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NOTES BRÈVES

61) Nawar-tahe, king of Purušanda – In the Hittite recension of *šar tamjāri* KBo XXII 6 (Bo 68/28), studied by H.G. Güterbock in *MDOG* 101 (1969), pp. 14-26, the name of Sargon's antagonist is written : *Nu-úr-da-ah-hi* (Dat.), *¹Nu-úr-da-hi-iš* (Nom.) (I 22, III 8). Güterbock noted at p. 18 : « Der Name dieses Herrschers selbst ist offenbar als Nür-Dagan anzusetzen, wie schon Weidner gesehen hat. Die ‘korrekte’ Form findet sich in dem Assur-Exemplar unseres Textes und in dem Text der sogenannten Weltkarte. Wie es zu erklären ist, daß ein Herrscher, der in Kleinasien zur Zeit Sargons von Akkad (um 2300) geherrscht haben soll, den gut semitischen Namen ‘Licht des Gottes Dagan’ führt, muß dahingestellt bleiben. »

This positivistic question has in any case some justification. Most of the antagonists of Narām-Sîn in « Narām-Sîn en Asie Mineure », Laroche, *CTH* 311, are strange enough to give an exotic flavour to the story, for the Akkadian speakers ; or a more familiar one, in the provinces around the centre of the Akkadian culture. See the list of these kings in H.G. Güterbock, *ZA* 44 (1938), 68-71. The Hittite version (very fragmentary) of (perhaps) another recension, KBo XIII 46, 8, has : *¹Nu-ur-da-ga[-...]*, while the Akkadian version (the Amarna tablet) has in the same passage, rev. 15 : *¹Nu-ur-dag-gal* (as in other passages), see P. Meriggi, *Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft und Kulturkunde. Gedenkschrift W. Brandenstein* (Innsbruck 1968), p. 262. Güterbock, *MDOG* 101, p. 18, remarks to the Hittite passage : « hier ist die Ergänzung zur ‘korrekten’ Form *-da-ga[-an]* naheliegend, zumindest möglich. ... (The form *¹Nu-úr-da-ah-hi/da-hi-iš*) ist wohl so zu erklären, daß der Name in der Vorlage (wie in Assur) mit dem Zeichen GAN geschrieben war, das die Hethiter sonst als Silbe nur mit dem Wert *hé* gebrauchten, und daß der hethitische Kopist daher *-da-gan* fälschlich *-da-hé* las, worauf er das seltene (altertümliche) *hé* durch das geläufigere *hi* ersetzte und, wenigstens an zwei der erhaltenen Stellen, die im Hethitischen beliebte Verdoppelung des intervokalischen *h* anwandte. »

Both the Hittite and the Akkadian versions show several grammatical problems, and the Akkadian one adds lexical difficulties, see Güterbock, *op cit.*, pp. 24-26 ; Sh. Izre'el, *The Amarna Scholarly Tablets* (Groningen 1997), pp. 71-75. This last scholar feels that some of these oddities could be resolved assuming a Hurrian interference. This epic had surely not an Hittite origin. It seems quite plausible that it was transmitted to the Hittites by a Hurrian tradition. Notice that Sargon sacrifices some animals to the river Aranzaḥ, the Hurrian name of the Tigris, KBo XXII 6 I 16-17. It is quite likely, therefore, that the Hurrians gave also to the antagonist of Sargon a suitable name for a king of the Northem regions.

Nawar-tahe « The man of Nawar » is attested to in the prism from Tikunani, VIII 2 : *¹Na-wa-ar-da-ah-e*, see M Salvini, *The Habiru Prism of King Tunip-Teššup of Tikunani* (Roma 1996), p. 33 ; cfr. Id., *Šubartu* IV, 1 (1998), p. 308. For other PNs with *nawar-*, see Gelb, Purves, MacRae, *NPS*, pp. 104-105. At a certain point of the written tradition, the sign GAN in the ending *-da-hé* was read *-gan*, obtaining the divine name Dagan. Consequently, also the first part of the name was semitized, interpreting it as *nawru, nūru* « light », « Light of Dagan ». The Assur version, of the Neo-Assyrian period, follows this recension : *¹ZALAG-^dDa-gan*, cfr. J. Goodnick Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkad* (Winona Lake, Indiana, 1997), who refers for the datation to E. Weidner, *AfO* 16 (1952-53), p. 201. For the difficult variant *-dag-gal* of the Amarna version, cfr. the remarks by Goodnick, *ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

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62) Sur la valeur de la canne à Mari – Un certain nombre d'anomalies apparentes portant sur des dimensions de brèches, de constructions, de poutres et d'arbres avait conduit à s'interroger sur l'équivalence de 1 canne (1 gi / *qanūm*) = 3 m à Mari. Le gur de Mari ne vaut-il pas, de façon confirmée, 120 sila₃ et non 300 sila₃ qui est sa valeur babylonienne standard?¹ La canne de Mari serait-elle, elle aussi, particulière? Des éléments nouveaux semblent permettre de conserver la valeur habituelle de la canne. Rappelons qu'il est usuel d'admettre que 1 gi (*qanū*) = 6 kūš (*ammatu*) = 3 m, et que 1 nindan = 2 gi = 6 m.

1. Dimensions des arbres

1.1. La tablette *FM II 87* (M.5428)², publiée par D. Cadelli, mentionne : (8')... 1 me giš-ùr-há (9) ša 1 1/2 ninda 4 kūš-àm (10') [ù] *e-li-iš-ma* (11') *a-di* 2 ninda-àm, soit : « une centaine de troncs de 1 1/2 ninda 4 coudées chaque, [voire] même plus jusqu'à 2 ninda chacun. »

Les longueurs sont donc de 11 m, voire de 12 m puisque : 1 1/2 ninda 4 coudées = 9 m + 2 m = 11 m, et 2 ninda = 2 × 2 gi = 12 m.

1.2. La tablette *FM II 89* (A.224)³ mentionne : (4) ...8 giš-há (5) ša 10 *am-ma-a* ša 5 sila₃-ta-àm (6) *ka-ab-ru*⁴ 3 giš-hi-<a> *an-na-ta-àm* (7) 5 sila₃-ta-àm *ka-ab-ru* (8) 1 giš *he-le-pu* ša 4 *i-na am-ma-tim* (9) 4 sila₃-ta-àm *ka-ab-ru* (10) 2 giš-há *zu-ur-ma-ha-an* (11) 5 *am-ma-ta-àm* (12) 9 giš-má-há (13) ša 5 *am-ma-ta-[àm]* (14) 5 giš-a-da-ru 4 [sila₃]-tal-àm, soit « 8 arbres de 10 coudées (de long et) de 5 qa (de cubage) chacun. 3 arbres ...?... de 5 qa (de cubage) chacun. 1 *helēpu* de 4 coudées (de long). 4 qâ (de cubage) chacun. 2 arbres *zurmahum* de 5 coudées (de long) chacun. 9 figuiers de 5 coudées cha[cun]. 5 arbres *adaru* de 4 qa de cubage) chacun. »

Après calcul, on obtient : 8 arbres de 5 m de long, de 25 cm de diamètre (cubage = 5 qa = 5 dm³) ; 3 arbres de 25 cm de diamètre (cubage = 5 qa = 5 dm³) ; 1 *helēpum* de 2 m de long, de 22,5 cm de diamètre (cubage = 4 qa = 4 dm³) ; 2 *zurmahum* de 2,50 m de long ; 9 figuiers de 2,50 m de long ; 5 *adārum* de 22,5 cm de diamètre (cubage = 4 qa = 4 dm³).

1.3. Au total, les longueurs des arbres et leurs diamètres apparaissent normaux si on retient les valeurs habituelles de la canne et de la coudée.

2. Dimensions des brèches dans les digues

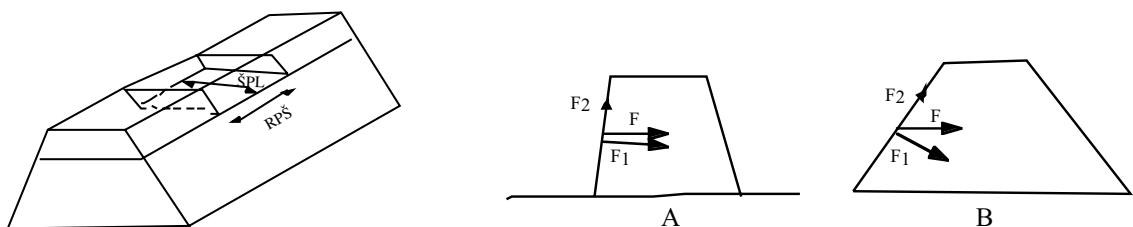
2.1. *ARM VI 9* : (5) u₄ 9 kam *a-na re-eš ši-ip-ri-im ak-šu-ud* (6) *bi-it-qa-am a-mu-ur-ma* (7) 8 *qanātim-[há] ru-up-šum* (T.8) ù 7 *am-ma-tim* (9) *šu-pu-ul me-e* (R.10) ša *bi-it-qí-im ša-a-tu* (11) u₄ 10 kam ù u₄ 11 kam (12) *šu-ra-am a-na-ak-ka-am* (13) u₄ 12 kam *a-na sé-ke-re-em* (14) *qa-tam a-ša-ak-ka-an*, soit : « le 9^e jour, je suis arrivé à pied d'œuvre ; j'ai examiné la brèche ; la largeur est de 8 cannes ; le « *šupul* » des eaux de cette brèche est de 7 coudées ; le 10^e et le 11^e jour, j'entasserai des joncs ; le 12^e jour, je mettrai la main au colmatage. »

Le verbe *šapālum* « être profond, être en bas » peut correspondre à une profondeur, mais aussi à une dimension de la partie basse d'un ouvrage (ouvrage de terrassement par exemple).

Une digue de terre est constituée d'un mélange de roseaux assurant la structure et l'ancre dans le sol, et d'argile compactée. Les canaux d'irrigation sont en général peu profonds. Les digues ont forcément une section trapézoïdale, avec une forme aplatie, qui les rend moins vulnérables aux attaques de l'eau. La brèche provoquée par une montée brutale des eaux est une ouverture dans la partie haute de la digue. Le travail nécessaire pour la combler d'urgence (pour qu'elle ne s'agrandisse pas) avec des roseaux et de la terre est directement fonction de la surface rectangulaire de la base de la brèche, dont les deux côtés sont la largeur (RPŠ) et la profondeur horizontale (ŠPL). Ici la largeur est de 8 cannes, soit 24 m, la profondeur horizontale de 7 coudées, soit 3,50 m.

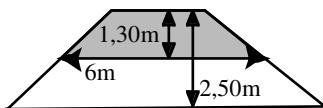
2.2. *A.250 (FM I, p. 94-95)* : (8-10) ù *sa-ab-bi-tu-ma mu-ú i-bi-tú-ma e-le-num ti-tu-ru-im* (...) (26) *bi-it-qum šu-ú* 2 gi *ša-ap-li-iš im-ha-aš* ù 4 gi *ru-up-ša-am*, « ...une brèche en amont du pont (...). Cette brèche a provoqué une ouverture à la base de 2 cannes sur une largeur de 4 cannes. »

La profondeur horizontale est de 2 cannes, soit 6 m, sur une largeur de 4 cannes, soit 12 m. Une profondeur horizontale de 6 m est compatible avec une digue à section trapézoïdale aplatie, même si la hauteur de celle-ci est inférieure à 2,50 m⁵.



Sur la digue A, dont la section trapézoïdale est à angle aigu faible (section proche d'un rectangle), la poussée horizontale des eaux F se décompose en une composante importante F₁ qui s'exerce perpendiculairement à la surface inclinée de la digue et à tendance à la « désagréger » et en une composante faible F₂ qui

« glisse » sur la paroi de la digue. Pour une même poussée des eaux F, la composante F_1 qui s'exerce sur la digue B (trapèze à angle ouvert), est beaucoup plus faible.



Une digue « aplatie » est la plus résistante. Avec une hauteur de 2,50 m, elle présente, dans le cas de la figure, une « profondeur horizontale » (ŠPL) de 6 m à 1,30 m de la partie supérieure. Or les digues devaient être en réalité encore plus « aplatis ».

2.3. ARM VI 1 : (19) ú-su-ka-ša ša-ap-[l]e-e-em (20) mu-ú iq-qú-ru-ma (21) qa-na ù ni-ka-ás (22) im-ta-qú-ut, soit : « (la vanne, *erretum*) médiane située en aval du pont, les eaux ont détruit sa (pommette =) joue d'aval et (cette dernière) s'est effondrée sur une canne et 1 nikas⁶. »

1 canne et 1 nikas (= 1/2 canne) représentent une longueur de 4,50 m, il pourrait s'agir soit de la largeur de la brèche, soit de sa « profondeur horizontale » ; comme il est question d'une joue de fixation d'une vanne, dont la longueur peut ne pas dépasser quelques mètres, les 4,50 m sont plutôt la mesure de la « profondeur horizontale ».

2.4. ARM VI 4 : (14) ... 4 qanâtim bi-it-qam (15) ur-ta-ap-pí-šu, soit : « (les eaux) ont élargi une brèche sur 4 cannes (ou : ont provoqué une brèche de 4 cannes de large). On a donc une brèche de 12 m de large. »

3. Montée des eaux

3.1. ARM XIV 15 : (5) iš-tu u₄-mi-im š[a a]-na Ter-qa^{ki} (6) ma-ha-a[r b]e-lí-ia at-ta-al-kam (7) 15 ni-ka-ás A.DU 1 KAM (8) [ù] 2 (?) [a]m-[m]a-tim A.DU 2 KAM (9) [Ha-bu]-ur im-la-a-[am], soit : « Depuis le jour où je suis parti pour Terqa chez mon seigneur, le [Hab]ur a monté de 15 nikas (!) une première fois et de 2 (?) coudées une deuxième fois. »

Une montée des eaux de 22,50 m n'est pas possible. M. Birot (p. 220) propose les deux hypothèses :

– soit que le nikas désigne une autre « demi-unité » que la « demi-canée », par exemple la demi-coudée (on aurait alors une hauteur de 3,75 m).

– soit que le scribe a commencé à écrire 15... (doigts) (15 doigts équivalent à une demi-coudée) et s'est trompé en écrivant : nikas au lieu de šu.si⁷. Mais il faut noter que la demi-coudée existe (šu.bad).

3.2. ARM X 25 : ... mu-ú 1 gi iq-s[e]-nu*, « une grosse pluie est tombée à Mari. Dans l'intérieur du réservoir que mon seigneur a fait, l'eau a rempli une canne⁸. »

3.3. ARM XIII 28 : « A la suite de deux pluies, l'iggûm s'est rempli d'eau sur 1 canne ; le lendemain, on l'a examiné et sur (une hauteur de) 4 coudées l'eau s'est écoulée. Il reste (maintenant) de l'eau sur 2 coudées, mais (même) celle-ci va partir. »

Il n'est pas invraisemblable qu'une pluie forte puisse provoquer une montée d'eau de 3 m, d'autant plus que des eaux de ruissellement peuvent s'ajouter si le rebord de l'iggûm dépasse le niveau du sol d'une hauteur faible.

4. Constructions. Largeur des poutres

4.1. ARM XIV 25 : « Or mon seigneur m'a envoyé la lettre suivante : “Il faut que l'on donne à la partie intérieure (*libbi*) du bâtiment 2 cannes 2 coudées”. Mon seigneur le sait bien : la paroi du vestibule depuis le bas vers le haut a été complètement ôtée. Si l'intérieur de la bâtie fait 2 cannes 2 coudées, où prendrons-nous les poutres? Car 4 cannes pour le côté, cela fait trop! Il faut que la partie intérieure du bâtiment ne fasse que 2 cannes, fonction de sa longueur. »¹⁰

Pour porter la profondeur de la pièce à 2 cannes 2 coudées (7 m), il faut trouver des poutres de 4 cannes (12 m) pour la toiture correspondant à la somme des dimensions des deux pièces ; ce qui laisse entendre que la dimension du vestibule était de 1 canne 4 coudées. La proposition de Yaqqim-Addu de se limiter à un prolongement de 2 cannes permet de limiter la longueur des poutres à 3 cannes 4 coudées (11 m).

Des longueurs de poutres de 11 m ou de 12 m sont attestées et correspondent à des dimensions entre-murs relevées par les archéologues dans plusieurs palais de terre.

4.2. MARI 1, p. 137 s. et *Iraq* 45, 1983, p. 56 s. mentionnent des dimensions de temples de :

pour le *papâhum** n°1 = 3 cannes 1 coudée × 10 coudées = 9,5 × 5 m

 n°2 = 5 cannes × 10 coudées 1/2 coudées = 15 × 5,25 m

pour le *kisallum** n°1 = 4,5 cannes × 3 cannes 1 coudée = 13,5 × 9,5 m

 n°2 = [x] cannes 4 coudées × 4 cannes 5 coudées [] × 14,5 m.

Des poutres de 15 m sont assez exceptionnelles ; les autres dimensions, de 5 m à 9 m sont normales.

**papâhum* et *kisallum* n°1 tablette : M.6672 (MARI 1, p. 137-140) ; *papâhum* et *kisallum* n°2 : tablette A.2546 (*Iraq* 45, p. 58-59).

4.3. ARM XIV 31 : La tablettes mentionne des troncs d'une longueur de 5 cannes. 15 m est une longueur assez exceptionnelle.

4.4. A.623⁺, MARI 6, 1990, p. 83 (= LAPO 18 n°910) : (8) [u]m-ma-a-mi giš ur-na-am ša ^Ila-hu-[un]-[k]a-pí (9) il-qé-e-em ù giš ur-nu-um šu[-ú] (10) šú-up-pa-am 3 gi-há ù 2 ^Iam¹-m[a]-a-[ti]m ú-ru-uk-šu

La traduction proposée par l'éditeur est : « ... ils m'ont tenu ce langage : le bois-*hurnum* que Lahunkâpî a reçu, ce bois-*hurnum*..., sa longueur est d'un *suppum*, de 3 cannes et 2 coudées... »

Si on considère que *suppum* est ici une unité de longueur (pour *suppan*) de 10 cannes = 30 m, la longueur de l'arbre est invraisemblable. Si *suppum* n'est pas une unité de longueur, l'arbre a 10 m de long, ce qui est une hauteur normale. Quoi qu'il en soit, c'est le *suppum* qui pose problème et non pas la valeur *gi*. Plutôt qu'une longueur, *suppam* ne pourrait-il pas être ici un accusatif adverbial qualifiant le tronc comme « humide » (AHw : *sappu* II.D) ou « d'apparence blanche » (AHw : *suppu(m)* III)?

4.5. ARM I 122 : Poutres de 1,5 ninda 4 coudées (11 m). Dimensions normales.

4.6. A.4192⁺ (= AEM I/3, cité dans FM I, p. 102) : Le mur de Saggarâtum est haut de 3 cannes (9 m) ; les maisons de la ville de 2 cannes (6 m) ; ces hauteurs sont très vraisemblables pour un mur d'enceinte et pour une maison avec étage, cas fréquent.

En définitive, la valeur traditionnelle de la canne ne semble pas être remise en cause dans ces exemples de Mari : ni par l'analyse des dimensions des arbres ou des poutres, ni par les dimensions des brèches dans les digues (si on admet l'interprétation : ŠPL = profondeur horizontale, interprétation qui est cohérente avec la section vraisemblable de la digue) ; ni par les valeurs de montée des eaux ; ni par les hauteurs de mur.

Les deux tablettes à interprétation difficile (ARM XIV 15 et A.623⁺ = MARI 6, p. 83) posent, l'une un problème d'erreur éventuelle de scribe, l'autre le problème du sens et de la fonction dans la phrase, de « *suppam* ».

*Je remercie vivement B. Lafont pour l'aide précieuse qu'il m'a apportée dans l'élaboration de ces réflexions et la mise au point finale de cette note. Je reste cependant seul responsable des idées ici exprimées.

1. B. Lafont (1992), « Nuit dramatique à Mari », *Florilegium Marianum, Recueil d'études en l'honneur de M. Fleury. Mémoires de NABU* 1, p. 93-104, Excursus (p. 102-103).

2. D. Cadelli (1994), « Lieux boisés et bois coupés », FM II, *Mémoires de NABU* 3 (ici, p. 162-163).

3. D. Cadelli : o.c., p. 168-171.

4. Littéralement : d'une « épaisseur », donc d'un diamètre [correspondant à un volume] de 5 qa ; nous proposons de traduire volume par « cubage ». L'unité de cubage est définie, à partir d'une portion de tronc cylindrique, ayant une coudée de circonférence, et un volume de 2 qa (cf. M.A. Powell, AFO 31, p. 44) ; il en résulte une hauteur du cylindre de 1/5 coudée (en effet : $V = \pi R^2 \times h = C^2/4\pi \times h$, avec C = circonférence, V = volume, h = hauteur. On a bien, en dm (puisque : 1 qa = 1 dm³, et que 1 coudée = 5 dm), $2 \text{ dm}^3 = \frac{\pi^2}{4} (\text{dm}^2) \times h$; d'où : $h = 1 \text{ dm} = 1/5 \text{ coudée}$. La formule donnant le diamètre D (*kabru*) en fonction du volume est donc : $D (\text{dm}) = \sqrt{\frac{V}{\pi}} (\text{dm}^3)$ ou $D (\text{coudées}) = \sqrt{\frac{V}{\pi}} (\text{qa})$

5. Selon B. Geyer et J.-Y. Monchambert, « Prospection dans la moyenne vallée de l'Euphrate », MARI 5 (1987), p. 293-294 : « le canal principal d'irrigation de rive droite de l'alvéole de Mari »... a « dans son état actuel de préservation, une longueur totale de 17 km, une largeur, digues comprises, qui avoisine les 100 m. Le chenal d'écoulement est large d'environ 10 m. Les digues qui l'encadrent servaient bien sûr à canaliser l'eau mais devaient surtout résister à la force érosive des crues. Cette fonction explique leur caractère massif : 2,50 m de haut et 50 m de large ». Il s'agit certes d'un ouvrage très postérieur au 18^e siècle ; mais la nature des digues, capables de résister aux crues, devait être la même, avec une forme grossièrement trapézoïdale ayant une base large et une hauteur inférieure à 2,50 m, qu'il s'agisse d'un canal principal ou d'un canal secondaire.

6. Traduction J.-M. Durand (1990), « Problèmes d'eau et d'irrigation au royaume de Mari : l'apport des textes anciens » (p. 132-133) in : *Techniques et pratiques hydro-agricoles traditionnelles en domaine irrigué*, B. Geyer, IFAPO, BAH, CXXXVI, Damas-Paris.

7. M. Birot (1974), ARM XIV, texte 15, p. 220.

8. J.-M. Durand, MARI 3, p. 137.

9. J.-M. Durand, ARMT XXVI/1, p. 491, n.46.

10. Traduction J.-M. Durand (1997), LAPO 16, p. 291 et note d.

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63) The local calendar of Sippar – The reconstruction made by Greengus (1987), of the local calendar of Sippar, is generally accepted (Cohen 1995, the description of e.g. MHET II/2 164 and 201). On the one hand it is based on the use of different calendrical systems on the tablet and on the case of the same document, and on the other hand on legal documents recording rentals of houses or persons (Greengus 1987, p. 213-217). These documents often contain the exact date on which the contract took effect. Occasionally, the expiry date of the contract is mentioned as well, and all those documents are relevant for the reconstruction of the calendar. If a lease contract for 1 year (*a-na mu.1.kam*) takes effect on the first of a certain month, it logically expires one year later at the end of the month preceding the month of entry.

This situation is complicated by the intercalary months that are inserted in the years at an irregular rate during the Old Babylonian period. VS IX 5/6 (no year name), a house rental discussed by Greengus (*ibid.*, p. 214), is in force from the first of the intercalary month (iti *dirig.ga*, 13th month) until the end of the 11th month, thus for 12 months, but not covering an entire year. CT XLVII 36 is another example of this practice. The contract, dated to Hammurabi's 16th regnal year, is valid from the 20th of the 12th month until the 20th of the 11th month. Huber's tables (1982, p. 56-61) confirm that this year contains an intercalary month.

Greengus established two sequences of consecutive months : from month III to month VII, and from month X to month I. Month II is identified on an etymological basis and month VIII and IX through comparative data from other Amorite calendars (from Ešnunna, Chagar Bazar, Tell Rimah, Tell Asmar, Išçali, Tell Harmal and Elam). Greengus admits (1987, p. 216) that this criterion is all but compelling – many oscillating month names occur in the different Mesopotamian calendars – but in 1987, cuneiform documents did not allow more certainty. Cohen (1993, p. 271, n. 1) has brought new evidence in order to confirm Greengus's tentative identification of the VIIIth month with *tamḥīrum*.

The following chart gives a summary of Greengus's conclusions.

	Standard Mesopotamian calendar, Sumerian version ¹	Standard Mesopotamian calendar, Akkadian version	Greengus's reconstruction
I	iti bár.zag.gar	<i>nisanum</i>	<i>sibūtum</i>
II	iti gu ₄ .si.sá	<i>ajarum</i>	<i>gusisi</i>
III	iti sig ₄ .ga	<i>simānum</i>	<i>qāti-erşetim</i>
IV	iti šu.numun.na	<i>dumusi</i>	^d Dumu.zi
V	iti NE.NE.gar	<i>abum</i>	<i>isin-abi</i>
VI	iti du ₆ .kù	<i>ulūlum</i>	<i>tīrum</i>
VII	iti kin ^d Inanna	<i>tašrītu</i>	<i>elūlum</i>
VIII	iti apin.du ₈ .a	<i>araḥšamna</i>	<i>tamḥīrum</i>
IX	iti gan.gan.na	<i>kislimu</i>	<i>nabrium</i>
X	iti ab.ba.è	<i>Tebētu</i>	<i>mammītum</i>
XI	iti zíz.a	<i>Šabātu</i>	<i>isin-^dAdad</i>
XII	iti še.kin.ku ₅	<i>addaru</i>	<i>ajarum</i>

[1. The data of this table can be found in Cohen 1993, p. 297-300 and p. 271.]

The situation, however, is more problematic than it looks. Except for the uncertainties of the months II and IX, the years with intercalary months are not yet soundly established. During the Old Babylonian period, the king introduced leap years at random. Hammurabi had to proclaim intercalary months frequently, as his predecessors did not introduce enough leap years. A leap year can only be identified on the basis of a dated document written during the intercalary month, and therefore we will never be sure to have a complete list of Old Babylonian leap years. The intercalary months of the years marked with a question mark in the list compiled by Huber are attested only in unpublished tablets from Berlin, referred to by Langdon, Fotheringham, and Schoch (1928). According to Huber, this source is highly unreliable.

With the recent publication of numerous real estate documents from Sippar by Dekiere (the MHET II, 1994-1997), our corpus of lease contracts specifying both the date of entry and of expiry has greatly expanded. The following documents are of interest in the context of the calendar of Sippar.

MHET II/2 252 and 282 bear Sumerian month names but also inform us about leap years. MHET II/2 186 allows us to situate iti *elūnum* in the calendar ; MHET II/2 205 does the same for iti *kinūnum*. MHET II/2 336 and MHET II/5 752 challenge Greengus's identification of the month *nabrium* with the 9th month, *gan.gan.è*. Finally, MHET II/2 154 and MHET II/2 199 confirm Greengus's identification of *tīrum*, *abum* and *sibūtum*.

In the following, the information relevant for the reconstruction of the calendar contained by each of the named documents will be given.

MHET II/2 252, dated to the 33rd regnal year of Hammurabi, a year with an intercalary month, is in force from the 15th of the VIIth month (iti *du₆.kù*) until the end of the VIth month (iti *kin ^dInanna*), thus for 12 and a half months.

MHET II/2 282 records the lease of a house from the beginning of iti *gu₄.si.sá*, the IInd month, until the end of iti *bár.zag.gar*, the Ist month, in Hammurabi's 40th regnal year. Langdon, Fotheringham, and Schoch (1928) attribute an intercalary month to this year, but in that case, this lease contract would cover 13 months, a very improbable situation.

MHET II/2 154, a house rental running from the 10th of *tīrum* to *abum*, confirms Greengus's identification of these months, *tīrum* being the VIth and *isin-abi* the Vth. The document is dated to the 10th year of Hammurabi, a year with an intercalary month according to Langdon, Fotheringham, and Schoch (1928). Yet this rental contract shows that Hammurabi 10 can by no means be a leap year. This again shows that Huber is right not to trust the unverifiable data communicated by Langdon, Fotheringham, and Schoch (1928).

MHET II/2 186 (Hammurabi 16) allows us to situate the problematic month of *elūnum* (on the 2nd place in the calendar of Ešnunna, often confused with *ulūlum* and *elūlum*, e.g. AbZ p. 67). Utu-mansum enters the house of Erišti-Aja at the beginning of *isin abi*, and goes out at the end of *elūnum*. As the 6th regnal year of Hammurabi is a leap year, iti *elūnum* must coincide with *qāti-eršetim*, the IIIrd month.

MHET II/2 199 (Hammurabi 18) confirms the already well-established place of iti *sibūtum* at the very beginning of the year.

MHET II/2 205 (Hammurabi 21, a year for which no intercalary month is attested) gives iti *kinūnum* a place in the calendar of Sippar. In the other Amorite calendars, this month occupies the 7th place, *elūlu* at Sippar. Here, *kinūnum* precedes *elūlum*, and thus coincides with *tīrum*. As there are more month names than months in Sippar, it cannot be a unique phenomenon to have two names for only one month.

In MHET II/2 336 (bearing an unknown year name of Hammurabi) a house is let by Erišti-Aja, the daughter of Nabi-ilisi, to Iddin-x, son of Lūmur-ša-ilum, for the period of 1 year, from the month of *nabrium* until the month *gan.gan.è*. It becomes clear here that these two months cannot be identified with each other. Depending on the question whether the document was written during a leap year or not, iti *nabrium* is the Xth or the XIth month, identified by Greengus with iti *mammītum* and iti *isin-dAdad* respectively. A new identification of the IXth month in the calendar of Sippar must be searched for as well.

In MHET II/5 752 (dated to the reign of Sin-muballit or Hammurabi), Iltani, the daughter of Šallurum, rents a tavern from Hušutum, the daughter of Sin-puṭram, for a period of one year. She will enter the house on the first day of the month *nabrium*, and she will go out at the end of the month *mammitum*. According to Greengus's reconstruction of the local Sippar calendar, this corresponds to a stay from the first of the IXth month to the end of the Xth month of the next year, equaling 14 months. However, Old Babylonian house rentals specified to last for one year (*a-na mu.1.kam*), always refer to a period of 12 months, even when the year in question includes an intercalary month. Therefore, the month *mammitum* should precede the month *nabrium* in the Sippar calendar.

Iti *mammītum* is identified with the Xth month on the basis of the rental contract CT VI 40a. This document is dated to the 1st regnal year of Samsuiluna, a year for which no intercalary month is attested according to the table of Huber. In that case *nabrium* must be identified with *isin-dAdad*, the XIth month (reconstruction a).

Yet, it is also possible that Samsuiluna 1 is a leap year for which no intercalary month is attested. This would place *mammītum* on the IXth and *nabrium* on the Xth place of the Sipprian calendar (reconstruction b). This hypothesis has the advantage of filling the gap of the IXth month, but is not compelling, as there are still some unidentified month names attested in the documents of Sippar left (*humtum*, *bibulum kinātum* and *lismum*).

The following chart shows two possible reconstructions in which the new data from MHET II are incorporated.

	Standard Mesopotamian calendar, Sumerian version	Greengus's reconstruction	New reconstruction based on MHET II a)	New reconstruction based on MHET II b)
I	iti bár.zag.gar	<i>sibūtum</i>	<i>sibūtum</i>	<i>sibūtum</i>
II	iti gu₄.si.sá	<i>gusisi</i>	<i>gusisi</i>	<i>gusisi</i>
III	iti sig₄.ga	<i>qāti-eršetim</i>	<i>qāti-eršetim – elūnum</i>	<i>qāti-eršetim – elūnum</i>
IV	iti šu.numun.na	^d Dumu.zi	^d Dumu.zi	^d Dumu.zi
V	iti NE.NE.gar	<i>isin-abi</i>	<i>isin-abi</i>	<i>isin-abi</i>
VI	iti du₆.kù	<i>tīrum</i>	<i>tīrum – kinūnum</i>	<i>tīrum – kinūnum</i>
VII	iti kin ^d Inanna	<i>elūlum</i>	<i>elūlum</i>	<i>elūlum</i>
VIII	iti apin.dug.a	<i>tamhīrum</i>	<i>tamhīrum</i>	<i>tamhīrum</i>
IX	iti gan.gan.na	<i>nabrium</i>	—	<i>mammītum</i>
X	iti ab.ba.è	<i>mammītum</i>	<i>mammītum</i>	<i>nabrium</i>
XI	iti zíz.a	<i>isin-dAdad</i>	<i>isin-dAdad – nabrium</i>	<i>isin-dAdad</i>
XII	iti še.kin.ku₅	<i>ajarum</i>	<i>ajarum</i>	<i>ajarum</i>

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64) Minima eblaitica 14 : More on igi-tùm = *qadimum* « first, former », giš-ib = 'ahirtum « last, final » –
The Lexical Lists have : igi-tùm = *ga-ti-mu* (no. 721) ; igi-me = *gi-ti-ma-a* (no. 0128) ; giš-ib = 'a₅(NI)-*hir-tum* (no. 465). Both logograms are not used in Mesopotamian sources, but igi and tÙm are translated as *mahrû* « former », and ÍB.TAG₄/KÀD as *r̄ihu* « remainder ». Notice that ÍB is the basic sign of egir.

P. Steinkeller, *OA* 23 (1984), pp. 33-41, has explained the first two Eblaite equivalents with common Semitic *qdm*, that is : adj. /*qidimu(m)*/ « former », cfr. Akk. *qadmu / quidmu*, and prep. /*qidimay*/ « before », known also in Ugaritic, Aramaic, South Arabian and Ancient Ethiopic. The passage TM.75.G.1583 obv. II 7-8 : *si-li-ga* igi-tùm has been interpreted by P. Fronzaroli as « your previous delivery », in : *Subartu* IV,2 (1998), pp. 103-104. *ARET* XI 1 rev. X 2 presents, furthermore, the adverb *gú-ti-im* /*quidim*/ « forward », see P. Fronzaroli, *ARET* XI, p. 46-47, where the later version of the ritual, *ARET* XI 2 rev. VIII 25, has, instead, igi-tùm ; cfr. the synopsis at p. 115.

The same ritual presents also two variants of the gloss 'a₅-*hir-tum* : *a-hir-tum* in *ARET* XI 1 and *a-hé-tum* in *ARET* XI 2 (for this writing omitting *r*, see at p. 49) ; the list of the passages is at p. 138, where two different terms are recognized : *a-hi-ri* « remainder » and *a-he-rí*, *a-hir-tum* « last ». Fronzaroli had interpreted the second term already in *N.A.B.U.* 1989/2 ; further, cfr. Id., in : *Studies on the Language of Ebla*, P. Fronzaroli ed. (Firenze 1984), p. 134. For the gloss of giš-ib, that is 'a₅(NI)-*hir-tum*, see also G. Conti, *Miscellanea Eblaitica* 3 (Firenze 1990), p. 135. For KA.DÚB = *r̄i-ha-tum*, *a-hi-lum* « remainder », see J. Krecher, in : *Il bilinguismo a Ebla*, L. Cagni ed. (Napoli 1984), pp. 142-143.

igi-tùm is added to the geographical names *Da-ùki* and Ši-sal^ki, respectively, *ARET* IV 1 (69) and IV 3 (57), as it has been seen by M. Bonechi, *I nomi geografici dei testi di Ebla* (Réd. Géogr. 12/1 ; Wiesbaden 1993), p. 368. « Earlier, Former Šisal » is known from several other documents. TM.77.G.860 obv. IV 2' and 7' mentions a « Later » and a « Former Šisal » : Ši-sal^ki giš-ib ... Ši-sal^ki igi-tùm. For giš-ib connected with a geographical name, see further TM.75.G.10237 obv. I 6-7 : Ša-ba-du^ki giš-ib. Other geographical specifications are an-še « above, upper part » and an-ki « below, lower part, used », e.g., for *A-lu-lu/ru₁₂k*, see *ARES* II, p. 105.

In the administrative practice, giš-ib means usually « remainder (given) in addition ». a) TM.75.G.2507 obv. 10-15 : níg-ba NP NG giš-ib nídba DN « (silver) : gift of PN of GN, in addition to the offering (for) DN » ; b) TM.75.G.2507 rev. VII 33-VIII 2 : nídba DN giš-ib nídba iti [] « (goods :) offering (for) DN, in addition to the offering of the [xl month.] » c) TM.75.G.2508 rev. X 3-33 and XVII 10-12 : giš-ib igi-hidug GN « (daggers :) in addition to the supply (for) GN. » d) TM.75.G.2051 lists gifts for several gods, and ends in the following way, rev. III 4-IV 1 : sikil *al₆* tu-ra PN giš-ib « ceremony of purification concerning the illness of PN : (gifts) in addition. » e) TM.75.G.2153 obv. II 2-3 : 1 NI-*gi-tum* giš-ib « (gold for) one N., in addition. » f) TM.75.G.1919 rev. V 1-6 : [AN.ŠÉ.G]Ù [x] *mi-at* 56 ma-na 13 (gín) babbar:kù i-na-sum 1 *mi-at* 43 ma-na ša-pi 5 babbar:kù giš-ib lú níg-ki-za *ir-mi* « Total : [x] hundred(s) 56 ; 13 minas of silver (which) has been given ; 143 ;45 minas of silver in addition ; which is due (for) the *irme*-ceremony. » (7)

igi-tùm seems to have a topographical meaning also in connection with ub « edge. » The texts, rather fragmentary, concern all large amounts of barley measured in *gú-bar*.

a) TM.76.G.869 II' 2'-7' : [x m]i še dùl 1 šà-tar-ki lú ub igi-tùm 1 li 3 mi še dùl 1 šà-tar-ki lú áš-da 10 ká « (barley :) one š. of the upper edge, (barley :) one š. which (is) by the ten gates » ; III 2'-4' : 3 li 2 mi še dùl 1 šà-tar-ki lú ub igi-tùm « (barley :) one š. of the upper edge. »

b) TM.76.G.892 II' 1'-7' : [x l]i 5 mi [še] libir giš-ib 1 šà-tar-ki lú ub igi-tùm 1 li 6 mi še gibil 1 šà-tar-ki lú ub giš-í[b] « (barley :) in addition to one š. of the upper edge, (barley :) one s. of the lower (?) edge ; » III' 4'-6' : 5 li se gibil 1 šà-tar-ki mah giš-ib « (barley :) one large š. in addition. »

c) TM.76.G.2003 obv.? II 1-7 : 6 mi še *gú-bar* 1 šà-tar-ki lú ub igi-tùm 2 li še *gú-bar* 1 šà-tar-ki lú ub "tag₄" « (barley :) one š. of the upper edge, (barley :) 1 š. of the remaining edge » ; III 2-7 : 1 šà-tar-ki *al₆* libir 1 li 6 mi 50 še *gú-bar* 1 šà-tar-ki lú ká 5 li še *gú-bar* 1 šà-tar-ki *al₆* libir « one š. on account of an older (delivery), (barley :) one š. of the gate(s), (barley :) one š. on account of an older (delivery) » ; IV 1-5 : 9 mi še *gú-[bar]* 1 šà-tar-ki *zi-lum* ká 2 li 8 mi še *g[ú-bar]* 1 šà-t[ar-ki] li[bir] « (barley :) one š. *zi-lum* of the gate(s), (barley :) one š. (on account) of an older (delivery). »

In the last passage of text c, *zi-lum* follows šà-tar-ki, perhaps as its explanation. The LL have : šà-tar-ki = *ig-la-um* (no. 585) ; šà-tar-sur = *gi-lu-um*, *dal-da-li-bù*, *kir-bu₁₆* (no. 586). *zi-lum*, instead, is found in the following entries : *gi-šà-tar* = *zi-lum* (no. 1438) ; TM.75.G. 1302 v. I 10- 11 : *gi-šà-tar* = *zi-ṭa¹ -su[m]*. *zi-lum/lu* is a kind of vessel (*ARET* IX, p. 410). The LL have two other equivalences concerning /zirum/ : níg-gíd = *zi-lum*, *ma-za/ša-lu-um* (no. 83, see Conti, *Miscellanea* 3, pp. 75-76) ; dar-áb = *zi-ru₁₂-um* (no. 935). dar-áb was a volume measure of ten sila, see L. Milano, *ARET* IX, pp. 351-352. According to the following passage, šà-tar-ki seems to be a rather large container, TM.75.G.2172 obv. II 1-3 : 75 ma-na urudu šà-tar-ki gibil « 75 minas of copper (for) a new š. » The meaning « silos » could be perhaps suggested for the passages quoted above, where this term is connected with very large amounts of cereals. See, further *ARET* I 10 (23) : (NP and four NE.DI) lú šub še *si-in* šà-tar-ki « (five people) who have poured barley into the silos. » giš-šA.TAR, to be read gištigidlu, is, instead, a stringed musical instrument, see M. Civil, *N.A.B. U.* 1987/48, and cfr. N. Veldhuis, *N.A.B. U.* 1999/19.

igi-tùm qualifies also fabrics of « superior » quality. a) TM.75.G.1918 rev. XIV 18-19 and XVI 23-24 : 5 / 21 'à-da-um-TÚG-II igi-tùm 44 / 75 'à-da-um-TÚG-I ; b) 2508 rev. XX 19-22 : 17 'à-da-um-TÚG-II igi-tùm ...

105 'a-da-um-TÚG-I; c) 1375 obv. XI 11-XII 1 : 8 íb+III-TÚG babbar igi-tùm ... 3 níg-lá-sag igi-tùm 3 níg-lá-sag sal. A similar meaning has the term sag, see ARET III, p. 382 ; IV, pp. 318-319.

For the several passages of the chancellery documents with igi-tùm and igi-tùm-ki in connection with water, P. Fronzaroli, *N.A.B.U.* 1999/47, suggests a meaning equivalent to Akk. *mahāru* «to dam up», *mīhru* «dam.»

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65) Minima eblaitica 15 : sikil «pure ; to purify ; cleansing» – Sum. sikil can be an attribute of human beings, ARET III 323 rev. VI 3' : 4 dumu-mí sikil «four adolescent girls virgin» and TM.75.G.1735 rev. I 7 : dumu-nita sikil «an adolescent boy who does not know sexual intercourse», or denotes animals and objects «(ritually) pure», see the passages listed in ARET XI, p. 168, concerning the ritual for the marriage of the king and the queen. ninda-sikil «pure bread» was given to gods, people, administrative centres, see ARET IX, pp. 400-401. For ki sikil, see below, passage f. The LL have sikil = *ār-tum* (no. 1154), probaly for : *ār-<da->tum* /wardatum/, Akk. «young woman,» as M. Krebernik, ZA 73 (1983), p. 41, has suggested.

kù-gi sikil «fine gold» is used for the covering of the handle, *ar-ra-si-su* (and its variants), of the *ha-bù* ««double axe» of Hadda of Halab, see, among the many pertinent passages, TM.75.G.1464 rev. IX 10-15 : 12 gín DILMUN babbar:kù nu₁₁-za 1 *ha-bù* ap 1 *ar-ra-sù* kù-gi sikil «12 shekels of silver (for) the covering of one axe ; further, one handle of fine gold». Otherwise, sikil is very rarely connected with metals. I know only the following passages concerning, respectively, gold, silver and copper, TM.75.G.1771 rev. XV 9-10 : 10 ma-na babbar:kù «šú+ša» 7 gín DILMUN kù-gi sikil (cfr. MEE 7, p. 268) ; TM.75.G.2552 obv. III 5 : 38 ma-na babbar:kù sikil ; TM.75.G.1494 rev. I 1 : 10 *ha-zi* urudu sikil. A «cleansing» was in general requested in case of an illness. MEE VII 23 rev. V 1-VI 3 is only one of the many pertinent passages (some of them are quoted by G. Pettinato, in : H. Waetzoldt - H. Hauptmann edd., *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla* [Heidelberg 1988], pp. 309-310) : (objects) en sikil DN₁ (object) en sikil DN₂ (4 objects) sikil DN₃-DN₆ *al₆* tu-ra en. The last section, «four objects (for) the cleansing of four gods concerning the illness of the king,» makes clear that these precious and heavy gifts (five minas of gold in total) were offered to the gods for the health of the king. Many gods of the pantheon were addressed, also for a single case. Any specialization in this respect can be detected among the gods. The rite had often, but not always, a positive effect. TM.75.G.2428 registers first the rite of cleansing of Hadda of Halab in favour of Tabdu-damu, a wife of the minister Ibbi-Zikir (obv. XVI 23-29), and then her death (obv. XX 24-27). Similarly, TM.75.G.10088(+) rev. XVII 21 mentions the rite in favour of the king's mother, sikil *al₆* ama-gal en, while her death is registered immediately after, XVIII 8-10, ama-gal en *si-in* ÉxPAP.

A woman who had given birth needed also to be purified. TM.75.G.2382 rev. III 1-4 : (gifts for six deities) sikil lú tu-da *ma-lik-tum* lú dumu-mí tur «for the purification of the queen who gave birth to a baby girl.» According to ARET IV 7 (9) and (17)-(20), the palace itself had to be cleaned (sikil é en), having the queen given birth to a child. Women in childbirth had to perform a kind of purification by many cultures. Because of the use of the term sikil, it seems that puerperium was felt at Ebla as an illness. In case of a death, the ceremony to be performed by the relatives of a deceased was called, instead, *i-giš-sag*, see Archi, *Amurru* 1 (1996), pp. 17-18.

The term sikil can be followed by the name of the god by whom one performed the ceremony, ARET VII 114 (1) : PN sikil DN. In general the reason of the ceremony is added : PN sikil DN *al₆* tu-ra PN / NF, see the passage of MEE VII 23 quoted above, where the king received goods to be offered to four gods for the purification «concerning his own illness». That the gifts are for the gods is clear also from TM.75.G.10088(+) rev. XVII 15-21 : níg-ba DN lú sikil *al₆* ama-gal en «gift (for) DN, which is (for) the purification in favour of the mother of the king.» See, further, MEE X 20 rev. V 1-7 : sikil *al₆* PN dumu-nita en DN «(a dagger in occasion of) the purification concerning PN, the son of the king, (for) DN». A similar wording is TM.75.G.1240 rev. I 4-II 3 : *al₆* PN lú sikil DN «(an object) on account of PN, which (is) for the purification of DN.» TM.75.G.1284 has instead, obv. IV 7-8 : PN sikil «(gifts so that) PN (may be) purified ;» V 3-6 and VI 1-3 : DN *ma-lik-tum* / en sikil «(gifts to) DN (so that) the queen / the king (may be) purified.» Similar is ARET VII 115 rev. I 1-4 : sikil DN PN sikil «(objects for) the purification of DN (so that) PN (may be) purified.» The following passages explain each other, ARET IX 82 rev. IV 3-6 : *si-in* sikil nídba DN «(oil) for the purification, offering (to) DN ;» 95 (6) : *si-in* sikil DN nídba PN «(bread) for the purification of DN, offering of PN ;» and (7) : *si-in* sikil DN en «(bread) for the purification of DN (offering of) the king.» Another passage shows that the purification could involve even the temple of a god. This is in favour of the translation «purification of DN» instead of «(by) DN», TM.75.G.1923 obv. VIII 13-24 : 1 *za-ha-da*...lú sikil é *d'ā-da* *al₆* tu-ra *Ib-rí-um* «one axe ... which (is for) the purification of the temple of Hadda concerning the illness of Ibrium».

In many cases the offerer (the king and several members of the court) presented to a god a precious object of his own property, and the administration gave to him an equivalent object in substitution (*lul-gu-ag*, *a-dè*, *āš-tu* ...-*šù*) as F. Pomponio has remarked in : *AfO* 44-45 (1997/98), pp. 105-107. See, e.g., MEE X 20 rev. XII 18-28 : 1 ma-na babbar:kù níg-sa₁₀ 1 gír mar-tu kù-gi en *āš-du* 1 gír mar-tu-sù sikil *d'ā-da* *al₆* tu-ra PN

dumu-nita-sù « one mina of silver, value of one m. dagger of gold (to) the king in substitution of one m. dagger of him (for) the purification of Hadda concerning the illness of PN, his son ». Sometimes the reference to the illness, tu-ra, is omitted, as in rev. IV 29-V 7 : 1 gír mar-tu sikil al₆ PN dumu-nita en dÌ-da-KUL 'À-ma-duki'. Both purification ceremonies concerned, however, the same occasion, because the PN is the same. There are also few annual accounts, as TM.75.G.1918 and 2507, with sikil ceremonies, no mentioning an illness. I cannot follow, however, Pomponio, who think that a sikil ceremony was celebrated yearly to Hadda. There is only one case where we have surely to exclude that sikil was not related to a ceremony in connection with an illness. It concerns, instead, a kind of purification in occasion of a marriage. TM.75.G.1730 registers, among other deliveries, those for the marriage, níg-mu-sá, of king Išar-damu with Tabur-damu, see M.G. Biga, VO 8 (1992), pp. 3-11 ; in rev. XI 30-34 we read : 2 šu-dub en wa ma-lik-tum sikil « two š. (to) the king and the queen (for) the(ir) purification. »

níg-sikil (without equivalence in the LL [no. 78]), means something like « implements, means for the purification » ; cfr. kaskal « travel » and níg-kaskal « provision for the travel. »

a) TM.75.G.2507 rev. XVII 29-XVIII 4 : 11 gín DILMUN babbar :kù 1 ni-zi-mu 2 GIŠ-šu₄ lú níg-sikil en « eleven shekels of silver (for) one decoration of two containers which (are) objects for the purification of the king. »

b) TM.75.G.10088 rev. IX 23-31 : 1 gín DILMUN babbar :kù níg-sa₁₀ 2 si dàra GIŠ GIŠ-banšur šu-ra níg-sikil PN šu-ba₄-ti « 1 shekel silver : value of two steinbock horns (and) wood (for) a table ..., objects for the purification, PN has received. »

In the following passages níg-sikil refers to human beings, possibly acting in a substitution ritual. Notice that the « value » of an adolescent boy qualified as sikil is of ten shekels, TM.75.G.1735 rev. I 5-7 : 10 gín DILMUN babbar :kù níg-sa₁₀ dumu-nita sikil.

c) TM.75.G.1771 obv III 8-10, 2428 obv. XXIV 35-38 and 39-42 : 12 / 13 / 14 gín DILMUN babbar :kù níg-sa₁₀ 1 lú níg-sikil PN « twelve / thirteen / fourteen shekels of silver : value of one man (who is) means of purification (of) PN. »

d) TM.75.12278(+) IV 8-13 : 14 gín DILMUN babbar :kù níg-sa₁₀ 1 na-se₁₁ níg-sikil PN dumu-nita en « fourteen shekels of silver : value of one people (who is) means of purification (of) PN, the son of the king. »

e) ARET I 10 (55) : (1 fabrics) PN maškim PN ḥi-mu-DU 2 na-se₁₁ níg-sikil dÁš-da-bíl « (1 fabrics to) PN, the agent of PN, for having brought two people (who are) means of purification of the god A. »

The following passage is obscure :

f) ARET VII 154 obv. IV 713 : wa ki sikil in GN in-na-sum PN « and PN has given a pure ground in GN ; » rev. I 8-II 1 : wa in ki diri níg-sikil-sù šu-ba₄-ti « and he has received its means of purification for a supplementary ground. »

Alfonso ARCHI (6-12-00)

66) Die Akītu-Häuser von Ninive – In Iraq 61 haben A.Y. Ahmad und A.K. Grayson eine neue Sanherib-Inschrift veröffentlicht,¹ der sich einige interessante Informationen zur Geschichte der Kulttopographie Ninives entnehmen lassen. Die Inschrift ist auf einer beidseitig beschriebenen kleinen Kalksteintafel angebracht, deren untere Partie weggebrochen ist, so daß nur der Anfang und der Schluß des Textes erhalten sind. Die Tafel wurde 1992/93 an einer leider nicht genau bezeichneten Stelle im Bereich des Nergal-Tors gefunden,² welches, zwischen dem Sîn- und dem Adad-Tor gelegen, den nördlichen Abschnitt der Stadtmauer von Ninive durchschneidet.³ Der Anfangspassus der laut Kolophon am 11. VIII. 690 abgefaßten Inschrift enthält den Königsnamen sowie eine Reihe von Titeln und Epitheta, ehe in Vs. 14 der Baubericht einsetzt,⁴ dessen Einleitung nach nur einer weiteren Zeile leider sogleich wieder abbricht (¹⁴[x x (x) ša² ul]-tu u₄-mu pa-ni ma-a'-diš¹⁵[x x x x x] x ku lu). Der auf der Rs. der Tafel befindliche Schluß des Bauberichts ist dagegen besser erhalten. Der fragliche Passus sei nachstehend, mit Lesungen und Ergänzungen, die gegenüber der Erstveröffentlichung an zwei Stellen (Rs. 3', 9'f.) abweichen, nochmals umschrieben und übersetzt :

- 1' [x x x x x] x x a a x x x
- 2' [abul] dU-GUR ša mé-eb-ret
- 3' [šār] mi-šā-ri pe-tu-ú ba-bu-šá
- 4' [é]-šā-ḥúl-le-ezen-zag-mu-kam
- 5' é ḥu-ud lib-bi ú ri-šá-a-ti
- 6' ša i-sin-ni re-eš šat-ti lu ab-ni
- 7' i-na u₄-mu i-sin-ni É á-ki-tim
- 8' a-na šu-le-e ù la-ban ap-pi-ia
- 9' ḫma-l-har dingir ù dingir-tim ù mul-ta'-u-ti
- 10' [bēlū]-ti-ia šat-ti-šam-ma
- 11' [i]-na qer-bi-šá ep-pu-šá ni-gu-tu

1'-6' [...] ... Nergal-[Tor], dessen Türen in Richtung auf den [« Wind] der Gerechtigkeit » geöffnet sind, habe ich das [é]-šā-ḥúl-le-ezen-zag-mu-kam erbaut, den « Tempel der Herzensfreude und des Jubels am Fest des

Jahresanfangs ». 7'-11' Jedes Jahr veranstalte ich darin am Tage des Akītu-Festes, um vor Gott und Göttin zu beten und mir die Nase zu streichen und zu meinem [herr]schaftlichen Vergnügen eine fröhliche Feier.

Anmerkungen : **Z. 1'** : Unklar. Das Nergal-Tor trägt in anderen Sanherib-Inschriften den Namen ⁴*Erra mušamqit ajjābī(ja)* (Frahm, *AfO Beih.* 26, 274), so daß mit großem Vorbehalt als mögliche Lesung vorgeschlagen werden kann : [ša ⁴*Erra mu*] - [šam⁷] - [qit⁷] a-a-[bu⁷] [mu⁷] - [bi⁷] « (das Tor), dessen Name 'Erra erschlägt den Feind' lautet ». Kollation erforderlich. **Z. 2'f.** : *pe-tu-ú* ist gewiß kein Partizip (so Ahmad & Grayson : « who opens its gate »), sondern ein Stativ, der als Prädikat eines Relativsatzes fungiert (vgl. Luckenbill, OIP 2, 144, Z. 9f. : ša ... *bābū petū ana šūti*). Das auf *bābū* folgende Suffix /-šal/ muß sich auf ein feminines Substantiv beziehen, was neben dem Fundort der Tafel als weiteres Indiz dafür gelten kann, daß nicht von einem Nergal-Tempel (*bītu*), sondern vom Nergal-Tor (*abullu*) die Rede ist. Die Lage dieses Tores wird in den Prismeninschriften Sanheribs als *ša meħret iltāni* gekennzeichnet, als « nach Norden hin (orientiert) » (Frahm, *AfO Beih.* 26, 77, Z. 189; 93, VII 39'; Luckenbill, OIP 2, 112, VII 92). Die übliche logographische Wiedergabe von *iltānu* « Norden » ist IM-si-sá ; sie scheint im vorliegenden Text etymologisierend als *šār mīšari* gedeutet zu sein, unter Verwendung der Gleichungen IM = *šāru* und si-sá (eigentlich : níg-si-sá) = *mīšaru* (man beachte die lautliche Ähnlichkeit der akkadischen Worte). Obwohl der Nordwind m. W. sonst nirgends « Wind der Gerechtigkeit » genannt wird, ist aufgrund der sehr analogen Formulierungen in den Prismeninschriften eine andere Lesung als die vorgeschlagene kaum denkbar. **Z. 4'-6'** : Als « Jahresbeginn » (sag mu-an-na) sah man in spätassyrischer Zeit neben dem Nisannu (I) auch den Monat Tašritu (VII) an (s. Hunger, SAA 8, 165, mit zusätzlicher Nennung der Monate Addaru [XII] und Elülu [VI]) ; da eine weitergehende Spezifizierung in unserem Text fehlt, ist es aber wohl wahrscheinlicher, daß die Neujahrfeiern, auf die der Tempelname anspielt, im Nisannu stattfanden. Die Zeilen 5'-6' enthalten die akkadische Übersetzung des in Z. 4' aufgeführten sumerischen Prunknamens. **Z. 9'** : Im folgenden wird davon ausgegangen, daß mit « Gott und Göttin » Aššur und die oft mit Mullissu identifizierte Ištar von Ninive gemeint sind, da diese beiden Gottheiten in mehreren Assurbanipal-Inschriften explizit mit dem Akītu-Haus von Ninive in Verbindung gebracht werden (s. u.). Wegen der Erwähnung des Nergal-Tors, von dem aus man in das nahegelegene Tarbišu gelangen konnte, die von Sanherib umfassend erneuerte Kultmetropole des Gottes Nergal (s. Frahm, *AfO Beih.* 26, 188-190), bleibt indessen ein leiser Zweifel, ob es sich bei « Gott und Göttin » nicht evtl. auch um Nergal und seine Gemahlin Ereškigal handeln könnte, eine Möglichkeit, die auch deswegen nicht ganz ausgeschlossen erscheint, weil der Name é-šà-ḥúl-la als Bezeichnung eines von Assurbanipal errichteten Nergal-Tempels in Mē-Turna belegt ist (George, HMH, 144), dessen Anlage der des Akītu-Hauses von Assur ähnelt (Miglus, *BaM* 24, 195). Außerdem gab es in Babylon einen – möglicherweise für Prozessionen des Gottes genutzten – « Durchgang des Nergals der Freude » (*mūtaq Nergal ša ḥadē*) (George, BTT, 362). É-šà-ḥúl-la war aber auch der Name eines Ištar-Tempels in Kazallu (HMH, 143), und es ist letztlich wenig wahrscheinlich, daß ein von Sanherib begangenes Neujahrsfest nicht auf die wichtigsten Gottheiten des assyrischen Pantheons, also auf Aššur und Ištar-Mullissu, fokussiert war. **Z. 9'f.** : Ahmad & Grayson lesen : *ù MUL ta-tim(?) ti / [x]-ti-ia* ; das angebliche *tim* (vgl. die Form von DIM in Rs. 7' und 9' Mitte) kann jedoch durchaus auch ein babylonisch geschriebenes, archaisierendes A' sein. Für die vorgeschlagene Deutung spricht, daß die Formulierung *ana multa'úti bēlūtija* von Sanherib auch an anderen Stellen zur Beschreibung der Funktion eines Bauwerks verwendet wird (Luckenbill, op. cit., 97, Z. 82 ; Frahm, *AfO Beih.* 26, 75f., Z. 112f., auf das sog. *bīt appāte* im Südwestpalast bezogen), und der Hinweis, der König feiere das Akītu-Fest nicht zuletzt auch um seines eigenen Vergnügens willen, gut zu der im Namen des Heiligtums und in dem Wort *nigūtu* anklingenden Freudigkeit paßt.⁶ Ein gewisses Problem liegt darin, daß sich in Vs. 9 und 14 assyrische Formen des Zeichens A' finden, doch ist auch in anderen Sanherib-Inschriften auf Stein ein Wechsel zwischen assyrischen und archaisierenden « babylonischen » Zeichenformen zu beobachten (man vergleiche etwa die assyrischen Formen des Zeichens A in KAH 2, 122, Rs. 44 und 46 mit denen am Anfang von Rs. 60 und 61).

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Der von Ahmad und Grayson publizierte Text ist von besonderem Interesse, weil er von einem bislang unbekannten, offenbar in der Nähe des Nergal-Tors zu lokalisierenden Akītu-Haus berichtet.⁷ Dem Bau des Akītu-Hauses vor den Toren der Stadt Assur, welchen Sanherib nach der 689 erfolgten Zerstörung Babylons in die Wege leitete,⁸ ist also offenbar ein ganz ähnliches Projekt in Ninive vorangegangen. Auch dort, so läßt sich aus Analogiegründen vermuten, dürfte sich das neue Festhaus außerhalb der Stadtmauer, also nördlich vom Nergal-Tor, befunden haben, womit seine Lage recht genau der des Akītu-Hauses von Babylon entsprochen hätte.⁹ Aus verschiedenen Inschriften geht hervor, daß Sanherib in den 90er Jahren des 7. Jhs. im Norden der Stadtmauer von Ninive umfangreiche Parkanlagen hatte anlegen lassen.¹⁰ Sie dürften zum Bau eines Akītu-Hauses geradezu eingeladen haben, denn Gärten waren, wie sich aus textlichen Quellen zum Festhaus in Assur und aus dem archäologischen Befund von dort ergibt,¹¹ für Akītu-Häuser von hervorragender Bedeutung – wohl weil die dortselbst im Frühjahr begangenen Neujahrsfeste immer auch die Erneuerung der Natur feierten. Vielleicht wurde das neue Akītu-Haus in dem von Sanherib nördlich von Ninive angelegten *kirimahhu*-Garten errichtet ; hierfür spricht, daß in einem unpublizierten sumerischen Šuila auf den Gott (Aššur)-Enlil und die Ištar von Ninive ein solcher Garten in Zusammenhang mit einem Akītu-Haus genannt wird.¹² Auch der neben dem *kirimahhu* am Adad-Tor gelegene *ambassu*-Garten ist vermutlich kultisch genutzt worden.¹³

Archäologische Reste des Festhauses vor dem Nergal-Tor haben sich offenbar nicht gefunden. Man könnte aber, obwohl dies spekulativ bleiben muß, in Erwägung ziehen, ob nicht auf dem berühmten, aus dem Nordpalast Assurbanipals stammenden Relief BM 124939, das eine Parklandschaft mit Aquädukt zeigt, in Gestalt des auf einem Hügel befindlichen kleinen Säulentempels eine Darstellung des Akītu-Hauses überkommen ist.¹⁴

Auch Assurbanipal röhmt sich, ein zu Ninive gelegenes Akītu-Haus erbaut zu haben.¹⁵ Dieses Gebäude scheint sich jedoch, im Unterschied zu dem von Sanherib errichteten, nicht vor der Stadt, sondern innerhalb derselben, und zwar offenbar auf Kuyunjik, befunden zu haben.¹⁶ Sein erster Bauherr war nach dem Zeugnis von Assurbanipals Prisma T aus dem Jahr 646 Sargon II.; ein Hinweis auf eine frühere Bautätigkeit Sanheribs fehlt. Assurbanipal stellt fest, er habe das baufällig gewordene Haus erneuert und anschließend für die mit Mullissu identifizierte ninivitische Ištar und den Gott Aššur ein Akītu-Fest durchgeführt,¹⁷ das offenbar mit der triumphalen Inszenierung eines Sieges des Königs über seine Feinde verbunden wurde.¹⁸ Folgt man der ca. 643 entstandenen Assurbanipal-Inschrift vom Ištar-Tempel und einem im Namen des Königs verfaßten Hymnus, so fand das fragliche Fest nicht zu Neujahr, sondern im Monat Tebet (X) statt.¹⁹ Interessant ist, daß Assurbanipal in der Tempelinschrift explizit darauf verweist, das Akītu-Haus (von Kuyunjik) sei unter seinen königlichen Vorgängern « vergessen » bzw. nicht « entsprechend den alten Bräuchen » gebaut worden;²⁰ vielleicht ist dies als eine indirekte Anspielung auf das von Sanherib traditionswidrig vor der Stadt errichtete neue Festhaus zu verstehen.

Aus der Zusammenschau der hier diskutierten Sanherib-Inschrift, der genannten Assurbanipal-Stellen und einiger auf Kuyunjik gefundener älterer Textfragmente läßt sich zumindest skizzenhaft die offenbar recht wechselhafte Geschichte des Akītu-Festes von Ninive und der mit ihm verbundenen Kultlokalitäten rekonstruieren. Ein indirekter Hinweis auf ein Akītu-Fest der ninivitischen Ištar könnte bereits in einer Ziegelinschrift Tukulti-Ninurtas I. vom Ištar-Tempel enthalten sein;²¹ der König, der sich als *bāni bīt Ištar* bezeichnet (Z. 3), spricht etwas kryptisch von *taš-ri-rit?*²¹ *uruNi-nu-a* (Z. 4), womit möglicherweise ein Neujahrsfest gemeint ist. Explizit von *akītu* ist erstmals in einer gleichfalls im Bereich des Ištar-Tempels entdeckten, stark beschädigten Tonnagelinschrift die Rede, die evtl. von Adad-nārārī III. stammt und als früheren Bauherrn(?) Tukulti-Ninurta (I.?) nennt; der Kontext ist leider unklar.²² Ebenfalls fragmentarisch ist eine weitere Inschrift vom Ištar-Tempel, die auf einem Steinblock angebracht ist und den wohl frühesten eindeutigen Beleg für ein in Ninive gelegenes Akītu-Haus enthält; sie könnte auf Sargon II. zurückgehen, den Assurbanipal, wie erwähnt, als ersten Bauherrn eines ninivitischen Akītu-Tempels nennt.²³ Der von Sargon errichtete Kultbau scheint um 690 aufgegeben worden zu sein, als Sanherib sein neues, nördlich von Ninive gelegenes Akītu-Haus erbauen ließ. Der Name dieses Heiligtums, é-šā-ḥūl-le-ezen-zag-mu-kam, zeugt davon, daß die dort begangenen Festlichkeiten am Jahresanfang stattfanden; auf eine Verbindung mit den politisch-theologischen Implikationen des Neujahrsfestes von Babylon verweist er nicht.²⁴ Eben hierauf referieren dagegen die Prunknamen von Sanheribs Akītu-Haus in Assur,²⁵ das der religiopolitisch so experimentierfreudige König nur wenige Jahre später errichten ließ, offenbar in der Absicht, die Kulttopographie Babylons adaptierend nach Assyrien zu übertragen. Ob im Zuge dieser Reform die Neujahrsfeierlichkeiten in Ninive durch diejenigen in Assur ersetzt oder mit ihnen verbunden wurden, ist unklar.²⁶ Das Schicksal, das dem vor den Toren Ninives gelegenen Festhaus unter Sanheribs Nachfolger Asarhaddon zuteil wurde, liegt im Dunkeln – es sei denn, Asarhaddons Bericht über Bauarbeiten an einem der Ištar geweihten *bīt akītu šērī*²⁷ bezöge sich nicht, wie es der Kontext nahelegt, auf die Stadt Arbela, sondern auf das Festhaus von Ninive, eine Möglichkeit, die immerhin nicht ausgeschlossen ist.²⁸ Um 646 rekonstruierte Assurbanipal das (auf Kuyunjik gelegene) alte, einst von Sargon errichtete Festhaus und setzte damit die von Sanherib in Ninive vorgenommenen kulttopographischen Neuerungen außer Kraft. Das Akītu-Fest der Ištar, das nun nicht mehr am Jahresanfang, sondern im Monat Tebet abgehalten wurde, beging man spätestens von diesem Zeitpunkt an wieder innerhalb der Stadt.

1. A.Y. Ahmad & A.K. Grayson, « Sennacherib in the Akītu House », *Iraq* 61 (1999), 187-189.

2. Ahmad & Grayson schreiben zu den Fundumständen der Tafel lediglich: « found at the Nergal Gate of Nineveh ».

3. S. den Plan bei Reade, *RIA* 9, 390 (das Nergal-Tor ist die Nr. 10).

4. Daß der « Legitimationspassus », wie auch Ahmad und Grayson vermuten, mit Z. 13 tatsächlich abgeschlossen ist, wird durch das auffallend ähnlich formulierte Ende des entsprechenden Abschnitts in zwei weiteren, etwa zeitgleich entstandenen Sanherib-Inschriften nahegelegt (Luckenbill, OIP 2, 152, Z. 12f.; Frahm, *AfO Beih.* 26, 214, T 178, Z. 3f.).

5. Für eine mögliche Erklärung der offenbar pluralischen Form des Wortes s. Novotny, *ZA* 89, 24-28.

6. Zu *multa* „viele“ s. Weissert, in: Parpola & Whiting (eds.), *Assyria* 1995, 342.

7. Es erscheint möglich, daß der Text das Nergal-Tor in Rs. 2'f. lediglich wegen seiner Bedeutung als Orientierungspunkt erwähnt; ginge es um Bauarbeiten an dem Tor, würde man am Ende von Rs. 3' eigentlich ein Prädikat erwarten. Andererseits sind Konstruktionen, bei denen das Prädikat am Satzanfang steht, natürlich nicht ausgeschlossen; es könnte, und hierfür spricht nicht zuletzt der Fundort der Tafel, evtl. also doch auch von einer Verschönerung des Nergal-Tors die Rede sein. Wenn unsere Annahme über die Lage des Akītu-Hauses zutrifft (s. u.), müßte das mit Stierkolossen und einem breiten Fahrweg ausgestattete monumentale Tor (Reade, *RIA* 9, 402) ein integraler Teil von Sanheribs neuer Akītu-Architektur gewesen sein; das Tor wäre von der Götterprozession durchquert worden und hätte dabei die – prominent markierte – Schwelle zwischen Stadt und « Steppe » gebildet.

8. Frahm, *AfO Beih.* 26, 282-288.
9. George, BTT, 25.
10. Bagg, *BaFo* 24, 175-189, mit Textbelegen und ausführlicher Diskussion.
11. Bagg, *BaFo* 24, 227f.
12. Der fragliche Text, BM 128025, wurde im Bereich des Ištar-Tempels von Kuyunjik gefunden und bezieht sich vermutlich nicht auf das von Sanherib errichtete Akītu-Haus, sondern auf das von Assurbanipal rekonstruierte Festhaus auf Kuyunjik, das im folgenden Absatz behandelt wird. Auch auf Kuyunjik gab es Gärten, die *kirimaljhu* genannt wurden ; sie waren von Sanherib und Assurbanipal neben dem Südwest- bzw. dem Nordpalast angelegt worden (s. Bagg, *BaFo* 24, 178, 240). Den Hinweis auf BM 128025 verdanke ich D. Shibata, der den Text im Rahmen seiner Dissertation veröffentlichen wird.
13. Matsushima, ASJ 9, 140f. ; die Belege beziehen sich auf die Durchführung von Nabū-Ritualen in einem *ambassu* in Kalhu, die im *ambassu* von Ninive, wo der Nabū-Kult gleichfalls eine wichtige Rolle spielte, ohne weiteres eine Entsprechung gefunden haben könnten.
14. S. die Abbildung bei Bagg, *BaFo* 24, Tf. 56 ; zu dem Tempel führt ein Weg empor, auf dem sich vor einer Königsstele ein Altar erhebt. Eine ähnliche Baulichkeit ist auf einem Relief Sargons II. aus Khorsabad dargestellt (Bagg, a. a. O., Tf. 32-35) ; ebenfalls vergleichbar ist das Gebäude am rechten Rand einer weiteren Reliefgruppe aus Ninive : Bagg, Tf. 82 a. Für eine Zusammenstellung der bisherigen Deutungen der Bauten s. Bagg, a. a. O., 156. Das auf BM 124939 dargestellte Tempelchen ist mit dem Gebäudetyp des *Bīt-hilāni* in Verbindung gebracht worden (Bleibtreu, *Flora*, 101), von dem die Könige in den Texten wiederholt bemerken, er diene *ana multa?*úti « zu (ihrem) Vergnügen » (einige Belege CAD M/2, 192b). Diesen Zweck erfüllt unserem Text zufolge auch das neue Akītu-Haus Sanheribs – womit ein weiteres, indirektes Indiz für die Annahme gewonnen wäre, daß es sich bei dem Gebäude auf dem Relief um ein Akītu-Haus handeln könnte.
15. Belege bei Pongratz-Leisten, *RIA* 9, 296.
16. Die Formulierung in Assurbanipals Prisma T (Borger, BIWA, 169, V 33f.) : *bīt akīt Ištar bēltīja ša qereb Ninua ša kīma ummi ălitti tur[ab]bānni* ist mehrdeutig ; ob sich *ša qereb Ninua* auf das Gebäude bezieht (so Reade, *RIA* 9, 419) oder auf die Göttin, läßt sich nicht mit Sicherheit sagen. Aus einem Abschnitt in Assurbanipals Prisma A scheint aber deutlich hervorzugehen, daß die Akītu-Feierlichkeiten im Bereich des é-maš-maš, des Ištar-Tempels von Kuyunjik, stattfanden : *ultu ... ina é-maš-maš ... mahar Mullissi ... épusu parṣe bīt akīti* « nachdem ich ... im é-maš-maš(-Bezirk) ... die Riten des Akītu-Hauses vor Mullissu durchgeführt hatte » (BIWA, 71, A X 24-28). Dasselbe legt Assurbanipals Inschrift vom Ištar-Tempel nahe, in der zunächst vom Ausbau des é-maš-maš, dann von der Errichtung des Akītu-Hauses und anschließend von der Ištar-Ziqqurrat die Rede ist (Fuchs, BIWA, 268f., Z. 30-36). Das auf Kuyunjik gelegene neue Festhaus scheint vom eigentlichen Ištar-Tempel eine gewisse Wegstrecke entfernt gewesen zu sein, denn die Göttin mußte letzteren bei den Akītu-Feierlichkeiten verlassen : *á-ki-tu mu-šab be-lu-ti-šá ša ud 21-kam* šá iti ab gašan gal-tu uš-su-ma ú-šal-la-mu [0!?] pa]r-še-šá? « das Akītu-Haus, ihr herrschaftlicher Wohnsitz, in welchen(!) die große Herrin am 21. Tebet auszieht und wo man ihre Riten durchführt »* (BIWA, 268f., Z. 31f.). Die Göttin ist möglicherweise mit einem Wagen zum Akītu-Haus gefahren (Livingstone, SAA 3, no. 7, Vs. 16).
17. BIWA, 169-172, T V 33 - VI 51.
18. BIWA, 71, A X 17-39 ; s. a. Weissert, in : Parpola & Whiting (eds.), *Assyria* 1995, 346-349. Hierzu paßt, daß Assurbanipals neues Akītu-Haus nach dem Zeugnis der Texte mit glasiertem Ziegelwerk ausgestattet war, das Kriegsszenen abbildete (BIWA, 269, Z. 33-36).
19. BIWA, 268, Z. 31 (21. Tag) ; Livingstone, SAA 3, no. 7, Vs. 10 (16. Tag).
20. BIWA, 269, Z. 32f. : *[ša?] ultu ūmē(?) šarrā]ni abbēja immašūma ina simātīša labīrāte kīma ša mahri lā šūpušatu* « (das Akītu-Haus), [das seit der Zeit] meiner [königlichen] Vorväter vergessen und nicht nach den alten Bräuchen so wie früher errichtet worden war ».
21. Grayson, RIMA 1, A.0.78.33.
22. Thompson, AAA 19, no. 219, von Grayson in RIMA 3 als A.0.104.1002 gebucht, jedoch nicht umschrieben. Der Text lautet : ¹[...] x ta x [...] ²[*Adad-nārārī*(?) lugal] kur Aš-šur dumu Šam-ši-^d[*Adad* ...] ³[... at-ma]-na ra-šub-ba a-ki-it é [...] (zur Erg. vgl. CAD R, 213b) ⁴[...] ^{1-gis}*Tukul-ti-*^dmaš lugal kur Aš-šur [...] ⁵[... a]k-sir iš-tu uš-š[e²-šu ...] ⁶[...] x [...] ; evtl. läßt sich der Schluß der Inschrift nach AAA 19, nos. 136 und 179 wie folgt ergänzen (s. Borger, HKL 1, 527) : [...] ^{na⁴}na-r]ú-a-ia *al-tu-u[r ...], [...] a-na áš-ri-šu-nu [...]*
23. Thompson, *Archaeologia* 79, no. 43 : ¹[...] la iš-[šak²-nu?]-m[a?] ²[... ana] gin bala-šú é á-ki-it ³[... ^{na⁴}?na?] rú?¹ra?¹ iš-ku-un ⁴[...] x ku ú-še-piš.
24. Vielleicht spielt der Name auf eine rituell inszenierte Götterhochzeit zwischen Aššur und Ištar an. In Hinblick auf die Rolle, die der (auch in Babylon verehrten) ninivitischen Ištar im Akītu-Haus zukam, ist von Interesse, daß sie im « Marduk-Ordal », einer polemischen Ausdeutung des babylonischen Akītu-Festes in assyrischer Sprache, als Amme des Bēl erwähnt und in dem Kultkommentar KAR 307 mit Tiamat, aber auch mit Bēl-Marduk selbst, geglichen wird (Livingstone, SAA 3, no. 34, Z. 33 ; no. 39, Vs. 19-21 ; s. a. Da-Riva & Frahm, *AfO* 46/47, 156-182).
25. Pongratz-Leisten, *BaFo* 16, 207, Vs. 3f. ; George, N.A.B.U. 1993/43.
26. Es scheint, als ob Sanherib im Jahre 690 kurzfristig die Absicht hatte, nicht Assur, sondern Ninive zum Zentrum eines neukonzipierten Akītu-Neujahrffestes zu machen. Der Gott Aššur, so steht zu vermuten, sollte anlässlich desselben aus seinem in Assur gelegenen Tempel ausziehen und nach Ninive kommen (die Belege für ein festes Aššur-Heiligtum in Ninive sind dürftig, s. Reade, *RIA* 9, 409). Nach der 689 erfolgten Zerstörung Babylons überlegte es sich der König dann offenbar anders. Der zentralen religiösen Rolle der alten assyrischen Kapitale Rechnung tragend, entschloß er sich, die kulttopographischen Voraussetzungen für die Durchführung eines reformierten (und fortan stark am Vorbild Babylons orientierten) Neujahrffestes nun doch in Assur zu schaffen. Experimentierfreudig blieb der König auch weiterhin : Sanherib gab beim Bau des Akītu-Hauses vor der Stadt eine erste Anlage sogleich wieder auf und ließ sie durch eine neue ersetzen (Miglus, *BaM* 24, 194-199). Es ist nicht auszuschließen, daß auch die Ištar von Ninive an den Feierlichkeiten in Assur teilnahm ; vielleicht begab sie sich dorthin mit ihrem Prozessionsschiff, das unter Assurbanipal « má-tum-ma-a[l?] » hieß (BIWA, 269, Z. 36), ein Name, der an das altehrwürdige, den Akītu-Feiern in vielem ähnliche Tummal-Fest von Nippur erinnert (s. Sallaberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit I*, 131-145). Auf einen Einzug der Ištar (von Ninive??) in Assur scheint der Ritualtext BM 121206 zu verweisen (Menzel, *Tempel II*, T 60, Rs. VI 23²), der für den 13. II. ein *e-bar* (statt *e-rab?*) ^d15 *ina lib-bi* uru erwähnt

(Hinweis W. Meinhold). Wie sich in Theologie und Kult der spätassyrischen Zeit das Verhältnis zwischen der Istar von Ninive und der im Ašur-Tempel zu Assur ansässigen Mullissu gestaltete, bedarf weiterer Studien.

- 27. Borger, *Asarh.*, 95, Rs. 19ff.
- 28. Während Pongratz-Leisten, *RIA* 9, 296 das Gebäude in Milqia bei Arbela lokalisiert, hält Porter, *Images, Power, and Politics*, 70f. auch eine Lokalisierung in Ninive für denkbar.

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67) ŠU+BAR dans les textes divinatoires paléo-babyloniens – Le signe ŠU+BAR se rencontre au moins quatre fois dans le corpus des textes divinatoires paléo-babyloniens :

- a) *TIM* 9, 79 : 8-9, DIŠ KÙ iš-tu ni-ri a-na ŠU+BAR im-ta-qú-ut a-mu-ut Ri-mu-uš, « Si le présage depuis le joug jusqu'au ŠU+BAR pend - présage de Rīmuš. »
 - b) *TIM* 9, 79 : 10-13, DIŠ ŠU+BAR ka-a-a-nu-ma ša-nu-ú-(érasure)-um [i-na] wa-ar-ka-at na-aş-ra-ap-tim ša i-mi-tim na-di-ma ù ši-lum i-na ŠÀ-šu a-mu-ut Ri-mu-uš, « Si le ŠU+BAR normal est (en place) et un second derrière le creuset de droite est placé et une cavité se trouve en son sein - présage de Rīmuš. »
 - c) *TIM* 9, 79 : 14-16, DIŠ ŠU+BAR ši-ši-tam sa-am-tam ha-ri-im um-ma-an-ka a-di ši-ḥi-iṭ ša-am-ši-im mi-hu-um i-ka-al-la-a-ši, « Si le ŠU+BAR est couvert d'une membrane rouge - une tempête retiendra ton armée jusqu'au lever du soleil. »
 - d) *YOS* 10, 17 : 38, DIŠ IGI.BAR a-na ŠU+BAR iq-te-ri-ib DINGIR zi-nu-um a-na a-wi-lim i-tu-ur-ra, « Si le regard s'approche du ŠU+BAR - le dieu en colère retournera vers l'intéressé. »
- CAD Q*, s.v. *qerēbu*, p.232a, 3', lit ŠU.BAR sans transcrire le logogramme. Or, le texte AO 9066, 12-14 (J. Nougayrol, *RA* 44, pl. I) propose la sentence suivante : [DIŠ] na-ap-la-<às>-tum a-na pa-da-ni-im [i]q-ri-ib DINGIR zi-nu-um [a-n]a a-wi-lim i-tu-úr-ra-am, « Si le regard s'approche du chemin - le dieu en colère retournera vers l'intéressé. »
- Cette sentence étant le duplicat exact d'*YOS* 10, 17 : 38, la variante *iq-ri-ib* en lieu d'*iq-te-ri-ib* exceptée (du reste, en *YOS* 10, 7 : 23, on lit *na-ap-la-às-tum a-na pa-da-ni-im iq-ri-ib*), on voit que ŠU.BAR est une graphie schématique et simplifiée du signe GÌR.

Semblablement, sur la tablette d'Istanbul éditée par J. Nougayrol, *RA* 41, p.50, fig. 9 : 16'-17', on lit : *pa-da-nu-um ka-a-a-nu-um-ma ša-nu-um i-na wa-ar-ka-at na-aş-ra-ap-tim ša i-mi-it-tim*, « le chemin normal est (en place) et un second derrière le creuset de droite ... »

Ici encore, l'extrait est un duplicitat de *TIM* 9, 79 : 10-11 ; il confirme la lecture GÌR du signe ŠU+BAR.

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68) Babylonian Flood Story in the Nag Hammadi Writings – In the Nag Hammadi treatise *The Hypostasis of the Archons* 92,4ff there is a passage which closely resembles to Mesopotamian account of the Flood, the only difference being that the « great gods » are replaced by the « archons » (=rulers). The passage reads as follows :

« Then mankind began to multiply and improve. The rulers took counsel with one another and said, “Come, let us cause a deluge with our hands and obliterate all flesh, from man to beast.” But when the ruler of the forces came to know of their decision, he said to Noah, “Make yourself an ark from some wood that does not rot and hide in it – you and your children and the beasts and the birds of heaven from small to large – and set it upon Mount Sir” » (cited from *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, 4th edition 1996, p. 166, translated by B. Layton).

The passage is by no means a rewording of the biblical flood story, but it is clearly a mythological piece of Mesopotamian origin in this gnostic library. For similar motifs in the rabbinic literature, see M. Weinfeld, *AfO* 44-5 [1997/8], p. 223f. Recently S. Parpola has argued for the existence of Mesopotamian mythological material in the Nag Hammadi library (SAA IX, pp. xxxi-xxxiv), the piece above adduces additional evidence.

Other curious detail in this account is the name of the mountain, Sir. B.A. Pearson has already pointed out that « the name [Sir] may have been assimilated to the Babylonian name for the mountain of the Flood story, “Nişir.” » (*Gnosticism, Judaism and Egyptian Christianity* 1990, p. 73.) In any case it is a strong argument for the reading of the mountain's name in the Babylonian Flood story as Nişir, and not Nimush.

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69) Semiramis and the king of Babylon – The penultimate entry in the Synchronistic Chronicle (A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* [Locust Valley 1975] 168-9) describes how Baba-aha-iddina of Karduniaš was captured by Šamši-Adad V and deported to Assyria. People, property and gods were deported too, tribute was received from Chaldaea, and the frontier (as usual) was fixed. This must have happened in 881, in the last full year of Šamši-Adad's reign. Who if anyone was left in charge of Karduniaš is not specified. The following and final entry of the Chronicle begins by describing (iv.15-22) what happened in the reign of the next Assyrian king, Adad-nerari III. Lines 15-18 are badly damaged, lines 19-20 are clear, in lines 21-22 there was peace and the frontier was fixed.

J. A. Brinkman (*A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia* [Roma 1968] 216-7) thought that the text was likely to allude to another Assyrian victory, as in preceding entries, followed by the repatriation of dispossessed Babylonians, but it is difficult to accommodate a war in the space available. The only clear reference to the Babylon region in Adad-nirari's historical texts simply claims that he was in some way accepted there as suzerain, and the context suggests rather that the damaged lines 15-18 should explain the peaceful resolution of lines 19-22. Traces of unread signs enable us to postulate the following augmentation of the text given by Grayson :

- (15) *IdAdad-nērāri šar₄ kurAššur Idb[a-ba₆-āha-iddina šar₄ kurKar-du-ni-āš it-ti a-ħa-meš (?)]*
- (16) *ik-nu-ł-šuł-[ma GIŠ(?)].ł-GEŠTIN⁷¹ [i]š-tu-ma du-m[uq⁷] KUR-šú-nu ú-kín-nu (?)*
- (17) *i -na x [...] x x [...]*
- (18) *[ł]i-ł-pir LÚ um¹-ma-ni-šú ilāni^łmeš₁ [...]*
- (19) *nišē^{meš} šal-lu-te a-na áš-ri-šú ú-t[e-er(-ma)]*
- (20) *iš-qu gi-na-a ŠE.PAD^{meš} ú-kín-šú-nu-łti₁*
- (15) Adad-nerari (III) king of Assyria and B[aba-aha-iddina king of Karduniaš towards each other]
- (16) bowed and drank wine. The welfare of their lands they established.
- (17) In [...] ... [...]
- (18) The work of his craftsmen, the gods [he (Adad-nerari) restored ...]
- (19) He returned the people who had been abducted.
- (20) He established for them an income, a regular contribution, barley rations.

NOTES

(15) The entries in the Chronicle usually begin with the names of an Assyrian and a Babylonian king in close succession, so the broken name should be that of a ruler of Babylon, as recognised by Grayson. Collation suggests the reading b[a], and Baba-aha-iddina suggests himself as the ruler deported previously. A phrase such as *it-ti a-ħa-meš* depends on the verb in line 16. Space is adequate for this restoration.

(16) Grayson's edition gives *ik-nu-x [...] x x tu ma du x [...]* The third sign appears to be š[u] (rather than u[š], tentatively offered by Grayson). Since Adad-nirari's grandfather, Shalmaneser III, had famously shown himself on the Nimrud throne-base touching or shaking hands, on nominally equal terms, with a king of Babylon whom he had supported, the act of mutual bowing seems a reasonable way of expressing friendship. The remaining restoration is less secure because the form *iš-tu-u* would have been preferable though perhaps not essential.

(17) Other act or acts of reconciliation.
 (18) This restoration of the first three signs, not previously read, seems to be required by *um¹-ma-ni-šú*.

(19-20) Grayson's text, with slightly changed translation.

If these proposals are broadly correct, then Adad-nerari III, or rather his mother Semiramis as regent, attempted to solve the Karduniaš problem by promptly reinstating the king whom Šamši-Adad V had deported. It has long been suspected that Semiramis had Babylonian sympathies, since it was under her that Nabu emerged as a major god in Assyria.

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70) Lord Aberdeen's Black Stone – This piece (BM 60-12-1, 1 = 91027, presented by the Earl of Aberdeen : H.C. Rawlinson and E. Norris, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. I [London 1861] no. 49), an irregular oblong in shape, has been frequently published and discussed. There are Assyrian hieroglyphs on its square top, and a cuneiform inscription of Esarhaddon on its four long sides, and it was made for deposit in the foundations of a restored building at Babylon. Stone of this type is not found in Assyria or Babylonia. The inscription has been accommodated to the irregularities of the shape, especially at the corners, which suggests that it was cut from a naturally rounded piece of imported stone rather than from an existing monument. The lines of text are separated by single lines, while three parallel lines separate the columns at the corners. A peculiarity that appears to have passed without comment is that the end of the fourth column of the inscription

continues on to the underside of the object, and that the final line ends with an erasure. About eight signs have been virtually removed, surely too few to have contained information that might have warranted erasure because of a political change between writing and burial. A simple explanation is that the erased signs represented the beginning of a sentence in a continuation of the text, comparable with one found in other versions (R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* [Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 9, Graz 1956] 25-6). The surviving traces are too few and too ambiguous to allow a certain interpretation. It would seem that the person responsible for drafting or cutting the original inscription was uncritical or careless, and either copied more than he should have, or finished in the middle of a sentence when space expired. His mistake was corrected by removal of the superfluous passage. An alternative procedure, not adopted, would have been to make additional rulings for more lines, about four of which could have been accommodated, and continue the text within them.

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71) Early carvings from the Mocatta, Blau, and Herzfeld Collections – Major V.E. Mocatta, O.B.E., of the 7th Lancers, a connection perhaps of the F. D. Mocatta who in 1885 presented a cast of the Marash lion to the British Museum, himself possessed a collection of antiquities which the museum gradually acquired, by gift and purchase, between 1920 and 1928. They were registered there under the numbers 1920-10-19, 1-2 (= 114703-4), 1924-11-12, 1 (= 116686), 1925-1-10, 1-28 (= 116703-116730), 1926-2-15, 1-26 (= 117886-117906), 1927-2-14, 1 (= 118361), 1927-4-9, 1-6 (= 118465-118470), 1928-2-11, 1-67 (= 119298-119345), 1928-7-14, 1 (= 120000), and 1928-7-16, 1-80 (= 120001-120080). One object which certainly came from Warka is the carved trough of the late Uruk period (1928-7-14, 1 = 120000), another fragment of which was bought by the German expedition to the site (E. Lindemeyer and L. Martin, *Uruk Kleinfunde III* [Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka Endberichte, Band 9, Mainz am Rhein, 1991] 94, Taf. 38-40). The Mocatta Collection included many very fine amulets, seals, figures, and bowls of carved stone and inlaid pottery of the same general period (e.g. H. R. Hall, Sumerian stone sculptured vases, *British Museum Quarterly* 2 (1) [1927] 12-15, pls VI-VII). While numerous sites in southern Iraq have Uruk remains on and immediately below the surface, few of them were known before the 1920s, and Uruk itself is the likely provenance for much of the Mocatta Collection. Mocatta, however, also acquired items which must have come on to the market from other Mesopotamian sites, e.g. Ashurbanipal prism fragments from Nineveh (1926-2-15, 21-6 = 117901-6). This means that, although he seems to have had special access to material from Uruk, not all his antiquities were necessarily authentic.

One of Mocatta's unique pieces is a bowl showing huntsmen in a boat pursuing animals (1927-4-9, 2 = 118466), first published by Hall (*ibid*: 14, pl. VI). The carving is dreadful, but all the details are appropriate. The problem is that ancient craftsmen familiar with traditional abstract designs but aiming at representational art can sometimes produce crude work difficult to distinguish from that of a poor modern forger. This is a familiar phenomenon in the field of South Arabian studies, where objects that might once have been dismissed as modern are now accepted as ancient (e.g. W. Seipel, ed., *Jemen : Kunst und Archäologie im Land der Königin von Saba'* [Wien 1998] 335, no. 277; 364, no. 395).

The Blau Monuments in the British Museum (99-4-18, 2-3 = 86260-1) fall into a similar category. Their background was always plausible, since they belonged to Dr Blau, described in February 1885 by J. P. Peters (*Nippur*, vol. I [New York 1897] 348-9) as a German who had been a physician in the Turkish service but was then a general trader at Samawa (near Uruk) in southern Iraq. He had written on Arab ethnography in *Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, and had a fine collection of antiquities which he planned to sell in Germany two years later. In May 1890, again at Samawa, Blau was described by Peters (*ibid*: II, 308) as Austrian and as being «now dealer in antiquities.» The material of the Blau Monuments was identified in 1972 by x-ray diffraction at the British Museum (Mavis Bimson: BMRL 3290) as a low-grade metamorphic rock which could be described as greenstone facies, phyllite or slaty schist. This material was also used for some cylinder-seals, and the Blau Monuments are now accepted as authentic (I. J. Gelb, P. Steinkeller, and R. M. Whiting, *Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Near East : Ancient Kudurrus* [Oriental Institute Publications, vol. 104, Chicago 1991] I, 39-43; II, pls 11-12). Yet their odd appearance, crude carving and incomprehensible script originally led many people to dismiss them. The British Museum paid nothing when it acquired them in 1899 from W. Talbot Ready, a dealer and restorer who had a workshop at the British Museum itself: they were treated only as interesting forgeries. Yet it would have been extremely difficult for a forger in the 1880s, whatever other objects and illustrations he then had to hand, to create objects which have gradually become more rather than less acceptable with the emergence of fresh evidence.

It is therefore necessary to view with some caution another strange object, again in the British Museum (1936-6-13, 255 = 128858), which purports to be late Uruk in date. It is an oblong piece of steatite or similar stone, slightly wedge-shaped and curved, looking like a segment cut from the side of a narrow straight-sided beaker. The exterior is carved in low relief with a scene which is at right-angles to the stance of the beaker, going from bottom to top; it represents an ox, driven by a naked man, which is hauling a sledge on which there sits another man wearing an Uruk-style head-dress. The back of the object incorporates wheel-

marks that might have been produced by a modern lathe. The object is unique, and its function obscure ; if authentic, it was probably an unusual inlay. It belongs to a collection of antiquities purchased in 1936 from the archaeologist, E. Herzfeld, who had already published it (*Aufsätze zur altorientalischen Archäologie III : der Tell Halaf und das Problem der hettitischen Kunst, Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 6 [1934] 203, 223). A modern forger might have been familiar with the pictograms showing a sledge on a stone tablet from Kish, which had been published by S. Langdon (*Excavations at Kish* vol. I [Paris 1924] pl. XXXI. 1-2), and with the discovery at Ur in 1927-8 both of a chariot hauled by oxen and of a sledge thought to have been hauled by asses (C. L. Woolley, *Antiquaries Journal* 8 [1928] 436, 440, 444-5, pl. VIII.1). He might also have anticipated R. H. Dyson's observation (A note on Queen Shub-ad's « onagers, » *Iraq* 22 [1960] 102-4) that the sledge was actually hauled not by asses but by oxen. Alternatively, future discoveries may indicate that the object is authentic after all.

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72) The Holy Grail – Two inscribed stone fragments, excavated at Nippur, were purchased from the University Museum, Philadelphia (CBS 9571+9577 and CBS 9572) by L. A. Waddell, who had identified them as parts of the Holy Grail ; they were later purchased by the British Museum (1939-6-12, 1-2 = 129401-2). They had originally been published as parts of one vessel (H. V. Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A : Cuneiform Tablets*, vol. I, part II [Philadelphia 1896] pl. 46, nos 108-9). J. S. Cooper (Studies in Mesopotamian lapidary inscriptions III, *Iraq* 46 [1984] 92-3, pl. V) states that « they are not part of the same vase at all, despite a similar colour and fabric ... The fragments are of different thickness and curvature. » He has been followed by E. A. Braun-Holzinger (*Mesopotamische Weihgaben der früh-dynastischen bis altbabylonischen Zeit* (Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient, Band 3, Heidelberg [1991] 125). This is not correct. The two fragments are as similar as one can expect such things to be. They are both rim fragments, sharing an original diameter of c. 40-44 cm and a maximum thickness of c. 1.6 cm, and their overall resemblance to one another strongly suggests that they derive from a single deep open bowl. They do have two obviously distinct inscriptions, presumably made at different times : one (129401) is a dedication to Zababa by Uhub or Utuk, an *ensi* of Kish, and the other (129402) a dedication by someone who conquered Ḫamazi (Cooper, *Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions*, vol. I [New Haven 1986] 21). The former inscription is the more clear-cut, which may be due to differential weathering of the stone.

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73) Early Dynastic statues in the British Museum – This note provides information, mainly concerning provenance and derived from museum archives, which is often missing or erroneous in existing publications. Many further details can be found through Braun-Holzinger (1977; 1991) and Spycket (1981) ; the inscriptions are usually behind the right shoulder. For the intricacies of the museum's old numbering systems, see Reade (1986 : xxvii-xxviii). Stone identifications are either based on my own judgement, without scientific study, or were made by the British Museum Research Laboratory (M. Sax, BMRL, 6035, unless otherwise specified) ; a more precise description for those identified below as « alabaster » would be « fine grained massive gypsum (alabaster) ».

1. Statues from Sippar

These derive from Hormuzd Rassam's work at Sippar (Abu Habba) in 1882, when he had probably penetrated early levels of the Šamaš Temple. The best-known statue from these excavations is the following :

83-1-20, 2 = 90828. Seated man with beard, headless, 34 cm high. Limestone? (BMRL). Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 74-5, 84 ; 1991 : 250 ; Cooper 1986 : 87. Dedicated by Arra'il to Šamaš for the life of Ikun-Šamaš of Mari.

This statue was sent to London (Reade 1986 : xxiv, xxxv) before the contents of a later inventory (Leichty and Grayson 1987 : xvii) which mentions « fourteen pieces of marble belonging probably to broken figures » packed with other items in one case, and « ornamented marbles evidently belonging to broken figures » in another two cases. « Marble » was used by Rassam for alabaster, limestone and probably other types of stone. It seems likely that all or nearly all of these pieces were Early Dynastic statues found together in one temple deposit of the kind familiar from the Diyala, and that they should be distinguished from the « collectible » items, from various early sites, which were also excavated at Sippar and formed a quasi museum there (Walker and Collon 1980 : 111-2). The items in Rassam's « two cases » can be identified almost certainly with the following two unusually large and solid items, each of which will have needed a case of its own. Size also explains why this pair are absent from the early museum registers, since it seems to have been a regular

practice to place on immediate display, and consequently leave unregistered, some of the more imposing objects which arrived in the museum.

115030. Lower part of standing figure, 55 cm high. Alabaster Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 94.

115033. Lower part of seated figure, 40 cm high. Alabaster. Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 94.

The group of fourteen pieces in one case must include some of the following, which are listed with other material by Walker and Collon (1980 : 96-8).

82-9-18A, 1 = 104734. Lower part of seated figure, 20 cm high. Alabaster (BMRL). Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 84.

82-9-18A, 2 = 104728. Greater part of standing woman, 22 cm high. Alabaster (BMRL). Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 75, 84 ; 1991 : 251 ; Steible 1982 : 263. Dedication.

82-9-18A, 3 = 104729. Greater part of standing figure, 23 cm high. Alabaster (BMRL). Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 84.

82-9-18A, 5 = 91877. Bearded man's head, 11 cm high. Alabaster. Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 84. Originally inlaid eyes, some bitumen on surface. Colour illustration : Reade 2000 : 44, fig. 40.

82-9-18A, 6 = 114698. Lower part of standing figure, 16 cm high. Alabaster. Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 84. A dowel-hole in the top, at waist level, indicates that this statue was made in two pieces.

82-9-18A, 8 = 104730. Lower part of seated figure, 17 cm high. Alabaster. Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 84.

82-9-18A, 9 = 120442. Lower part of figure, 15 cm high. Alabaster. Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 84. Holes for dowel and tenon in the base indicates that it was mounted on a stand in antiquity.

82-9-18A, 10 = 114700. Lower part of seated woman, 11 cm high. Dolomite? (BMRL) ; to the eye, the material resembles alabaster. Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 75, 84 ; 1991 : 252 ; Steible 1982 : 263. Dedication involving children.

82-9-18A, 11 = 120449. Lower part of standing figure, 11 cm high. Alabaster. This was wrongly marked as 120499, which is therefore the number given by Braun-Holzinger (1977 : 84) and Walker and Collon (1980 : 97).

82-9-18A, 12 = 115031. Greater part of seated woman, 10 cm high. Alabaster (BMRL). Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 84. The end of the first and only line of an inscription, on the front of the right shoulder, is read by I. L. Finkel probably as [...] ¹d¹ en²-lf¹? or possibly as [...] AJN.ŠE².NIR?

82-9-18A, 17. Part of bearded man, 16 cm high. Alabaster. Walker and Collon 1980 : 97. The figure is partly covered in bitumen, added after it had been broken.

Possibly 83-1-18, 2608. Lower part of standing figure, 11 cm high. Alabaster. Walker and Collon 1980 : 97.

This is twelve, but the remaining two were not necessarily either Early Dynastic or human. Candidates include 82-9-18A, 7 = 114699 ; 83-1-18, 702 ; and 1983-1-1, 86 = 139616, all three of which are parts of somewhat later statues ; and 91879, an Early Dynastic lionhead of alabaster (BMRL) published by Hall and Woolley (1927 : 54) and probably not from « Kunsthändel » (cf. Braun-Holzinger 1991 : 325). The following piece sent by Rassam from Sippar, probably in an earlier consignment, may belong in the « museum » category :

82-7-14, 4448 = 60036. Inscribed fragment of right shoulder, 9.5 cm high. Alabaster. Excavated by Rassam at Sippar. Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 74, 84 ; 1991 : 251 ; Steible 1982 : 262. Dedication to Ninmen.

2. Statues from Ubaid, Ur, Eridu and Terqa

1919-10-11, 2606 = 114206. Upper part of headless man, 34 cm high. Grey limestone. Hall and Woolley 1927 : 19, 27, pl. IX ; Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 73, 80 ; 1991 : 252 ; Steible 1982 : 282, no. 7. Excavated from the temple at Tell al-Ubaid, with an inscription on its back naming KUR.É (« Kurlil »), the official from Uruk who worked on this building. Objects from it were generally in good repair, apparently abandoned during refurbishment operations. This statue in contrast had been « much battered, and a hole driven through it », and no other parts of it were found, as if it had been deliberately damaged by people who disliked control from Uruk.

1919-10-11, 2607 = 114207. Greater part of seated man, 37 cm high. Greenstone (A. Middleton : BMRL 5182). Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 73, 80 ; 1991 : 252 ; Steible 1982 : 283, no. 8. Excavated from the temple at Tell al-Ubaid.

1927-5-27, 36 = 118563. Man's head, 8 cm high. Alabaster (BMRL). Woolley 1956 : 171, pl. 42. Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 81. Excavated at Ur (U 6417). Originally inlaid eyes.

1927-10-3, 58 = 119063. Greater part of seated man, headless, 42 cm high. Greenstone. Woolley 1956 : 47, pl. 41 ; Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 73, 81 ; 1991 : 253 ; Steible 1982 : 287. Inscription of Dada-ilum. Excavated at Ur (U 2732).

1918-10-12, 120. Left elbow fragment (if correctly interpreted). Length of forearm 10 cm, upper arm 6, diameter of upper arm 4.6. Limestone. A broken area at the back of the elbow suggests that it rested on something. Excavated or found at Eridu (Abu Shahrain).

1936-6-13, 27-3 = 128872. Standing man, 8.5 cm high. Alabaster (BMRL). Purchased. Obtained at Terqa (Tell Ashara) by the previous owner, Ernst Herzfeld (1914 : 132, pl. I.1).

3. Statues from a Diyala site?

Several pieces of Early Dynastic statuary, some now joined, were acquired in 1851 by purchase from Henry Rawlinson ; they were all then registered as « alabaster », although one is limestone. Otherwise the fragments are similar to one another in general appearance, and the limbs have a distinctive attenuated appearance. It seems likely that Rawlinson acquired all or nearly all of them from a single temple deposit ; perhaps some reference to their origin exists among his papers, which are widely dispersed. While Early Dynastic statues were not normally on the market in the 1840s, local people were aware of the demand for antiquities. For instance, Mignan (1929 : 74) noted that already in 1827 « some of the wealthy Turks and Armenians, who are collecting for several French and German Consuls, hire people to go in search of coins, medals, and antique gems : and I am assured they never return to their employers empty-handed. » Similarly William Loftus (1857 : 104) noted that by 1850 even the remote site of Fara was popular with « antique-hunters, who find a ready sale for their treasures among the Europeans at Baghdad ». Any one of the Diyala sites, which are close to Baghdad and much eroded, is an obvious possibility as the provenance of these statues. Tutub (Khafaje) and Eshnunna (Tell Asmar) are on an 1848 map accompanying a paper by Jones (1857 : 33-134) ; he does not say that they produced antiquities, but Ešnunna bricks were known from the 1890s at the latest (Frayne 1990 : 516). A provenance near the Diyala or downstream on the Tigris would suit the proposition that 1851-10-9, 130 was dedicated to a god of Der (Badra), which is slightly further east ; this detail would hardly have been given had the shrine been at Der itself.

There has been a problem in correlating the original British Museum register entries with the statues themselves, since 1851-10-9, 154-6 were first entered without numbers, as « 8 portions of drapery » whereas they are actually put together from eleven fragments. Until recently, however, they did indeed consist of eight portions, some of which incorporated more than one fragment, and the remaining joins have been made since. The entire collection can be identified, as follows :

1851-10-9, 127 = 90945, ex-12077. Headless standing figure, 32 cm high. Alabaster. Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 84.

1851-10-9, 128 = 104731. Headless bearded standing man, 25 cm high. Alabaster (BMRL). Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 75, 84; 1991 : 254; Steible 1982 : 344, no. 7. Inscription virtually destroyed.

1851-10-9, 129 = 104732. Headless standing figure, 22 cm high. Alabaster. Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 84; 1991 : 254; Steible 1982 : 344, no. 8. Inscription largely destroyed.

1851-10-9, 130 = 22470. Headless standing figure, 17.5 cm high. Limestone. Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 74, 84; 1991 : 254; Steible 1982 : 343-4, no. 6. The inscription is a dedication to Nin-šubur by Enzi and his son Amar-kiku. Finkel has suggested that the sign EZEN x BAD accompanying the divine name may indicate that this was Nin-šubur of the city of Der.

1851-10-9, 131 = 119398. Headless figure seated on animal-leg chair, 18 cm high. Alabaster. Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 84.

1851-10-9, 154 = 90928, ex-12057, + 90943, ex-12075. Lower part of back of figure, put together from three fragments, 15.5 cm high. Alabaster.

1851-10-9, 155 = 90944, ex-12076. Lower part of righthand side of figure, put together from three fragments, 18 cm high. Alabaster.

1851-10-9, 156 = 116667, ex-90942, ex-12074. Lower part of standing figure, put together from five fragments, 22.5 cm high. Alabaster. Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 84 (then only 15 cm high).

4. Statue from Umma?

90929, ex-12058. Standing woman, 30 cm high. Limestone? (BMRL). How this statue was acquired is not known, but it may well come from Umma (Tell Yokha). The provenance of Telloh, often ascribed to it, is rightly defined by Braun-Holzinger (1977 : 61, 80, Taf. 25 a-b) as « nicht sicher » : Rassam would probably have mentioned it had he found it there. The 1892 edition of the *British Museum Guide* (p. 92) described the statue as representing someone from Lagash, and it was once labelled with this provenance, but that was obviously a guess. The reason for suggesting Umma is that Loftus (1857 : 116) states : « In 1854 I obtained a similar but smaller statue from the neighbouring mound of Yokha, which was likewise sent to England ». A statement by Peters (1897 : II, 280) that Loftus found at Yokha « a small stone statue of the Tello school of art » is presumably no more than a deduction from what Loftus himself wrote, as Loftus was comparing his Umma figure with a large dolerite Gudea he had found at Tell Hammam (50-12-28, 21-23 = 92988). The styles of the two pieces may have seemed to Loftus, in 1854, much closer than they do to us today : at least they both show free-standing figures in long robes. Otherwise, as noted by Sollberger (1968 : 143), the Loftus statue from Yokha is missing both from the reserves and from the registers of the museum.

5. Statues of uncertain provenance

54-4-1, 31 = 91667. Upper part of man, 15 cm high. Calcite (BMRL), slightly pink. Purchased in 1854 from Felix Jones, who commanded a ship on the Tigris (e.g. Layard 1853 : 473). The material suggests an unusual source, but the piece is certainly authentic. Braun-Holzinger (1977 : 75, 84; 1991 : 255) ascribed the statue to her « Stilstufe I », and pointed out that at least one of two inscriptions on its back must have been

added at a later date, but her suggested provenance near Babylon is unsafe. At some stage the nose was a separate attachment. Illustrated in colour by Reade (2000 : 43, fig. 38).

56-9-3, 353 = 115032. Man's head, 8 cm high. Alabaster. This weathered Early Dynastic piece is ascribed in the museum register to Kuyunjik (Nineveh), but the 56-9-3 collection includes material from the excavations of Loftus at many sites in northern and southern Iraq, and at Susa, and provenances were sometimes confused. Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 84.

1901-10-12, 1128 = 95475. Fragment of hair from the back of a head, with parting, 5.3 cm high. Alabaster. Purchased from I. E. Géjou in 1901.

1914-4-4, 3251 = 113185. Standing man, 6 cm high. Alabaster. Purchased from I. E. Géjou in 1914. Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 84.

1924-7-24, 1 = 116666. Standing woman, 23 cm high. Alabaster (BMRL). Given by the National Art Collections Fund, by purchase from E. Herzfeld. Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 84.

1926-11-13, 22 = 118073. Fragment of right shoulder and arm, 11.5 cm high. Dense black stone. Purchased from I. E. Géjou. Mentioned by Hall (1927 : 15). Inscription (courtesy I. L Finkel) : (1) silim-abzu-ta (2) lú-UŠ.SAL (3) dīnanna-ke₄ : Silimabzuta, hermaphrodite of Inanna.

1926-11-13, 23 = 118074. Fragment of right shoulder and back, 9.5 cm high. Greenstone. Purchased from I. E. Géjou. Three-line inscription of « ancient kudurru » type.

6. Pieces of uncertain date

104733. Standing figure, headless, 6.3 cm high. Limestone? The statue is certainly an early (nineteenth-century) acquisition although an abraded date-number written on it, resembling 4-7-21, 214, has not been located in the museum registers. It may perhaps derive from Claude Scott Stewart, whose 41-7-26 collection included a remarkable range of small Mesopotamian antiquities. There are two holes in the base, apparently for separate legs, but the head was integral; a circular hollow in the right chest suggests the former presence of inlay. The cloak is indicated by diagonal lineation, not of the « kaunakes » type, and there is a wide fringe at its bottom. Late Early Dynastic?

41-7-26, 33 = 118514. Human head, 1.8 cm high. Limestone. This piece, with eyes that were once inlaid, was indicated by Braun-Holzinger (1977 : 84) in her list of Early Dynastic statues in the British Museum, but it is a vertically perforated pendant, not evidently Sumerian.

7. Other statues in Early Dynastic style

The following pieces were acquired after the Khafaje discoveries had created a demand for statues in Early Dynastic style.

1933-4-8, 7 = 123285. Man's head, 5 cm high. Alabaster (BMRL). Purchased from I. E. Géjou. Braun-Holzinger 1977 : 84. Probably ancient.

1963-7-13, 1 = 134300. Standing man, 29 cm high. Alabaster (BMRL). Purchased. Formerly owned by the sculptor Sir Jacob Epstein. Its status is uncertain, since Braun-Holzinger (1977 : 84) suggested that it might not be ancient.

1969-7-22, 2 = 135155. Woman's head. Marble. Height 3.8 cm. Purchased, and said to be from Kish. Mitchell 1972 : 131. Inlays are missing from the eyes. It is much like a well-known Diyala head (Frankfort 1943 : pls 43-4), but there are many traces of red pigment on the hair, and the eyebrows form a straight line, with a single vertical line in the middle of the forehead. The neck seems too thin to have been directly attached to a body. Presumably modern.

1970-7-13, 1 = 135427. Bearded man's head. Limestone? Height 8 cm. Purchased. Mitchell 1972 : 131. Presumably modern.

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J. E. READE (6-12-00)

74) The Standard of Ur – This famous and frequently reproduced object from the Early Dynastic Royal Tomb 779 at Ur, U 11164, now 1928-10-10, 3 = 121201 in the British Museum, was originally reconstructed with the individual inlays in positions as close as possible to those in which they had been found by C. L. Woolley (*Ur Excavations*, vol. II : *the Royal Cemetery* [London and Philadelphia 1934] 61-2, pls 91-3); the drawings then published were based on photographs (*ibid* : vii). The object was consolidated in the field with paraffin wax. The Standard was displayed in the museum, but by July 1961 problems were being encountered in hot weather, when the wax was liable to melt. The same problem affected the Royal Game of Ur, 1928-10-9, 378 = 120834, and what was then the « harp-lyre », 1928-10-10, 1 = 121198. This eventually necessitated further conservation work. It was decided that during work on the Standard, which was completed about September 1973, the arrangement of the inlays should be adjusted. This affects all four sides of the Standard but especially the end-pieces, and accounts for differences between Woolley's illustrations and modern photographs such as those published by R. Dolce (*Gli Intarsi Mesopotamici dell'Epoca Protodinastica*, vol. II (Roma 1978) Tav. XXI-XXII).

J. E. READE (6-12-00)

75) Early foundation records from the Ištar Temple at Nineveh – Fragments of two monuments or foundation records, apparently one cylindrical and one rectangular, both made of identical imported black stone (olivine gabbro), inscribed with parts of Maništušu's « standard inscription », and looking as if they were carved during a single building project, possibly at Nippur, were found in the Sippar « museum » (D. R. Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period 2003-1595 BC* [The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods, vol. 4, Toronto 1990] 74-6, with further references). If this was Maništušu's normal practice, also applied to his reconstruction of the Ištar Temple at Nineveh, it would explain why Šamši-Adad I, who rebuilt the Ištar Temple and refers to the earlier work of which he must have found records during demolition, used the same two shapes, cylindrical and rectangular, for his own foundation records; these are made from black stone, which must have been imported to Assyria. A. K. Grayson (*Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC to 1115 BC* [The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods, vol. 1, Toronto 1987] 51-4) states that all

the existing fragments of Šamši-Adad's inscription derive from stone cylinders, but two of them (BM 1932-12-10, 7, whose complete width is 12 cm, and 1904-10-9, 365 + 1932-12-10, 7a = 99332) are actually from rectangular blocks. The temple was again restored by Aššur-uballit I. What appears to be one of this king's foundation records for the building is written on a rectangular block of imported black stone ; it is in archaizing script and refers to the work of his predecessors (*ibid* : 115-6). The British Museum also holds one unpublished fragment of a circular monument or foundation record of black stone inscribed in archaizing script (55-12-5, 104 = 104406 : extant height 13.5 cm, width 7, estimated diameter about 35) ; it is registered as coming from Nineveh (Kuyunjik), although this is not necessarily reliable. An upper line names Ištar, and there are the ends of six lines of text in smaller script below ; an ascription to Aššur-uballit would be speculative. Nonetheless it looks as if the shape, script and unusual material of Šamši-Adad I's foundation records represented a deliberate attempt to emulate those of Maništušu, and as if Aššur-uballit, to some extent anyway, did the same. Šamši-Adad uses two words often paired, *naru* and *temmēnu*, to describe the foundation records of Maništušu and himself. Is it possible that the distinction between them had something to do with shape?

J. E. READE (6-12-00)

76) The reign of Adad-šuma-uṣur – C. B. F. Walker (Babylonian Chronicle 25 : a chronicle of the Kassite and Isin II dynasties, in G. Van Driel et al. ed, *Zikir Šumim, Assyriological Studies presented to F. R. Kraus* [Leiden 1982] 398-417, especially 400-9) suggested that the chronicle BM 27796, which he had identified, favoured a « picture of Adad-shuma-usur's reign ... quite different from that which was previously envisaged. » This may be correct, but only the ends of the critical lines 1-10 are preserved. More than half is missing, so that many alternative restorations of the sense are possible. One restoration (largely following Walker's translation of what survives, but substituting the name of Adad-šuma-uṣur for that of Tukulti-Ninurta I in line 1, specifying what Enlil-kudur-uṣur did in line 4, and following a suggestion favoured by W. G. Lambert for *ú-bar-ma* in the context of line 9) might be as follows :

(1) [Adad-šuma-uṣur] seized [Babylon and Sip]par and controlled Karduniaš. (2) [Something he] restored. He (re)built the wall of Nippur. (3) [Something] he established. Enlil-kudur-uṣur, king of the land of Aššur (4) [attacked and seized the city of Babylon. Adad-šuma-uṣur mobilized] and attacked and defeated him. (5) [The nobles of the land of Aššur] seized [Enlil-kudu]r-uṣur their lord and surrendered him to Adad-šuma-uṣur. (6) [They returned to their own land. As for the people] of Karduniaš who had fled to the land of Aššur, (7) [the nobles of the land of Aššur to Adad-šu]ma-uṣur surrendered <them>. Adad-šuma-uṣur, to conquer the city <of Babylon>, (8) [marched.] Somebody, the son of a nobody, whose name is not mentioned, (9) [abandoned the city. Adad-šuma-uṣulr established legality at the news, and eternal divine protection was extended over him. (10) [Adad-šuma-uṣur was] ruler and established himself on his royal throne.

It is not suggested that the above restoration is more likely than Walker's, only that what really happened remains far from clear and that the traditional view of Adad-šuma-uṣur's reign is not necessarily invalidated by BM 27996. Maybe Adad-šuma-uṣur was indeed ruler of Babylon for many years, but lost control of the city for a time during a war with the Assyrians. There are yet other possibilities, especially if *ālu* in line 7 could refer to Aššur rather than Babylon, given the amount missing from the text, this cannot be excluded.

J. E. READE (6-12-00)

77) The stone tablet from « Za'aleh » – There is an anomaly concerning the provenance of this Marduk-nadin-ahhe tablet, 51-10-9, 45 = 90938, in the British Museum (L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones* [London 1912] 98-9, no. XXV). Henry Rawlinson states (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 10 [1847] 23) : « I have at present before my eyes a very perfect relic of this class, which was lately disinterred from the ruins of Cutha... It consists of forty lines of writing, engraved on the two faces of a black, barrel-shaped stone ; on one side the legend is as clear as if only recently inscribed ; on the other it is a good deal mutilated. » This description fits 90938, which belonged to him. On the other hand he later gave the provenance of 90938 as « Za'aleh near Musáib on the Euphrates » (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 12 [1850] 477, n. 1). The Za'aleh provenance was later repeated (H. C. Rawlinson and E. Norris, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. I [London 1861] no. 66), « 12 miles [i.e. 19.5 km] N.-W. of Babylon », and is now established in the literature. Probably Rawlinson (who certainly knew the location of Kutha, claiming to have discovered it in 1845) was originally misinformed about where the tablet had been found, and therefore Za'aleh is correct, but further evidence would be required to render the provenance certain. Its significance is that this tablet was a local duplicate of the official record which was kept centrally at Babylon (J. A. Brinkman, Remarks on two kudurrus from the Second Dynasty of Isin, *Revue d'Assyriologie* 61 (1967) 70-4). As the text concerns land near the head of the Salmani Canal, otherwise unknown, this canalhead was probably near Musayyib.

J. E. READE (6-12-00)

78) Assyrian sculptures in the British Museum : technical notes – A fragment of a wall-panel in the British Museum, 1983-1-1, 47 = 139504, which is 30 cm high and 47 cm wide., shows a soldier (on the left) holding a man by the hair in order to cut his head off with a sword. It is very worn, but looks as if it comes from the palace of Tiglath-pileser at Nimrud. It was probably acquired in the nineteenth century, and was omitted from the relevant catalogue (R.D. Barnett and M. Falkner, *The Sculptures of Tiglath-pileser III*, London 1962).

Another fragment, 139499 = 1983-1-1, 42 (R. D. Barnett, E. Bleibtreu, and G. Turner, *Sculptures from the Southwest Palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh* [London 1998] 141, pl. 513, no. 743) does not merely show « soldiers, facing left, climbing up a hill » but also the king, with his walking-stick, being helped uphill by soldiers. The same volume omits a fragment of a 4-line caption (81-2-4, 5). The piece is 12 cm high, 8.5 wide, and 8 thick, and is made of the fossiliferous limestone typical of Room XXXIII, which has several such captions (e.g. *ibid* : 100, pl. 320, no. 419). The way in which the surface of the stone is recessed above the text shows that it derives from a carved wall-panel ; many other wall-panel fragments in the 81-2-4 collection were from the Til-Tuba battle-scene or nearby compositions in Room XXXIII. It reads (I. L. Finkel) : (1) [...] LU]GAL-u-t[i ...] (2) [... r/d]a na-an-[...] (3) -áš tar/qud/sil-[...] (4) [...] 'pa/di/sag at/ši¹ [...]. The first line can be restored as šarrūti, but no parallel has been noted between the remainder and the captions published by E. F. Weidner (*Assyrische Beschreibungen der Kriegs-Reliefs Assurbanapis*, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 8 [1932-3] 175-203).

A North Palace wall-panel showing apotropaic figures, 1856-9-9, 26 = 118918 (R. D. Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal* [London 1976] 36, pl. IV), was found on removal from its place of display to have a rosette carved in low relief on its upper surface, near the right end, recalling one more roughly incised on top of the Aššurnaširpal Banquet Stela from Nimrud (M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains*, vol. I [London 1966] 62). Two small pieces from hunting scenes, 1932-12-12, 5 = 124275 and 1932-12-10, 42 = 135424, excavated by R. Campbell Thompson in the temple area of Nineveh, and tentatively ascribed to panel 22 in Room S (*ibid* : 49, pl. XLIV), are made of limestone, not alabaster, Edith Porada observed to me that they are likely to derive from a Middle Assyrian obelisk or comparable monument. Another fragment, AOC 35 = 135107, « probably a captured Chaldaean » (*ibid* : 62, pl. LXXII cc), acquired before 1940, is a poor limestone fake.

Astute observation by an expert outside the British Museum led in September 1998 to the recovery of two fragments, 97-10-8, 5 = 102076 (Aššurnaširpal), and AOC 41 (Aššurbanipal), which had been missing since about 1960 (E. F. Weidner, Altorientalische Altertümer in Museen und Privatsammlungen : London, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 20 [1963] 197-200, Figs 7, 15). They were found among material rescued from a fire which damaged a residence about the time of its occupant's death ; it seems possible that ten other missing fragments (*ibid* : Figs 6, 8-14, 17-18) had been kept at the same premises, and that they were destroyed in the fire or discarded with other detritus in the aftermath.

J. E. READE (6-12-00)

79) The distribution of Assyrian sculptures – There remains some confusion over the way in which Assyrian sculptures from the British excavations of 1845-55 came to be so widely distributed around the world. It may therefore be helpful to print a letter about the matter written by Sir Henry Rawlinson, who had been the agent of the Trustees of the British Museum in Baghdad, and formally responsible for the excavations after Layard's departure in 1851 (C. J. Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria*, London 1936). He was clearly responding to a question or complaint from Anthony Panizzi, the Principal Librarian and administrative head of the museum, about a shipment that had only just reached England. The original letter is in the British Museum Central Archive, Original Letters and Papers, vol. LXII (Jan-Mar 1859) 231. It is in Rawlinson's hand, dated Thursday January 6th 1859, and runs as follows :

My dear Panizzi,

I think you are wrong in supposing the William and Mary to be « freighted with Sculptures from Nineveh » - She may have a few such cases on board, say half a dozen, but I doubt if there are more - At any rate the whole affair is quite above board and unexceptionable in all its details - I have referred to my correspondence and find as follows - Sir H Ellis wrote to me in Nov. 1854 to say that there was no room in the Museum for further general collections of Sculpture, and that I must accordingly only send home a few of the best marbles as specimens - and at the same time I was authorized to dispose of the residue of the marbles at Nineveh as I thought best. Accordingly I made over nearly 100 slabs to the French. I furnished the Crystal Palace Company with 30 or 40 slabs which have since been transferred to Berlin - I gave others to the Americans and the Swedes - and finally allowed private parties, Mr Hector, Mr Loftus and others to carry off the remainder for distribution amongst their friends, or presentation to Museums in England - I have no special knowledge, or at any rate no recollection, of any arrangement between Mr Loftus and the Newcastle Museum, but I have no doubt that the marbles now arriving are those which I permitted Mr Loftus to take possession of, in accordance with the views of the Trustees - I have only to add that the Museum has been at no expense whatever in regard to the freight of these marbles and that the whole transaction seems to me perfectly regular

and proper.

Yours very sincerely, H.C. Rawlinson

The script is clear, except for the words « very sincerely » in the last line, which I may have misread. Sir Henry Ellis had been Panizzi's predecessor in the post of Principal Librarian. William Loftus had died in 1858.

J. E. READE (6-12-00)

80) Elam after the Assyrian sack of Susa in 647 BC – F. Vallat (Le royaume élamite de Zamin et les « lettres de Ninive », *Iranica Antiqua* 33 [1998] 95-106) has again argued that the Elamite tablets recorded as coming from the Assyrian capital of Nineveh were really found at Malamir in Iran, and suggests that they were dispatched to London at irregular intervals from a British equivalent (which would have to be the hut on Kuyunjik or the house of the British consul at Mosul) of the French *château* at Susa. As the question has wider implications, it is necessary to state that the evidence for their excavation at Nineveh (Kuyunjik), during a series of British Museum expeditions between 1847 and 1891, as given in NABU 1992/119, would be strengthened rather than weakened were Vallat's proposal, that the tablets once formed a single archive, to be proved correct by proper publication of their contents. While the stratigraphy is unknown, the indices to most volumes of *State Archives of Assyria* demonstrate that most seventh-century Assyrian archives found at Nineveh had been dispersed in a very similar way. The mention of an Assyrian king in Nin. 13, as in other Elamite documents from Susa itself, seems to constitute additional evidence for a date well before the fall of Nineveh in 612. Obvious hypotheses are that the tablets were captured in Elam by Assyrians and sent to Nineveh, or that they had been carried there by an Elamite official or refugee. Vallat mentions relationships between the Nineveh tablets and others from Susa, but these latter are themselves not securely dated.

The only evidence for British excavations at Malamir seems to be a remark by J. de Morgan, followed by G. Jéquier (*Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse* III [Paris 1901] 134), and quoted by Vallat in NABU 1988/39. W. K. Loftus, however, to whom de Morgan tentatively attributed the discovery of these tablets, first visited Iran and excavated at Susa in the spring of 1850 (*Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana* [London 1857] 278 ff.), nearly two years after the first Elamite tablet from Nineveh had been entered in the British Museum register. A. H. Layard (*Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana and Babylonia*, vol. I [London 1887] 404-9) had visited Malamir about 1841, but he was lucky to escape with his life and with some copies (not *moulages*) of rock-inscriptions. It is possible that some other Englishman visited Malamir between 1841 and 1848, but the theory that the Nineveh tablets were found there derives from the coincidence that they were among the first ones written in Elamite to be identified, and that Malamir was one of the first places where Elamite rock-inscriptions were recorded. The theory fits one historical reconstruction, according to which Elam took a long time to recover from Assyrian invasions, but that is no reason to adopt it.

The political situation is that the Assyrians sacked Susa in 647 (rather than 646, as often stated). So far as we know, that was their last important campaign in Elam. However much chaos the Assyrians caused, they did not destroy the institution of Elamite kingship, since Ummanaldaš was still king for a time, followed by one « Pa-'e-e » who then went to Assyria as a political refugee according to Ashurbanipal's Cylinder A (R. Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* [Wiesbaden 1996] 59-60); this text was written within the period 645-640, probably about 644. Presumably Elamite reconstruction began soon after the departure of the Assyrian army in 647, and this is just the kind of context in which, following Vallat's readings (*ibid*: 97-8), we should look for people such as Ba-ḥu-ri, named in the Elamite tablets from Nineveh as attempting to found a new dynasty. Given the difficulties which Assyrian scribes had in rendering Elamite names, could Pa'e even have been identical with Bahuri? Maybe not, but that is another question. What is now needed is a full new publication of the Nineveh Elamite tablets, and a reconsideration of the date of the archaeological material associated with similar tablets at Susa.

J. E. READE (6-12-00)

81) Stela fragments from Babylon in the British Museum – R. Koldewey (*Die Königsburgen von Babylon*, II : die Hauptburg und die Sommerpalast Nebukadnezars im Hügel Babil [Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 55, Osnabrück 1932] 22-3) lists fragments of one or more basalt stelas of Nabonidus found on the northern approach to the Ishtar Gate at Babylon. Details of three of the fragments that seemed to be missing at the time of his publication, namely Bab. 2728, 3379, and 3419, conform exactly with three in the British Museum, where they are numbered respectively 1928-2-11, 1, 1b, and 1a; the group also bears the collective number 119298. The 1928-2-11 collection had been purchased from Major V. E. Mocatta. The appropriate excavation number, written in light blue ink, is clear on the base of 1928-2-11, 1b, and traces of light blue survive on the back of 1928-2-11, 1a.

J. E. READE (6-12-00)

82) On the Patronymy of Šu-Suen – In my forthcoming publication of the Nesbit Tablets, there exists a Puzriš-Dagan tablet with the unique personal name, *Šu-Suen-walid-Šulgi* (« Šu-Suen-born-of-Šulgi »). As far as I can ascertain, there is only one other indication outside of the Sumerian king list that Šu-Suen is, in fact, Šulgi's son. Given the uniqueness of the name, one might speculate on the possibility that this is actually Šu-Suen's full name. I provide a complete transliteration here in advance of its final publication.

Nesbit 66 (SS 4/vii/21)

(1) [1? máš-ga]l-niga-3-kam-úš (2) [3?] sila₄ (3) hu-un-dšul-gi (4) 4 udu-aslum_X (A.LUM)-ú 1 sila₄ (5) *ilum-dan* (6) 8 udu-ú 2 máš-gal-ú (7) 1 sila₄ (8) *kur-bi-la-ak lú-ba-šim-eki* (9) 2 gukkal-giš-dù-ú (10) árad-mu (11) 1 sila₄ ur-niq-gar (12) 1 sila₄ *ik-šu-tum* (13) 1 gu₄-niga 7 udu-ú (rev. 14) 2 máš-gal-ú 1 udu[-ú?] (15) dšu-dsuen-wa-li-/id-dšul-gi (16) 1 gu₄-ú 6 udu-ú (17) 3 máš-gal-ú 1 sila₄ (18) *la-ma-ha-ar kù-gál* (19) 1 sila₄ e-DU-a (20) u₄-21-kam mu-DU-lugal (21) in-ta-è-a ì-dab₅ (22) giri *nu-úr-dsuen* dub-sar (23) iti ezem-dšul-g[i] (24) mu bád-mar-tu-m[u-/r]i-iq-ti-i[d-ni]-/im ba-dù (side 25) 2 gu₄ 44 udu

Seal : *nu-úr-dsuen / dub-[sar] / dumu i-ti-èr-[ra]*

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83) Oriental Institute Research Archives Acquisitions Lists – The Research Archives of the Oriental Institute is one of the better libraries of ancient Near Eastern studies in North America. Organized in 1972 as the successor to the Oriental Institute Library when that collection was subsumed in the University of Chicago's Regenstein Library, the Research Archives seeks to provide comprehensive coverage of the ancient Near East to serve the reference and research needs of Oriental Institute projects, faculty, staff, students and members.

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4. Acquisitions - May 2000 : <http://www-oi.uchicago.edu/OI/DEPT/RA/RABooks.2000.5.html>
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84) Additional material on Ugaritic *rt* – The Ugaritic term *rt*, which occurs three times in the corpus (KTU 4.203:8 ; 4.206:2 and 4.337:12), evidently denotes fabric or clothing¹, valued at one and a half silver shekels (KTU 4.337:12-13).² One meaning suggested is 'linen garment'³, but as ever the problem is its etymology. It is generally accepted that Ug. *rt* may be explained by Arab. *rīt*, *rayṭa*, which denotes a garment woven as one piece or one that is thin and soft (Lane, *Arab-English Lexicon* I, 1200f.)⁴, and perhaps by Mishnaic Hebrew *rē'iyāh*, « Verband, Pflaster » (Dalman, *Handwörterbuch*, 384)⁵. However, there may be a better cognate than

Akk. *raddi/adu*, « Ein Kleidungsstück » (AHw, 941)⁶, as previously proposed, where the equivalence of Akk. *d* to Ug. *t* is somewhat weak. It is in fact Akk. *urṭū* (also *erṭū*, *uriṭū*, Nuzi *urṭā`iū*)⁷, glossed « Urṭā-Pflanze, -Farbe » (AHw, 1434b).⁸ Of particular relevance is meaning 4 : « Ginsterfarbstoff, gelb-bläuliche Wolle » (*ibid.*), with references to Nuzi *urṭā`iū*, denoting fabric and to NA *urṭū*, denoting wool.

1. « A kind of garment » : Gordon, UT glossary 19.2328, p. 484 ; « un tejido o una prenda de vestir (de textura ligera y fina) », DLU, 395b.
2. For the price cf. R. Stieglitz, « Commodity Prices at Ugarit », *JAOS* 99 (1979) 15-23 : « A garment called *rt* was traded for one shekel and a *nsp* of silver (= 1 1/2 or 1 4/5 shekels » (p. 19). On *nsp* see now DLU, vol II, 334 (« medio [siclo] » [o “siclo débil”...]).
3. M. Heltzer, « The Economy of Ugarit », in W. G. E. Watson - N. Wyatt, *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies* (HdO I/39 ; Leiden 1999) 437.
4. J. Aistleitner, *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache*, 293 §2509, where Virolleaud’s Arabic etymology in PRU II, pp. 165 and 214 is quoted.
5. P. Xella - S. Ribichini, *La terminologia dei tessili nei testi di Ugarit* (Collezione di Studi Fenici 20 ; Rome 1985) 62 and F. Renfroe, *Arabic-Ugaritic Lexical Studies* (ALASP 5 ; Münster 1992) 142, n. 11. See also HALOT, 1223 on Heb. *rt*.
6. Quoted by Xella - Ribichini, *La terminologia dei tessili nei testi di Ugarit*, 62 and by Renfroe, *Arabic-Ugaritic Lexical Studies*, 142. See now *raddidu*, « (a garment) » (CAD R, 60).
7. Although an initial vowel would be expected in Ugaritic. However, cf. Ug. *utħt*, « incense burner » and Akk. *šēħtu*, with the same meaning (cf. DLU, 60).
8. « 1.(a resinous bush), 2. (a dye, dyed wool). 3. (part of date palm, phps.) “fibre”; 4. (a dove) » according to J. Black - A. George - N. Postgate, eds., *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian* (Wiesbaden 2000) 427a. They suggest the derivation is from a place name.

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85) Cognates from CAD R for some rare Ugaritic words – The welcome publication of the R volume of CAD (vol. 14, 1999) allows certain obscure Ugaritic words to be identified somewhat better, as the following notes indicate.

- (1) *rib*, « a metal container » (KTU 4.386:13) : instead of Akk. *rību* (see entry (3) below), as in DLU, 380, cf. Akk. *ra'abu*, « (a vessel for, or a quality of beer) » (CAD R, 1), which like the Ug. word includes an alef.
- (2) The obscure verb *r̄š*, predicated of horses (DLU, 380) and the noun *ruš*, denoting a disease of the head (DLU, 381), may perhaps be explained by Akk. *rašānu*, *ra'šānu*, *rāšānu*, « (a disease) » (CAD R, 191). Less likely is a comparison with *rašū* (*resū*), « to itch » (CAD R, 207) and *rišūtu*, « (a skin disease, lit. itch) » (CAD R, 381-382) as this would of course entail metathesis.
- (3) *rbt*, « a cup » (KTU 1.4 ii 33 ; cf. DLU, 385) : here the Akk. cognates *rību*, « a vessel » (CAD R, 323), « ein Gefäß » (AHw, 981a), and *rābu*, « ein Gefäß » (AHw, 936a)¹ could be mentioned.²
- (4) *rmjt* (KTU 4.127:5) is simply glossed « a tool (?) » in DLU, 391, with references to Heb. *rms*, *rmś*, and Akk. *rapāsu* (AHw, 954-955 ; see now CAD R, 150ff. : « to beat, to thrash, to flog, to flail, etc. »).³ A better cognate instead may be Akk. *rapšū*, « a shovel » (CAD R, 166 ; cf. AHw, 957 : « Worfsschaufel »)⁴.
- (5) *rqt*, « temple » (KTU 1.19 II 38 ; DLU, 394) : there is now a cognate in Akk., namely *raqqatu*, « temple » (CAD R, 170-171 ; not in AHw).
- (6) *rt*, « mud » (DLU, 395) occurs in *rhṣ npṣ b ym rt*, « he shall wash his clothes when there is mud » (KTU 1.17 I 33 and par.), which is glossed « when they become dirty » in DLU, *loc. cit.* An earlier suggestion to explain the Ug. word by Akk. *rūšu*, « filth, dirt »⁵ may find some support in the texts cited in CAD R, 432 under *rūšu* (« they washed the dirty (garments) », etc.).⁶
- (7) *rtq*, « to tie » (KTU 1.4 vii 331.13:24 ; DLU, 395) : see now Akk. *ratāqu*, « to join together » (CAD R, 218, lex. ; not in AHw).⁷

1. Not included in CAD R.
2. Cf. also perhaps Eg. *rb.t*, « copper pot », cited in V. E. Orel - O. V. Stolbova, *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary. Materials for a Reconstruction* (HdO I 18 ; Leiden 1995) under §2110 : *rib- « vessel », with references to other languages.
3. For a similar equivalence between Ug. *m* and Akk. *p* see perhaps Ug. ‘*mr*, « dust(?) » and Akk. *eperu*, « dust » (cf. DLU, 81, 85).
4. Cf. R. Borger, « Der Gerätsname *rapšū* », AFO 18 (1957-1958) 128.
5. Watson, UF 8 (1976) 376. « The final expression *bym rt* may refer to ‘the day of (its) filthiness’, the epithet referring back to the clothing » (N. Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit. The Words of Ilimilku and his Colleagues*, Sheffield 1998, 259 n. 40).
6. However, if the meaning « mud » is retained for Ug. *rt*, then it is interesting, but perhaps coincidental, that Mari

Akk. *rusû*, may also mean « mud » (cf. CAD R, 426).

7. For Ug. *trq* (KTU 4.123:20), for which DLU, 475 proposes the Akk. cognate *ruqqu* (also *riqqu*, AHw, 995 : « (Metall-)Kessel, Schale »), see also CAD R, 416ff. (« kettle, cauldron, etc. »).

W. G. E. WATSON (22-11-00)

86) Nochmals zum « Isin Craft Archive » – Nachdem M. van de Mieroop in seinem *Crafts in the Early Isin Period* (OLA 24, Leuven 1987) auf den Seiten 2-5 eine Zusammenstellung der bis dato bekannten, zum Archiv der Handwerker von Isin gehörigen Texte vorlegte, wurden in den zurückliegenden Jahren diverse weitere Texte bekanntgemacht und ergaben sich Ergänzungen bibliographischer Natur. Die entsprechenden Angaben wurden zuletzt von R. de Maaijer in N.A.B.U. 91/1999 zusammengestellt.

Dabei wurde indes ein Text übersehen, auf den ich bereits in anderem Zusammenhang (Th. Richter, *Untersuchungen zu den lokalen Panthea Süd- und Mittelbabylonien in altbabylonischer Zeit*, AOAT 257, Münster 1999, 153 Anm. 622) hingewiesen habe. Der Text TIM 6, 12 (IM 12223), der die Herstellung und Verarbeitung verschiedener Körbe zum Gegenstand hat, kann sowohl aufgrund seines Datums (16.12. Išbi-Erra 19) als auch aufgrund prosopographischer Daten dem Archiv zweifelsfrei zugewiesen werden. Er nennt über den aus zahlreichen Texten bekannten Šū-Ninkarrak hinaus auch Ur-Alla (gir ur^l-dal-la¹ muḥaldim, Vs. 5) und Girni-isa (gir-ni-ì-sà, Rs. 5), die häufig z.B. in den Texten aus BIN 9 und 10 belegt sind (siehe jeweils die Namensindices). Seltener bezeugt ist dagegen Iddin-Adad (*i-din-diškur*, Rs. 4), der aber in TLB/SLB V Nr. 6:2 und Nr. 10: 10 begegnet.

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87) Ein neues Exemplar der Inschrift Amar-Sîn 5 – Kürzlich gelangte das Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte - Archäologisches Museum Frankfurt/Main durch eine Schenkung in den Besitz eines fragmentarisch erhaltenen Ziegels, der Reste einer gestempelten Inschrift Amar-Sîns von Ur III aufweist. Da der Text an abgelegener Stelle veröffentlicht wurde (Th. Richter in D. Stutzinger et al., *Neuerwerbungen des Museums aus den Jahren 1986-1999, Archäologische Reihe* 16, Frankfurt/Main 2000, 40-41), sei er hiermit der assyriologischen Öffentlichkeit bekanntgegeben.

Die Oberfläche des Ziegels (Länge 155 mm, Breite 210 mm, Höhe 62 mm) ist einschließlich der Inschrift stark abgerieben. Diese lautet :

(1) ^rd^l[amar-^den-zu] (2) ^rd^le[n-l^ll-le] (3) nib[ru^ki-a] (4) mu-p[à-da] (5) sag-[ús]- (6) é-^den-[l^ll-ka] (7) [lugal]-[kal]-[ga¹], (8) [lugal-uri^ki-ma] (9) [lugal-an-ub-da-límmu-ba-ka] (10) [^den-ki] (11) [lugal-ki-ág-gá-ni-ir] (12) [abzu-ki-ág-gá-ni] (13) [mu-na-dù]

Die Breite des Stempelfeldes beträgt 60 mm ; die Höhe der Textzeilen variiert von 11 mm (Zeilen 4 und 5) über 14 mm (Zeile 3) bis zu 19 mm (Zeile 6).

Exemplare dieser mehrfach und auch in jüngster Zeit bearbeiteten Inschrift (H. Steible, *Die neusumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, FAOS 9/2, Stuttgart 1991, 226-228 ; D. Frayne, *Ur III Period*, RIME 3/2, Toronto [u.a.] 1997, 260-262) wurden - außer in Ur - auch in Eridu gefunden, dort u.a. im Bereich der Zikkurat (siehe F. Safar/M.A. Mustafa/S. Lloyd, *Eridu*, Baghdad 1981, 63). Dies korrespondiert mit den übermittelten Herkunftsangaben, wonach es sich bei diesem Ziegel um einen in den Ruinen von Eridu (Abū Šahrain) gemachten Lesefund handelt.

Thomas RICHTER (13-11-00)

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Ur-ni ₉ -gar, šár-ra-ab-du		10=30	
<i>b) Ebla</i>			
Ša-ma-an		12	
Šar-da-da		12	

—

Šar-da-du	12	Ahhēša (/Egibi)	2
Šar-du-du	12	Bēl-iqīša (/Egibi)	2
c) Paléo-akkadien		Bēl-iddina (/Eppēš-ilī)	2
		Bēl-upahhir	2
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		Šuma-iddina (/Nūr-Sīn)	2
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<i>Ma-al-ku-</i> ^d Da-gan	45	Us-pa-ar-ra-'	47
<i>Maš-ḥa-ta</i>	45	Us-pa-mi-iš	47
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