text dieser Zeile erstreckt sich auf die Seite der Tafel, wo er nicht mehr zu lesen ist. Die Lesung šarrabdu ist aber unzweifelhaft und wurde punktiert ergänzt.
Z. 27 : Die Schreibung des Namens mit Ša ist ungewöhnlich, aber auch an anderer Stelle belegt ; s. M. Sigrist, Sumerian Archival Texts I : Texts from the British Museum, 1993, 152 :6.

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11) Le culte du dieu Kamul en Elam ; une nouvelle brique de Šutruk Nahnunte (1190-1155) – Cette tablette a été trouvée au bazar de Peshawar. Elle a été communiquée à M. J.-M. Durand par M. G. Fussman, professeur au Collège de France, que nous remercions. Nous adressons également nos remerciements à Mme F. Grillot-Susini pour son aide. Cependant nous prenons l'entièvre responsabilité du contenu de cet article.

Transcription :

ú šu-ut-su-uk ^dnah-hu-un-te ša-ak hal-lu-du-uš
dīn-šu-ši-na-ak-gi-ik su-un-ki-ik an-za-an šu-šu-
un-ka¹ si-ia-an ^dka-mu-ul-me² mi!-ši-ir-ma-<na>³tak-ma pi-
ip!-ši-ir-ma-ah ku!-ši-ih a-ak ir-ki-in-ti-ú-[me]⁴-ma [^d]
ka-mu-ul in du-ni-ih e ^dka-mu-ul ta-ak-me te-im-ma
a-ak tu-ur-hi-ih zi-it-ni-ú!-na hu-un-hi-ih-hi-ni



Traduction :

Moi Šutruk Nahnunte, le fils de Halluduš Inšušinak, roi d'Anzan et de Suse. Le temple de Kamul était voué à la ruine⁵, j'ai pris la décision de le rénover au même endroit⁶ et pour mon avenir à Kamul je l'ai donné. Ô Kamul que j'obtienne en échange une vie favorable et mon règne heureux⁷!

Cette nouvelle inscription, qui s'ajoute au corpus de Mme F. Malbran, met en évidence un nouveau culte élamite, celui du dieu Kamul.

L'origine du dieu Kamul n'est pas claire. En effet la seule attestation dont nous disposons, dans les sources élamites, est le nom propre Kamul présent dans un texte néo-élamite (Scheil, 1907, 53:3). Scheil propose de rapprocher ce nom du dieu cassite Kamulla (Clay, 1906, 1:3) qui n'est autre qu'Ea dans la liste divine cassite publiée par Delitzsch (1884, 25). Bien qu'apparaissant dans les textes cassites, Kamulla n'est vraisemblablement pas un dieu cassite. Il s'agirait en fait d'un dieu importé, comme l'a suggéré Balkan (1954, 100 et 108), dont l'origine exacte ne nous est pas connue. Toutefois nous pouvons envisager que Kamul soit un dieu local élamite.

Il faut aussi noter que dans aucune des attestations précitées Kamulla/Kamul n'est précédé du prédéterminatif divin.

ir-kin-ti est un mot composé d'un déterminé (*ir*) et de son complément déterminatif (*kin*). Ces deux composants sont des mot-racines construits sur le même schéma que *zit-hun-ti*, *na(n)/h-han-ti* et *na(n)/h-hun-te* (Grillot 1984, 188).

ir entre dans l'expression *-ir-ma-ki* qui indique une fraction ($20 \cdot ir \cdot ma \cdot ki = 1/20$). Selon l'interprétation de R.T. Hallock (1969, 73) cette expression signifierait « in it, one ».

Cette traduction implique qu'*ir* rend un inanimé « it », or *ir* est un animé. Quoi qu'il en soit *ir* ne représente, dans ce contexte, ni un animé, ni un inanimé, mais un substantif que nous proposons donc de rendre par « part », « fraction », « section ». Ainsi l'expression *-ir-ma-ki* signifierait « (X)-parts-dans/parmi-une » ; par exemple *20-ir-ma-ki* se traduirait par « parmi 20 parts, une ». Le sens de *-kur-ma-ki*, variante de cette expression, serait « (X)-mesures-dans/parmi-une » ; par exemple *20-kur-ma-ki* se traduirait par « parmi 20 mesures, une ».

ir est encore attesté comme premier élément du verbe composé *irkī-*, le second élément étant le verbe *ki-* « unir », « joindre » (verbe issu du nominal *ki* « un »), le sens présumé de *irkī-*, attesté sous différentes formes (Hinz, 1987, 775-776), serait « réunir », « adjoindre », « affecter ». Par ailleurs, *ir* pourrait être à l'origine du verbe *iri-* attesté sous la forme *iriša* (cf. l'inscription néo-élamite, publiée par E. F. Schmidt, dite « Oruru » Pl. 28 Rs. 20) dont le sens serait « couper », « séparer ».

kin est attesté, comme complément déterminatif (construction ancienne), pour qualifier un temple : *siyan kin (i)n*. Il a donné la base verbale *kini-* (*kin* + allongement vocalique *-i*), qui est attesté sous les formes

kini-k et *kini-n*. Hinz propose de traduire *kin* par « destin » et donc de traduire *siyan kinin* par « temple du destin » (Hinz, 1987, 477).

Ainsi *ir-kin-ti* pourrait être traduit par « part de destin » c'est à dire « avenir », sens qui est en accord avec « continuité », proposé par M. W. Stolper dans DAFI 8, 1979, 90.

hu-un-hi- est un verbe composé de deux éléments connus : le mot-racine *hun* et le verbe *hi-* « obtenir » (Stève, 1967, 9-10).

Quant au mot-racine *hun* « égal », « pareil » (Grillot, 1984, 187-188), il apparaît aussi comme premier élément du composé *hun+sa* dont le sens serait « aller de façon égale » ce qui est en conformité avec la traduction de R.T. Hallock « échanger » (1969, 770a).

Ainsi le composé *hu-un-hi-* pourrait être traduit par « obtenir de façon égale » c'est-à-dire « obtenir en échange/contrepartie ».

Notes :

1. On notera l'emploi du *ka₁* au lieu du *ka₄*
2. La lecture proposée pour le nom du dieu est *ka-mu-ul* bien que le signe *mu* comportant un gunû ne soit pas attesté dans le syllabaire élamite de M. M.-J. Stève.
3. Le *-na* a été restitué conformément aux autres attestations dans le même contexte.
4. La forme la plus attestée du pronom possessif est *ú-me-ma*, les formes *ú-ma-ma* ou *ú-mu-ma* sont plus rares d'où notre restitution.
5. Littéralement le terme élamite *mi-šir-ma-<na>* se traduit par « était décidé au ‘destructeur’ » en raison du *-r* du délocutif singulier.
6. Littéralement l'ensemble *tak-ma pi-ip!-ši-ir-ma-ah ku-ši-ih* se traduit par « in situ j'ai décidé d'être le rénovateur j'ai construit ».
7. Cf. Grillot, 1982, 8-9.

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12) **Minima eblaitica 12 : níg-ág –** (1) TM.75.G.1361 obv. I 1-11 runs as following : *a) 1 gu-zi-tum-TÚG I zara₆-TÚG 1 íb-III-sa₆-gún-TÚG en ; b) 1 gu-zi-tum-TÚG 1 zara₆-TÚG 1 íb-III-sa₆-gún-TÚG níg-ág-sù DU-lu^{ki} ; c) I gu-dùl-TÚG 1 túg-NI.NI 1 íb-III-gún-TÚG DU-lu^{ki} ; d) 2 túg-NI.NI 2 íb-III-sa₆-gún-TÚG maškim*

The document is a monthly account of deliveries of garments to be dated to the minister Arrukum, that is during the reign of Irkab-Damu, the last-but-one king of Ebla. The garments delivered to the king of Dulu are the same as those for “his níg-ág” (sections *a* and *b*). Two other deliveries for Dulu, the second one for two of its agents, maškim, present at Ebla, are less valuable (section *c* and *d*). On the town of Dulu, see ARES II, pp. 206-211.

The term níg-ág occurs also in (2) MEE X 35 (TM.75.G.1981), this time in connection with Anni (on this town, see ARES II, pp. 167-168). This document lists first the gifts (níg-ba) for the king of Armi, and then those “(for his) queen, (his) daughter, (his) sons,” and (rev. I 2-6) “(for) Šaman, (for ?) the níg-ág of the king of Armi”. ... en *Ar-mi^{ki}* ... *ma-lik-tum Ar-mi^{ki}* ... dumu-mí [en *Ar-mi^{ki}*] ... dumu-nita-dumu-nita en *A[r-mi^{ki}]* ... Ša-ma-an níg-ág en *Ar-mi^{ki}*. Here again, the gifts connected with the níg-ág of the king are as valuable as those for the king himself. They are three kinds of garments, one dagger with its sheath and a plate, both of one mina of gold. The officials who “brought”, *gu-mu-“tag₄”*, these gifts from Ebla were : *I-mur-[li-i]m*, *Du-bí-zí-kir*, *Ib-du-ru₁₂* and *Bù-ma-ù* (rev. I 7-II 3).

(3) TM.75.G. 1902 (MEE X 27) + 2617 is another document which mentions the níg-ág of the king of Armi in three different passages : *a) obv. I 1-III-8 : ... en Ar-mi^{ki} ... dumu-mí en Ar-mi^{ki} ... Šar-da-da níg-ág en Ar-mi^{ki} ; b) obv. III 9-VII 8 : ... en Ar-mi^{ki} ... *ma-lik-tum Ar-mi^{ki}*... dumu-mí en Ar-mi^{ki} ... Šar-da-da níg-ág en Ar-mi^{ki} ; c) rev. II 3-III 5 : ... Ša-ma-an níg-ág en Ar-mi^{ki}.* The gifts for the níg-ág are again the only ones similar in

value to those for the king. The second delivery for Šardada (section *b*) was brought by Arrukum; that for Šaman (section *c*), by Imur-lim and Bumau, two of the four people who also brought to him the gifts for the níg-ág recorded in the previous document. Texts (2) and (3), therefore, both date to the period of the minister Arrukum or immediately before, when Arrukum was already active. The deliveries for Šaman recorded in these two documents could concern the same event. Document (3) is an account of gold belonging to the king (the total is 34;50 minas) “(for) the thirteenth year / (for) thirteen years (13 mu)”. According to text (3), only one plate of gold weighing one mina is delivered to Šaman. It is possible that the gold for the dagger with its sheath recorded in text (2) was debited to another account. The other deliveries in (2) are in part different from those in (3) *a* and *b*. It would also be strange that Ebla sent three different deliveries to Anni for the same event in the same year. It therefore seems more probable that text (3) concern three different events over “thirteen years”.

The names of the two consignees of the gifts for the níg-ág : Ša-ma-an and Šar-da-da, do not seem attested too elsewhere. Šar-da-du is the name of a ne-di under the minister Ibrium, TM.75.G.1319 rev. V 17, while Šar-du-du is a feminine name, see *Amurru I* (1996), p.123, *sub Šar-du-ud*.

The Lexical Lists have níg-ág = Ša-gú-um. G. Conti, *MisEb* 3, p. 65, *ad no. 25*, interprets the Semitic equivalent as : /taqulum/ “the measured thing”; cfr. Akk. Šaqālūm “to weigh”.

níg-ág has a different meaning in the ritual ARET XI 2, where it is both a name of action and a verbal form. The context requires a meaning such as “to sprinkle”, as noted by P. Fronzaroli, *ARET XI*, p. 34 *ad (31)*. ARET XI 2 (31) : 1 dug ı̄-giš ... níg-ág gaba DN₁ wa DN₂ “a vase of oil ... to sprinkle in front of DN₁ and DN₂”. The parallel text, ARET XI 1 (31) has na-ba-ba(-šum), which Fronzaroli (*loc. cit.*) derives from *nBB. From this root comes also na-i-bù in 1 (33) and 2 (35), two parallel sections which give a list of people acting in the ritual. They are all mentioned by their personal names, save the following three : níg-AN.AN.AN.AN wa na-i-bù anzam_X... wa KA.DI “who brings the (good) news ; who sprinkles (from) the cup ; ... and who makes the invocation” (the meaning of níg-AN.AN.AN.AN has been explained by W. Sallaberger, in press). See further ARET XI 2 (77) : níg-ág níg-ág é ma-tim, while the parallel section 1 (73) has : na-[i-]-bù]-um a-na-ba-ab é ma-da-am₆ “(the minister, Ibrium in the first version and Arrukum in the second, offers ten sheep for ten days to the gods. Then,) ‘who has to sprinkle’ sprinkles the mausoleum”.

Sumerian ág “to measure (out)” (see e.g. D.O. Edzard, *SRU* no. 38 II 1, a late PreSargonic text, and the Sargonic documents quoted in I.J. Gelb *et alii*, *Ancient Kudurrus* (OIP 104; Chicago 1991), p. 229, seems to correspond in Ebla to á-gá as W. Sallaberger suggests to me. Both the Lexical Lists, nos. 58-59 (without Eblaite equivalent) and the administrative documents have níg-á-gá(-II/III/IV) “divided part, distribution (of an estate)”, see L. Milano, *ARET IX*, pp. 398-399, and the passages quoted in *ARET VII*, p. 229.

níg-ág in the documents (1)-(3) seem to mean instead a ritual action as in the marriage ritual of the king of Ebla, *ARET XI* 1 and 2. The valuable gifts sent to Šardadu and Šaman, who celebrated the níg-ág, were intended for them (and not for the king of Armi) only if they belonged to the royal family or were ministers in Armi. People in charge of ritual activities never received so valuable gifts as those for the níg-ág. For the “man of the gods”, lú dingir-dingir(-dingir), probably the most important priest at Ebla, the KA.DI “who makes the invocation”, and the pa₄-šeš, see the documentation collected by the present writer, in : *VO* 10 (1996), p. 43-48.

ARET VII 79 (15) links another compound of ág to the king of Armi : “(a decoration in gold for) a pair of mules of the king of Armi (for) his šà-ág”. This document uses writings like d̄l-da-bal and Gú-ra-ra-balki (with -bal instead of -KUL), and it has, therefore, to be dated to the period of the minister Arrukum. šà-ág seems, however, an abbreviation of šà ki-ág “to love by heart”, attested in the eš-bar-“kin” Lists, see S.A. Picchioni, *MEE* 15, p. 249.

In *RTC* 8, a document from Lagaš, níg-ág (I 1) has clearly a cultic meaning. G. Selz, *ASJ* 12 (1990), pp. 130-131, has read and translated this line as following : dub ninda-ág “tablet (concerning) the measuring out of bread.” In *FAOS* 15.2, pp. 715-716, he consequently interprets MLC 1467 obv. I 3 : lú-ninda-ág “den Mann, der das Brot darmißt”; lú-še-a-DU-a'-ma, perhaps : “Leute, die Gerste (und) Wasser gebracht haben, sind sie” follows in II 2. In *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt ... von Lagaš*, Philadelphia 1995, pp. 203-204, Selz gives, however, the transliteration lú-níg-ág in Nik. 254 (see already A. Deimel, *AnOr* 2 [1931], p. 58) and this term is left untranslated (the preceding name of function is lú-a-gúb-ba “der ‘Mann des Weihwassers’”. It seems that the evidence from Ebla and Lagaš relate to a similar action.

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13) **Minima eblaistica 13 : LAM and IŠ₁₁** – M. Krebernik, ZA 74 (1984), p. 165, has shown that the name of the Pre-Sargonic king of Mari, LAM-gi₄-ma-ri, has to be read IŠ_X-gi₄-ma-ri, in agreement with the many personal names from Ebla which begin with the element IŠ₁₁-gi-. This verbal form cannot be derived from the root *šqy “to give to drink”, because the sign IŠ₁₁ (LAMxKUR) is used for ı̄ and t but not for š, see Krebernik, *Die Personennamen der Ebla-Texte*, Berlin 1988, pp. 28-29 (5.3) and 62. The manuscripts A, B, C of the Lexical List use always IŠ for š and IŠ₁₁ for ı̄ and t, while D (probably older than the other three manuscripts) uses IŠ also

for *t*; see G. Conti, *MisEb* 3 (1990), pp. 12-14, who notes, further, that the version of the ritual for the marriage of king Irkab-Damu (Arrukum being his minister), ARET XI 1 writes *Iš-ru₁₂-ud-da-mu*, while *Iš₁₁-ru₁₂-ud-da-mu* is the form found in ARET XI 2, the later version for the marriage of king Išar-damu (when minister was Ibrium).

This writing with *Iš-* is rather anomalous. The older texts, in fact, regularly use LAM for */it/*, while the later ones have *Iš₁₁*. The mu-DU documents of the period preceding the minister Arrukum have also writings as *Iš₁₁-gi-ba-ir*, *Iš₁₁-a-ma-lik* and *Iš₁₁-gú-ma*. Personal names beginning with LAM for rendering */it/* are, however, much more frequent : *Iš_x(LAM)-a-il* ; *Iš_x(lam)-a-ma-lik* (also in a document of Arrukum) ; *Iš_x(LAM)-da-mu* ; *Iš_x(LAM)gi-da-ar* ; *Iš_x(LAM)-gi-da-mu* ; *Iš_x(LAM)-zi* ; *Iš_x(LAM)-zi-da-mu*, see the index in : Archi, "The lords, lugal-lugal, of Ebla", *VO* 12 (1999) (in press).

The monthly accounts of deliveries of textiles, a kind of document drawn up first with Arrukum or in the immediately preceding years, confirm this picture. The tablets of this period number roughly sixty. Names like *Iš-da-má*, *Iš-má-da-mu*, *Iš-má-zi-kir* are regularly written in these documents with *Iš*, as in the later periods. There are, moreover, names with *Iš₁₁*, as it is to be expected in the later documents : *Iš₁₁-a-il* (TM.75.G.1438 obv. X 12 ; 1441 rev. I 8) ; *Iš₁₁-da-mu* (TM.75.G.1340 obv. X 13 ; 1537 obv. I 8) ; *Iš₁₁-gi-da-ar* (TM.75.G.1364 obv. II 10). Several other documents have instead LAM : *Iš_x(LAM)-a-il* (TM.75.G.1535 rev. I 3 ; 10219 obv. X 12) ; *Iš_x(LAM)-a-ma-lik* (TM.75.G.1347 obv. III 5) ; *Iš_x(LAM)-da-mu* (TM.75.G.1453 obv. X 8) ; *Iš_x(LAM)-gi-da-mu* (TM.75.G.1421 obv. IV 6) ; *Iš_x(LAM)-gi-li-im* (TM.75.G.1727 obv. VII 14) ; *Iš_x(LAM)-gur-da-mu* (TM.75.G.1535 rev. II 1).

The writing as LAM-*má-li-im*, TM.75.G.1421 obv. V 5, for *Iš-má-li-im*, attests to some confusion in the use of these signs, as it is the case of *Iš-ru₁₂-ud-da-mu* in ARET XI 1, instead of *Iš_x(LAM)-ru₁₂-ud-da-mu*, mentioned above. Another incorrect use is that of LAMxKUR in *I-nu-ud-ḥa-LAMxKUR*, TM.75.G.(1902+)-2617 (the minister was Arrukum) rev. IV 6, where LAMxKUR stands for LAM = *lam*, *lab_x*, and *ḥa-lab_x*, means here (Hadda of) Halab. As LAM was used for both *lam* and *iš₁₁* in the earlier period, it seems possible that the scribes of Ebla of the later period thought that KI.LAM (ganba?) "market" was, in fact, KLI₁₁.TM.75.G.1872, of the period of Arrukum (when LAM was used with the value *iš_x*) has LAM:KI in obv. IX 13, XII 5, XIII 2. TM.75.G.1379 obv. X 17-18 (also of Arrukum) has instead IŠ₁₁(LAMxKUR):KI *ḥa-lab_x(LAM)^{ki}*, which is the writing used without exception in all the later documents, see MEE II, p. 101, ad r. IV 4 ; ARET I, p. 288 ; III, p. 361 ; IV, p. 305, always under IŠ₁₁-ki, interpreted in these editions wrongly as a preposition. That IŠ₁₁:KI stays for KI.LAM "market" has been recognized by G. Pettinato and F. D'Agostino, MEE VII, p. 14 ; see also G. Conti, *MisEb* 4 (1997), p. 60.

In Tell Beydar IŠ₁₁ appears in the GNs *Iš₁₁-gárki* and *Iš₁₁-um^{ki}*, see F. Ismail, W. Sallaberger, Ph. Talon, K. van Lerberghe, *Administrative Documents from Tell Beydar. Subartu* II (Turnhout 1996), p. 192.

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14) Hittite : ANA gišUMBIN lamniya- "to call to the wheel (of the cart)" and **Hittite Laws § 198** – The *Apology of Hattusili III*, I 35-36, has : ŠEŠ-JA ¹NIR.GÁL-iš A-NA gišUMBIN lam-ni-ja-at, which A. Götz, *Hattušili*, p. 10-11, translated as : "Und mein Bruder Muwatalliš leitete ein Verfahren gegen mich ein", explaining, in the Commentary (p.68) : "... heißt demnach wörtlich : 'er hieß, heischte mich ans Rad'. Damit muß eine juristische Maßnahme gemeint sein".

E. von Schuler, *Festschrift J. Friedrich* (Heidelberg 1959), p. 470, suggested that gišUMBIN is here a metonymy for "the (royal) chariot", and compared the expression in KUB XXXI 68 Vs. 16-17 : *nu-wa-mu-zakán ANA gišGIGIR kat-ta ḫal-za-a-iš* "he called me down to the chariot"; for this text, see R. Stefanini, *Athenaeum N.S.* 40 (1962), pp. 23-24.

The *Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard*, IBoT I 36, shows that, in fact, the king administered justice coming out of the palace on his cart, in front of the gate, and that, at least, until the Middle Hittite period. I quote from the edition given by H.G. Güterbock and Th. P.J. van den Hout, *The Hittite Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard* (Chicago 1991). § 18 : "The king comes out of the palace on a light cart (giš *huluganni*-) sitting on a stool (gišGU.ZA) ..." § 20 : "The guard who holds the stool marches on the left of the wheel (gišUMBIN) of the cart next to the palace attendant of the spear § 27 : "The soldiers who (are) of a field-battallion keep the peaceful (population) lined up on the sides § 29 : "[If], however, they bring in a defendant (šar-kán-ti-in ; C. Melchert, *JNES* 55 [1996], p.135 translates : ('petitioner') [...]" § 30 : "[The gu]ard who [brings in] the defendants [takes his stand] behind the gold-spear-man. [When] the king asks for a case (to be tried) (*DI-NAM ú-e-ek-zi*), the guard [picks] it [out] and p[uts] it into the hand of the chief-of-guards and tells the chief-of-guards [what] the case (is) (*DI-NU*) ; but the chief-of-guards [tells the king]." § 31 : "... Then the same guard who brings in the defendants, runs back ; he goes and takes his stand with the gold-spear-man and they pick out the next case (*nam-ma 1 DI-NAM*)".

This was the procedure followed when a defendant had to be judged by the king. The expressions used in the Hittite Laws are, §§ 71 : *LUGAL-an āška unna-*, 187, 188 : *LUGAL-an āški uwate-* "to conduct to the

king's gate (i.e., the king's judgment)", 198, 199 : *A-NA KÁ É.GAL^{LIM} uwate-* "to conduct to the palace gate (i.e., the king's judgment)". The Middle Hittite edict KUB XIII 9 + XL 62 III 9 has also : *LUGAL-waš āški uwate*, see von Schuler, *op. cit.*, pp. 447, 450 and 457.

One has, therefore, to keep the interpretation given by J. Friedrich, *Die hethitischen Gesetze* (Leiden 1971), p. 115 ad § 84*, for the passage : *ta bu-ur-ki-in ḫa-li-en-zi* "they kneel down before the wheel (acc. of direction)" in § 198 of the Laws, an expression around which "a whole literature has grown up", as J. Puhvel, HED 3, p. 399, has remarked. The paragraph runs as follows : "If he (i.e., the husband) brings them (i.e., his wife and her lover) to the palace gate (i.e., the king's judgment) and says : 'Let my wife not be put to death' ... But if he says : 'Let both of them be put to death, they will kneel down before the wheel (of the king's cart). The king may have them killed or spare them". H.A. Hoffner, *The Laws of the Hittites* (Leiden 1997) p. 157, as Puhvel, loc. cit., derives, instead, *ḥa-li-en-zi* from *ḥalai-* 'to set in motion', and translates : "they 'roll the wheel'".

While the expression : *ANA gišUMBIN lamniya-* meant "to summon before the king", the variant *diUMBIN* in the manuscript B, see H. Otten, *Die Apologie Hattusilis III*. (StBoT 24 ; Wiesbaden 1981), p. 67, ad 136, alludes to the fact that Hattusili pretended to have been "cleared by a deity", *nu DINGIR^{LIM}-za parkuešun, Apology*, 139.

Alfonso ARCHI (20-03-00)

15) Noms de lieux fantômes dans les textes d'Alalah IV* – Ch. Niedorf a publié récemment (*UF* 30 1998 [1999] 515-568) la Toponymie des textes médio-babyloniens d'Alalah. Ce travail présente une longue liste de noms de lieux, mais dans cette énumération il y a quelques cas curieux.

Voici, ci-dessous, certains toponymes bizarres :

- **A- -gi** [AIT 122 (2.16) :19], il faut lire ce NL : *KUR.A-m[a]r-kf*¹ (d'après la copie dans *AIT* Pl. XXVI).
- **Ekuddamma(-)** [AIT 165 (415.10) :41, il vaudrait mieux une lecture *URU.E.tír-Nin¹-ga[J]*?².
- **Harbenunamina** [AIT 74 (342.3) 7 : *URU.Har-be-nu⁷-na-mi-na*], nous préférons interpréter *AIT* 74 5-7 :⁵ *KI mšu-ma-ad-< di >*⁶ *KI mTa-ku-zi DUMU\ MÍ*¹ (*KUR*) *Na-mi-na*³ ⁷*LÚ.MEŠ URU.Har-be*⁴.
- **Harriruti** [AIT 349 (415.18) :5], beaucoup mieux :⁴ *6 LÚ.MEŠ ŠAB ša GU₄*⁴.*MEŠ*⁵*KUR.Hur-ri šub-ti*.
- **Irha** [AIT 182 (414.8) :141, pourquoi pas NP *īR KUR.Ni!(IR)-[h]a* (=Niya)?.
- **LÚ-zurkutapqa(?)** [AIT 181 (414.7) :16], une restitution : NP {URU} *LÚ sú-ur*⁵ *URU?*[!] (*KU*).*Tab-ka4-*ni>*⁶ serait préférable.*

- **Marmaru, Marmorug(e) ou Marmarukum?** [*UF* 30 p. 534]. Ch. Niedorf a transcrit dans *AIT* 180 [414.6] :2 de deux façons différentes : *URU.Mar-ma-ru* et *URU.Mar-ma-ru-ku-um.K[I]* ; de même dans *AIT* 163 [415.9] :2, 4 : *URU.Mar-ma-ru-ge* et *URU.Mar-ma-ru-ug* (contre Wiseman, *AIT* p. 156 : *Mar-ma-ru*, C[ity]) ; et, en dernier lieu, dans *AIT* 185 [412.2] 15 : *URU.Mar-ma-ru-ge* (contre Wiseman, *AIT* p. 72 n°185 (15) 19 (al) *Mar-ma-ru[KI]* et Dietrich - Loretz, ZA 60 (1970) p. 126 n°26 [*Alt* 185] 15 : *urū Mar-ma-ru-uk*). La solution de cette situation complexe n'est pas évidente, mais on peut tenter d'y introduire un peu d'ordre. Nous proposons que *Marmāru* soit la normalisation de ce NL⁷. Les attestations de ce NL sont les suivantes : *AIT* 180 [414.6] : *URU.Mar-ma-ru* (d'après la copie dans *JCS* 8 1954 p. 11) et *AIT* 185 [412.2] 15 : *URU.Mar-ma-ru* (d'après Wiseman, *AIT* p. 72) ; mais *AIT* 163 [415.9] :2, 4 devra être collationné dans le Antakya Museum.

- **Merarhe-** [ATT 79/14 (492.29) :7], il faudra voir la totalité du passage pour soutenir une proposition plausible en *URU.Me-ra-ar-hé-na*¹² comme NL⁸ + Nisbé pluriel hourrite.

- **Mihe-** [ATT 134 (413.6) :4], pourquoi pas *URU.Sil_x-hé*⁹.

- **Ba- -re** [AIT 223 (491.1) :17], il faut restituer ainsi : *URU.Pá-[ar⁷]ri*¹⁰

- **Puga(-)** [AIT 406 (47.15) :5], pourquoi pas *URU.Bu-ša*¹¹.

*Cette note a été rédigée dans le cadre d'un projet de recherche à l'Université de Tübingen (01.08.1999-31.10.1999) avec le soutien de la Fundación Cultural Privada "Esteban Romero" - Obra Social Cajamurcia (*Universidad de Murcia*).

1. Cf. Amarik dans *RGTC* 6.1 p. 13 et *RGTC* 6.2 p. 4 (s.v.).

2. Sur la lecture du signe TAR comme *tír* cf. *AIT* 264 35 : ^m*E-tí4-ir-ma-lik*, *AIT* 280 10 : ^m*E-tí-ir-ma-lik* et *AIT* 384 4 : ^m*E-tír(TAR)-ma-lik*.

3. Sur ce NP, cf. une femme appelée *fNam-mi-na* (*AIT* 298 : II 6).

4. Actuellement Tall Huēra ; cf. W. Orthmann "Chuera, Tell" dans *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Archaeology in the Near East* 1 (1997) pp. 491-92. Ville bien connue dans les textes médio-assyriens trouvés à T. Huēra (cf. C. Kühne "Ein mittelassyrisches Verwaltungsarchiv und andere Keilschriftexte" dans W. Orthmann, *Ausgrabungen in Tell Chuēra in Nordost-Syrien I. Vorbereit über die Grabungskampagnen 1986 bis 1992*, Saarbrücken, 203-225 [213 :4, 216 :2, 218s. : 1]) et à T. Šay Hamad (cf. E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittelassyrischen Briefe aus Tall Šeh Hamad* [= *Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šeh Hamad / Dür-Katlimmu* 4], Berlin, 1996 [n°4 :7, n°6 :25', 32', 35']).

5. Cf. G. Giacumakis, *The Akkadian of Alalah*, The Hague, 1970, 99 : s.v. *suru* "a profession or occupation"), *AHW* 1063 : *surū(m), surū* II (u. H.) ein Fremdling? ; et *CAD S* 415s. : *suru* B "(a profession?)".

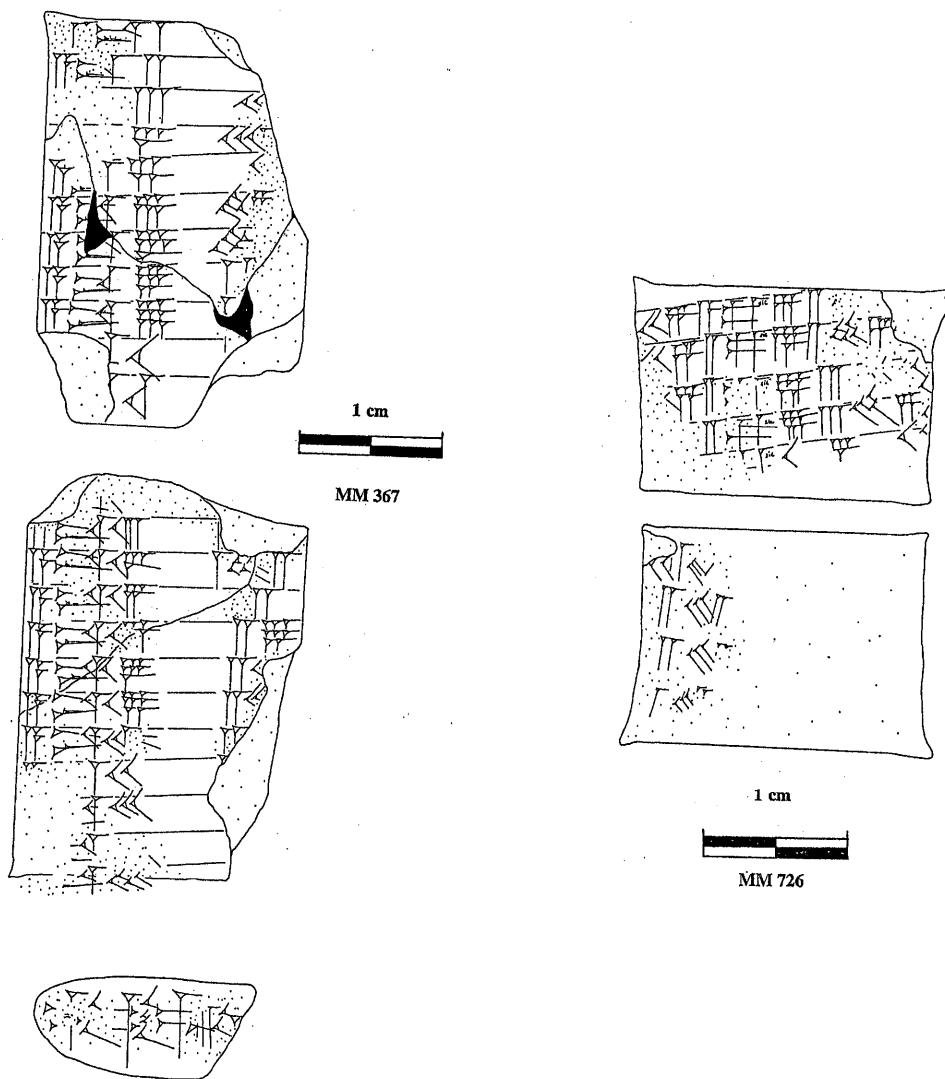
6. Ville citée plusieurs fois cf. NIEDORF, *UF* 30 p. 543 (s.v. *Tapkanni*).

7. Cf. le mot non-akkadien *marmāru* synonyme de *dannu* attesté dans la liste *malku* = *šarru* (*AHw* p. 612 s. v. et *CAD* p. 284 s. v.).
8. Sur la ville de **Mi'erar** située dans la zone frontière d'Ugarit face au Mukiš/Alalah, cf. Nougayrol, *PRU* 4 p. 14 et Van Soldt, *UF* 29 1997 p. 691.
9. Cf. la ville de **Silhu** dans le territoire d'Ugarit (Van Soldt, *UF* 28 1996 p. 680 s.v.).
10. Cf. *AIT* 78 [23.05]5 : *URU.Pa₁₂-ar-re-e^{ki}*; *AIT* 357 [42.13] 8 : *URU.Pa₁₂-ar¹(RI)-ri-i*; et *AIT* 456 [10.02]8 : *URU.Pa-ar-re-e*.
11. Cf. la ville eblaïte de **Buša / Buza** (*RGTC* 12.1 p. 83 s.v.).

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16) MM 367 and MM 726 : The copies – Please note the following correction in my note « Dos tablas de multiplicar paleobabilónicas en el Museu Bíblic de Montserrat », Aula Orientalis 16 (1998) 286-289.

On p.289 instead of « [gráfico] », read :



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17) Une ville ressuscitée dans le texte paléo-babylonien d'Emar (Emar 6 n° 536) Quand J.-M. Durand (*M.A.R.I.* 6 1990 pp. 90s.) reprit l'étude de ce document, cet auteur en avait déjà proposé une relecture compréhensible, abstraction faite de certains toponymes.

Dans *Emar* 6 n° 536, nous trouvons deux noms de lieux : URU.*La-?-ka-?* (1.5) et URU.*Ia⁷-at-ti-x-xki* (1.9) encore à restituer. Par contre, une ville emariote nommée *Mināri* -peut-être située dans la région d'Emar, et attestée dans M. Sigrist, *JCS* 34 (1982) pp. 246s. n°2 [= BECKMAN, *Texts from the Vicinity of Emar* n°95] - elle pourrait sans doute être identifiée dans la 1.11 : URU.*M[i]-in-a-[riki]* (uru x in a x d'après la transcription de D. Arnaud, *Recherches au pays d'Aštata* 6/3 p. 493).

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18) La hiérarchie de l'armée babylonienne (suite) – Dans son édition de la correspondance de Šamaš-ḥāzir, F. R. Kraus avait suggéré que le titre de PA.PA porté par des gradés de l'armée babylonienne soit à lire ugula gidru (*AbB* IV, p. 63 n°94 n. b). J'avais trouvé à Mari des éléments qui allaient dans ce sens (« La hiérarchie de l'armée babylonienne », *MARI* 5, 1987, p. 662-663). Récemment, K. Van Lerberghe a publié une tablette qui me semble définitivement confirmer cette proposition (« Old-Babylonian Soldiers at Sabum », dans M. Dietrich & O. Loretz (éd.), *dubsar anta-men Studien zur Altorientalistik Festschrift für Wilhelm H.Ph. Römer zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres mit Beiträgen von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen, AOAT* 253, Münster, 1998, p. 447-455). On y trouve en effet dans le texte n°1 l. 1 le titre lu par Van Lerberghe PA giš PA, et justement mis en rapport avec celui, classique, de PA.PA du texte n°3 : 1 ; dans les deux cas, le PA (giš) PA est suivi par un nubanda₃. Il est donc sûr que PA.PA est à lire ugula gidru (et non pas GIDRU.GIDRU comme dans *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*, p. 112b) ; son équivalent akkadien est *rab(i) haṭṭim* (pour le plur. *rubbū haṭṭātim*, voir M. Stol, *AbB* XI, p. 129 note 194 e).

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19) Anzu dans la rue – Le petit fragment Di 2258, trouvé dans une rue de Sippar-Amnanum et publié par K. Van Lerberghe, *NAPR* 6 (1991) 74, contenait un extrait de la première tablette d'Anzu (ll. 34-55 dans l'édition de M. E. Vogelzang, *Bin šar dadmē*, p. 32 ; section II 4-25 dans l'édition de Hallo-Moran, *JCS* 31, p. 80).

f. 1. 「ru⁷-bu-u[s²]-s[u²]...」 “son antre ...” (?) (= 34, Hallo-Moran II 4 [x]-BU-US [...]) ;
f. 2. 「šu-ú-tum m[a²]...」 “le vent du Sud ...” (= 36, Hallo-Moran II 6 IM.ULÚlu [...]) ;
f. 3. 「ga-ap⁷-šu 〔x〕」 “le massif ...”, Hallo-Moran II 7 kaš-šu IM-[...] ; là, il est vrai, je dois corriger légèrement la copie, qui a *ga-AN-šu*, dont je ne peux rien faire ; cf. *gipšu* à la l. 38).

Après une lacune, le revers correspond aux ll. 50⁷-55 (Hallo-Moran II 20⁷-25) : 「mi²-in²-di² x [...] ; el-lu-ú-ti me-e [ilū šüt apsī ...] ; i-ri-šu-ú-ma [erşetum ...] ; a-na ka-a-pí š[a-di-i šū ...] ; an-za-am-mi ta-[ta-mar ...] ; [l]i-iz-zi-iz m[a'-ha-ar-ka-ma ...] (ou : li-iz-zi-iz l[a ipparakku ...]). Comme le texte commence à la l. 34 et ne comptait que 22 lignes environ, il ne s'agit pas d'une édition à proprement parler, mais plutôt d'un exercice scolaire. Le fragment contribue malheureusement peu à la reconstruction du texte, mais sa simple existence est importante ; quelle que soit sa date (média-bab. d'après l'éditeur, mais rien ne plaide contre une datation paléo-bab.), c'est, avec la version de Suse, le plus ancien témoin du texte à ce jour.

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20) Tawagalawas – the historical Teukros? – Approximately 15 years ago W. Willis¹ made an interesting observation concerning the relative Tawagalawas of some Ahhiyawan/Mycenaean Greek king to whom a Hittite king has written the so-called Tawagalawas-Letter² in which he complains about the war-like activities Tawagalawas is carrying out inter alia in the so-called Lukka Lands partly controlled by the Hittite king.³

Willis has, convincingly I think, suggested to derive the name Tawagalawas from the Greek name Teukros, the famous Greek, hero of the Trojan War⁴. But Teukros is also the name of the ancestor of the Trojan royal family at least according to sources later than Homer⁵. Also the Hittite geographical name Taruisa⁶ - probably Troy/Thrace⁷ - should be regarded as relevant in my attempt to find the historical Teukros behind the name Tawagalawas.

N. P. Skott Jorgensen has in his letter dated April 22. 1991 suggested to derive the name Teukros from the Hittite/Luwian Tarhu-> Tarku-> Tarkuis> Teukros, viz. from the Hittite/Luwian Stormgod Tarhuis, Tarhuntas. In a forthcoming paper⁸ I hope to demonstrate that the geographical name Thrace could have the meaning : « the Land of the Storm-God (Tarhuis) ». Also the name Troy could possibly have been derived from some form of the name Thrace, wherefore I would like to suggest that Tawagalawas could have had the meaning : « he from the Land of the Storm-God » viz. Thrace. That the name Thrace was known already to the Mycenaean Greeks is clear from a tablet from Pylos labelled PY An 172, Ventris/Chadwick, Doc. Myc. Gr.² 583 s.v. ta-ra-ke-wi.

What the Hittite king in the Tawagalawas-Letter is complaining about is war-like activities carried out by T. probably from the Mycenaean settlements in Thrace and against the NW part of Asia Minor where the Lukka Lands and also Iyalanda⁹ were sited. I quote from Garstang-Gurney's translation:¹⁰

(I, 1- 15.) [Then ...]... as went forth and destroyed the city Attarimma and burned it up, even to the wall of the king's palace. [And] just as the Lukka-men had approached (?) Tawagalawas and he had come to these lands, so they approached (?) me also and I came down to these lands. Now when I came to Sallapa, he sent a man to meet me (saying) « Take me into vassalage and send me the 'tuhkantis' and he will conduct me to My Sun! » And I sent him the *tartenu* (saying) « Go, set him beside you on the chariot and bring him here! » But he - he snubbed the *tartenu* and said « no ». But is not a *tartenu* the proper representative (?) of the king? He had my hand. But he answered (?) him « no » and humiliated him before the lands ; and moreover he said this : « Give me a kingdom here on the spot! If not I will not come ».

(I, 16-31.) But when I reached Waliwanda, I wrote to him : « If you desire my overlordship, see now, when I come to Iyalanda, let me not find any of your men in Iyalanda ; and you shall not let anyone go back there, and you shall not trespass in my domain. I will see to my own subjects myself (?). » But when I [came] to Iyalanda, the enemy attacked me in three places. Now [in those parts] it is difficult ground, so I went up on foot [and] smote the enemy [there ?], and the Population thence [.....]. But Lahurzis his brother promptly [departed before] me. Only enquire, my brother, if it is not so! Lahurzis was not present at the battle, and in the territory of Iyalanda I did not find him. [He had gone from] that [place] in accordance with his loyal declaration about Iyalanda : « I will not [again] enter Iyalanda. »

Mainly due to his own impudent behaviour Tawagalawas was not granted vassalage by the Hittite king. Therefore, I think, T. could be supposed to have asked the king of the Seha River Land, another great power in NW Asia Minor, for permission to establish a colony there¹¹. Seha was - as I hope to have demonstrated¹² - similar to Troy Hissarlik VI and furthermore : the date of the T.- Letter is roughly contemporary with that of the most Mycenaean wares from Hissarlik, namely ca. 1320 BC.¹³

1. Apud E. T. Vermeule, Response to Hans Güterbock. AJA 87 (1983), 142, 2. col. supra : « Tawagalawas may represent the name Teukros, Teucer ». AIA Symposium on East and West. The Hittites and the Aegean World.

2. KUB XIV, 3.

3. The Letter I, 1-3.

4. For a list of inventions of Teukros in the Iliad see Monro/Allen, Homeri Opera II. Index Nominum s.v. Grec. I, do not share C. Watkins scepticism against the derivation Tawagalawas/Teukros. AJA art. cit. 142 n.2 because confusion between r and I is at least attested on the Yalburt inscription found 1970 to the N of the Ilgin Lake. Here Lycian Pinara is mentioned as Pinale. See also F. Starke, Troia im Kontext des historisch-politischen und sprachlichen Umfeldes Kleineasiens im 2. Jahrtausend. Studia Troica 7 (1997), map on p.449 ; 450 col.II.

5. For a list of the sources and the origin of the « Trojan » Teukros see RE V A 1, 1122-1123, s.v. Teukros 1.

6. Listed among other Anatolian cities in the Chronicle of Tuthaliya II, end of the 15. century B.C. KUB XXIII, 11 and 12.

7. For the derivation of both place names from Taruisa see O. Hansen, KUB XXIII, 13 - A Possible Contemporary Bronze Age Source for the Sack of Troy/Hisarlik? BSA 92 (1997), 166-167.

8. Art. cit. 166 n. 11.

9. For the sites of these two areas see J. G. Macqueen, Geography and History in Western Asia Minor in the Second Millennium B.C. AS 18 (1968), 168-185 particularly the map on 176.

10. J. Garstang and O. R. Gurney, The Geography of the Hittite Empire. (Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara, 5. (London, 1959), 111-112.

11. That could explain the mentions of a hero/king named Teukros in both Greek and Trojan traditions.

12. Hansen, art. cit. n. 7, 166-167.

13. See J. M. Cook, The Troad. (Oxford, 1973), 93-100 and passim.

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21) Muwatalli's Prayer (CTH 381) – Itamar Singer presented with his monograph Muwatalli's Prayer to the Assembly of Gods Through the Storm-God of Lightning (CTH 381), American Schools of Oriental Research, Atlanta, Georgia, 1996, the definitive edition of this well preserved prayer. In course of my work on the concordances of Hittite texts, I came across the fragment 844/v which turns out to be an additional join to Singer's Text A (= KUB 6.45 + 1111/z + unnumbered frgm. + KUB 30.14). The small fragment offers three significant spelling variants in lines IV 33ff., indicated below in bold type.

IV 30 na-aš-kán A-NA GIŠBANŠUR ŠA ^dU URU Zi-ip-pa-la-an-da
31 da-a-i EGI[R-Š]U-ma NINDA.İ.E.DÉ.A me-ma-al A-NA NINDA.GUR₄.RA ^{HIA}
32 še-er šu-uḥ-ḥ[a-]ji 1 ^{DUG} KU-KU-UB GEŠTIN ši-ip-pa-an-ti

33 EGIR-ŠU-ma 3 NINDA.G[UR₄.]RA BABBAR ŠÀ.BA 1 SA₅ DINGIR.LÚMEŠ ḥu-u-ma-an-da-aš
34 ŠA URU ^{Ha-at-ti} pár-ši-ia KI.MIN na-aš-kán GIŠBANŠUR
35 ŠA ^dU URU! pí-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ši da-a-i

36 EGIR-ŠU-ma 3 NINDA.GUR₄.RA BABBAR ŠÀ.BA 1 SA₅ A-NA ^dŠe-ri ^dḤur-ri
37 pár-[š]i-ia KI.MIN na-aš-kán GIŠBANŠUR-i ŠA ^dU pí-ḥa-aš-ša-aš-ši da-a-i

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VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

22) XLI^e Rencontres assyriologiques internationales (Paris, 10-13 juillet 2000) – Pour les informations les plus récentes sur les prochaines Rencontres Assyriologiques Internationales (hôtels, inscriptions, etc.) un site web a été ouvert à l'adresse suivante :
http://www.college-de-france.fr/college/chaires/histo/col_assyriologie/index.htm

23) Nouvelle parution – Vient de paraître aux *Presses Universitaires de Vincennes*, dans la collection « Temps et Espaces », l'ouvrage publié sous la direction de Francis Joannès : *Rendre la Justice en Mésopotamie, Archives judiciaires du Proche-Orient ancien (III^e – I^r millénaires avant J.-C.)*; avec des contributions de Sophie Lafont (Considérations sur la pratique judiciaire en Mésopotamie), Bertrand Lafont (Les textes judiciaires sumériens), Dominique Charpin (Lettres et procès paléo-babyloniens), Cécile Michel (Les litiges commerciaux paléo-assyriens), Brigitte Lion (Les textes judiciaires du royaume d'Arrapha), Sylvie Lackenbacher (Les textes judiciaires d'Ugarit), Pierre Villard (Les textes judiciaires néo-assyriens), et Francis Joannès (Les textes judiciaires néo-babylonien).

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