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NOTES BRÈVES

24) Damascus, Hatarikka and Simirra in Tiglath-pileser III's Summary Inscriptions - In his edition of Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions, H. Tadmor (*The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III King of Assyria*, Jerusalem 1994, pp. 136-139) published his reconstruction of Summary Inscription 4 together with George Smith's original rough copies and the draft of his reconstructed text (Plates XLIX-LI). The inscription is partly broken and Tadmor restored it on the basis of the king's other inscriptions. He divided the beginning of the text (lines 1-8) into two parts: The annexation of northern and central Syria in 738 (lines 1-5) and the annexation of Damascus in 733-732 (lines 5-8). Recently, G. Galil ("New Look at the Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III", *Biblica* 81 [2000], pp. 511-514) suggested to separate lines 5-6 from lines 7-8. He arbitrarily adds a verb (*abīl* or *akšud*) at the end of line 6 (although Smith's draft clearly indicates that there is no room for a verb at the end of the line) and suggests that the former passage "includes territories of more than one kingdom". In his opinion, lines 7-8 alone refer to the annexation of Damascus.

It seems to me that Tadmor's division of lines 1-8 is correct: lines 1-5 outline Tiglath-pileser's annexations in central Syria in 738 and lines 5-8 outline his annexations in southern Syria (i.e., Damascus) in 732. Moreover, the two passages are built in the same pattern. They both open with the preposition *ištu* ("from") and a toponym whose location is marked by a relative sentence that opens by *ša*, to be followed by an *adi* ("as far as") and a (long or short) list of toponyms that define the annexed territory. A formula of annexation and the number of governors established in the new provinces follow the topographical description.

Lines 1-5: I ruled [from Mount² Yara]qu², which is [xxxx(x) of] the city of Hatarikka as far as [all² of²] Mount Saue (^{KUR}*Sa-ú-[e a-na gi-mir-ti-šú]*), [the cities of] Gub[la, Ellishu², Ši]mirra, Arqa, Zimar[xx, GN], Usnu, [Siannu, Ma]araba, Ri'sišu[ri], [GN₂, together with (*a-di*)] cities (and) [empor]iums which are [on the shore] of the Upper [Sea] (*ša [a-ḥi tam-tim] e-li-te*). I placed four (text six) eunuchs [of mine over] them [as governors].

Lines 5-8: I annexed to Assyria [from Kash]puna which is on the shore of the Lower Sea [as far as the cities of Qa/Min]nite, Gil[ead, and] Abel-shiṭṭi, which is on the border of Bit-Humrii[a], the en[tr]e land of [Bit-Haza'i]li. I plac[ed] [x eunuch]s of mine [over them] as governors.

Notes:

Line 1: Mount Yaraqu is mentioned in Ann. 19* :8 as a district of the Kingdom of Hamath, and is located on the northern border of the province of Hatarikka. This is indicated by the description of Shalmaneser III's eleven's campaign, which relates that he passed along the foot of Mount Amanus, "crossed over the mountain of Yaraqu and descended against the towns of Hamath". For the possible location of Yaraqu, see S. Yarnada, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire. A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (859-824 BC) Relating to His Campaigns to the West*, Leiden 2000, pp. 173-174, with earlier literature. Mount Saue may be identified with Jebel Ansariyeh, located north of Mount Lebanon (Ami. 19* :5-6; see Tadmor, *ibid.*, p. 60). Summ. 4 defines the borders of the province of Hatarikka by northern (Mount Yaraqu²) and southern (Mount Saue) topographical points, which are followed by a list of coastal towns.

Line 2: The full name of the city at the end of the line (*Zi-mar-xx*) is unknown. The restoration Zimar[ra] was probably made on the basis of the similarity to the city name Šimirra.

Line 4 : A similar description appears in Ann. 13* :5, where the long list of coastal towns (lines 4-5) is closes with the words “which are on [the shore] of the sea, together with (other) towns [(and) emporiums] (*a-di URU^{MES} [É ka-ri]*)”.

Line 6 : Tadmor restored it [*a-di lib-bi URU^{Qa}-ni-te*, i.e., biblical Kenath (Num 32 :42 ; 1 Chr 2 :23), modern Qanawat in the Hauran. I restored it [*a-di URU^{Mi-in}-ni-te*, i.e., biblical Minith (Judg 11 :33), on the western border of the Kingdom of Ammon (N. Na’aman, “Rezin of Damascus and the Land of Gilead”, *ZDPV* 111 (1995), pp. 105-106). Abel-shiṭṭi is biblical Abel-shittim (Num 33 :49 ; abbreviated as Shittim in Num 25 : 1 ; Josh 2 : 1 ; 3 : 1), in southwestem Gilead, east of the city of Jericho. It is clear that the Assyrians considered the land of Gilead as part of the annexed Damascene territory. It seems to me that the Gilead was included in the province of Qarnini, which is why a province named Gilead is not included in the lists of Assyrian provinces.

Episodes describing the conquest or surrender of several Palestinian kingdoms and nomadic groups, including the Kingdom of Israel (lines 15-19), follow the Damascus episode. It supports Tadmor’s suggestion that lines 5-8 of Summ. 4 refer to the annexation of Damascus alone. Galil’s suggestion that the passage refers to other kingdoms is evidently wrong.

As noted by Tadmor, lines 1-8 of Summ. 4 are closely related to Summ. 9. A text resembling the obverse of the latter text must have covered a slab that has lost and of which Summ 4 forms the second part (see Tadmor, *ibid.*, p. 137 and Summ. 14). The reverse of Summ. 9 opens with the provinces of central Syria and the coast (lines 1-2) and continues with Damascus (lines 3-4). The first passage may be restored as follows :

I annexed to Assyria [the city of Hata]rikka, as far as Mount Sa[ue], the city of Kashpuna on the shore of the Lower Sea [as far as Mount Ammanana]. [I placed over them] my two eunuchs as governors.

A third text that describes the central Syrian provinces appears in Summ. 6 :22-24. Following is a suggested restoration of the text :

22. [URU^Ha-ta-rik-ka a-di KUR^{Sa-u-e} URU^{Ši-mir-r}]a KUR^{Ar-qa-a}
23. [GN^{URU} Ka-aš-pu-na ša a-ḥi tam-tim e-li-ti] a-di KUR^{Am-ma-na-na}
24. [a-na mi-šir māt Aš-šur ú-tir-ra 2 LÚ^šu-ut-rēši-ia LÚ^{bēl}]-pīḥati eli-šú-nu aš-ku-un

Notes :

Although the text is badly broken, it may safely be restored on the basis of Summ. 9. The two passages appear after passage(s) that relate(s) the conquest of Bit Agusi and Unqi. They first describe the scope of the province of Hatarikka and then define the scope of the province of Šimirra. Finally they mention the appointment of governors in the two provinces.

In sum, the similarity in structure and words of Summ 4 and 9 fully corroborates Tadmor’s identification of the Damascus episodes in the two inscriptions.

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25) More Iranian Names in Late Babylonian Sources – The following names are all Old Iranian and are attested in Late Babylonian sources from the Achaemenid period. In this article some new reconstructions or translations are being proposed.

- 1) Ar-ba-²mit-ri (FuB 14 17 no.7 :3, perhaps U.E.)

This name has been explained as *Arba-miθra-, ‘the young friend’ or *Arva-miθra-, ‘brave through Mithra.’¹ An alternative translation of *Arba-miθra- could be ‘young through Mithra.’

- 2) Pa-at-ni-e-šá (TCL 13 186 :17)

Zadok concluded that the Iranian name behind this Babylonian writing begins with *Pati-.² It might, however, be better to divide this name in *Paθnī-, ‘woman, wife,’ and -aiša-, ‘looking for.’ For *Paθnī-, see Old Indian pátnī- (SED 582) and Av. *paθnī- in dōmanō.paθnī-, nmānō.paθnī-, ‘lady of the house’ (AiW 1093), ha-paθnī-, ‘concubine’ (AiW 1765). As for -aiša-, we refer to Av. aēš-, ‘to look for’ (AiW 28-31). Accordingly the Iranian name is *Paθnīaiša-, ‘looking for a wife.’

- 3) Pe-e-mar-di-³ (Dar. 427 :20)

This is Iranian *Payavrđi-, ‘protecting the happiness.’ Pāya- is a present stem from Av. pā-, ‘to protect’ (AiW 885-886) while *vrđi- means ‘happiness,’ cf. Av. vđrđdi- (AiW 720).

- 4) Ra-za-am-ár-ma (Camb. 384 :2) and Ra-za-am-ú-mar-ga-³ (Camb. 384 :3)

These names have often been thought to contain the element *razma-, ‘battle’ (cf. Av. rasman-, AiW 1513-1514).³ Two authors do not agree with this : Hinz believes that the first component of these names is *razam (acc.sg.), ‘vine,’ while Schmitt rejects the fact that -za-am-V would represent Ir. *razma-.⁴ The problem with Hinz’s conclusion is that his research does not result in meaningful names (see below). Schmitt does not give an alternative reconstruction.

Yet there is no problem in assuming a lecture *razma- for these two names. The vocal (V) that Schmitt uses in his argument to deny this reconstruction is of no importance since the rendering of Iranian vocals in Babylonian is not always very accurate. The question that should be asked is whether Bab. C₁V-VC₂- (za-am) can represent Ir. C₁C₂ (/zm/) or not, and it can. This is shown, for example, by the names *Rauxšna-dāta- and *Rauxšna-pāta-, both of whom's first component is normally written Ru-šu-un. This means that Bab. -šu-un renders Ir. /-xšn-/ and thus that Bab. -za-am- can render /-zm-/. Consequently, the first component of the two names here under discussion is *razma-. An additional argument is that both names appear in one and the same text, so the writing ra-za-am- for /razma-/ might merely be a graphic variant, connected with the particular scribe of Camb. 384.

Let us turn now to the second component of each name. First Ra-za-am-ár-ma will be discussed. Hinz reconstructs *Razambarva-, 'cherishing vines' for this name, but that is impossible, since -ár-ma- does not represent /barva-/.⁵ Several other possibilities have been given,⁶ but the most likely one is *Razmarva- 'brave in battle' (Av. aurva-, 'brave,' AiW 200).⁷ As for Ra-za-am-ú-mar-ga-, it can be easily stated that this name is problematic. The second part is written in the same way as the Babylonian versions of OP hauma-varga-, whose second component is not yet clearly analyzed. Yet, in combination with razma-, 'battle,' it is better to reconstruct the prefix hu-, 'good, well,' instead of the word hauma-. The proposal by Gershevitch to read *Razma-hu-arga- would leave the -m- in Ra-za-am-ú-mar-ga- unexplained.⁸ As for now the precise meaning of Ra-za-am-ú-mar-ga- remains unknown.

5) Ru-ud-da-a-tú (PBS 2/1 206:12) / Ú-ru-ud-da-at (PBS 2/1 173:18,L.E.)

Dandamayev argues that both names belong to the same person whose Iranian name was *Raudāta-, a derivation from the root raod-, 'to grow' (AiW 1492-1493), while Zadok derives Ú-ru-ud-da-at from *Ahuradāta-, 'created by Ahura.'⁹ Zadok is correct. Firstly, the spelling Ú-ru-ud-da-at does not support an Iranian name starting with an /r/. Secondly, the persons bearing this name cannot be the same, since they have different patronymics. Ruddatu is the son of a certain Ú-mar-[...], while Uruddat is the son of Ú-ḫe-e-bar-ra-.

6) Šá-tat-na- (IMT 44:2)

This name is rendering Old Iranian *Šātātāna-. Its first component is without doubt Ir. šāta-, 'prosperous,' which is then followed by two suffixes: the hypocoristic suffix -āta- and the patronymic suffix -āna-.

7) Tu-ú-tu₄ (PT 85: obv.3)

According to Dandamayev the etymology of this name is not known.¹⁰ Bab. Tu-ú-tu₄ could, however, be a representation of an Iranian name *Tavāta-, a hypocoristic of *Tav-, 'to be strong,' see Av. and OP tav- (AiW 638-639).

8) Ú-pár-at-ta (Dar. 458:13)

Most likely we are dealing here with the Babylonian version of Iranian *hu-frata-, 'good and fine.' That a sign with the value /par/ (e.g. -par-, -pár-) can render Iranian /fra/ is shown by the fact that the LB name Par-ta-am-mu (Dar. 379:3) is a representation of Ir. *Fratama-.

9) Ú-ra-a-na- (TuM 2/3 189:19,U.E.)

This name has been explained as Iranian *Vārāna-, an -āna-patronymicon of Av. vāra-, 'will' (AiW 1411)¹¹ or as Iranian *Hu-rāna-, 'having beautiful thighs,' Av. ¹rāna- (AiW 1523).¹² A better reconstruction might be *Hu-rāna-, 'he who is a good fighter' to Av. ²rāna-, 'fighter' (AiW 1523). According to Zadok, the spelling U-la-na- (PBS 2/1 128:16) represents the same name with an /r interchange.¹³

10) Uš-ta-pa-nu (IMT 53:7)

The Iranian name behind the Babylonian spelling is *Uštapāna-, analyzed by Donbaz and Stolper as composed of *Ušta- and *pāna-.¹⁴ The second part of this name is clearly to be connected with *pā- 'to protect.' The first part is considered by Donbaz and Stolper as being the passive perfect participle of the verb vas-, 'to wish, to desire' (AiW 1381-1382). In their view the name has to be interpreted as 'protecting what is desired.' Yet, if one connects the first part of this name with the Av. substantive ušta-, 'happiness, well-being' (AiW 417-418), the result would be the more appropriate name 'protecting happiness.'

Notes

1. W. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen*. Göttinger Orientforschungen. III. Reihe: Iranica. Band 3 (Wiesbaden, 1975), p. 35.

2. R. Zadok, "Iranians and Individuals bearing Iranian names in Achaemenian Babylonia," *IOS* 7 (1977): 99; M.A. Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*. Columbia Lectures in Iranian Studies 6 (Costa Mesa, 1992), p. 113.

3. Gershevitch, apud R. Zadok, "On the Connections between Iran and Babylonia in the sixth Century B.C.," *Iran* 14 (1976): 78; R. Zadok, loc. cit., p. 78.

4. W. Hinz, *Altiranisches*, pp.203-204; R. Schmitt, review of M.A. Dandamayev, *Iranians*, *Kratylos* 39 (1994): 86.

5. R. Zadok, review of W. Hinz, *Altiranisches*, *BiOr* 33 (1976): 215.

6. *Razma-arma-, 'the arm of the battle' (Av. arma-, 'arm,' AiW 197; Gershevitch, apud Zadok, "Connections," p. 78) or *Razma-arma-, 'firm, tranquil in battle' (Av. armōi-, 'firm, tranquil,' AiW 197; R. Zadok, "Connections," p. 78).

7. Zadok, loc.cit.
8. I. Gershevitch, apud Zadok, "Connections," p. 78.
9. R. Zadok, "Iranians," p. 104; M.A. Dandamayev, *Iranians*, p. 117.
10. M.A. Dandamayev, *Iranians*, p.130.
11. R. Zadok, "Iranian Names in Late Babylonian Documents," *IJ* 17 (1975) : 247.
12. I. Gershevitch, apud R. Zadok, loc. cit.
13. R. Zadok, review of M.A. Dandamayev, *Iranians*, BSOAS 58 (1995) : 159.
14. V. Donbaz and M.W. Stolper, "Gleanings from Muršû Texts in the Collections of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums," *N.A.B.U.* 1993/102 ; Id., *Istanbul Murašû Texts*, PIHANS 79 (Istanbul, 1997), p. 4.

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26) An Iranian Ghost-name : *Θuθika-, 'beetle' – One of the many Iranian names, only known by their attestations in the so-called Nebenüberlieferung, is *Θuθika-, a name first analyzed by Gershevitch and connected by him to New Persian sūsk, 'beetle.'¹ It is the intention here to prove that the name *Θuθika-, that has no Middle or New Iranian attestations, is a ghost-name, i.e. a name that never existed and that therefore should be removed from the list of Iranian names.

In order to do this, one has first to assemble all possible spellings that have been connected with this name. There are five such spellings, all Elamite : Du-si-ka₄, Du-tuk-ka₄, Du-ut-tuk-ka₄, Šu-si-ka₄, and Tu-tuk-ka₄. The next step is to find an alternative solution for each of these five writings, which are without any doubt rendering Iranian names. For the occurrences of each spelling we refer to W. Hinz- H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, AMI Ergänzungsband 17 (Berlin, 1987) (= EW).

1) Du-si-ka₄ (EW 377)

This spelling was connected with *Θuθika- by Gershevitch and this connection was accepted by Hinz. However, Mayrhofer has suggested a new explanation : *Tauθikā-, the female equivalent of *Tauθika-, an -ika-hypocoristic of *Tauθ-, Skt. tośá-, 'granting abundantly.'²

2) Du-tuk-ka₄ (EW 379) and Du-ut-tuk-ka₄ (EW 388)

Both these writings were assigned to *Θuθika by Hinz, but Mayrhofer has shown that the Iranian name behind these Elamite spellings is actually *Dūta-ka-, a -ka-hypocoristic of *Dūta-, 'messenger' (Av. dūta-).³

3) Tu-tuk-ka₄ (EW 379)

Gershevitch argues that Elamite Tu-tuk-ka₄ is a rendering of *Dūta-vahu-ka-, but this was rejected by Hinz, who proposed to read *Θuθika-.⁴ This is based on the fact that the Elamite sign -tu- normally renders Iranian /θu/. There is, however, (at least) one exception to this rule : in PF 1647:6-7 the month name *Drnabāziš is written tu-ur-na-ba-zí-iš, which proves that -tu-, albeit rarely, can render the Ir. consonant /d/. Accordingly, this name can be a representation of the same name as Du-(ut)-tuk-ka₄ and thus can be read *Dūta-ka-, as Mayrhofer already has seen.⁵ An even better solution is to reconstruct a name *Tauθika-, the male equivalent of *Tauθikā- (no. 1). This reconstruction can be perfectly rendered by the spelling Tu-tuk-ka₄.

4) Šu-si-ka₄ (EW 1183)

There is complete concordance among the scholars on the analysis of this name:⁶ it is a clear representation of the Iranian name *Θuθika-. The only dissident opinion comes from Delaunay,⁷ who considers this spelling as a rendering of the Kassite name Šuzigaš.⁸ His proposal, however, is not accepted by the *El.Wb.* 1183, that again stresses the fact that Šu-si-ka₄ is certainly Iranian, in particular that it is the Elamite version of *Θuθika-

While it is agreed that we must be looking for an Iranian name, it is not clear that this name is *Θuθika-. A more plausible name behind this spelling could be *Çaucika-, an -ika-hypocoristic of *Çau-ca-, which itself is a -ca-derivation of a short name, originating from a compound with *Çau-, 'capable of,' the Old Persian equivalent of Av. srao-.

As all the spellings that were connected with *Θuθika- have been 'disconnected' from that name, there is no more reason to believe that such a name really existed and that it had a place in the collection of Iranian names.

Notes

1. I. Gershevitch, "Iranian Nouns and Names in Elamite Garb," *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1969, p. 197. This analysis has been accepted subsequently by Hinz and Mayrhofer, see W. Hinz, *Neue Wege im Altpersischen*, Göttinger Orientforschungen. 3. Reihe : Iranica 1 (Wiesbaden, 1973), p. 89 and M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana : das altiranische*

Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse. Sitzungsberichte 286 (Vienna, 1973), 8.1587.

2. I. Gershevitch, loc.cit. ; W. Hinz, *Neue Wege*, p. 89 and *Altiranisches*, p. 241 ; M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica*, 8.393.

3. W. Hinz, *Neue Wege*, p.89 ; M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica*, 8.398. Later, Hinz (*Altiranisches*, p.241) accepted the proposal of Mayrhofer.

4. I. Gershevitch, "Amber at Persepolis", *Studia Classica et Orientalia Antonino Pagliaro Oblata*, II (Rome, 1969), p. 238 ; W. Hinz, loc. cit.

5. M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica*, 8.1670.

6. I. Gershevitch, "Iranian Nouns," pp. 196 and 197 ; W. Hinz, loc. cit. ; M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica*, 8.1587.

7. A. Delaunay, "Remarques sur quelques noms de personne des archives élamites de Persépolis" *StIr.* 5 (1976), p. 28.

8. See J.A. Brinkman, *A Catalogue of Cuneiform Sources pertaining to specific Monarchs of the Kassite Dynasty*. Materials and Studies for Kassite History (Chicago, 1976), pp. 100, 166, 260-261 and 418-420.

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27) On the Beginning of the Ebla Royal Rituals (ARET XI) – The long Ebla royal rituals published in 1993 by P. Fronzaroli as *ARET XI* may be divided in six main parts (see Bonechi, forthcoming). The first part is rather short, and it may be summarized as follows :

[A1] The main subject : the entrance of the new queen of Ebla into the House of the King's Father

[A2] Gift by the groom to the bride at the time of her sacrifices to the Sun-Goddess and for the deceased former king of Ebla

[A3] The bride leaves her house and enters the groom's house (House of His Father)

[A4] Marriage : the king anoints the queen's head with oil

I suggest in *ARET XI* 1 obv. I :13 we may read [a]-^fbīl-[iš] (*ARET XI*, p. 3 : [i]-^fbīl-[NI-li-im]). This new reading implies that, just before her entrance into His Father's House (i.e. the house of the father of the new king, that is the apartments of the previous king of Ebla within the Palace G), the bride offers one sheep to the Sun-Goddess and one sheep for the previous king (and not for an ancient royal ancestor as Yibbiṭ-lîm, whose mention here would rather surprising ; he will be remembered later, during the rituals at Binaš). I think that it also means that the previous kings of Ebla died immediately before the day of the weddings referred to at the very beginning of *ARET XI* 1 and 2.

Therefore the first part of these rituals may run as follows :

(A 1) XI 1 obv. I :1-6 // XI 2 [obv. I :1-6]

[1] wa-ma-sa a-a-da-ga-si [ma]-lik-[tum mi-in (or : si-in) é] a-bí-iš

And (in the following way the king) indeed takes her, the [qu]ee[n, to] His Father's [House] :

[2] [wa-ma-sa x(-x) ma-lik-tum mi-in (or : si-in) é a-mu-iš]

[And (in the following way the king) indeed takes her, the queen, to His Father's House] :

(A 2) XI 1 obv. I :7-14 // XI 2 obv. I :7-[15]

[1] 1 gú-li-lum kù-sig₁₇ ni-gu-SÛ 1 udu ^dutu 1 udu dingir [a]-^fbīl-[iš šu-mu-taka₄]

One golden bracelet [is delivered (by the groom to the bride)] at the time of her offering of one sheep to the Sun-Goddess (and) of one sheep for [his] deceased [fa]th[er (i.e. Yigriš-Ḫalab)].

[2] [1 gú-li-lum kù-sig₁₇] šu-mu-taka₄ 1 udu ^dutu ṛnída₁ [1 udu dingir ...-iš nída₁]

[One golden bracelet], delivered (by the groom to the bride when) one sheep to the Sun-Goddess is sacrificed (by her) [(and when) one sheep for the deceased former king (i.e. Yirkab-damu) is sacrificed (by her)].

(A 3) XI 1 obv. I :15-19 // XI 2 obv. I :[16-20]

[1] [wa-ma-sa ú]-^fíl¹ ma-lik-tum é a-bí-iš

[And (the king) indeed brin]gs the queen to His Father's House.

[2] [wa-ma-sa ú-íl¹ ma-lik-tum é] [a-m]u-[iš]

[And (the king) indeed brings the queen to His Fath]er [House].

(A 4) XI 1 obv. I :20-II :7 // XI 2 obv. I :[21]-II :[6]

[1] wa-ma-sa ì-giš al₆-a sag ma-lik-tum gar mi-in [ud ^{nig}mu :sá (gišbur-ì ?)] [m]a-[lik]-^ftum¹

And, on the [day of the] qu[e]n's [wedding (of the kind bur-ì?)], (the king) indeed put olive oil on the queen's head.

[2] in ud ^{nig}[m]u-sá gšbur-ì [wa-ma-sa ì-giš al₆ sag ma-lik-tum gar?]

On the day of the queen's wedding of the kind bur-ì [the king indeed put olive oil on the queen's head].

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28) On the location of NA Parsua – Parsua (^{kur}Par/Pár-su-a, ^{uru}Pár-su-a, ^{kur}Pa-ar-su-aš) was on the way from Laruete (in Allab/pria) to Missi according to the itinerary of Sargon II's eighth campaign (TCL 3, 37ff.). Tiglath-Pileser III annexed the two provinces of Parsua and Bīt-Hamban to Assyria in 744 BC (see H. Tadmor, *The inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III King of Assyria*, Jerusalem 1994 [henceforth Tadmor 1994], 166 ad Summ. 7, 37 and 98 : St. I B, 9'f.). Qal'eh Paswē not far from Solduz may be a survival of the name Parsua according to V. Minorsky, BSOAS 19 (1957), 78f. (cf. A.H. Sayce, *JRAS* 1882, 389 ; J.V. Kinnier Wilson, *Iraq* 24, 1969, 111f.). Qal'eh Paswē is far enough from the southern shore of Lake Urmia. This location is still compatible with the conclusion of L. D. Levine (*Iran* 12, 1974, 112) that Parsua was raided, but not conquered by Urartu. His localization of Parsua northwest of the Mahidašt, including the northern end of the Mahidašt itself (near Ravansar, Levine, *Iran* 12, 106ff. ; *idem* in T.C. Young and L. D. Levine, eds., *Mountains and lowlands : Essays in archaeology of greater Mesopotamia*, Malibu 1977, 138f. ; followed by G.W. Vera Chamaza, *AMI* 27, 1994, 97ff.), does not necessarily rule out its extension to the north, as far as Qal'eh Paswē. Levine does not define the eastern border of Parsua, but states that Mannea lay to the north. This statement can be relativized seeing that there are hardly any fixed points of delimitation of Mannea in the west-southwest (at least before Ashurbanipal's time). Qal'eh Paswē is on Hubuškian territory as implied by J.E. Reade (*Iran* 16, 1978, 140, fig. 2) and M. Liebig (*ZA* 81, 1991, 33f.). Levine (in J. Deshayes, ed., *Le plateau iranien et l'Asie centrale des origines à la conquête islamique*. Colloques internationaux de C.N.R.S. 567, Paris 1977 [henceforth : Levine 1977], 181) is of the opinion that the Mahidašt was the critical area in the competition between Assyria and Urartu on the hegemony in Media and points out (Levine, *Iran* 12, 110f.) that Parsua is recorded together with Niqqu and Tugliaš (= Tupliaš) in Tiglath-pileser III (Tadmor 1994, cf. presently). However, this does not bear on its location and does not support a southerly extension of Parsua (see ad Parsuaš below). In fact, in these summary inscriptions Parsua precedes Bīt-Kapsi (Tadmor 1994, 124 : Summ. 1, 18 ; 132 : Summ. 3, 6') and Bīt-Zatti, Bīt-Abdadani, Bīt-Kapsi (Tadmor 1994, 164f. : Summ. 7, 29, 35). All these regions are to be sought north of the Great Khorasan Road. The general geographical order of these summary inscriptions is discussed by A.R. George (*BiOr* 53, 1996, 369, n. 14). The following table presents the sections where the Iranian regions are listed.

Table : Iranian Regions in Tiglat-pileser III's Summary Inscriptions				
number	name	A	B	C
1	Namri	+		+
2	Bīt-Sangibuti	+		+
3	Bīt-Hamban	+	+	+
4	Suhurzu	+	+	+
5	Bīt-Barrūa	+ (Barrūa)	+	+
6	Bīt-Zualzaš	+	+	+
7	Bīt-Matti	+	+	+ ([Bīt])
8	Niqqu	+ (of 9)	+ ([Niqqu of])	+
9	Tupliaš	+	+	+
10	Bīt-Taranzāyu	+	+	+
11	Parsua	+	+	+
12	Bīt-Zatti	+		+
13	Bīt-Abdadani	+		+
14	Bīt-Kapsi	+	+ ([up to 18])	+
15	Bīt-Sangi	+		+
16	Bīt-Urzakki	+		+
17	Bīt-Ištar	+	+ ([Ištar])	+
18	Zaqrūti	+	+ (before 17)	+
19	Gizinkissi	+	+ (after 20)	
20	Niššā	+		
21	Šibur	+	+	
22	Uremzan	+	+ (-nz-)	
23	Ra'usan	+		
24	Upariya	+	+	
25	B/Pustus	+	+	
26	Ariarmi	+	+	
27	Māt-Talugallē	+	+ ([Māt])	
28	Saksukni	+		
29	Araquttu	+		
30	Kār-Zibra	+		
31	Gukinanna	+		

32	Bīt-Sagbat	+		
33	Silhazi	+ (of 34)		
34	Dannatu ša Bābilāyu	+	+	
35	Til-Aššuri		+	
36	Mt Rua	+ (up to 37)	+	
37	Salt Land	+ (of 38, 39)	+	
38	Ušqaqān	+	+	
39	Šikrakki	+	+	
40	(Land) of gold	+		
41	Lands of the mighty Medes	+		+
Total		40	25	19

Regarding geographical arrangement, there are at least three groups of regions, namely a southern (Nos. 1-9, 32-35), northern (Nos. 12-17, 19-21) and an eastern one (Nos. 18, 24-26, 36-41). Most of the remaining regions are mentioned only once. The longest list (A) seems to form an almost full circle, namely from the southwest (notably Namri, Tupliaš and Bīt-Barrūa) to the north (notably Bīt-Abdadani, Bīt-Kapsi and Šibur), then to the southeast (Uparya and B/Pustus) and southwest (Til-Aššuri). In this case 36-41, which are to be sought further east, form an appendix. It is clear therefore that Parsua is associated with the northern group, i.e. the regions which are generally situated north of the Great Khorasan Road. This is in agreement with E. Forrer (*Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1921, 90), who locates Parsua more to the north, roughly east of Sanandaj. He is followed by Reade (*Iran* 16, 139) and P. Zimansky (*JNES* 49, 1990, 14). The latter criticizes Levine's southern location of Parsua and points out that it was an extensive territory. The inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (basically describing the campaign of 843 or 842 BC) contain a constant geographical sequence from north to south, viz. ^{kur}Mu-un-na, ^{kur}Al-lab/p-ri-a, ^{kur/uru}Pār-su-a, ^{uru}Ab-da-da-a-ni/^{kur}Ab-da-da-a-nu, ^{uru/kur}Ha-ban, ^{kur}ZÁLAG/^{kur}Na-mumur and ^{kur}Tug*-li-ia-áš (A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian rulers of the early first millennium B.C. II* (858-745 B.C.), Toronto 1996 [henceforth: Grayson 1996], 40ff.: A.0.102.6, iii, 61ff.; A.0.102.10, iii, 34ff., cf. A.0.102.13, 2'ff.). The sequence ^{kur}Mu-un-na, ^{uru}Pār-su-a, ^{uru}Al-lab/p-ri-a, ^{kur}Ab-da-da-ni, ^{kur}ZÁLAG, ^{kur}Ha-ban and ^{kur}Tug*-li-ia-áš (Grayson 1996, 60: A.0.102.12, 19f.) is secondary (a shorter version is contained in the fragment Grayson 1996, 114f.: A.0.102.37, 10'f.). 27 kings of ^{kur}Pār-su-a delivered tribute in 835 BC after Shalmaneser III had completed his campaign against Namri (Grayson 1996, 68: A.0.102.14, 120, see Levine 1977, 178; M. Salvini in H. Hirsch and H. Hunger, eds., *AfO Beih.* 19, Vienna 1982, 391; Vera Chamaza, *AMI* 27, 99; no specific kingdoms and rulers are recorded). This is not a stereotypic ("typological") number and hence credible. In 829 BC Shalmaneser III received tribute from an unspecified number of Parsuan kings, but he had to conquer the cities of other rulers of Parsua who did not submit to him (Grayson 1996, 68: A.0.102.14, 172f.; in the following year he had to repeat his activities). It is evident that Parsua was not a consolidated political unit, but rather a cover name for many small entities governed by city rulers, whose foreign policy was not necessarily coordinated. A detailed list of "all the kings of Nairi", who delivered tribute as a result of the third campaign (end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s, presumably sometime between 821 and 819 BC), is preserved in Grayson 1996, 186: Šamšī-Adad V, A.0.103.1, iii, 45ff. This list enumerates at least 27 rulers (or 28, see E.A. Grantovskiy, *Rannyaya istoriya iranskikh plemen peredney Azii*, Moscow 1970, 192f., 209). Although there is no evidence that they ruled over regions of Parsua (I.M. Diakonoff, *Media*, chapter 3 in: G. Gershevitch, ed., *The Cambridge history of Iran 2: The Median and Achaemenian periods*, London 1985 [henceforth: Diakonoff 1985], 56, n. 2 defines their territory in very general terms: "mountainous regions of the Zagros and west of them" [the end of his statement is less defensible; for "Greater" Nairi, cf. M. Liverani, *Studies on the annals of Ashurnasirpal II. 2: Topographical analysis*, Rome 1992, 107]), it is remarkable that their number is almost identical with that of the Parsuan kings, who are mentioned about twenty years earlier, i.e. virtually in the same generation. In addition, it stands to reason that the arena of Šamšī-Adad V's campaign included Parsua. It can be argued that Nairi here refers to northwestern Media (including Parsua) as well. It is stated that Šamšī-Adad V went to Nairi in his second campaign, in the course of which he defeated S/ŠAR-ši-na of Zamua, Ušpina (Išpuini of Urartu) and the people of Sumbi, and received tribute from the kings of Nairi. In the course of his third campaign to Nairi Šamšī-Adad V received tribute from Hubuškia, S/ŠAR-ši-na of Zamua, the Sumbeans, Manneans, Parsuans and Taurleans, and he marched against Missi, Gizilb/punda and the Medes (Grayson 1996, 184f.: A.0.103.1, ii, 16ff.). Nairi in Adad-narāri III's time is just a geographical term (see Salvini, *Nairi e Ur(u)atri. Contributo alla storia della formazione del regno di Urartu*, Rome 1967, 23). This applies to Šamšī-Adad V's time as well.

It should be remembered that ^{kur}Par-su-aš, which is juxtaposed with Anšan in the account of Sennacherib's eighth campaign (691 BC), is the earliest mention of Persis (see Diakonoff 1985, 88) and has nothing to do with Parsua in the Zagros. The restoration [... Pa]r-sa-maš (from P. to Bīt-B/Punaki), which is suggested by G. Frame apud Grayson 1996, 193: Šamšī-Adad V, A.0.103.4, 32' (cf. 25'; presumably 812 BC), is geographically and historically implausible. The existence of a southern Parsuaš as early as the beginning of

the seventh century BC strengthens the case for an Old Iranian derivation of Neo-Elam. *Ku-ud-da-qa-qa* (see R. Zadok, *BNF NF* 18, 1983, 117f. ; idem, *BNF NF* 19, 1984, 388 ad *Ú-nu-qa-qa*, *pace* W. Hinz and H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch*, Berlin 1987, 552, 1239, see Zadok, *SEL* 8, 1991, 236f.). *Ku-ud-da-qa-qa* is based on OIran. **Kauta-*, cf. NA *Ku-ta-ki* (724 BC, H. Hunger in H.D. Baker, S. Parpola and R.M. Whiting, eds., *The prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian empire*, 2, Helsinki 2000, 644b) < **Kauta-ka-* “young, small”, cf. MPers. *kôdag* “child, infant”, NPers. *kôdak* “child” (cf. H. Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, Strassburg 1895, 89:871).

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29) Notes on the Names and Professions List – Line 1 : It is now known thanks to the Ebla manuscript (ARCHI 1981 ; ARCHI 1984 :171). I read :

IAS 74 l[ugal-men] nun
MEE 3 43+ lugal'-men nun

As for the PN *lugal-men* see POMPONIO 1987 :159. According to my interpretation, here *nun* means “prince”, Akk. *rubûm*, later attested as title of the OBab rulers of Ešnunna (CHARPIN 1985). Therefore, also this line, as the following ones of the NPL, may have the regular structure of the list, i.e. PN + name of profession. As for the sign *lugal*, note that according to Biggs’s copy only the right part of *LÚ* is visible, while, according to Archi’s copy in *RA* 78, *lugal* is written *ME-LÚ* and not *GAL-LÚ* (but a PN **ME-lú-men* or a similar name with a different order of reading is unknown to me). *Lugal-men*, however, is not among the known kings of Pre-Sargonic Kiš (EDZARD 1980 :608ff.).

Line 2 : As for the PN *AKA-utu* (énsi) see POMPONIO 1987 :25.

Line 133 : After the copy, the reading *A-MIR* of the term after the PN *lugal-dumu-zi* in the Ebla manuscript is certain (read *a-nimgir* in ARCHI 1981 :188 ; such an entry is lacking in *PSD A/1*). As for this difficult term see *PSD A/1*, p. 115, s.v. *a-MIR*. As for the two Abu Salabikh sources, as far as I can judge by the photography and the copy of *IAS* 61 and *IAS* 69, both have just *DIM* and not *a-dim* (cf. p. 69 ; an entry *a-dim* is lacking in *PSD A/1*).

End of the composition : Even if the Abu Salabikh manuscript *IAS* 61 is unfortunately badly broken, my suggestions, based on the Ebla manuscript, are the following ones :

The last case of the fourth column of the reverse of the Ebla source (line 143 of the synopsis ; read *Kiš-na-x* in ARCHI 1981 :189, and *kiš-ṛx¹-na-du* in PETTINATO 1981 :128), if read *na-se₁₁¹ kiš^{ki}¹* (= *KIŠ KI¹ NA SIG¹*), could mark the end of the list. In such a case, all the previous persons mentioned in the 142 entries are from Kiš (at Ebla the Akkadogram *na-se₁₁*, “people” is common) ; cf. the end of the *List of Geographical Names* : *mu(-na-ni) uru-uru^{ki}*.

In any case, the fifth column of the Ebla manuscripts includes :

(a) a short hymn to Zababa, king of Kiš (ll. 144-146 ; note that in this text the *lugal* of Kiš is the god Zababa, while according to my interpretation – cf. l. 1 above – the *nun* of Kiš is a man, *Lugal-men*) ;

(b) the colophon with the names of the scribes.

Rev. V :1 of the Ebla manuscript is therefore part of a hymn : *ḥur-sag an-da gú-lá-lá* (the text in this case is not to be interpreted as PN + NPR, *Ḥur-sag-an-da gú-lá-lá* in ARCHI 1981 :189), on the ground of passages such as lines 13-15 of the Keš Temple Hymn (GRAGG 1969 :167), or XXI:16 in Gudea’s Cylinder A (EDZARD 1996 :82) :

13	é mûš-kalam-ma gud-ḥuš-aratta	Temple, foundation of the country, fierce ox of Aratta,
14	é-kèš ^{ki} mûš-kalam-ma gud-ḥuš-aratta	Keš temple, foundation of the country, fierce ox of Aratta,
15	ḥur-sag-da-mú-a an-da gú-lá-a	Growing up like a mountain, embracing the sky
XXI :16	é-maḥ an-da gú-lá-a	Huge House embracing the heaven

If so, however, the grammatical subject of *ḥur-sag an-da gú-lá-lá* in the end of the NPL would be missing. Therefore, it may be that the subject is in the last case of the fourth column on the reverse of the Ebla manuscript. This subject may be either a temple or a city. The Sumerian Temple Hymn to Zababa of Kiš (n. 35 in SJÖBERG - BERGMANN 1969 :43) makes reference to the temple *é-dub*, but it has a different wording. In GEORGE 1993 the temples in Kiš related with Zababa are :

é-abzu-kù-ga	n. 37
é-du ₆ -kù-ga	n. 186
é-dub-ba	n. 200
with its cella é-me-te-ur-sag	n. 785
é-inim-kù-ga	n. 533
é-kiš ^[ki(...)]	n. 656
é-šul [!] (IGI.NIR)-an-na	n. 1075

(é)-u₆-nir-ki-tuš-maḥ (Zababa's ziqqurat) n. 1151

Also note the beginning (lines 1-3) of the collection of zà-me-hymns from Abu Salabikh in BIGGS 1974 :46 :

uru an-da mú	City, which has grown high,
an-da gú-lá	embracing the sky,
d ^{EN} .LÍL ^{ki}	Nippur!

Moreover, in the same collection there is a short hymn to Zababa (lines 70-71, BIGGS 1974 :48) :

kiš gud-du ₇	Kiš, perfect ox,
d ^{za} -ba ₄ -ba ₄ zà-me	to Zababa, praise!

Unfortunately, even if relevant, none of these references clarifies the reading of the last case of the fourth column on the reverse of the Ebla manuscript of the NPL (to be collated). I am not convinced of a correction such as, for instance, kiš^{ki!(NA)} ṛgud[!] :du₇[!](SIG), but what follows the sign KIŠ must be a qualification of that same city.

In any case, it seems to me that the list of PNs and names of professions of the NPL ends with the line 142 of the synopsis (rev. IV :10 : <^d>kiš-ur-sag KÍD-sag ká-ká). Therefore, the short zà-me-hymn at the end of the Ebla source of the NPL for the moment may be read as follows :

rev. IV :11	kiš SIG NA ṚX [!]	Kiš, ...,
rev. V :1	ḥur-sag an-da gú-lá-lá	mountain embracing the sky!
rev. V :2	d ^{za} -ba ₄ -ba ₄ lugal kiš ^{ki}	Zababa (is) king of Kiš!
rev. V :2	d ^{za} -ba ₄ -ba ₄ zà-me	To Zababa, praise!

The reasons of the presence of a hymn at the end of the NPL remain to be clarified.

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30) On the geography, toponymy and anthroponymy of Media – 1. Anthroponymy and toponymy from Šušarrā : The onomasticon from OB Šušarrā (cf. the index of Eidem 1992) has almost no parallels in the long lists of prisoners of war, who are thought to have originated in Šašru (the forerunner of Šušarrā) in the Ur III period, about a quarter of a millennium earlier (from Umma, collected by Struve 1952, 14ff. : TCL 5, 6039 and 18ff. : Nikol'skiy 329 ; 2042 BC). The reason may be not only the chronological gap, but also the fact that all the names in the lists from Šašru refer to females, whereas almost all the anthroponyms from Šušarrā refer to males (cf. Zadok 1993, 235). The anthroponym *Še-pu-ul-lu* (Eidem 1992, 46, 1) is probably the same as Ur III *Še-pu-la*. The latter is recorded at Umma, the same place where the female prisoners are mentioned in the same generation (2028 BC, Zadok 1993, 235 : 3.2.2, 27). *Ka-ak-me* is recorded as an anthroponym at OB Šušarrā (Eidem 1992, 118, 5). *Ka-ma-zi* from there is perhaps a late form of the toponym Hamazi (presumably with *k-* for earlier *h-* like NA *Kumurdu* for *Humurti*, cf. below, 2). *Ka-ma-zi* is classified as an anthroponym by Eidem (1992, 94a ad 124, 10), but it can be interpreted as a toponym in view of the structure of the list ("one *Kamazig*-garment" like other garments, which are defined by a geographical name, i.e. their place of origin, in line 8f.)¹ and the fact that the only clear anthroponym according to the context (line 6) is preceded by a *Personenkeil*. In the same manner, *Ku-la-r[u(-um)]* (Eidem 1992, 111, 11 : LÚ^{meš} ša ~) is a toponym rather than an anthroponym (as listed by Eidem 1992, 95a) in view of NA *Kul/Kúl-la-ar* (Röllig 1980-83), referring to a pass not far from Šušarrā. The same may apply to *Ku-mu-ur-a-at-ī[e]* (listed as an anthroponym by Eidem 1992, 95a, s.v. *Kumurate*, but cf. Ziegler 1997, 791) if it refers to *Kumurdu* (see below, 2). Both are written without a *Personenkeil*. Most of the names preceded by LÚ^{meš} in the same document are toponyms. The toponym *Tu-ud/t-ma-aš-še/ši/šu* (Eidem 1992, 90a with refs.) may be compared with the anthroponym *Tu-du-mi-iš* from Tikunani

(Salvini 1996, v, 56). Likewise, the anthroponym *Ul-lu-ba* from OB Tall Lēlān (Hurr. according to Ismail 1991, 121f. *ad* 109, 5) is homonymous with NA ^{kur}*Ul-lu-ba* (once *Ul-li-ba*, Parpola 1970, 366f.), which refers to a region north of Assyria proper (see Postgate 1973, 57f.) not far from the important Hurrian city of Kumme. Toponyms which are homonymous with anthroponyms are not rare in Hurrian (cf. Fincke 1993, *pass.* and Zadok 2000, B, 2, 5).

2. Uzhari : The two campaigns of Tiglath-pileser III to the Zagros (744 and 737 BC) and their long-term effect are discussed by Levine (1977b, 180f.): basically the Great Khorasan Road and around it, with the regions lying on the road itself turned into Assyrian provinces and the other entities subjected to Assyria as vassals. If ^{uru}*Ha-ar-šu* is identical with Mt. *Ha-ar-si* (cf. Edzard 1957-1971), which is described as situated at the “head” (SAG) of the Kumurdean district, then the way from the western Zagros to Bīt-Abdadani was partly controlled by Mannea in Ashurbanipal’s time. ^{uru}*Ha-ar-šu* was situated between ^{uru}*Ku-ši-a-na-áš* (possibly = later ^{uru}*Ku-šal-na* according to Ivantchik 1993, 83 *ad* 185f. :12) and ^{uru}*Šá-na-áš-ti-ku* (Tadmor 1994, 46 : Ann. 11,1f.). Harši is related to Urart. *Wa_x-ar-si-ta* according to Diakonoff and Kashkai (1979, 98 ; -tā is an Urartian suffix). The latter is very probably the same place as *Wa-ar-šu^{ki}* (*Wa-ar-še/ši*) from OB Šušarrā (Eidem 1992, 90a with refs.). Troops from *PA-ar-ši^{ki}* are listed with troops from other places including *Ku-mu-ur-a-at-[e]*, which is perhaps identical with Kumurdu (cf. above, 1). *PA-ar-ši^{ki}* is a variant of *Waršu*. ^{kur}*Ku-mu-ur-da-A+A* (gentilic) of Mannea (Borger 1996, 34 : B iii, 60 = C iv, 72) was equated with Ur III Humurtu by Diakonoff 1956, 282 with n. 3 ; 1985, 73. Levine (1974, 115) is not aware of Diakonoff’s identification, which may eventually facilitate the localization of Kumurdu, perhaps near the southern section of Mannea. ^{uru}*Šá-na-áš-ti-ku* is followed by ^{uru}*Kiš-ki-ta-ra*, ^{uru}*Ha-ar-šá-A+A* (originally a gentilic of *Ha-ar-šu*) and ^{uru}*A+A-ú-ba-ak*. From there (provided the lacuna does not include more places) Tiglath-pileser III proceeded to ^{kur}*Ha-li-ha-ad/t-ri* (see Streck 1900, 369f.) and ^{uru}*Uz-ha-ri* (cf. just below). The latter belonged to Bīt-Zatti (744 BC, Tadmor 1994,46 : Ann. 11, 1-3), which was on the way to the more easterly Bīt-Abdadani. *Uzhari* is perhaps a late form of Sargonic *Zahara* presumably northwest of Elam (see Edzard, Farber and Sollberger 1977, 193 with previous lit.). *Zahara* is probably identical with *A-za-ha-ar*, a region of Simaški in the Ur III period (see Zadok 1991, 229). Vallat (1993, 305, *s.v.* *Zahara*) is of the opinion that *Zahara* “doit être localisé en Balutchistan iranien ou dans les environs immédiats”. However, Vallat (1993, cxxivf.) does not rule out an alternative localization in western Iran. Potts (1998, 103) hesitatingly suggests to identify *Zahara* with *Azara*, presumably in eastern Khuzistan, which is mentioned in the Parthian period, but the forms are different. The fact that Šar-kali-šarrī mentions a victorious battle against Elam and *Zahara* in the neighbourhood of Akšak and Sakali seems to strengthen the case for a localization of *Zahara* in northwestern Iran, provided the observation of Hallo (1957-71, 709) that *Sakali* is a veiled allusion to *Qutium* is correct. It should be remembered that several regions of northwest Iran, e.g. *Harši* and *Hu’urti*, are mentioned in Sargonic and Ur III sources ; *Zab/pšali* was dependent on Simaški. The same applies to *Sig(i)riš* and possibly *Šišturtum*. Vallat (1993, 305) suggests a general localization for *Zab/pšali* on the Iranian Plateau, somewhere between the region of Isfahan and the Caspian sea (cf. Steinkeller 1990 ; Vallat 1991, 12 ; Zadok 1991, 227f.). *Azahar* and *Šišturtum* were dependencies of Simaški (cf. Zadok 1991, 227 ; Potts 1998, 136) ; on the northern extension of Simaški see Potts 1998, 141.² There are several cases of toponymic continuity in northwest Iran (e.g., *Harši*, *Harhar*,³ *Kumurdu*, *Nispi*, *Sigris*, and *Šišturtu*). The river *A-rat-ta-a* was on the way from Sumbi to Surikaš, a Mannean district bordering on Karalla and Allab/pria in 714 BC (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 31 ; see Levine 1977a, 137 ; for Karalla cf. Frame 1999, 48ff.). *A-rat-ta-a* is at best a homonym of the much earlier legendary land of Aratta (see the comment of Vallat 1993, 18 on Gordon 1960, 132 with n. 63 and Yusifov 1986, 87).

3. **Wilu* : The NA gentilic ^{kur}*Ú-i-la-A+A* (end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s, presumably sometime between 821 and 819 BC, Grayson 1996, 186 : Šamši-Adad V, A.0.103.1, iii, 53 ; cf. Diakonoff 1991, 15) refers to one of the small polities of Parsua or near it (in northwestern Media). **Wilu* may be homonymous - if not identical - with Ur III *Pi-i^{ki}* (Sigrist 1984, 4, 10 ; cf. Zadok 1993, 226 : 26 ;⁴ *PI* with the reading *wi* is very common before the middle of the second millennium BC). This toponym resembles the anthroponyms *Ú-e-li*, *Ú-i-lí* (Sarg.), *Ú-e-li* (Ur III, Zadok 1994, 34b, 39b, 40b, 41b). **Wilu* resembles the Ur III toponym *Ú-lum^{ki}* (Edzard and Farber 1974, 204), but the latter is mentioned without any geographical context. **Wil(u)* may be quasi-homonymous with ^{kur}*Ú-il-la* near Eribi and Kumuh east of the Euphrates (Tadmor 1994, 184 : Summ. 9, 21’), a basically Hurrian-speaking region.

4. Names of districts in western Iran beginning with Bīt : The 22 districts, whose names begin with Bīt, are located in five regions of Media and the piedmont of the Zagros.

(a) Southwestern Media : (1) Bīt-Hamban (e.g. ^{kur}*É-ha-am-ban/DUMU^mHa-an-ban*, Parpola 1970, 147, see Levine 1973, 22f. ; Herzfeld 1968, 23f. ; Reade 1978, 137f.) ; (2) Bīt-Barrūa (^{kur}*É^mBa-ar-ru-ú, É-Bar-ru-ú*) in Ellipi (Luckenbill 1924, 28, ii, 25 and 59, 31 resp.) is very probably a dynastic name, presumably named after the Elippean ruler *Ba-ru-ú/ Pa-^rru^l-ú* (843 BC, cf. E. Frahm and R. Schmitt in Radner, Parpola and Whiting 1998-99, 273b). It was annexed to the province of Harhar by Sennacherib (see Levine 1974, 117). *Bīt-Barrūa* rather than *Bīt-Bāri* resembles Urart. ^{kur}*Ba-ru-a-ta* (i.e. *Ba-ru-a* ; -tā being an Urart. suffix, cf. above, 2) from the time of Argišti I, i.e. the early eighth century BC. If the Urartian toponym refers to Bīt-Barrūa (cf. Diakonoff [and

Kashkai] 1979, 18f., who does not preclude an identification with Bīt-Bāri), then ^{kur}*Ba-ru-a-ta* would be the earliest attestation of this district, about half a century after the eponymous dynast is mentioned. The earliest Assyrian occurrences of this district are from Tiglath-Pileser III's time: ^{kur}*Ba-ar-ru-a* and ^{kur/uru}*É-Bar/Ba-ar-ru-a* (Tadmor 1994, 295, index, s.v.). (3) Bīt-Zualzaš (^{uru}*É-Zu-al-za-áš*, Thureau-Dangin 1912, 46; see Vera Chamaza 1994, 107f.); (4) Bīt-Matti (^{kur}*É-Ma-at-ti*, Tadmor 1994, 70: Ann. 14*, 6; 88: Ann. 4, 3) is listed between Bīt-Zualzaš and Tupliaš; and perhaps (5) Bīt-Taranzāyu (^{kur}*É-TAR-AN-za-A+A*), which is listed between Tupliaš and Parsua (Tadmor 1994, 124:Summ. 1, 18).

(b) The upper Diyala basin: (6) Bīt-Sangibuti (^{kur}*É-Sa-an-gi-bu-te/ti*; ^{kur}*Sin-gi-bu-te*, gentilic ^{kur}*Sin-gi-bu-ta¹-A+A¹*), Tadmor 1994, 98 ad St. I, B, 15'; cf. 296, index, s.v. Bīt-S.; ^{kur}*Sun-gi-bu-tú*, Harper 1892-1914, 174, 11). Billerbeck (1898, 80f.) erroneously identified this district (not the Urartian homonymous one) with Bīt-Sangi. He is followed by Levine (1977a, 142f.) and Diakonoff (1991, 16 with n. 11; cf. Vera Chamaza 1994, 105f.). Both districts must be differentiated, seeing that they are listed together twice in one and the same summary inscription: Tadmor 1994, 164f.: 29f., 34f. has Bīt-Sangibuti and Bīt-Sangi. Medieval *Sng/jbd*, which may be normalized as *Sangabad/Sanjabid*,⁵ refers to a village and district (*Sanjabadrūd*, now *Sanjabad*, Razmārā 1950, 4, 277b) west of Ḥalḥal, 10 km. northeast of Kīwī (Gronke 1993, 330f., n. 96; Krawulski 1978, map 3 has Sanjbad on *Āb-e-Sanjbad* south of Ardbil and east of Šangolābād, c. 37° 60'-48° 40'). The name of this place may originate from a homonym of Sangibutu, as its location precludes a geographical identification with any of the two NA districts named so.

(c) Near the Great Khorasan Road: Both (7) Bīt-Uargi (^{kur}*É-Ú-ar-mar-gi*) and (8) Bīt-Hirmāmi (^{kur}*É-Hir-ma-mi*) were situated near Kišesim whereas (9) Bīt-Bagāya (^{uru}*É^mBa-ga-ia/-A+A, -Ga-ba-ia*) and (10) Bīt-Ramatua (*É^mRa-ma-tu-a*) belonged to the province of Harhar (see Fuchs 1994, 426ff.). (11) Bīt-Bāri (^{kur}*É-Ba-a-ri*) is juxtaposed with (12) Bīt-Barbari (^{kur}*É-Bar-ba-ri*, Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 21f.). The latter may be merely homonymous with Middle Elamite (ME) ^{as}*Bī-it-ba-ar-ba-ri* (Vallat 1993, 44). (13) Bīt-Sagbat (^{kur}*É-Sa-ag-bat/ba-at*, Tadmor 1994, 164:Summ. 7, 31; Fuchs 1994, 428f.) was situated near Kišesim (see Fuchs 1994, 428f.). ^{kur}*É-Sal-ga-bi* was in *Dan-ni-ti šá DUMU K[Á.DINGIR.RA^{ki} (...)]*, i.e. "the fortress of the Babylonian(s)" (= ^{kur}*Si-il-ha-zi*), according to Fuchs 1994, 428f. (ad Levine 1972, 38, ii, 40), who suggests (following Grantovskiy 1970, 114, cf. Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 17f.) that *Dannutu ša mār-Bābili* is the same as Urart. *Babiluni*. There is no absolute certainty that *Bīt-Sa-ga-bi* is the same place as *Bīt-Sa-ag-bat/ba-at*. Pace Levine (1972, 32; 1974, 110 with n. 73), the latter is presumably not the same place as ^{uru}*Sa-ag-bat*, which is mentioned together with Elam (see Fuchs 1994, 428, cf. Zadok 1985, 49).

(d) In the section of "Inner" Media which is not too far from the Great Khorasan Road: (14) Bīt-Abdadani is written ^{uru}*Ab-da-da-a-ni* (Grayson 1996, 40: Shalm. III A.0.102.6, iv, 4f.), early NB *Ab-da-da-na* (c. 1000-950 BC, Diakonoff 1978). The earliest occurrence of the compound form ^{kur}*Bīt(É)-Ab-da-da-ni* is from 744 BC (Tadmor 1994, 46: Ann. 11, 4, see Herzfeld 1938, 163); (15) Bīt-Zatti (^{kur}*É-Za-at-ti*, Tadmor 1994, 46: Ann. 11, 3); (16) Bīt-Kapsi (^{uru}*É-kap-si/DUMU^mKap-si*, Tadmor 1994, 48: Ann. 11, 6, 10; see Vera Chamaza 1994, 107). Regarding (17) Bīt-Urzakki (^{kur}*É-Ur-zak-ki*, Tadmor 1994, 296 with refs.), Warzaqān (originally ending in *-akāna-*), a village 10 km. north of Turkumān, northwest of Miyāna in the modern district (*dihistān*) of Barwānān (Gronke 1993, 311, 331f., 337f., 340), may be based on a form which might have originally been homonymous, but not geographically identical. (18) Bīt-Sangi (^{kur}*É-Sa-an-gi*, Tadmor 1994, 296, s.v.) is neither the same as *Bīt-S/Šak-ki* (pace Diakonoff 1956, 160, n. 4) nor is it identical with Bīt-Sangibuti (see above, 6). (19) Bīt-Ištar/Issar (^{kur/uru}*É-dXV/INNIN*, Tadmor 1994, 296, s.v.; Thureau-Dangin 1912, 46, see Vera Chamaza 1994, 108) is not mentioned in ME "together with Bīt-Tazzaki" (pace Diakonoff 1978, 64, who followed König 1965, 129, n. 9). ME has ^{as}*Bī-it-ta-sak/riš-EŠŠANA* (Vallat 1993, 49, s.v. *Bīt-Tasak-šarri*), which has nothing to do with *Bīt-Taz-zak-ki*; the latter can be read *Bīt-Ur-zak-ki* (17 above). *Bīt-Ištar/Issar* was hardly renamed by the Assyrians as assumed by Billerbeck (1898, 84 with n. 3), since we happen to know that Median places, which were renamed by the Assyrians, generally begin with *kār* (+ divine or royal name, e.g. *Kišešlu* > *Kār-Nabû*, *Bīt-Bagaia* > *Kār-Ištar* or *Kār-Adad*, and *Harhar* > *Kār-Šarru-kēn*, Fuchs 1994, 422, 426, 443). (20) Bīt-Tatti[...] (*É^mta-at-t[i-i xxx]*) is mentioned together with the Salt Desert and Andarpatianu in a damaged text from Esarhaddon's reign (Starr 1990, 64, 8; no clear geographical context; *Bīt-tābti*, being a generic term, is not discussed here).

(e) In the central Zagros and its piedmont: (21) Bīt-Kilamzah (^{uru}*É^mKi-lam-za-ah*, Luckenbill 1924, 26, i, 72); (22) Bīt-Kubatti (^{uru}*É^mKu-bat-ti*, Luckenbill 1924, 73; annexed to the province of Arrapha). Levine (1973, 313f.) is of the opinion, that unlike Bīt-Kilamzah, Bīt-Kubatti might have been situated more to the west. Such toponyms are not encountered in Mannea and its environs (the northern homonymous district of 6 above is generally written just Sangibuti) or in Elam. Most of these districts are located in a basically Kassite territory, and the element *Bīt-* may continue the Middle Babylonian practice of naming districts after Kassite and other tribes, notably *Bīt-Hamban*. This practice was later applied also to the territories of the ever-expanding Iranian tribes (out of the 22 toponyms at least eight are Old Iranian [6, 7, 9-11, 15, 17, 18], three Kassite [1, 13, 21], one Iranian or Elamite [2], one Akkadian [19] and one atypical [12]; the linguistic affiliation of the remaining eight is uncertain). It seems that *Bīt-* was added to these toponyms only by Akkadian scribes if to rely on its absence in the very few Urartian renderings of the same toponyms. It is

noteworthy that the earliest Assyrian occurrences of 2 above are written both with *Bīt-* (6x) and without it (1x), but the possibility that the only spelling without *Bīt-* is due to a scribal omission cannot be excluded.

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Notes

1. Cf. ^{úg}zu-hu-ú *Ka-ak-mu* in an OB document from Tall Lēlān (see Ismail 1991, 100 ad 94, 1f.)
2. The Marhasheans' names *A-pá-al-ga-maš* and *Sí-it-ga-ù* are not Hurrian: the first component of the former may be Elamite (if the segmentation is correct) and the latter is strange (see Zadok 1993, 223:1.1, 20, 27; the heading has not only "Hurrian", but also "strange", i.e. hitherto linguistically unaffiliated, names). Therefore they cannot have any implications on the location of Barahsum (cf. the cautious statement of Potts 1998, 106).
3. Reade (1978, 140, n. 22) doubts the identification of Ur III Karahar with NA Harhar. Frayne 1997, 257f. hesitatingly suggests to locate Karahar in Qašr-i-Šīrīn (kept apart from NA Harhar), but the identification of Karahar with NA Harhar is defensible in view of the other instances of toponymic continuity.
4. *Šu-uh-ni-ki-pa*, the ruler of Pi-il, bore a name whose second component (if the segmentation is correct) ends in *Nikippa*, a homonym of a mountain in Parsua (in northwest Media; = Urart. *Nigibe?* see Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 60) on the border of Sumbi (part of Inner Zamua).
5. *Yāqūt* has *Sinjabad*; *Šafwat aš-Šafā Sanjīd* (*Šafwat aš-Šafā - Ibn-i-Bazzāz : Sanjabīd*); *-ābād* of modern *Sanjābād* is probably due to popular etymology.

Ran ZADOK (20-12-00)

31) The city of Anaharath in an Amarna Letter - Biblical Anaharath was a town in the inheritance of Issachar (Josh 19:19). It is mentioned in Thutimose III's topographical list (No. 52) and in Amenophis II's royal inscriptions. Amenophis relates that he plundered Anaharath, and lists the booty he carried away from the place (E. Edel, "Die Stelen Amenophis' II. aus Karnak und Memphis mit dem Bericht über die asiatischen Feldzüge des Königs" *ZDPV* 69 [1953], pp. 123 lines 112-115, 134-135, 157). Mentioned in the booty list are six sons of rulers (*wrw*), 17 *maryannu*, seven horses and seven chariots. It is unlikely that princes, a military elite and chariots would have been captured in a secondary town. Anaharath must have been a north Palestinian city-state. It is identified at Tel Rekhesh (Tell el-Mukharkhash), in Naḥal Tavor, dominating the basalt plateaus of the eastern Lower Galilee (Y. Aharoni, "Anaharath", *JNES* 26 [1967], pp. 212-215).

Until now Anaharath was missing from the list of Canaanite city-states mentioned in the Amarna letters. However, I believe that the city and its ruler are mentioned in letter EA 272. The letter opens thus (lines 1-4): "[T]o the kin[g, my lord, my Sun : Mess]age of Šum-[..., the ruler of] ^{U[R]J}[N]a-a[ḥ-ḥ]a-[rat/ar-tu, your servant, the dir]t a[t your feet]". Knudtzon rendered the city name [N]a -x-ḥa-[x]. I collated the text (BM 29863) many years ago and, according to my draft copy, the signs *na*, *aḥ* and *ḥa*, although incomplete, are quite certain.

The identity of Naḥḥa[rat/rtu] and biblical Anaharath is self-evident, the omission of the initial vowel has many parallels in Palestinian and ancient Near Eastern onomasticon (for references, see R. Zadok, "West Semitic Toponyms in Assyrian and Babylonian Sources", in Y. Avishur and J. Blau (eds.), *Studies in Bible and Ancient Near East Presented to Samuel E. Loewenstamm*, Jerusalem 1978, pp.164-165; idem, "Remarks on the Inscription of *Hdys'y* from Tell Fakhariya", *Tel Aviv* 9 (1982), p. 124; N. Na'aman, "Rubutu/Aruboth", *UF* 32 [2000], forthcoming). The transcription as given in EA 272: 3 does not support the suggestion of W.F. Albright and T.O. Lambdin ("New Material for the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography", *JSS* 2 (1957), p. 115 n. 4), to reconstruct a Canaanite original pronunciation *'Anōḥarta, later *'Anōḥeret, which was Aramized to 'Anāḥarat. Either Anaharath or Anaharta must have been the original pronunciation of the city name.

Letter EA 272 was written at Gezer as suggested by J.A. Knudtzon (*Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* II, Leipzig 1915, p. 1329 n. 1) and recently re-checked and re-affirmed by J.-P. Vita ("Das Gezer-Corpus von El-Amama: Umfang und Schreiber", *ZA* 90 (2000), pp. 70-71). How should we explain the writing of a letter of Anaharath's ruler, a city located in Lower Galilee, by the scribe of Gezer? The key to the correct interpretation lies in the wide range of political and military operations that Milkilu, ruler of Gezer, conducted in north and south Canaan. In the north he interfered in the affairs of Ba'lu-UR.SAG (EA 249) and helped Tagu, his close ally, to

conquer Rubutu (EA 289 : 11-13 ; 290 : 5-11, 25-28) (for a possible location of the city in the plain of Dothan, see Na'aman, *ibid.*). A messenger of Milkilu stayed in the court of Shechem (250 : 32-34) (N. Na'aman, "Milkilu's Messenger and the Sons of Lab'ayu", *N.A.B.U.* 1999/2, No. 27), and the two partners conspired to set one of Lab'ayu's son on the throne of Piḫilu (EA 250 : 35-39), a plan that they were able to accomplish (EA 255). The close cooperation of Gezer and Shechem in their operations in northern Palestine is amply attested in the Amama letters.

Letter EA 272 of Šum-[...] of Anaharath, which was written and sent from Gezer, is another indication of Milkilu's wide-ranging contacts in northern Palestine. Anaharath was a small city-state located in a peripheral area and possibly had no scribe of its own. Its ruler must have come to Gezer either on his way to Gaza, or to negotiate with Milkilu, and on that occasion asked the local scribe to write a letter to the Pharaoh on his behalf

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32) When did Mesopotamia "Lose" Full Moon?¹ – As is well known, lunar phenomena were always devoted a very special interest in Mesopotamia. Starting from the Old-Babylonian period and over a whole millennium, Mesopotamian astronomers collected a wealth of data on the main lunar manifestations, especially eclipses, which eventually developed into a proper lunar theory; this can be found in the late written production in its fully established form (for a classification of Mesopotamian astronomical texts see Sachs 1948), but also in earlier texts like e.g. Babylonian astronomical diaries.

The outburst of scientific astronomy in Mesopotamia can be certainly dated at the 5th century B.C., but this can only be inferred from the manifest differences between earlier and later textual production, due to the lack of written evidence from the period in question (see Britton 1993).

Among other phenomena, lunar syzgies (first and last visibility of the lunar crescent i.e. new Moon, and full Moon) were considered important since the days when they were observed could affect the calendrical setting.

In astronomical diaries, lunar syzgies are entered as six time intervals defined "Lunar Six" by A. Sachs (1948, 273 and 281). These intervals refer to the difference between the crossings of the horizon of Moon and Sun expressed in time degrees (UŠ, corresponding to 4 minutes). As a rule, these were observed, but could also be predicted by means of calculation. They are called *na*, alleged shortcut for *nanmurtu*, "visibility" (see Sachs-Hunger 1988, 21), at the beginning of the month ("night of N, sunset to moonset: nn^o"), and KUR, shortcut for *ana nipih Šamaš*, "until sunrise" (see *ibid.*) at the end of the month ("night of N, moonrise to sunrise: nn^o") for new Moon; ŠÚ, "to set" ("night of N, moonset to sunrise: nn^o"), and ME, "daylight" said of the remaining part of afternoon ("night of N, moonrise to sunset: nn^o") before opposition; again NA ("night of N, sunrise to moonset: nn^o"), and GE₆, "night" said of the first half of the night ("night of N, sunset to moonrise: nn^o") after opposition for full Moon, respectively. Therefore, concerning full Moon two different variables were considered: (1) when and (2) how long the Moon could be seen with the Sun for the first or last time in the morning (ŠÚ and NA) and in the evening (ME and GE₆).

For an exhaustive explanation of the meaning and development of the Lunar Six see Brack-Bernsen (1993, 353-5).

However, the use of the Lunar Six only characterizes texts produced in recent times, namely after the Persian conquest. This is especially true if full Moon is considered. In fact, in the two oldest datable extant diaries (BM 32312 = *Diaries* No. -651 and VAT 4956 = *Diaries* No. -567, dated 652 and 568 B.C. respectively), the Lunar Six are not yet present. Here, two remarkable characteristics are exhibited.

The first consists of full Moon being referred to in the unsophisticated way that features contemporaneous Neo-Assyrian textual evidence regarding celestial divination, namely astrological reports and letters where the relevant omen from *enūma anu enlil* (*ūmu N Šin u Šamaš itti ahāiš innamirū*) is quoted. This corresponds to a telling description of the co-presence of the two celestial bodies exclusively in the evening when the observation was performed.

The *Diaries* Ns. -651 and -567 were written in the years 16 of Šamaššumukin and 37 of Nebuchadnezzar II, at Babylon. In these exemplars, the day of full Moon is entered as:

N *ilu itti ili innamir*, "(on the) Nth day) one god (i.e. Šin) was seen with another god (i.e. Šamaš)".

This refers to the phenomenon of the simultaneous presence of the two celestial bodies in the evening when opposition is visible, that is when the lunar and the solar discs can be observed above the eastern and the western horizon respectively, and they equal each other (see the omens: *Šin u Šamaš šitqulū*, "the Moon and the Sun are in balance"; *Šin u Šamaš šutātū*, "the Moon and the Sun are in opposition, lit. : face each other").

The second feature is that unlike Neo-Assyrian reports, where the days of full Moon were seemingly steadily monitored, in the *Diaries* Ns. -651 and -567 that, when complete, stretched over the twelve months, this datum is entered occasionally. In fact, only months: Nisannu, day 14 (*Diaries* No -651 : i 6); day 15 of an unknown month (*ibid.*, iv 13); Nisannu, day 14 (*Diaries* No -567 : 4); Šimānu, day 15 (*ibid.*, 17); and Addaru, day 12 (*ibid.*, rev. 16) are attested.

The immediately following datable diary was written in 464 B.C.: here, no mention of full Moon seems to be extant.

It is not entirely clear whether this means that Babylonian astronomers had meanwhile “lost” their interest in the phenomenon, possibly because if expressed in the old-fashioned way, it was not useful for computation. The absence of further coeval attestations of such intermediate stage of Babylonian astronomy results in a disappointing vacuum of almost two centuries between the latest evidence of use of the archaic *iluti ili innamirū*-expression and the “reform” represented by the Lunar Six. Nevertheless, ultimately *Diaries* Ns. -651 and -567 bridge the gap between qualitative and quantitative astronomy; backwards, with respect to the Neo-Assyrian divination and forwards, with respect to the Seleucid mathematical astronomical texts.

The use of different expressions referring to full Moon in the Babylonian diaries witnesses that somewhere during the 5th century the astronomical lexicon was deprived of its “religious” connotation. The shift from the evocative and eventually wishful simultaneous presence of the two great gods to a dry list of figures further testifies a major change in Babylonian scientific thought.

Notes

1. This note is an issue of the research program “Politics and Participation in Civic Systems of Ancient Empires” directed by Prof. C. Zaccagnini at the I.U.O. (Naples), under the coordination of Prof. A. Schiavone (Florence), with the financial support of the Italian Ministry of Universities (M.U.R.S.T.).

Please note the following abbreviations: Brack-Bernsen 1993 = L. Brack-Bernsen, *Babylonische Mondtexte: Beobachtung und Theorie, in Die Rolle der Astronomie in den Kulturen Mesopotamiens*. H.D. Galter (Hrsg.), Graz (1993), 331-58; Britton 1993 = J.P. Britton, *Scientific Astronomy in Pre-Seleucid Babylonia, ibid.*, 61-76; Sachs 1948 = A. Sachs, *A Classification of the Babylonian Astronomical Tablets of the Seleucid Period*, JCS 2 (1948), 271-90; *Diaries* = Sachs-Hunger 1988 = A. Sachs - H. Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia*, I, Wien (1988).

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33) Cuneiform for beginners - The tablet published here¹ (YBC 17020 dimensions 3.6 cm. x 4.6 cm. x 1.7 cm.) has two parts:

- A) line 1 in the obverse and line 1 in the reverse.
- B) the rest of the tablet.

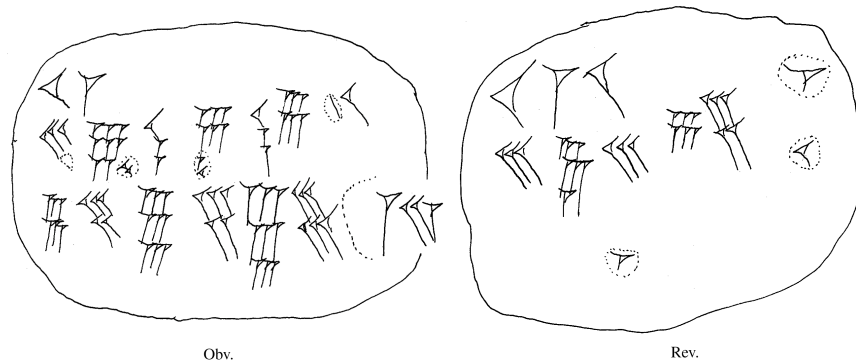
In part A there are only isolated wedges. On the contrary, in part B there are groups of wedges. Unlike part A, part B was written, erased and rewritten more than once. The beginning of line 2 in the obverse and the reverse (part B) contain groups of wedges of the same type as the isolated wedges in line 1 (part A), receptively.

It is speculated here that this tablet is an exercise in the first stage of the study of cuneiform - the wedges themselves, and that part A, was written by an instructor and part B, by a student.

Notes

1. I am indebted to W.W. Hallo, curator of the Yale Babylonian Collection for his permission to publish this text.

YBC 17020



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34) Zum sumerischen Verbalpräfix ba- Es dürfte Einigkeit darüber bestehen, dass im Sumerischen die Aufmerksamkeit des Hörers (oder Lesers) bei einer mit ba- oder bí- (as. noch bé- oder bí-) beginnenden Verbalform auf eine Sache im Lokativ bzw. Lokativ-Terminativ (auch Direktiv genannt) gelenkt wird. Weiterhin erwog schon A. Falkenstein, z.B. in *Das Sumerische* 1959, S. 46, die Präfixe ba-da-, ba-ta- und ba-si- als Schreibungen für *b-da-, *b-ta- und *b-ši- anzusehen und entsprechend als Aufnahme eines sächlichen Satzteils im Komitativ, Ablativ oder Terminativ zu erklären.

Verfolgt man diesen Gedanken zu Ende, so stellt sich die Frage, wie der Sprecher (oder Schreiber) den Blick auf eine Sache im Akkusativ lenkte. Man kann die noch fehlende Form in der 3. Ps. Sg. persönlich *ḥamtu* als *b-n-Basis rekonstruieren. Da eine solche Form für den Sumerer weder sprechnoch schreibbar war, und der häufigste Hilfsvokal (die Fachtermini wären epenthetischer Vokal, Sprossvokal, Svarabhak-ti-Vokal oder Gleitlaut) das a ist, kann die Form nur *ba-n-Basis oder in ns. Schreibung ba-Basis lauten. Sie fällt damit äusserlich mit der Lokativaufnahme zusammen.

Diese Funktion der Akkusativaufnahme scheint mir das ba-z.B. in den bekannten ns. Jahresformeln des Typs *mu ON bahul* zu haben; denn, da die mit einer Person verbundene Aussage *mu PN/GN lugal-e ON mu-hul* lautet, wird man das baschwerlich auf den (virtuellen) Lokativ *mu ... (-a)* beziehen können.

Bei der Annahme dieser Herkunft des ba- wäre, ausser eine Lücke im Paradigma zu füllen, zweierlei gewonnen: Mühelos erklärte sich so die Transitivierung von ba-Formen intransitiver Verben und zweitens verlören die gelegentlichen Verwechslungen von ba- und mu- (oder umgekehrt) in den ns. Datenformeln oder in den Varianten literarischer Texte der altbabylonischen Zeit als Fehler an Gewicht, da beide Aussageweisen nahe beieinanderlägen.

Ist entsprechend gelegentlich auch na-an- auf *n-n- zurückzuführen ?

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35) AB-tum = èš-tum/iltu – The commodity AB-tum - without any doubt to be read èš-tum - is attested only a handful of times, all the occurrences coming from Ur III sources. The examples known to me are as follows :

- (a) 100.0.0 in-bul₅-bul₅ 50.0.0 èš-tum gur (Gomi and Sato, SNAT 536 iii 7-8);
- (b) 60.0.0 in-bul₅-bul₅ gur 40.0.0 èš-tum gur (YOS 4 298 :33-34);
- (c) 540.0.0 in-bul₅-bul₅ gur 83.0.0 èš-tum gur (ITT 5 6905 :5'-6');
- (d) šu-nigin 908.0.0 in-bul₅<-bul₅> gur 680.0.0 lá 1.0.0 èš-tum gur (Reisner, TUT 121 vi 9-10);
- (e) 120.0.0 in-nu èš-tum Ga-èš^{ki}-šè (Yildiz and Lafont, TCT 2 3254 :1-2);
- (f) 2 má 20.0.0 gur ... dug-sila èš-tum in-bul₅<-bul₅> ù peš^{giš}gišimmar gi^{giš}ma-nu má bala-šè ak (M. Hussey, *Bulletin of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences* 11/II [1915] no. 8 :1-10).
- (g) má èš-tum (MVN 8 250 :7);
- (h) 5^{giš}hal èš-tum-ma-ta (Sigrist, SAT 1 862 :1-2).

That AB-tum is to be read èš-tum is shown conclusively by the variant spelling iš-tum, which occurs in an Ur III text from Nippur : 64.0.0 iš-tum gur sig₄-HAR-šè, “64 bushels of ... for baked bricks” (TMH n.F. 1/2 312 :1-2). As for its identity, the fact that the èš/iš-tum was available in huge quantities, and that it was used in brick production, assures that we find here an earlier form of the lexical and SB word *iltu*, which CAD I/J, 90, translates as “chaff, husk.”

However, the question of the exact sense of èš-tum is complicated by the fact that there exists another Sumerian term for “chaff.” That term is in-bul₅-bul (Akk. *Pâ'u, pû*),¹ which, as a matter of fact, is named together with èš-tum in examples (a), (b), (c), (d), and (f). Characteristically, in these examples the volumes of in-bul₅-bul₅ invariably exceed those of èš-tum.

These facts force one to assume that èš-tum and in-bul₅-bul₅ describe two different, though clearly related, items. One of them must be “chaff” sensu stricto (i.e., separated grain-husks), while the other very likely is processed (probably chopped) straw (German *Häcksel*). But is it possible to establish which is which? Of some help in this matter is the lexical and bilingual evidence bearing on *iltu*, where this word is consistently equated with the Sumerian in(-nu)-RI :

še₁₀(KU) in-nu-RI = *il-tum*, in-nu-RI = MIN (Hh. XXIV 229-230 = MSL 11, 85); im in-nu-RI = MIN (= *fi-id*) *il-ti* (Hh. X 485 = MSL 7, 104); še in-RI = *il-tu* (Practical Vocabulary Assur 34); in-nu-RI im dal-a-gim ki-bi-šè na-an-gi₄-gi₄ = *ki-ma il-ti šá šá-a-ru ub-lu-ši ana áš-ri-šú a-a i-tur*, “like ... that has been carried away by the wind may it not return to its place” (CT 17 20 :49-50). Cf. also in-RI im dal-la/a-gim, “like ... flying in the wind” (“Lamentation over Sumer and Ur” 258); in-nu-RI, in-nu-[RI]-RI (MSL 11, 134 xi 10-11).

Although in(-nu)-RI does not appear in Ur III documents, one finds in them a term in-nu/u-da,² which too denotes “chaff” or some related product. Assuming that in(-nu)-RI is to be read in(-nu)-de₅, this term could be explained as a variant spelling of in-nu/u-da, both terms deriving from a hypothetical verbal root [de].³

Possibly, but by no means necessarily, that hypothetical root is dé, which appears in the technical expression in-ø dé. This operation involved the cleaning or sifting (lit. “pouring”) of straw to remove the remaining grains. See 226.0.0 še gur lugal 5.4.0 gur in-dé-a (MVN 7 108 :1-2); 24.1.5 še gur lugal in-dé-a (MVN 12 87 :1); še giš è-a in-na in-bi nu-dé (MVN 9 10 :3-4); grain in-bi ì-dé ... grain in-bi nu-dé (MVN 9 145 :1-13); še dé, ziz dé, in [dé] (TMH n.F. 1/2 171 :14-16). Cf. Civil, *Farmer’s Instructions*, 96.

But, even if one assumes that in(-nu)-RI is etymologically *in’u-dé-a, “sifted straw,” this still does not explain how in(-nu)-de₅ = èš-tum differed from in-bul₅-bul₅, “winnowed / blown out straw.” Of greater help in this connection appears to be the fact that, as noted earlier, in-bul₅-bul₅ was available in considerably greater quantities than èš-tum, which favors the conclusion that in-bul₅-bul₅, as more common and apparently heavier, is “chopped straw,” whereas èš-tum, together with its apparent equivalent in-nu/u-da, is “chaff.” Here it may be significant that, as shown by CT 17 20 :49-50 and “Lamentation over Sumer and Ur” 258 (see above), in(-nu)-RI = *iltu* was considered a symbol of lightness.

Tentatively, the results of this investigation may be summarized as follows :

- 1) in-nu/u [in’u] : “straw” (Akk. *tibnu*) ;
- 2) èš-tum : “chaff” (Akk. *iltu*) ;
- 3) in(-nu)-de₅(RI) : “chaff” (Akk. *iltu*) ;
- 4) in-nu/u-da : probably the same as in(-nu)-de₅, “chaff” ;
- 5) in-bul₅-bul₅ : “chopped straw” (Akk. *pā’u, pû*).

Notes

1. See AHW., 874 ; Steinkeller, RA 73 (1979) 91. For the occurrences of in-bul₅-bul₅, see Steinkeller, op. cit., 91 ; M. Civil, *The Farmer’s Instructions*, AuOrSupl. 4, 96 ; Gomi and Sato, SNAT 302 iv 8 ; Yildiz and Gomi, Istanbul 3 1802 :3 ; Yildiz and Gomi, Istanbul 4 2330 :3, 2685 :2 ; Yildiz and Ozaki, Istanbul 5 3274 rev. 1 ; Sigrist SAT 2-3 992 :2 ; etc. Etymologically, in-bul₅-bul₅ is to be analyzed as in “straw” + bul₅-bul₅ “to blow (away)” (= *napāšu* ; PSD B, 171), “to remove” (*nussû* ; see bu-ur LAGABxÉŠ = *nu-us-su-u’u’ ša’ ŠE* in Ea I 116).

2. See, e.g., MVN 14 391 :2 ; MVN 15 390 xxii 70, xxiii 5, 10, 16 ; MVN 16 1036 :1, 4 ; Yildiz and Gomi, Istanbul 3 1608 :1 ; Yildiz and Gomi, Istanbul 4 2496 :1 ; Sigrist, SAT 1 370 :3 ; Sigrist SAT 2-3 969 :1 [spelled in-nu-u-da], 1421 :3, 2136 :2 ; Gomi and Sato, SNAT 316 :1, 536 iii 3). Since there survive mentions of boats loaded with in-nu/u-da (see, e.g., 4 má 60.0.0 gur in-nu-da in Sigrist, SAT 1 370 :3), the in-nu/u-da, like in-bul₅-bul₅ and èš-tum, must have been available in large quantities.

3. Accordingly, in-nu/u-da would have to be explained as [in’u-de-a]. That in-nu/u-da cannot be analyzed as a hypothetical *inud, “straw,” followed by a genitival suffix -a(k), is shown by the examples in which in-nu/u-da certainly does not stand in genitive, as in Sigrist, SAT 2-3 969, 1421, and 2136.

If in-nu/u-da is the same as in(-nu)-de₅, we would have to assume, accordingly, that it is also identical with èš-tum. This conclusion finds support in the great rarity of èš-tum, as well as in the fact that in-nu/u-da and èš-tum do not occur together (the only exception here is Gomi and Sato SNAT 536 ; however, since this text appears to be a composite record, digested from several individual tablets, the use of variant terminology in it would not be surprising).

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36) Rittu B – In ZA 90 (2000) 295, in his review of CAD volume R, D.O. Edzard objected to my proposal in JCS 19 (1974) 85 that two Akkadian words *rittu* exist : *rittu* A “hand,” and *rittu* B “suitability,” the latter from the root *rdw* “be suitable.” The objection was purely formal : from the root *rdw* (“rdv” is presumably a misprint) a form **ridtu* - *rittu* is inconceivable, as much as a form **bintu* - **bittu* from *bny* or **muntu* - **muttu* from *mnw*.

The question of meaning is ignored, but that is also relevant, and the meanings given to the single lemma *rittu(m)* in AHW, referred to with approval, show the problem : “A. Hand. B. (übertragen) Handgriff ... Machbarkeit, Möglichkeit.” The meaning “handle” from “hand” is easy to understand, but there is no obvious association of “hand” with practicality and possibility. It seems to be stretching the meaning. A survey simply of the passages in CAD under *redû* B and *rittu* B shows that they are used with the same meaning. Note in particular that they are often both negated, and that in the contexts there appears to be no difference between *ul ireddu/ireddû* and *ul rittum*. The ancient Mari scribes certainly saw this *rittum* as cognate with the verb *rdw*. Of course, one could dismiss this as folk etymology, so back to form.

First, it is wrong to assume that as root letters *y* and *w* behave in identical fashion. Roots with first radical *w* lose this *w* completely in the I/1 imperative *šib* (paralleled in Biblical Hebrew), which is not even paralleled in *ikis* from *nks*. Also over the centuries the verbs with third radical *w* tend to pass over into the class with third radical *y*, but not the opposite (except in late texts and late copies where all endings can be chaotic) : OB *iḥdu* is often later *iḥdi*, but OB *ibni* does not evolve into *ibnu*. Also a middle root letter *w* disappeared sooner than a middle *y*. OB forms like *iriyab* occur, but not *ituwar*, except as archaisms. Thus comparison of *rdw* and *bny* is not decisive.

The question then is whether the noun from a root with a third radical *w* can lose this *w* before a fem. *-t*-. In masculine nouns all third weak letters (as known from Semitics) can disappear : *pānu* from *pnw*, *kīlu* from *kl'*, *šēlu* from *sl'*, etc. The feminine nouns from *h₂dw* and *mnw* appear as *h₂dūtu* and *minūtu* in *AHw*, but as *h₂dūtu* and *minūtu* in *CAD*. *AHw* took both as having the abstract ending *-ūtu*, *CAD* took only the latter in this way, *h₂dūtu* was judged to have the simple feminine *-t* only. In view of this disagreement and the lack of certainty, these examples cannot be used. The present writer has not found any certain case of a root with final *w* forming a feminine noun with loss of the *w* and the simple feminine *-t*, but there are not so many roots of this kind. Those with third *y* are more common. And from *banū* (*bn₂y*) a feminine noun exists : *bāntum* “mother” with complete loss of the *y* and the simple feminine *-t*. The examples are probably all not older than Middle Babylonian, but that is no argument that Old Babylonian examples with roots with final *w* could not exist, as we have already demonstrated. Thus since there is no formal objection to taking *rittu* B from *rdw*, and since meaning strongly connects the two, as the ancients attest also, the separation of *rittu* A and *rittu* B is sure.

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37) Eine Perle mit Inschrift des Königs Kurigalzu – Die Perle¹ weist eine Durchbohrung² auf und hat einen Durchmesser von 17,5 mm und eine Dicke von 6 mm. Sie besteht aus weiß-braun gebändertem Sard-Onyx³. Sie ist gut erhalten, nur an den Kanten des Loches sind kleine Stücke des Steins abgesplittert. Die Perle trägt die folgende dreizeilige Inschrift :

1	<i>a-na</i> 𒀭𒂗𒌷𒍪 𒀭𒂗𒌷𒍪 𒀭𒂗𒌷𒍪	Dem Enlil, seinem Herrn,
2.	Ku-ri-gal-zu lugal šár TUR	hat Kurigalzu, der ... König der Gesamtheit
3.	<i>i-qi-iš</i>	geschenkt“

Für die Zeilen 1 und 3 kommen in Kurigalzu-Inschriften vergleichbare Formulierungen vor⁴. Auch der Königstitel lugal šár (Z. 2) ist bei ihm bezeugt⁵. Schwierigkeiten bereitet jedoch am Ende von Z. 2 das sehr klar geschriebene Zeichen TUR. Es gibt dafür wenigstens zwei Erklärungsmöglichkeiten : Entweder wollte der Steinschneider ursprünglich nach dem Epitheton die Filiation des Königs (*dumu* Bur-na-bu-ri-ja-aš) anbringen und bemerkte erst nach der Fertigstellung des TUR, daß er dafür auf der kleinen Perle keinen Platz hatte. Oder es liegt ein bisher für Kurigalzu noch nicht bezeugtes (und auch sonst nur seltenes) Königsepitheton vor : BANDA₃/BAN₃.DA = *ekdu* “wild, ungestüm”⁶. Assyrische Könige ab der Zeit Adad-nirāris I benutzten es gelegentlich (Kurigalzu II, um den es sich in der oben publizierten Inschrift handeln dürfte, trat seine Regierung etwa 35 Jahre vor Adad-nirāris I an). Gegen eine Deutung als *ekdu* spricht jedoch die Schreibung des TUR nach šár. Man würde es direkt nach lugal erwarten. Folglich bleibt nur, darin einen Fehler des Schreibers zu sehen.

1. Dem Eigentümer der Perle, Herrn Dr. E. Homsy, danke ich ganz herzlich für die Publikationserlaubnis.

2. Der Steinschneider bohrte das Loch nicht von einer Seite aus durch, sondern bohrte etwa zu 2/3 von oben und das restliche Drittel des Lochs von unten. Die beiden Bohrungen treffen nicht ganz genau aufeinander.

3. Direkt vergleichbare beschriftete Perlen sind mir nicht bekannt. Aus dem gleichen Stein wurden jedoch die sogenannten Augensteine hergestellt, s. W.G. Lambert, RA 63, 1969, 65-71 bes. S. 69. Der älteste beschriftete Augenstein stammt aus der Zeit Ibbi-sīns (E. Sollberger, RA 61, 1967, 69f. = W.G. Lambert, Iraq 41, 1979, 44). Vgl. noch K. Limper, Uruk. Perlen, Ketten, Anhänger. Grabungen 1912-1985 (AUWE 2, 1988), S. 15 (freundlicher Hinweis von Herrn J. Bär, Heidelberg).

4. L. Delaporte, Musée du Louvre II p. 179 A 818, A 820. Vgl. BRM 4, 47 (sumerisch) und H. Limet, Les légendes des sceaux cassites 12.1 (an Adad) ; W.G. Lambert, RA 63, 1969, 66f. (an Ninlil, Ninurta, Enlil und Adad) ; E. Sollberger, Genava (NS) 2, 238 Fig. 150 (an Enlil).

5. BIN 2, 15 :2 ; L. Delaporte, Musée du Louvre II p. 179 A 819 :2 ; J.A. Brinkman, MSKH 1, 225 Nr. 77 ; mehrfach auch Ku-ri-gal-zu lugal-ki-šár z.B. H. Limet. Les légendes des sceaux cassites 2.16 ; 6.20 ;

6. AHw 193 ; CAD E 63 *ekdu* b ; M.-J. Seux, Epithètes Royales S. 80, 231 (*qar-ra-du ek(?) -du(?)*), 297 (*šarru ekdu*).

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38) Corrigenda to NABU 2001/10 (A Late-Babylonian Mathematical Text) – [Corrections marked in bold]

P. 11 : transliteration l. 11, please read : 48 igi-50-<gál-bi> **1,12(sic)** **1,12**

P. 12: please read: For the phraseology of the text, see mi GAM mi lu DU-ma lu (*x*) “what should I multiply by what so that (the result would be *x*)” in Neugebauer and Sachs, *MCT Text Y* obv. 5,9 [*MCT*: 141-45] and **AO 6484** problems #14-#17 (= rev. 12, 16, 21, 25) in *MKT* I: 96-107.

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39) Des Numhéens originaires de Mahanum montaient la garde à Sippar sous Ammi-šaduqa – Dans une étude récente, K. De Graef a fait le point sur « Les étrangers dans les textes paléobabyloniens tardifs de Sippar » (*Akkadica* 111, 1999, p. 1-48 et 112, 1999, p. 1-17). Aux ethnies qu'elle a retenues, il me semble qu'il faut en ajouter une : les Numhéens.

Dans une série de lettres adressées par le roi Ammi-šaduqa à des responsables de Sippar-Yahrurum, des consignes sont données pour la garde de la ville. Voici ces passages en parallèle tels qu'ils ont été transcrits, traduits et commentés :

– *AbB* I 2 : 17 l ú x ḪA NIM i-na b à d la ú-ur-ra-ad « Der ... darf nicht von der Stadtmauer herabsteigen! »

– *AbB* VII 49 : 3' [l ú m]a-[ḫ]a-[n]um i-na b à d la ú-ur-ra-dam « Der Mann aus Maḫanum^{c)} soll nicht von der Stadtmauer hinabsteigen! » Dans sa note c) p. 37, Kraus indiquait : « Vielleicht als Kollektiv aufzufassen. Unsichere Übersetzung, Zusammenhang mit dem Ortsnamen aus dem Jahrnamen von Mari, vgl. Dossin, *StMar.* (1950), S. 57 Nr. 18 angenommen. »

– *AbB* X 150 : 18 l ú ma-ḫa-num i-na b à d la ú-ur-ra-ad « Der^{f)} darf nicht von der Stadtmauer herabsteigen! » En note f) p. 135, Kraus observait : « Auch *AbB* I Nr. 2 Z. 17 (!) ; 7 Nr. 49 Z. 3' ; Nr. 50 Z. 11'. Hier ein einzelner Mann oder Kollektiv? Nicht in den Wörterbüchern. Zum homophonen Ortsnamen RGTC 3, S. 155, gehörig? »

– *CTMMA* I 69 : 9 LÚ ma-a-nim i-na BÀD la ú-ur-ra-ad! « No ... shall descend from the wall. » (Il s'agit ici d'une citation par Marduk-mušallim de la lettre qu'il a reçue du roi).

Kh. Nashef a rapproché de ce dossier la lettre *AbB* VI 190 (*AfO* 27, 1980, p. 165). Dans cette missive, Marduk-mušallim indique qu'il a convoqué les soldats numhéens (l. 10 : erin₂ nu-um-hu-um) à la porte de la muraille et qu'il a envoyé des hommes supplémentaires pour la garde de la muraille de Sippar-Yahrurum. Il indique au revers : (7') erin₂ nu-um-hu-um šu-ú li-iš-ša-mi-du-ma (8') a-na bād li-lu-ú « qu'ils (= les chefs) rassemblent les soldats numhéens et qu'ils montent à la muraille! » Le dernier commentaire est celui de R. Pientka, *Die spätaltbabylonische Zeit, Imgula* 2/1, 1998, p. 260 et n. 18, qui reprend l'idée que Mahanum soit un toponyme et traduit : « Der Mann aus Maḫanum darf nicht von der Stadtmauer herabsteigen! »

L'expression LÚ ma-ha-num désigne sûrement un singulier collectif, comme Kraus l'avait pressenti dans sa note d'*AbB* VII. Il faut traduire : « Les gardes doivent être renforcées. Que pas un homme (originaire) de Mahanum ne descende du mur! »

Or J.-M. Durand, dans sa communication lors de la dernière Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, juillet 2000), a indiqué que la ville de Mahanum¹, siège d'un sanctuaire voué au dieu Addu, se trouvait au sud du Djebel Sindjar ; on sait que le Numhâ était situé dans cette région.

Il apparaît donc que le groupe des Numhéens chargés de monter la garde de Sippar-Yahrurum sous le règne d'Ammi-šaduqa provenait de la ville de Mahanum. Il ne me semble pas possible de préciser à quel moment ils quittèrent leur région d'origine pour aller à Sippar, mais ils forment à n'en pas douter un groupe supplémentaire de personnes d'origine étrangère présentes sur le territoire babylonien à la fin de la première dynastie.

1. Les références à Mahanum, en dehors du nom de l'année ZL 9', restent peu nombreuses dans les textes publiés ou cités à ce jour : A.1191 [*ARMT* XXVI/1, p. 492] : 4 ; A.861 [*ARMT* XXVI/1, p. 84] : 3 (Addu de -) ; *ARM* XXI 292 : 4 (Addu de -). Il n'y a pas de référence à Mahanum dans *ARM* II 7 : 19 ; voir *LAP*O 17, p. 40 n°465 n. b. Noter que J.-M. Durand est revenu sur son hypothèse que Mahanum ne soit pas une localité, mais le terme désignant un « campement » (*LAP*O 17, p. 417), comme le montrent ses indications dans *LAP*O 18, p. 130 à propos du dieu Addu, qu'il faut simplement corriger sur un point : « avec un sanctuaire majeur comme celui de Mahanum, il était certainement la grande divinité des Bédouins Bensim'alites. Zimrî-Lîm lui consacra d'ailleurs un trône, ce qui donna son nom à l'année ZL 8' [lire 9']. Il est vraisemblable qu'il le lui apporta lui-même, puisqu'à la fin de ZL 8' nous voyons le roi de Mari, sur sa route pour rejoindre son beau-père Yarîm-Lîm, passer par Mahanum (cf. P. V., *UF* 18). » Mahanum est en effet une localité, mais Zimrî-Lîm n'y fit pas étape lors de sa campagne en renfort du Yamhad fin ZL 8' ; sa route remonta le Habur jusqu'à Zilhân et Qirdahat avant d'obliquer vers l'ouest.

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40) König Šusuen, der Sohn Šulgis – D.I. Owen publizierte in NABU 2001, 17 einen Text aus der Nesbit-Sammlung, der in das 4. Regierungsjahr König _usuens datiert ist. Darin kommt ein Funktionär vor, der sich nach Regierungsantritt dieses Königs einen neuen Namen zugelegt hatte : ^dŠu-^dSuen-wa-li-id-^dŠul-gi – “Šusuen gezeugt von Šulgi”. Dieser Name stellt eine erneute Bestätigung dafür dar, daß der spätere König Šusuen ein Sohn Šulgis und keineswegs der Sohn Amarsuens war. Dies hatte man bereits vor vielen Jahren aufgrund der Siegellegende auf BRM 3, 52 postuliert : ^dŠul-gi, nita-kal-ga, lugal-Uri₅^{ki}-ma, lugal-an-ub-da-lîmmu-ba, Šu-^d[Su]en, šagina-, Unu^{ki}-[ga], dumu-ni¹.

1. Zu Šusuen als Sohn Šulgis bereits E. Sollberger, *AfO* 17, 20f. und H. Waetzoldt, *Mesopotamia* V-VI, 1970-71, 323.

41) Was machte der *kalû* mit dem Backstein (*agurru*)? – In dem von S. M. Maul erweiterten und neu bearbeiteten “Kultkalender für die *kalû*” K 2724+ (Die Frühjahrsfeierlichkeiten in Aššur, in: A. R. George und I. L. Finkel, *Wisdom, Gods and Literature* = Fs. W. G. Lambert [2000], 389 - 420) wird der *kalû* angewiesen, einen Ziegel niederzulegen (*agurru tukân*), bevor er mit seinem Gesang für die Gottheit beginnt, die in ihren Tempel eingekehrt ist (Text 1, Z. 5' : Mulissu ; Z. 8' : Ninurta ; Text 2, Vs. 24' ; Rs. 7. 16. 20. 24 : Assur ; Rs. 11 : unbekannter Gott). S. M. Maul (S. 413) vermutet, daß “er wohl vor der Statue des Gottes einen Ziegel nieder[legte], damit darauf Opfer niedergelegt werden konnten (?)”.

Es gibt eine kleine Reliefstele aus Assur, die einen barhäuptigen, auf einem niedrigen Sockel stehenden Mann vor einer kriegerischen Gottheit (Ninurta?) zeigt, deren Füße unmittelbar auf der Standlinie aufstehen (W. Andrae, *Das wiedererstandene Assur* (1938) Taf. 21 c : Gipssteinplatte ; 35 x 30 cm ; Ass. 8262 = Brit.Mus. WA 115694). Üblich ist die umgekehrte Verteilung : die Gottheit steht auf einem Sockel und der Beter zu ebener Erde. In beiden Fällen wird aber vermieden, daß Gott und Mensch unmittelbar auf demselben Grund stehen.

Von den Gottheiten der Ritualanweisung wird gesagt, daß sie sich bei der Heimkehr in ihre Tempel auf ihrem KI.TUŠ niederließen. Dieses KI.TUŠ dürfte die über Treppen erreichbare erhöhte Kultstelle an der Schmalseite der assyrischen Cella sein (zu KI.TUŠ = “Sockel” vgl. A. Fuchs, SAAS 8 [1998] 64 n. 63), gestützt wird diese Annahme dadurch, daß beim Aufenthalt im *bīt akīti* (Text 2 Rs. 19) mit seiner unassyrischen Cella kein KI.TUŠ erwähnt ist. Man könnte sich also gut vorstellen, daß der *kalû* die heimkehrende Gottheit im erhöhten Adyton, die das *bīt akīti* besuchende in der Breitraumcella zu ebener Erde zu begrüßen hatte und, um die unmittelbare Berührung des von der Gottheit berührten Grundes zu vermeiden, einen Ziegel unter seine Füße zu legen hatte.

Das Bild des “Beters” auf einer Art Plinthe ist auch in Iran bekannt (P. Calmeyer, AMI NF 6, 1973, 147 - 149)



Stele aus Assur, Ass. 8262.

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42) ^{na4}UGU.ÁŠ.GI₄.GI₄ = *agusīgu* – Ein Schultext, der jüngst von P.D. Gesche publiziert wurde, enthält eine bisher nicht belegte Passage aus ur₅-ra = *hubullu* XVI.¹ Aus der Zeile BM 37932 Vs. 5' : [^{na4}ugu]-áš-gi₄-gi₄ = *ag-u-si-gu*, ergibt sich erstmals die korrekte akkadische Lesung für den Stein, der am häufigsten in den Schreibungen ^{na4}UGU.ÁŠ.GI₄.GI₄, und ^{na4}UGU.ÁŠ.GÌ.GÌ belegt ist.

Bestätigt wird diese Lesung in einem Text, der für den Träger eines Siegels je nach verwendeter

Steinart Voraussagen trifft. Den Anfang des Textes gibt BAM 194 VIII' 9'-14' wieder. Die Parallelen K. 4212 und Rm 320 mit seiner Fortsetzung sind unpubliziert.²

Die Liste beginnt mit der Formulierung ^{na4}KIŠIB ^{na4}X GAR "Wenn (einer) ein Siegel aus X-Stein trägt" und gibt für zwanzig Steine die entsprechenden "Apodosen". Die Steinliste wird dann in einem zweiten Abschnitt wiederholt, beschreibt aber nun ^{na4}KIŠIB GABA-šú ^{na4}X

"Wenn das Siegel (auf) seiner Brust (ans) X-Stein ist". Die relevante Passage lautet :

K. 4212Vs.	2'	^{na4} KIŠIB ^{na4} GUG GAR x []
Rm 320 I.S.	10'	^{na4} KIŠIB GABA-šú ^{na4} GUG []
K. 4212Vs.	3'	^{na4} KIŠIB ^{na4} a-ba-aš-me GAR x [1
Rm 320 I.S.	11',	^{na4} KIŠIB GABA-šú ^{na4} ab-aš-<mi?>[]
K. 4212 Vs.	4'	^{na4} KIŠIB ^{na4} a-gu-si-gu G[AR
Rm 320 I.S.	12'	^{na4} KIŠIB GABA-šú ^{na4} UGU.ÁŠ.G[₄ .GL ₄
K. 4212Vs.	5'	^{na4} KIŠIB ^{na4} ÁŠ.G ₄ .GL ₄
Rm 320 I.S.	13'	^{na4} KIŠIB GABA-šú ^{na4} ÁŠ-G[₄ ?.GL ₄ ?

Der Vergleich von K. 4212 Vs. 4' und Rm 320 I. S. 12' zeigt, daß es sich bei dem neuen Beleg zu ur,-ra = hubullu XVI 354 tatsächlich um die Lesung des Logogramms handelt, im Gegensatz zu dem aus der Ras-Shamra-Rezension 288 (MSL 10, 47) belegten *e-lu aš-gi-[ku-ú]*. Das Lemma *agusīgu* aus CAD A 163b kann man nun mit den Belegen für den Stein UGU.AS112.GI3/4.GI3/4 verbinden .

Notes

1. Petra D. Gesche, Schulunterricht in Babylonien im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr. (AOAT 275), Münster 2001, 311 (BM 37932).

2. Für die Erlaubnis, die Texte im British Museum bearbeiten zu dürfen, danke ich C.B.F. Walker, I. Finkel sowie den Trustees des British Museum, London.

3. In AHw 360b nur einige der in CAD aufgeführten Belege unter *husigu*, *k/gusīgu*.

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43) "Queen" in Middle Assyrian – It is generally accepted that the Neo-Assyrian vernacular for "the queen" is written MUNUS.É.GAL, and must be the origin of the Hebrew and Aramaic words *šēgāl* etc. This was understood as *ša ēkalli* by Landsberger, but a better equivalence to MUNUS.É.GAL is given by reading *issi ēkalli* "palace woman" (see Parpola, SAAB 2 (1988) 73-6). In that article he refers to the writing MUNUS É.GAL-*li* found on a curious late Middle Assyrian clay foot published by S. Franke & G. Wilhelm (*Jahrbuch des Museums für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg* 4 (1985) p. 21 ; probably reign of Tiglath-Pileser I). The fact that this phrase meaning "queen" is thus already attested in the 2nd millennium suggests a reinterpretation of a difficult letter from Durkatlimmu (Sheikh Hamad). This is the letter to Aššur-iddin, the governor, from one of his staff, published and edited by E.C. Cancik-Kirschbaum, *Die mittellassyrischen Briefe aus Tall Šéh Hamad*, pp. 147-153. His correspondent is reporting to Aššur-iddin about the composition of the royal cavalcade which is about to descend on him. It is a motley collection, including the Kassite king and queen, but it is the first group of visitors which interests us here. The crucial lines are given by the editor as :

8	É.GAL-LIM GAL-tu ^{mí} rQa ¹ -i-ma-tu
9	ù NIN.MEŠ ša 13 MUNUS.MEŠ
10	lu-ú DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ SIG ₅ ni-a-tu
11	KIMIN lu-ú kaš-ši-a-tu
12	2 MUNUS.MEŠ a-làh-hi-na-a-tu
13	KIMIN 1 MUNUS ša-tal-šu-tu
14	ŠU.NÍGIN 6 GIŠ.ut-na-na-a-tu

The editor's translation of H. 8-9 reads : "(Es wird) ein großer Hofstaat (sein) : (nämlich) Qa"i-mātu und zwei Anführerinnen von dreizehn Damen ..." This is undeniably awkward, and I suggest a better solution would be "The Chief Queen Qa"i-mātu, and her sisters. 13 women, either our own or Kassite high-born ladies ..."

It certainly seems preferable to take NIN as "sister", avoiding the awkwardness of understanding what "mistresses of 13 women" would be. Cancik-Kirschbaum is uncertain about Qa"i-mātu, as she says "Gerne wüßte man mehr über die Dame Qa"imātu, die an so prominenter Stelle und als einzige namentlich genannt wird. Es ist unwahrscheinlich, daß es sich um die assyrische Königin handelt, bei dieser würde man doch einen Titel erwarten." (p. 151). Just so. If the words É.GAL-LIM GAL-tu in fact refer to the Queen, the problem is resolved : she is the Queen, and her title is indeed given. [Obiter, in l. 13, given that we are in a harem

environment it is hard to resist the conclusion that the scribe intended 1 MUNUS *ša re-šu-tu*; but this is not the occasion to pursue the implications of this!

If É.GAL-*lim* here refers to the Queen, then it probably also does in ll. 5, 17, 20 and 23. Of course one might say that in all these cases it does as usual just mean “palace”, but there are some reasons to doubt this. I concede that it **might** mean that, but as the editor has seen, to judge from her translations “Hofstaat” (l. 8), or “Angehörigen des Hofes” (l. 23), it is a little unexpected to find the palace mentioned when it is apparent that the court is on the move, in fact about to spend the night at Apku. Moreover, after enumerating a group of three “allocations” (*piqittu*) to “the palace”, the author goes on to list an allocation to the king himself (*aššum piqitte ša LUGAL*), which indicates that the immediate entourage of the king was separate from “the palace”. There could be various explanations of this, but an elegant one is that “the palace” refers to the queen: thus the “allocation for the personnel (ERÍN.MEŠ) of the Palace” (ll. 17, 20) is to be divided three ways into “1 allocation to the Palace (i.e. the Queen and her household), 1 allocation for the daughters of the king, 1 allocation for the personnel” (the editor reads *ma-a-du-te* “many” which seems a curiously vague concept in this context; could it perhaps be *ma-ša'-àr'-te* or *ma-šar-te* “guard-personnel”?).

The question remains how we should reconstruct the Akkadian terra lying behind the logogram. Is it as in Neo-Assyrian *issilu ekalli(m)*? This would provide one explanation of the apparent genitive *-lim* (though as Cancik-Kirschbaum suggests (p. 151) it could just be an “erstarrte, syntaktisch funktionslose Schreibkonvention for alle Kasus”), but it does not explain the absence of an expected MUNUS, both in line 8 and elsewhere. Perhaps it is more likely that at this stage the usage was just *ekallu*. In either case, it would be wrong to suggest that at this date the word *ekallu* means “queen”; rather, it refers to the queen via a deferential periphrasis enabling the speaker to avoid direct reference to the monarch’s woman. For the close association between a queen and the palace, compare in the Mittanian context *ana šāšu DAM É.GA[L]-šu DUMU.MEŠ-šu DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-šu ù ummānāti-šu ištu* ^{URU}*Irridi ušēšunūti* (RIMA 1, p. 136-7:45-6). At Mari “certains textes ayant trait au harem le décrivent comme étant le “palais” *ekallum*” (Ziegler, *Le Harem de Zimrî-Lîm*, p. 7 with fn. 18). Finally it is worth pointing out that the MUNUS É.GAL-*li ša* ¹*aš-šur-i-din* of the Hamburg foot (see above) remains a crux, since as far as we know Aššur-iddin was not a king.

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44) Nanna O (UM 29-15-570) — Publié par Å.W. Sjöberg dans *JCS* 29 (1977) 8-13 et 37 (photo), ce texte d’interprétation malaisée a été récemment réédité sur internet par l’équipe de l’Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (ETCSL) dirigée par J.A. Black (4.13.15, achevé le 20.10. 2000). Autant que je sache, il n’a toutefois pas été jusqu’alors relevé que *VS* 2 4 rev. ii 6-iii 16¹, une composition très proche écrite syllabiquement, permet de préciser la lecture d’un bon nombre de lignes². Dans le cadre de cette note, je me contente de passer en revue les principaux parallèles³.

<i>Nanna O</i> 5/9 <i>VS</i> 2 4 rev. ii 10	(^d nanna) un ₃ -na ([...] ṽx x ¹) u ₃ -na ba-ba-ra u ₄ ṽx ¹ [...]
<i>Nanna O</i> 6/10 <i>VS</i> 2 4 rev. ii 11	an ki-a na de ₅ (ša-mu-e-da-ḡal ₂) an ki-a na de ₅ ṽš ¹ [...]
<i>Nanna O</i> 7/11 <i>VS</i> 2 4 rev. ii 12	an ^d en-lil ₂ (^d en-ki ^d nin-ḫur-saḡ-ḡa ₂ -ke ₄) diḡir-me-en x ṽx ¹ [...] ⁴
<i>Nanna O</i> 8/12 <i>VS</i> 2 4 rev. ii 13	ki SIG ₇ .ALAN-zu-a (mi ₂ zi ša-ra-ne-ne) ki u ₃ -*ku-ṽx ¹ ⁵ [...]
<i>Nanna O</i> 13/17 <i>VS</i> 2 4 rev. ii 14	(^d nanna) su ₁ ^d suen (DU.DU-da-zu-ne) su *zu-*e[n [?] ...]
<i>Nanna O</i> 21/25 <i>VS</i> 2 4 rev. ii 15/19	(^d nanna) an ku ₃ -ga (pa e ₃ -a-zu-ne) [(^d nanna)] ṽan ¹ [k]u ₃ -se ₆ *pa e-a-zu-ne
<i>Nanna O</i> 22/26 <i>(VS</i> 2 4 rev. ii 16/20	kur-kur-ra daḡal im-*MU ₂ -e-en [x x m]i-li-im(-)mu(-)na-el
<i>Nanna O</i> 23/27 <i>VS</i> 2 4 rev. ii 17/21	iti ₆ -zu (ku ₃ -ga-am ₃ dadag-ga-am ₃ ṽx(x) ¹ -*zu ku ₃ -ga-am da-da-ga
<i>Nanna O</i> 24/28 <i>VS</i> 2 4 rev. ii 18/22	e i lugal-ra (u ₄ -de ₃ -eš mu-un-e ₃) e i lu ₂ -gal-ḡu ₁₀ u ₃ (-)-zi š ¹ i-mu-nu
<i>Nanna O</i> 29	[...] ṽx ¹ ^d nanna en ša ₃ -ge pa ₃ -da-zu

VS 2 4 rev. ii 23	sa še-re en ša ₃ -ge ba-da-na
Nanna O 30	[...] pa-e ₃ ši-im-mi-in-AK
VS 2 4 rev. ii 24	ur ₂ ku-zu pa ₃ -e ši-mi-nu
Nanna O 31	[... e]n KA KA *r ¹ nu ¹ ?-[silig-*g]e ²
VS 2 4 rev. ii 25	r ¹ x ¹ -la maš-dab ₅ -ba en KA KA nu-si-li-ge
Nanna O rev. 2'	r ¹ x ¹ [x] r ¹ x ¹ u ₄ sud-ra ₂ ul I ₃ -a-še ₃
VS 2 4 rev. ii 38 (= 35)	en de-el r ¹ en ¹ U ₄ u ₄ su-ud-šu ul-a-še ₃ (TUG ₂)
Nanna O rev. 3'	in-ḡa ₂ -e-re ₇ -en-de ₃ -en in-ḡa ₂ -e-re ₇ -en-de ₃ -en
VS 2 4 rev. ii 39	r ¹ en-ḡa ₂ -e-re-de ¹ -en en-ḡa ₂ -e-re-de-en
Inana I 22'	in-ḡa ₂ -e-re ₇ -de ₃ -r ¹ en ¹ in-ḡ[a ₂ -e-re ₇ -de ₃ -en]
Nanna O rev. 4'	e ₂ -e *TUG ₂ *me-*en-*de ₃ *šudu ₃ -de ₃ in-ḡa ₂ -e-re ₇ -en-de ₃ -en
VS 2 4 rev. ii 40	[... en-ḡa ₂]-r ¹ e-re-de-en ¹
Inana I 23'	me-en-de ₃ r ¹ šudu ₃ -de ₃ in ¹ -ḡ[a ₂ -e-re ₇ -de ₃ -en]
Nanna O rev. 5'	*x(≠ šudu ₃) u ₃ -mu-un-na-še ₃
Inana I 24'	r ¹ šudu ₃ u ₃ l-[m]u-u[n-na-še ₃] blanc [(...)] ⁷
Nanna O rev. 6'	*x(≠ šudu ₃)-de ₃ nun ^d sul-gi-ra-še ₃
VS 2 4 rev. iii 1	[x]-*r ¹ x ¹ (≠ [d]u)-de ₃ u ₃ -mu su-gi-ra-r ¹ ke ₄ ¹ [(x)] en-ḡa ₂ -e-re-de-e[n]
Nanna O rev. 7'	iri ki-bi ge ₄ -a-še ₃
VS 2 4 rev. iii 2	uru ₂ ki-bi ₂ ge-a en-ḡa ₂ -e-re-de-e[n]
Inana I 16' (comp. 4')	iri r ¹ ki ¹ -bi ge-a ni ₂ -ḡ[u ₁₀ x-TUG ₂ /še ₃]
Nanna O rev. 8'	KA enim-gar sa ₆ -ge-še ₃
VS 2 4 rev. iii 3	KA i-ne-em-ḡar sa ₂ -ga en-ḡa ₂ -e-re-de-en
Inana I 17' (comp. 5')	KA enim-ḡar r ¹ sa ₆ ¹ -ga ni ₂ -ḡu ₁₀ [x-TUG ₂ /še ₃]
Nanna O rev. 9'	šu-um-du-um ša ₃ -*MUŠ ₃ -ba-še ₃
VS 2 4 rev. iii 5	šu-um-du-um ša-re-ba en-ḡa ₂ -e-re-de
Inana I 19' (comp. 7')	šu-um-du-um šar ₂ -re-r ¹ ba ¹ ni ₂ -ḡ[u ₁₀ x-TUG ₂ /še ₃]
Nanna O rev. 10'	me-ri ki-a si ₃ -ga-še ₃
VS 2 4 rev. iii 4	ne/ḡe ₉ -ri ki-a *ki ⁸ -ga en-ḡa ₂ -e-re-de-en
Inana I 18' (comp. 6')	me-ri ki-a si ₃ -r ¹ ga ¹ ni ₂ -ḡu ₁₀ [x-TUG ₂ /še ₃]
Nanna O rev. 19'	e ₂ -nam-til ₃ -la nun sul-gi-še ₃ in-ḡa ₂ -e-re ₇ -en-de ₃ -en
VS 2 4 rev. iii 6	lu ₂ -gal-bi til ₃ -la en-ḡa ₂ -e-re-de-en
Inana I 11' sq. (comp. 1' sq.)	nam-til ₃ r ¹ u ₃ l-mu-un-na ni ₂ -ḡu ₁₀ r ¹ x ¹ -[TUG ₂ /še ₃] / nam-til ₃ lugal-la ni ₂ -ḡu ₁₀ r ¹ x ¹ -[TUG ₂ /še ₃]
Nanna O rev. 20'	ki inda ₃ -du ₁₁ ^d suen-na-ka ^d utu ḡe ₂ -me-en
VS 2 4 rev. iii 16	k[i i]n-da-du zu-e-na-šu ^d utu ḡi-me-e (comp. rev. iii 12)
Nanna O rev. 21'	*abzu ¹ (BA+AB) al-mu ₂ -mu ₂ *abzu ¹ al-sa ₆ -ge
VS 2 4 rev. iii 13	šu-du al-mu-mu šu-du al-si-ga
Nanna O rev. 22'	*abzu ¹ u ₃ -mu-un-bi-ra u ₃ -mu-un ḡa ₂ -ḡa ₂ -dam
VS 2 4 rev. iii 14	šu-du u ₃ -mu-bi ₂ -ra de ₃ -ma-ma-da
Nanna O rev. 24'	u ₃ -mu-un kisal-la ₂ giri ₁₇ -zal ^d alamuš-ra
VS 2 4 rev. iii 15	u ₃ -mu-un-e giri ₁₇ -za-al a-la-mu-uš-ra de ₃ -em-ma-ma-da
Nanna O rev. 25'	[x] ub-a-ke ₄ ub-e ḡu-mu-ri-in-ša ₄
VS 2 4 rev. iii 7	šu-du ub-ba-ke ₄ ub-ba ḡu-mu-ne-eb ₂ -ša ⁹
Inana I 26'	šudu ₃ ub-ba-ke ₄ ub-r ¹ e ¹ mu-ni- [...]
Nanna O rev. 26'	[x] da-a-ke ₄ da-e ḡu-mu-ri-in-ša ₄
VS 2 4 rev. iii 8	šu-du da-ke ₄ da-e ḡu-mu-ne-eb ₂ -ša
Inana I 27'	šudu d[a-k]e ₄ [d]a ^{1?} -e mu-ni- [...]
Nanna O rev. 27'	*r ¹ ama ¹ u ¹ an-na-ke ₄ ḡi-li-a ḡu-mu-ri-in-ša ₄
VS 2 4 rev. iii 9	*ama ^{1?} -lu ₂ a-na-ke ₄ ḡi-li-a *nu-mu-ne-eb ₂ -ša
Inana I 28'	r ¹ ama ¹ u ¹ an-na-ke ₄ [ḡi-l]i-a m[un-ni-...]
Nanna O rev. 28'	[mu-g]e ₁₇ -eb gal-*e ¹ *NIGIN ₃ -mar-e ḡu(-mu-ri-in-ša ₄)

VS 2 4 rev. iii 10 Inana I 29'	*nu-ge ga-le-e ₄ ne-ḡa ₂ -re ḥu-mu-ne-eb ₂ -ša mu-ge ₁₇ -eb NIGIN ₃ -ḡar- ^f x ¹ [ḥi]- ^f li ¹ -a mu-ni- [...]
Nanna O rev. 29' VS 2 4 rev. iii 11	[en-a ₂ -n]un-e kurku ₂ -a ḥu(-mu-ri-in-ša ₄) en-na-nu-e kur-ku-a ḥu-mu-ne-eb ₂ -ša
Nanna O tr. 2 VS 2 4 rev. iii 12	[...] ^d utu ḥe ₂ -me-en ne-saḡ a-ra-zu zu-e-na-šu ^d utu ḥi-mi-e (comp. rev. iii 16)

Notes

1. Pour le rev. ii 6-38, cf. Sjöberg, *MNS* 97-101 et ETCSL 4.13.14 ("Nanna N").
2. Le revers présente par ailleurs des similitudes avec *CT* 42 22 rev. iv (cf. M.E. Cohen, *JAOS* 95 [1975] 605-609 ll. 35 sqq. et ETCSL 4.07.9 [Inanna I] segment B ; je cite Inana n°).
3. MM. P. Delnero et J. Marzahn ont eu l'amabilité de collationner un certain nombre de signes de respectivement UM 29-15-570 et VS 2 4 rev. ii 6-iii 16. Qu'ils trouvent ici l'expression de ma reconnaissance.
4. an ^den-lil₂¹⁷ (...) exclu sur collation.
5. Lire soit u₃-lu -^fx¹ (= ulutin₂ v.s.), soit u₃-ku-^fx¹ (= uktin v.s. ; comp. u₃-kitim dans Cavigneaux/Al-Rawi, *ZA* 85 170 MA 3 et probabl. 7 [comm. p. 173]).
6. Soit pour ku₃-ge (le plus vraisemblable, quoique la palatalisation de [g] = /k/ devant /e/ soit unique dans ce texte), soit pour ku₃-si₂.
7. Comp. 25' ṣudu₃² luḡal¹-la-še₃(TUG₂) blanc [...].
8. Lire probablement sa₂'-ga (ki-ga contaminé par ki-a).
9. La lecture ṣudu₃ ṣa₄, envisagée par moi dans *ELS* 728 n. 2121 et *Afo* 46/47 (1999/2000) 264 à propos de *DI* W 41/44, est pratiquement assurée non seulement par ce passage, mais encore par Alster/Walker, *Mél. Sjöberg* 15/16 :3 : diḡir gal-gal-e-ne ṣu-du(-)um(-)mu-un-na-an-^fša¹ (sandhi pour ṣu-du mu-...) ; Alster et Walker lisent ṣa₂l(?), mais ṣa¹ est épigr. préférable (comp. rev. 2).

Pascal ATTINGER (27-02-2001)
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45) « Le roi est mort, vive le roi! » – Il faut bien l'avouer : nos connaissances sur les rites observés à la mort d'un roi à l'époque paléo-babylonienne sont des plus maigres. La proclamation d'un deuil à la mort d'un souverain était surtout jusqu'à présent attestée en Syrie : voir l'exemple de la cour de Karkemiš à la mort d'Aplahanda (deuil-*sipittum* évoqué dans *ARMT* XXVII/1 n°281 ; commentaire p. 560), ainsi que la mention du deuil-*hidirtum* à la cour d'Alep à la mort de Yarîm-Lîm (*ARMT* XXVIII n°17). On peut également penser que le deuil auquel Išme-Dagan fait allusion dans *IV* 61 (= *LAPO* 18 961) avait trait à la mort de Samsî-Addu : « Cela fait trois jours que le pays a entrepris la déploration, que l'on pleure et que tu as fait retentir les gémissements (...) » (5) *iš-tu* ud 3-kam (6) *ma-tum** *i-sà-pî-dû* (7) *i-ba-ku-ma ri-ig-ma-a[m]* (8) [*t*]u-ša-ap-pu-û* [...]. Le fait même que l'objet de cette déploration reste implicite tend à accréditer l'idée qu'il s'agirait de Samsî-Addu (selon une heureuse suggestion de Wu Yuhong, *A Political History of Eshnunna, Mari and Assyria During the Early Old Babylonian Period (from the End of Ur III to the Death of Šamši-Adad)*, *SJAC* 1, Changchun, 1994).

Deux formules de noms d'années d'Apil-Sîn retrouvées sur l'enveloppe et la tablette d'un même texte nous donnent sans doute un aperçu supplémentaire sur ces pratiques rituelles :
– mu *a-pil-30 ú-ra-am-mi-ku* MHET II/1 79 (tablette) ;
– mu *a-pil-30 ú-ga-li-bu* CT 8 49b (enveloppe).

M. J. A. Horsnell, *The Year Names of the First Dynasty of Babylon. Volume I*, Hamilton, 1999, p. 23 a traduit : « The year : Apilsin washed (himself) » et « the year : Apilsin shaved (himself) » et commenté : « Since these two formulae come from the tablet and case of the same document, they appear to be intended to signify the same year. Most likely these activities referred to commemorate ritual actions at the time of the king's inauguration ». Il remarque qu'un des témoins scelle avec un sceau qui le décrit comme « serviteur de Sabium » (*MHET* II/1 p. 202 n°79). Il cite en note une lettre de M. Stol, qui indique très justement : « two formulae for one year. I see these formulas as very provisional, not even official : the king has just been inaugurated and the verbs ramākum and gullubum refer to two different acts in the ritual of inauguration : washing and shaving ». On peut cependant se demander si la traduction de M. Horsnell est exacte, en observant que les deux verbes sont au système II : le *CAD* a rangé la référence à *MHET* II/1 79 *sub rummuku* « to bathe, wash a person ».

Cependant, la suggestion qui est faite dans la traduction ne me semble pas à retenir : « the year that they washed (the statue of?) RN » (vol. R, p. 114a) ; je ne connais en effet pas d'exemple où *gullubum* s'applique à une statue. Il serait dès lors plus vraisemblable de traduire : « année où on a lavé/rasé Apil-Sîn », c'est-à-dire mis fin au deuil que le nouveau roi observait depuis le décès de son père Sabium. Toutefois, faire du roi l'objet et non le sujet du verbe dans une formule de nom d'année me paraît contraire à l'esprit du système.

Il faut alors peut-être opérer un rapprochement avec une lettre attestant la proclamation de la fin du

deuil que le pays respectait depuis la mort de Samsu-iluna, au moment même où Abî-ešuh proclamait la *mīšarum* : *AbB* 12 172 : (8') *ki-ma be-lí i-du-ú mi-šar ma-tim* (9') *šar-rum iš-ku-un di-pa-ar kù-gi* (10') *a-na [m]a-tim iš-ši à ma-li ma-tim im-si* « Comme mon seigneur le sait, le roi a promulgué la "restauration" (*mīšarum*) du pays : il a levé la torche d'or pour le pays et a lavé les cheveux sales du pays » (voir mon étude sur « Les prêteurs et le palais : les édits de *mīšarum* des rois de Babylone et leurs traces dans les archives privées », dans A.C.V.M. Bongenaar dans *Interdependency of Institutions and Private Entrepreneurs (MOS Studies 2)*, *PIHANS* 87, Leiden, 2000, p. 185 n. 1). On pourrait alors comprendre que les deux noms d'années d'Apil-Sîn comportent *mâtam* comme objet sous-entendu de *urammiku / ugallibu* : « année où Apil-Sîn a lavé/rasé (le pays) », c'est-à-dire mis fin au deuil imposé au pays depuis la mort de Sabium.

Dominique CHARPIN (20-05-2001)

VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

46) Thèse : Le samedi 28 avril 2001, M. Paul BRY a soutenu à l'EPHE sa thèse de Doctorat sur « L'exercice du pouvoir absolu à Mari : les structures humaines et les normes. Une approche multi-disciplinaire à partir principalement de *ARMT* XXV » devant un jury composé de MM. D. Charpin (Université de Paris I et EPHE), J.-M. Durand (Collège de France et EPHE, directeur de la thèse), F. Joannès (Université de Paris VIII), C. Houzel (Université de Paris VII). Il a obtenu la mention Très Honorable avec les félicitations du jury unanime.

47) Thèse : Le samedi 1 juin 2001, Melle Adelina MILLET-ALBA a soutenu à l'EPHE sa thèse de Doctorat sur « La population du royaume de Mari à l'époque du roi Zimrí-Lím d'après les archives du palais de Mari » devant un jury composé de Mme Nele Ziegler (CNRS) et de MM. D. Charpin (Université de Paris I et EPHE), G. Del Olmo Lete (Université de Barcelonne) et J.-M. Durand (Collège de France et EPHE, directeur de la thèse) ; M. J. San Martín, qui devait participer au jury, a été empêché *in extremis* suite à des problèmes de transport. Elle a obtenu la mention Très Honorable avec les félicitations du jury unanime.

48) Habilitation : Le samedi 9 juin 2001, Bertille LYONNET a obtenu à l'Université de Paris I son Habilitation à diriger les recherches avec un ensemble de travaux accompagné d'un mémoire sur « Mari et la Margiane, ou la circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans l'Orient ancien à la fin du troisième et au début du deuxième millénaire avant notre ère », devant un jury composé de MM. P. Amiet (Inspecteur général honoraire des Musées de France), P. Bernard (Membre de l'Institut, EPHE), D. Charpin (Université de Paris I et EPHE, directeur de recherche), S. Cleuziou (CNRS), J.-M. Durand (Collège de France et EPHE) et P. Kohl (Wellesley College, USA). Elle a obtenu les félicitations du jury unanime.

49) Nomination - Benjamin R. Foster has been appointed curator to the Yale Babylonian Collection as successor to William W. Hallo.

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