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### NOTES BRÈVES

**53) Zu lúrabû** – E. Gehlken veröffentlichte vor einiger Zeit (1996) als AUWE 11, 205-211 unter der Überschrift “Familienmusterungen” (S. 45) einige Uruk-Verwaltungsurkunden, die eine Aufgliederung von Personen nach Lebensalter enthalten. Im Vergleich mit dem ähnlichen Sippartext CT 56, 794 rekonstruierte er eine Abfolge lúšību(IGI) “Familienältester”, amēlu(LÚ) “Erwachsener”, lúrab(b)û(GAL) “junger Mann”, (mār) n MU “n-jähriges Kind”, lúšehru(TUR) “Kleinkind” bzw. ša šī-zib “Baby”. Ein Vergleichbarer Text aus Uruk ist PTS 2914, der ich hier mit freundlicher Erlaubnis von A. Sjöberg und E. Leichty veröffentlichen kann :

PTS 2914

Vs.	1	<sup>1</sup> La-ba-ši A <sup>1</sup> Ba-laṭ-su LÚ
	2	Id <sup>d</sup> UTU-TIN-īṭ DUMU-šú MU III
	3	Id <sup>d</sup> Na-na-a ŠÍSKUR ŠEŠ-šú LÚ
	4	<sup>1</sup> MU- <sup>d</sup> AG ŠEŠ-šú LÚ
	5	Id <sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU-SU A <sup>1</sup> Šil-me lúIGI
	6	Id <sup>d</sup> INNIN-ŠEŠ-MU A Id <sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU-SU MU III
	7	Id <sup>d</sup> Ū-ia A Id <sup>d</sup> AG-NUMUN-DŪ LÚ
	8	Id <sup>d</sup> In-nin-MU-URŪ LÚ
Rs.	9	PAP 1 <sup>1</sup> IGI 5 LÚ 2 ra-bi-i

Die vergleichbar AUWE 11, 205 II 6 strukturierte Zusammenfassung der Personengruppe PTS 2914, 9 “insgesamt 1 Alter, 5 Erwachsene, 2 rabû” verdeutlicht, daß die Bezeichnung ra-bi-i, hier ohne Determinativ, nicht in Opposition zu einem Kind des Typs MU x steht, sondern sich auf die beiden dreijährigen, männlichen Kinder von Z. 2 und 6 bezieht. zu übersetzen ist rabû bzw. lúrabû daher wohl auch an den anderen Stellen nicht als “junger Mann”, sondern allgemeiner als “Heranwachsender”, d.h. als ein dem Säuglingsalter entwachsenes Kind.

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**54) Genuskongruenz** – Während einer Untersuchung zur Frage der Genuskongruenz und Genuspolarität bei Zahlen im Semitischen stieß ich bei M. Streck, *Zahl und Zeit. Grammatik der Numeralia und des Verbalystems im Spätbabylonischen* (1995), S. 36 auf Bemerkungen zum Schwund der Genuspolarität bei den Zahlen 3–10 in den semitischen Sprachen. Zum Syrischen wird angemerkt: “Das Syrische kennt Genuskongruenz nur ganz vereinzelt. S. den Beleg Brockelmann (1981, 13: 10 aus “Addai”): wa-hwaw tammān b-orīšlem yawmātā ‘esrā ‘Und sie blieben dort in Jerusalem zehn Tage’, (weder in Brockelmann 1981 Grammatikteil noch in Nöldeke 1966 erwähnt).” Die Stelle ist in den beiden semitischen Standardwerken jedoch zurecht nicht zitiert, da trotz

der Femininendung bei *yawmātā* das Wort selbst maskulin ist, also gar keine Genuskongruenz vorliegt, wie Brockelmann 1981, S. 63 richtig bemerkt “Wir sahen schon mehrere Masc. mit Fem.-endung im Pl. so noch *yawmā* “Tag”: *yawmātā* aber *yawmīn*.” Es existieren im Aramäischen noch diverse andere Nomina, die nur äußerlich mit einer Femininendung versehen werden, aber dennoch als maskulin behandelt werden, z.B. *ḥaylwātā* “Armee, Streitkräfte” von *ḥaylā* “Kraft” Brockelmann 1981, § 111a, b u.a. Die auffallende Genuskongruenz im Spätbabylonischen steht also zeitlich und räumlich noch wesentlich isolierter dar.

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## 55) Miscellanea Sipparica –

### 1. The *tašlīšu* in the Neo-Babylonian text from Sippar

A.C.V.M. Bongenaar in his *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar: Its Administration and its Prosopography*, Istanbul 1997, pp. 45-46 presented the opinion, supported with strong arguments, that the titles *kizū* and *tašlīšu* had the same meaning, at least in the Neo-Babylonian period, and were used interchangeably. The most important arguments were the lexicographical (in MSL 12, 226 the *ki-zu-ú* in the Sumerian column is translated in Akkadian column as *taš-li-šu*) and geographical (URU-šá-<sup>lú</sup>*ki-zu-ú* in one text and URU-šá-<sup>lú</sup>*taš-li-š*<sup>meš</sup> in other) and the observation that the context of GCCI I 36 in the Uruk archives, where provisions were given “to workmen of the resident of Eanna and the *tašlīšu*” are in fact the same as in the texts from Sippar, where the provisions were given to “the *kizū* and the workmen of the resident of Ebabbar”. Additionally a few persons in the texts from Sippar, whose identity is highly probable, are described as the *tašlīšu* or as the *kizū*. The text presented below contains the first attestation of the *tašlīšu*, exactly in the same place and number, where in all previously known texts from the Sippar archives the *kizū* are mentioned.

It should be stressed that the *kizū/tašlīšu* are never included in the group of 50 workmen “doing the work of the resident”, i.e. they were not considered as ordinary workers, but rather as “specialists”, just like the carpenters or the smith(s), the members of the resident’s team in some period. If, as suggested by Bongenaar, the *tašlīšu* attending the resident was his personal guard,<sup>1</sup> the function of ten *tašlīšu* in the texts such as the one published below might have been similar,<sup>2</sup> i.e. they could prevent “the workmen doing work of the resident” from escaping because of the heavy work they have done (first of all digging canals, and making bricks). The proportion of 50 workmen vs 10 *kizū*, i.e. 5:1, suggests that attachment to the “workmen of the resident” was compulsory and that the strong custody was needed.

BM 83478 (83-1-13, 641)<sup>3</sup>

4.0 x 4.0 cm

	1.	50 KÙR ŠE.BAR ŠUKU.ĪI.[A šá]
	2.	50 <i>e-peš dul-lu</i> 10 [KÙR <i>a-na</i> ]
	3.	10 <sup>lú</sup> <i>taš-li-šú</i> [PAP 60 KÙR ŠE.BAR šá]
	4.	<i>la-IGI</i> <sup>m</sup> <i>A-na-a</i> -[ <i>mat-d</i> <sup>EN-at-kal</sup> ]
	5.	<i>a-na</i> <sup>md</sup> UTU-DU-A [ <sup>lú</sup> GAL <i>šir-ki</i> ]
	6.	<i>u</i> <sup>lú</sup> GAL 10- <i>tím</i> <sup>meš</sup> [TA É NÍG.GA]
	7.	šá UGU ÍD.UD.K[IB.NUN.KI]
Edge	8.	SUM <sup>na</sup>
	9.	<i>e-lat</i> 1 KÙR ŠE.BA[R šá]
	10.	<sup>lú</sup> <i>qí-i-pu</i> [ <i>É-babbar-ra</i> SUM <sup>na</sup> ]
Rev.	11.	ITL.SIG <sub>4</sub> UD.6.KÁM MU.12.[KÁM]
	12.	<sup>1md</sup> AG-I LUGAL.TIN.TI[R.KI]

Concerning Ana-amat-Bēl-atkal, see M. Jursa, *Die Landwirtschaft in Sippar in neubabylonischer Zeit* (AfO, Beih. 25), Wien 1995, pp. 87-95; cf. also p. 92 about the storehouses situated in Sippar at the bank of Euphrates.

Šamaš-mukīn-apli was the chief of the oblates in the time of Nabonidus, see Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar*, p. 54.

“50 kur of barley, the provision for 50 workers of [the resident, 10 kur for] 10 *tašlīšu*, [total 60 kur of barley which was at disposal of Ana-a[*mat-Bēl-atkal*], were given to Šamaš-mukīn-apli, [the chief of the oblates] and the foremen [from the storehouse] at the bank of the Euphrates. In addition to 1 kur of barley which [was given] to the resident [of the Ebabbar].

Month of Simānu, sixth day, twelfth year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon.”

### 2. The *akītu* temple at Sippar

In 1995 M. Jursa in his study of agriculture in Sippar postulated the existence of an *akītu* temple near

Sippar. This idea was based on the observation that BM 75133 : 2 expressly mentions the *akītu* gate (*bāb akīti*) which, as he demonstrated, was mentioned also in other texts, but simply as the gate (*bābu*). Near this gate the *hallatu* garden of the *rab-banē* gardeners were situated, just as in other cities in which the *akītu* temples are attested (M. Jursa, *Die Landwirtschaft in Sippar*, p. 66 ff., see also p. 57 and Notes 107-108). Five additional texts, three were published before; two of them till now unknown, could support this idea.<sup>4</sup>

An administrative document BM 93006 (84-2-11,1) from the fourteenth year of Kandalanu, published by E. Weidner according to T.G. Pinches' copy (*AfO* 16, 1952-53, p. 5, No 6), mentions ten *nisippu* jars of oil given at disposal of Nabû-kuzub-ilāni *ana tabnītu* ("for making beauty") *šá a-(ki!)-ti*. A similar text Nbn 238 (not dated!), also concerns oil used for smearing (*ana lapātu*) of different cultic objects, among other also [*šu-b*] *a-at šá a-ki-tu<sub>4</sub> šá* <sup>d</sup>GĀŠAN *Sip-par*<sup>ki</sup>. The third text is an account concerning the animal offerings for gods, goddesses and personified cultic objects dated to the nineteenth year of Nabopolassar (E. Sollberger, *RA* 74, 1974), where in l. 16 *gi-né-e a-ki-tu<sub>4</sub>* "regular offering (for) the *akītu* temple" is mentioned.

The hitherto unknown tablet, BM 49565, a list of expenditures of beams, is not dated; however, it has typical features of the tablets of the early archives of the Ebabbar temple. If this memorandum really belonged to the Ebabbar temple, the mention of the *šatammu* makes it possible to suggest a *terminus ante quem* for 626 BC when Sin-šum-lišir replaced *šatammu* with the *šangû* (R. da-Riva, Sippar in the Reign of Sin-šum-lišir (626 BC), *AoF* 28 (2001) 40-64, esp. pp. 55-59).

BM 49565 (82-3-23,556)

4.1 x 2.7 cm

	1.		GĪŠ.ÛR.MEŠ <i>te-lit-tu<sub>4</sub></i>
	-----		
	2.	3	lú <sup>š</sup> à-tam
	3.	3	mdUTU-ŠEŠ-MU
	4.	1	m <sup>l</sup> DINGIR <sup>l</sup> -MU
	5.	2	m <sup>A</sup> -a
	6.	3	ina UGU <i>a-ki-tu<sub>4</sub></i>
Edge	7.	2	m <sup>n</sup> ÍG.DU
	8.	1	m <sup>EN</sup> -ú-šib-ši
	9.	1	m <sup>Ú</sup> -qu-pu
	10.	1	mdAG-NUMUN-ib-ni

11. *tah-sis-tu<sub>4</sub>*

"Beams expenditure :

3 (beams for) the administrator ;

3 (beams for) Šamaš-ah-iddin ;

1 (beam for) Ilu-iddin ;

2 (beams for) Aplā

3 (beams) for the benefit of the *akītu* temple ;

2 (beams for) Kudurrānu ;

1 (beam for) Bēl-ušibši ;

1 (beam for) Uqūpu ;

1 (beam for) Nabû-zēr-ibni.

Memorandum."

The second text mentioning *akītu* concerns issue of barley or dates for a few persons, among whom is Šula, son of Šamaš-ah-iddin, a person well known from Sippar.

BM 63244 (82-9-18, 3213)

	1'.		[x] <sup>r</sup> x x x <sup>l</sup> LUGAL TIN.TIR.[KI]
	-----		
	2'.	2 (PI) 3 BÁN 2 qa ŠE.BAR mdUTU-[-	
	3'.		ù m <sup>Ni</sup> -qu-du
	4'.	1 (PI) 5 BÁN 4 qa m <sup>Ba</sup> -ku-ú-a	
	5'.	1 (PI) 5 BÁN 1 <sup>4</sup> qa m <sup>Bul</sup> -liṭ-a	
	6'.	1 (PI) 1 <sup>5</sup> BÁN 4 <sup>1</sup> qa m <sup>IR</sup> - <sup>d</sup> Bu-ne-ne	
Rev.	7'.	1 (PI) 5 BÁN 1 <sup>4</sup> qa m <sup>r</sup> AG <sup>l</sup> -MU	
	8'.	1 (PI) 5 BÁN 1 <sup>4</sup> qa [m <sup>d</sup> xx]-šir	
	9'.	5 BÁN ŠE.BAR a- <sup>r</sup> na <sup>l</sup> [l <sup>u</sup> x].MEŠ	
	10'.	<i>a-na a-ki-tu<sub>4</sub> il-li-ki</i>	
	11'.	<i>a-na m<sup>š</sup>u-la-a A mdUTU-ŠEŠ-MU</i>	
	Rest lost		

Before the title we expect in l. 1' the king's name, most probably Nabonidus, because Šula, son of Šamaš-ah-iddin, the oil-presser, is known from his activity during his reign (cf. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar*, p. 284-85). However, the small rest of bottom part of three signs does not remember any writings of the Neo-Babylonian and Persian kings.

“... king of Babylon.  
 2 *pān 5 sūtu 2 qū* of barley (for) Šamaš-[x x] and Niqūdu ;  
 1 *pān 5 sūtu 4 qū* (for) Bakūa ;  
 1 *pān 5 sūtu 4<sup>1</sup> qū* (for) Bulluṭa ;  
 1 *pān 5 sūtu 4<sup>1</sup> qū* (for) Arad-Bunene ;  
 1 *pān 5 sūtu 4<sup>1</sup> qū* (for) Nabû-iddin ;  
 1 *pān 5 sūtu 4 qū* (for) [x x]-šir ;  
 1 *pān 5 sūtu 4 qū* for [worker]s(?), which  
 came to the *akītu*-temple, were given to Šula, son of Šamaš-ah-iddin ...”.

The data, as scanty as they are, indicate clearly that Sippar has its own *akītu* temple where the rituals were celebrated, probably without interruption at least in the time of the Assyrian domination as well as in the Neo-Babylonian period.

### 3. The mutual warranty for paying rent

The document presented below, probably from Sippar, shows a highly atypical situation where four persons who are at disposal of three or four different people take mutual responsibility for regulation of their rents.<sup>5</sup> The formula *pūt sūtišunu našū* probably means that the lessors could exact their rents from any of the four leases who is able to pay, i.e. it was used instead of the full formula *pūt sūtišunu našū ša qerbi iṭtir* “they assume warranty for each other, whoever is present, will pay (in full)”. In up to now published documents such a formula was one of the most important clauses in contracts between lessor and lessee, precisely describing the subject of the lease and the terms (see G. Ries, *Die Neubabylonischen Bodenpachtformulare*, Berlin 1976 and p. 122 ff. concerning the discussed formula). Obviously, our text is not a contract and the question arises why it was written. Possibly, we can see in this text a supplement to a previous contract imposing on leases the condition of mutual warranty for paying rent.

The identification of the persons mentioned in the text is not easy because they bear typical Babylonian names. We know, however, that they worked in the agriculture and that they were active at the same time. Basing on M. Jursa, *Die Landwirtschaft in Sippar in Neubabylonischer Zeit*, AfO Beih. 25, Wien 1995, we can try to identify them with the following persons :

Šamaš-ah-iddin, the *rab epinni* active in the time of Nabonidus (p. 32 in Jursa's study) ;

Nabû-ban-ahi, the *ikkaru* in Āl-Šamaš, known from the texts dated to 20 and 22nd year of Nebuchadnezzar (p. 30) ;

Erēšu, the *ikkaru* active between Nbp 13-Nbk 22 in Āl-Šamaš (p. 28) ;

Kalbā. Two *rab epinni* of this name active in the time of Nabonidus are known (pp. 28-29).

If these identifications are valid, the text might have been written between about Nbk 20 and Nabonidus' reign. The position of Šamaš-ah-iddin as the *rab epinni* makes it possible to see in Kīnā a member of his team. However, the relations between other pairs are even less certain. Nabû-ban-ahi is known as *ikkarū*, but till now we do not know Erēšu, the *rab epinni*. Further, if we identify Kalbā as the *rab epinni*, we could expect that the position of our Erēšu was higher than the one of Erēšu, who is known only with the title of *ikkaru*. I cannot suggest any identification of persons from l. 4. Irrespective of the position of these people, it seems that the text was written to express that all individuals mentioned in the text were personally responsible for fulfilment of the obligation.

BM 77827 (85-4-30, 18)

6.0 x 3.6 cm

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| 1.   | <i>m</i> Ki-na-a ina IGI <sup>md</sup> UTU-ŠEŠ-M[U?]          |
| 2.   | <sup>md</sup> AG-DÛ-ŠEŠ ina IGI <sup>m</sup> E-ri-šú          |
| 3.   | <sup>m</sup> Kal-ba-a ina IGI <sup>m</sup> E-ri-šú            |
| 4.   | <sup>md</sup> UTU-NUMUN-MU ina IGI <sup>m</sup> I-q[u-pu]     |
| 5.   | <i>pu-ut su-ú-ti-šú-nu</i>                                    |
| 6.   | <i>na-šu-ú</i>  |
| Edge | 7. ITL.BAR ina IGI ʿ3ʿ [ʿ <sup>lú</sup> GAL GIŠ.APIN.MEŠ] (?) |

l. 1 from MU only one horizontal wedge is preserved.

l. 7 instead *ina IGI ʿ3ʿ* [ʿ<sup>lú</sup>GAL GIŠ.APIN.MEŠ] (?) one can read *l lim ʿ3ʿ*[...., what seems less probable.

“Kīnā, at the disposal of Šamaš-ah-iddin ;

Nabû-ban-ahi, at the disposal of Erēšu ;

Kalbā at the disposal of Erēšu ;

Šamaš-zēr-iddin, at the disposal of Iq[ūpu]; they are responsible for (paying) their rent.  
Month of Nisanu, in the presence of 3 [*rab epinni*](?).”

4. Šamaš of Sippar or Šamaš of Larsa in BM 82563?

R. da-Riva in her important article concerning Sippar at the very end of Assyrian domination (“Sippar in the Reign of Sîn-šum-lišir (626 BC)”, *AoF* 28 (2001) 40-64) links the text BM 82563, written in the city of Ru’a in the accession year of Sîn-šum-lišir, with the Ebabbar temple at Sippar.<sup>6</sup> The idea is based on her reading of the first line of the text, i. e. “Šamaš of Si[ppar]” (dUTU šá UD.K[IB.NUN.KI]). However, the reading is not certain because in the preserved part of the alleged KIB only one *Winkelhaken* is extant (see copy on p. 63). An alternative reading is UD.U[NUG.KI], i.e. Larsa, the cult centre of Šamaš in the south Babylonia. Because both readings are acceptable we have to search for other arguments to support one of these possibilities. It seems reasonable to place the city of Ru’a on the territory of the Ru’a, an Aramaic tribe, and although its precise location is not established, members of Ru’a are never mentioned in texts from the Ebabbar temple. Additionally, the Aramaic names from BM 82563 are almost completely unknown from Sippar and the shepherds from Ebabbar temple in Sippar bears usually typical Babylonian names (see van Driel, *BSA* 7, 1993). It should be stressed that ABL 287, where three Ru’a tribesmen are mentioned has a clear relation with Nippur – one of a few place under the power of Sîn-šum-lišir. <sup>m</sup>Na-tè-ru <sup>lú</sup>Ru’a appears in the unpublished text NBC 6142, also from Nippur (see J.A. Brinkman, *Prelude to the Empire: Babylonian Society and Politics, 747-626 B.C.*, Philadelphia 1984, pp. 12-13, note 46; S. Cole, *Nippur in Late Assyrian Times c. 755-612 BC*, SAAS IV, Helsinki 1996, p. 29, note 46 and P.-A. Beaulieu, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Collections at Yale 1*, Bethesda 1994, p. 55). Ru’a appears also between the Puqudu and Litamu tribes, i.e. again in southern Babylonia in the Neo-Assyrian Nimrud Slab 1 (J.A. Brinkman, *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia 1158-722 B.C.*, *Analecta Orientalia* 45, Roma 1968, p. 275, note 1781). The only text which could suggest the location of Ru’a in the vicinity of Sippar is BM 77453 (84-2-11, 193) which transliteration is presented here with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

BM 77453 (84-2-11, 193)

3.7 x 2.6 cm

- |      |     |   |
|------|-----|---|
|      | 1.  | <sup>m</sup> Šu-ur-la-a-a   |
|      | 2.  | šá ina IGI <sup>md</sup> DI.KUD-ŠEŠ-MU  |
|      | 3.  | <sup>lú</sup> pu-ša-a-a   |
|      | 4.  | NINDA.HI.A ik-ka-la   |
|      | 5.  | ih-te-lik <sup>1</sup>  |
|      | 6.  | ina UGU <sup>m</sup> ṛ <sub>x</sub> x <sup>1</sup> -da <sup>2</sup> -Iri <sup>1</sup> |
| Edge | 7.  | ina Ru-ú-a  |
|      | 8.  | ši-mu-ú-su  |
|      | 9.  | ni-il-te-me   |
|      | 10. | <sup>md</sup> U+GUR-da-nu   |
|      | 11. | a-na KÛ.BABBAR it-ta-din-su   |
|      | 12. | <sup>m</sup> Al-li-ja   |
|      | 13. | ŠEŠ-šú šá <sup>md</sup> AG-da-la-a’   |
|      | 14. | iq-ta-bi  |

1. 6. This line is badly preserved, the sign following UGU looks like written over erasure and its identification is highly uncertain while the next one is fully damaged. We can expect here the name of a person or a topographical name (canal?).

“Šurlaya, who ate bread of Madānu-ah-iddin, the bleacher, escaped. In Ru’a .... we heard a rumor concerning him (that) Nergal-dānu had sold him. Aliya, the brother of Nabû-dala’ has told (us that).”

Madānu-ah-iddin, known from a few texts from the archives of the Ebabbar temple in Sippar, was active in the time of Nabopolassar and probably at the early years of Nebuchadnezzar (A.C.V.M Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar*, p. 331). However, even this letter does not tell us the location of Ru’a in the vicinity of Sippar. We would rather suppose that Šurlaya, known at least to some people in Sippar, escaped quite far from the city, where he could have expected that nobody could recognize him. Accidentally, the persons who went to Ru’a had met there the brother of Nabû-dala’, who informed them that Šurlaya was sold by a certain Nabû-dānu. The presentation of Aliya as brother of Nabû-dala’ suggests that the latter could have been a person well known in Sippar.

These arguments (mostly known already to da-Riva), although none is conclusive, speak for the connection of BM 82563 with a region south or south-east of Nippur, where the flocks of sheep and goats of the temple of Šamaš of Larsa could have been pastured. For this reason the reading dUTU šá UD.UN[UG.KI], “Šamaš of La[rsa]” instead of dUTU šá UD.K[IB.NUN.KI], “Šamaš of Si[ppar]” in BM 82563 : 1 seems to me more probable.

1. Note also the *tašlišu ša šarri* (BM 49437 : 3 as owner of the slave, who delivered bitumen and BM 51013 : 2 as the recipient of bitumen) and *tašlišu ša simmagir* (BM 52810 : 2 and BM 53453 : 2 as the deliverers of bitumen). From BM 43439 (30.VII.Nbk 11) where Balātu, the *kizû* received supply (money, flour, salt, *sahlu*, and oil) *ana ma-dak-ti a-na pa-ni* LUGAL is clear that *kizû/tašlišu* took part in the military expeditions.

2. It is interesting to note that only one text mentions the *kizû* receiving sickles (*niggallu*), cf. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Temple at Sippar*, p. 46, but there is no clear evidence that they used them personally. More about the *kizû*, see J. MacGinnis, *Kizû's of the Ebabbara*, RA 91 (1997) 81-87.

3. This and a few other texts presented here are published with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

4. The texts published previously are cited and discussed by A. C. V. M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar*, p. 228 and 230. I am indebted to John MacGinnis who paid my attention to BM 63244.

5. It is not clear if Erēšu from line 2 is identical, or not, with Erēšu from line 3, see, however, the reconstruction of l. 7.

6. The provenience of the tablet is unknown because it was bought together with 49 other tablets from J. M. Shemtob in London in 1893. The texts are dated from Old-Babylonian through Kassite until Neo-Babylonian period (Artaxerxes), see C. B. F. Walker, *Catalogue of the Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, vol. VIII : Tablets from Sippar 3*, London 1988, p. XXV. The Neo-Babylonian tablets come at least from Babylon, Dilbat, and Sippar.

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**56) Algunas precisiones al artículo “A Loan Document from Elam”** – Recientemente se ha publicado el artículo “A Loan Document from Elam” (RA 94/1, 2000, 17-19) – editando el texto NBC 6792 – y en el que se han deslizado algunos errores, que parece conveniente advertir por lo que a la transcripción del texto se refiere, a no ser que dichos errores haya que buscarlos en la copia cuneiforme.

Así, la línea 7 contiene las cifras 6, 2, 3, 5, cuando tendría que poner en realidad 6, 3, 4, 5, como se desprende de la copia cuneiforme que acompaña y del total de la traducción. La línea 9 da I[GI], cuando debe ser ciertamente MIN, logograma que en Elam se usa en el sentido del latino “idem”. La línea 15 presenta iš-bu-ti, cuando debe ser ši-bu-ti. En la línea 2 se lee ku-uz-..., cuando la copia cuneiforme muestra claramente ku-uk; lo mismo sucede en la línea 5, cuyo signo IŠ no es sino GIŠ.

Aparte tales errores, consideraciones de otro cariz permiten discrepar del autor en diversos puntos.

1) Así, el nombre propio leído pu-i-lí, parece mejor leerlo bu-ni-ni, forma familia perfectamente elamita. Igualmente, ku-uz-<sup>d</sup>ša-ni-ip-GAL ha de leerse ku-uk-ili(DINGIR) šà-ni-ip-GAL (también en el sello) (cf. M. Lambert JA 1971, 220). El nombre Kukili es habitual en Susa (Cf. ELW 554); en cuanto el segundo término *šanip*, es la forma acadia del elamita *sanip*, bien conocido en la forma neutra *sanit*, componente de diversos nombres propios (cf. ELW sub voce), aunque de significado desconocido.

2) Respecto al nombre divino INNANA.UR de la línea 9, puede enmendarse fácilmente en INNANA.EREN!, escritura logográfica de Insusinak, dios de la justicia en Susa, como lo es Samash en Mesopotamia, razón por la cual aparecen los dos mencionados en el mismo plano de igualdad en esa misma línea, a semejanza de su común asociación en los juramentos de las tablillas de Susa. La formas defectivas de escritura no parecen inhituales en este texto (cf. signo ZU en línea 2, signo A en línea 7, signo TI en línea 11, signo NI en línea 12, etc.). Por lo demás, sería extraño que este dios no fuese mencionado en un documento procedente probablemente de Susa, como demuestran el nombre del mes – el XII de Susa –, los antropónimos Kukili e Inzuzu y el título *sanip-GAL*, comunes en las tablillas jurídicas de dicha ciudad.

3) Finalmente añadir que el término sumerio SAG califica al signo ŠE, por lo que no estamos tratando sólo de “barley” (cebada, grano), sino de “cebada de primera calidad” (Cf. entre otros, AHW 412).

A la vista de lo anterior, consideramos oportuno dar una transcripción (y traducción) alternativa de este texto :

Anverso :

- (1) 4 (GUR) 2 (NIGIDA) 3 (BÁN) GUR ŠE.SAG
- (2) KI in-zu-zu
- (3) Iku-uk-DINGIR šà-ni-ip-GAL
- (4) i-na ITU sa-ba-ṭi-im
- (5) šà MU IGI.GIŠ il-qé
- (6) i-na e-bu-ri-im
- (7) 6 (GUR) 3 (NIGIDA) 4 (BÁN) 5 SÌLA še-a-am
- (8) i-ma-ad-da-ad

Canto inferior :

- (9) IGI <sup>d</sup>UTU MIN! <sup>d</sup>MÜŠ.EREN!

(10) IGI <sup>d</sup>si-mu-ut

Reverso :

(11) IGI a-lí-ILLAT-ti

(12) IGI bu-ni-ni

(13) IGI <sup>d</sup>UTU-ma-gir

(14) IGI mu-ha-ad-du-um DUB.SAR

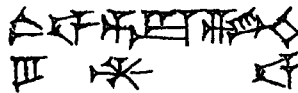
(15) IGI 7 ši-bu-ti

Traducción :

(1) 1350 litros (sila) de grano de 1ª calidad, (2) de parte de Inzuzu, (3) Kukili el..., (4) en el mes XII (5) del año... tomó. (6) En (el momento de) la cosecha, (7) 2025 litros (sila) de grano (8) medirá. (9) Ante Samash e Insusinak, (10) ante Simut, (11) ante Alitillati, (12) ante Bunini, (13) ante Samashmagir, (14) ante el escriba Muhadum. (15) Ante 7 testigos.

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**57) Another Babylonian Weight** – This was the property of a private owner in London some years ago, and its present location is unknown. It has an usual shape : it is a short pillar of hematite with flat round base, vertical sides, and a hemispherical top : 13 mm. diameter, 10 mm. high. Over the curving top there is a two line inscription :



na<sub>4</sub> MAŠ gín gi-na      Weight, half a shekel, true,  
níg <sup>d</sup>utu                      of Shamash.

It weighs in fact 4.0177 grams, so confirming the Babylonian shekel as about 8 grams. It is difficult to offer a date for the weight, but c. 1400-900 B.C. is perhaps not wrong. The sign-forms may well be archaizing for the period of manufacture.

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**58) Correction!** – In *RIA* 9 p. 574, in the article *Nirah, Irhan*, F.A.M. Wiggermann states : “In Syria the (dragon-)snake subdued by the Weather God seems to represent Jamm, “Sea” (Lambert, BSOAS 48, 435ff. ; ...)” This is incorrect. In that article, I discussed Leviathan in the Ugaritic texts and in the Hebrew Bible and concluded “This, then, is presumably the snake speared by Baal in art, and there is so far no ground for identifying it with Mot.” (p. 444) I still hold the view that this snake is Leviathan, and will present a fuller discussion of the matter in a Festschrift for S. Moussaieff, due to appear in 2003.

W.G. LAMBERT (15-08-2002)

**59) Who is the actor here?** – When translating letters from Mari, one is often led astray by assuming that an unnamed subject of a clause is identical with the last named subject of a previous clause. That is good modern style and mostly the case also in Mari, but not always. Often, the unmarked change in subject is obvious. For example, Yamšum’s scribe writes in ARM 26 303 “Ulluri approached me (Yamšum) the next day, and then we placed the message with which my lord had sent him before him. He rose and (said) “Just as you saved Šub-Ram and Sammetar? And you will save me?” The context shows that the message was placed before Haya-Sumu and that it was Haya-Sumu who rose. In other cases, the change of subject is not so obvious and has not been recognized. I give two examples that are of significance for the reconstruction of events.

(1) Ilšu-Našir, governor of Qaṭṭunan, writes the king in ARM 27 19 : “And Bunu-Eštar answered him (identity lost in a break) the following : “I make no peace without (permission of) Zimri-Lim and the Hana.” That he answered him. And he has his sight set on besieging Kurda.” M. Birot supposes (page 21) and B. Lion is convinced (NABU 1995 18) that Bunu-Eštar had his sight set on besieging the city that he would conquer and rule. Yet since a siege of Kurda by Ešnuna during the reign of Bunu-Eštar is documented in another letter

of Išū-Našir (27 16), it seems simpler to assume that the king of Ešnuna set his sight on the siege.

(2) B. Lafont edited in *Florilegium Marianum* 2 of 1994 under numbers 117 and 118 letters from the early reign of Zimri-Lim that address the question of Kurda's rank with respect to Mari. According to Lafont's interpretation, the king of Kurda, Simah-Ilane, would have been in exile in Babylon during the reign of Šamši-Adad. When Zimri-Lim came to power, a certain Išhi-Madar, the author of 117, asked Zimri-Lim to "write Hammu-Rabi as son," which act of humility would "bring out" Simah-Ilane, who could then become king of Kurda. Zimri-Lim did as asked, "but (later)," so Išhi-Madar, "when my lord wrote Hammu-Rabi, he (my lord) did not address him as son. My lord knows that well!" So far Lafont's interpretation.

I doubt that Išhi-Madar or any royal subject would ask Zimri-Lim to downgrade his rank as a trick to get Simah-Ilane out of Babylon and that Hammu-Rabi would fall for it. Also, what would have been Išhi-Madar's motif to question Zimri-Lim's change of address and treat him like a naughty boy ("my lord knows that well") after Zimri-Lim acted successfully on behalf of Simah-Ilane? Išhi-Madar says in lines 16-18 *adi Simah-Ilānê bēlni ušeššēm marūtam ana Hammū-Rāpi lišpur*, which Lafont translates "jusqu'à ce que notre seigneur ait fait sortir Simah-ilânê, qu'il écrive en tant que fils à Hammu-Rabi," where "il" is "notre seigneur." I propose "As soon as our lord (Zimri-Lim) brings out Simah-Ilane, let him (Simah-Ilane) write Hammu-Rabi as son." So it happened. "He (Simah-Ilane) wrote Hammu-Rabi as son, and he (Zimri-Lim) brought out Simah-Ilane" (lines 20-21). So far so good, but then came the problem: "And when my lord (Zimri-Lim) wrote [Hammu-Rabi, he did] certainly 'not' [write him] as son" (lines 22-25). If Zimri-Lim did not write as son to Hammu-Rabi, he did so as brother. Since Simah-Ilane wrote as son to Hammu-Rabi, he would have to relate as son to Zimri-Lim, because Zimri-Lim was equal in rank with Hammu-Rabi. Kings were concerned about such questions. In ARM 27 162 it is reported that Sasiya asked Hammu-Rabi of Babylon if the other kings of Šubartum were writing as sons to him as he does. Simah-Ilane did not bow to the logic. Supported by his people, or, as Išhi-Madar formulates it, forced by his people, and with reference to precedence, he addressed Zimri-Lim as brother.

The second letter published by Lafont reveals how Simah-Ilane may have forced Zimri-Lim to address him as brother, too. The letter combines two, on first sight unrelated, subjects, set apart by the formula "further" (*šānitam*). The first subject is the arrest of Aškur-Addu and some of his men, the second the rank problem. Concerning the first subject, Išhi-Madar had informed Zimri-Lim that the men were put in prison and that Zimri-Lim should request their release when he would meet Simah-Ilane. Zimri-Lim sent Zikri-Addu, the author of the letter. Zikri-Addu did not gain their release and reported that Zimri-Lim would have to "say (so)" (*iqabbi*, line 17) and they would be released. Otherwise they would be beheaded. Now, Zimri-Lim certainly had "said" in his message, which was conveyed by Zikri-Addu, that Iškur-Addu and his men should be released. Simah-Ilane may have wanted the request in form of a letter of Zimri-Lim, where Zimri-Lim would have to address him as son or brother. The decision was Zimri-Lim's; the price for insisting on his higher rank were Aškur-Addu and his men.

Returning to the "bringing out" of Simah-Ilane, Lafont's scenario of a Simah-Ilane brought out of exile in Babylon is not necessary if my interpretation is accepted. In order to connect the release of Simah-Ilane with the demand that he acknowledge Hammu-Rabi in writing as his "father," I assume as scenario that Zimri-Lim wanted to bring him in to an existing Mariote-Babylonian coalition as junior partner.

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**60) Inbatum banished** – In NABU 2000 31, E. Salgues and I proposed that ARM 26 502 was written by Buqaqum to Inbatum. Only part of the second paragraph of this note was printed, which makes our interpretation hard to understand. In its original form the paragraph reads as follows: The first (difficulty of G. Dossin's and S. Lackenbacher's assumption that the "lady" whom Buqaqum addresses in the letter) is a seemingly misplaced sentence. Buqaqum wrote his letter from Rašum somewhere near the eastern border of Kurda. He reports that he went to Kurda, Andarig and Karana where he executed instructions that had been given to him by the king. He continues as follows: "On the day I send this tablet of mine to my lady, I am returning for sure. When I have wrapped up the issue of Andarig and done what is necessary for the abandoning of my lord's throne in that land, I will write my lady that news, and my lady 'will surely be happy on' that day. She cannot be happy now. [And] 'I am afraid' [the heart] of my lady 'is concerned' because I went (away). Your heart [need not at all] be concerned. [ ] took so long, and I did not write [my lady]." Is it not premature for Buqaqum to say that he will start on his return trip to Mari when he still has things to do in Andarig? He also says that he will write again from Andarig, which would have been the better occasion to announce his return to Mari.

We went on to say that Buqaqum announced his return to Andarig in order to, take back to Mari Inbatum and the throne that Zimri-Lim had given her to occupy as queen in Andarig. Since writing that note, J.-M. Durand re-interpreted ARM 10 29, which he had formerly treated in MARI 4 (1985) 400-01, in LAPO 18



(2000) as # 1233. Durand keenly recognized that the “lady” who wrote this letter to Zimri-Lim’s secretary was none other than Inbatum, without, however, realizing that also ARM 26 502 refers to Inbatum. Once the connection between 10 29 and 26 502 is made, more aspects of the affair become understandable. The letters were clearly written at about the same time. Atamrum had just died and his erstwhile military chief and eventual successor Himdiya was in the process of taking over the reigns of government. He was not king yet but still general, as Inbatum called him in 10 29. But he knew that he would be king and disposed of Atamrum’s palace women and the last Mariote officials in Andarig as follows: “He brought in his wife and his earlier (born) sons against (the interest) of my household and your little servants. And for me he showed no love and did [not] (even) give me ‘a maid’ who would wash my feet. My ‘sisters’, all of them, [they took away] (Durand reads in LAPO [ha-al-q]a “se sont vues privées”) their ‘maids’ and household goods. I (said) “I shall get hold of [of one of] my garments, ‘and’ [then I shall] ‘get to’ the house of my father and My Star. Now write the general strict orders, and he must not show neglect against me.” The “earlier sons” clearly refers to Himdiya’s sons that were already born. Durand understands “your little servants” (*wardīka šehherūtīm*) as polite reference by Inbatum to her children. The same designation, albeit in reverse order (*šehherūtum wardūka*), occurs in the letter TCL 17 34, where it clearly refers to servants in need of support from their master. I assume that Inbatum refers to lower-ranking Mariote officials left in Andarig after Yasim-El returned to Mari at the very end of Atamrum’s reign. “My sisters” would be the other palace women of Atamrum who shared Inbatum’s fate, as Durand suggests. That fate was apparently being banished from Andarig to a village, as may be deduced from Inbatum saying “And they detained Sin-Ašared inside the gates, and ‘he sent word’ to the village, (saying) “I am afraid they will take away my maids.”

Wolfgang HEIMPEL (27-08-2002)

**61) Zur Bedeutung von EN.NUN GE<sub>6</sub> und EN.NUN U<sub>4</sub>** – Eigentlich ist ja die Frage zur Bedeutung von EN.NUN GE<sub>6</sub> und EN.NUN U<sub>4</sub> mit der Publikation des Aufsatzes von F. N. H. AL-RAWI und A. R. GEORGE: *Enuma Anu Enlil XIV and Other Early Astronomical Tables in AfO 38/39 (1991/92) 52-73* (s. als Ergänzung auch J. KOCH, *Wache und Mine im antiken Mesopotamien, AfO 54/55 (1997/98) 186-191*) bereits seit einem Jahrzehnt erledigt, räumten hier die Verfasser doch mit der gängigen, dabei nie bewiesenen Meinung auf, daß EN.NUN (GE<sub>6</sub> bzw. U<sub>4</sub>) = 1 Einzel(nacht- bzw. -tag)wache. Über die Äquinoktialtexte EAE 14 Tables A und B gelangten sie nämlich zu dem eindeutigen Ergebnis: EN.NUN (GE<sub>6</sub> bzw. U<sub>4</sub>) = 1 volle (Nacht- bzw. Tag)Wache.

Neuerdings hat aber ein Aufsatz von C. Michel-Nozières, Astrophysikerin am Observatoire de Grenoble, die totgeglaubte Gleichung: EN.NUN (GE<sub>6</sub> bzw. U<sub>4</sub>) = 1 Einzel(nacht- bzw. -tag)wache, wieder ins Gespräch gebracht (*Second Millennium Babylonian Water Clocks: a physical study, CENTAURUS 2000: Vol. 42, 180-209*). Nun stellt zwar die Autorin zu Beginn ihrer “study” die Frage zur Dauer der babylonischen Wache (ebd. 184): “4 or 12 hours? ... Physics may help in choosing.” Aber in Wahrheit steht für sie bereits von Anfang an fest (ebd. 182): “The watch corresponds to one third of the night (or day): such a division appears in daily life around that period.” Und nochmals (ebd. 183): “The word “watch” is usually taken literally as one third of the night (or day): such a division appears in daily life around that period”, weshalb dann natürlich auch als “Conclusion” nichts anderes erwartet werden kann (ebd. 200): “... the division of nights and days in three measured equal parts became then a regular practice of astronomers and astrologers as soon as it was used as rough time marks in every day life”. Leider ist aber so, auch der physikalische Beitrag der Autorin (ebd. 184-199) – weil eben im vorhin schon festgelegt ist, was als Ergebnis herauszukommen hat – nichts wert.

Nun ist Michel-Nozières’ Rettungsversuch zur Wiederbelebung der Gleichung: EN.NUN (GE<sub>6</sub> bzw. U<sub>4</sub>) = 1 Einzel(nacht- bzw. -tag)wache, freilich grundsätzlich zum Scheitern verurteilt. Und zur Bestimmung der Gleichung sollte schon gar nicht die Physik bemüht werden.

Es gibt nämlich, bisher offensichtlich übersehen, einen ebenso, simplen wie unwiderlegbaren Beweis, daß das Wort “EN.NUN”, wenn es um die “Wachen” des antiken Mesopotamien ging, immer nur die Bedeutung: “volle (Nacht)Wache” bzw. “volle (Tag)Wache” hatte.

Zunächst: Natürlich ist richtig, daß die Nacht und mit ihr die “Nachtwache” (EN.NUN GE<sub>6</sub>) in drei gleich dauernde Einzelwachen unterteilt wurde (s. auch R. Borger, *Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste, AOAT 33/33 A (21981) n 107, 337 und 381*):

EN.NUN.(AN-)USAN/ÚSAN = *barārū* “erste Nachtwache”

EN.NUN.MURUB<sub>4</sub>.BA = *qablū* “mittlere Nachtwache”

EN.NUN.UD.ZAL.(LA/LE) = *šāt urri* “Morgenwache”

In den *Astronomical Diaries* begegnen dazu laufend die Abkürzungen (s. dazu A. SACHS and H. HUNGER, *Astronomical Diaries I (1988) 15*):

USAN “first part of the night”

MURUB<sub>4</sub> “middle part of the night”

ZALAG “last part of the night”

Soweit, so gut.

Aber: Im Gegensatz zur Nacht und “Nachtwache” (EN.NUN GE<sub>6</sub>) gab es keine Unterteilung des Tages

bzw. der “Tagwache” (EN.NUN U<sub>4</sub>) in drei gleich dauernde Einzeltagwachen! Nirgendwo ist eine solche Tagesteilung gebraucht und bezeugt. Vielmehr wurde der Tag bzw. die “Tagwache”, wie wiederum von den *Astronomical Diaries* (so schon Diary -651 Col. i 3. 4. 9, col. iii 2'. 20'! S. *Astronomical Diaries* I 42-45) belegt, immer in 1, 1/2 und 1/4 Tagesanteile gegliedert (s. dazu *Astronomical Diaries* I 15):

ina še-ri “in the morning”  
AN.BAR<sub>7</sub> “(around) noon”  
ina KIN. SIG “in the afternoon”

Und die Zahlen der *Zahlen-Astrolabe* entsprachen, wie ebenfalls schon nachgewiesen (s. *Wache und Mine im antiken Mesopotamien*, 2, 188a-190b), genau diesen Tagesanteilen.

Daraus folgt zwingend: Weil der mesopotamische Tag bzw. die “Tagwache” – im Gegensatz zur Nacht bzw. zur “Nachtwache” – nicht in drei gleich dauernde Tagesteile, sondern in 1, 1/2 und 1/4 Tagesanteile gegliedert wurde, konnte das Wort “Wache” nicht eine “Einzelwache” bedeuten, wenn von EN.NUN U<sub>4</sub> bzw. EN.NUN GE<sub>6</sub> die Rede war, sondern es mußte immer die “volle Tagwache” bzw. die “volle Nachtwache” gemeint sein.

Übrigens: Schon der altbabylonische Text 17175+17284 (H. HUNGER and D. PINGREE, *MULAPIN. An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform*, AfO Beiheft 24 (1989) 163: Appendix) hatte es, von Michel-Nozières allerdings nicht erkannt (*Second Millennium Babylonian Water Clocks: a physical study* 183) mit dem vollen Tag bzw. der vollen Nacht als “Wachen” zu tun, wie die wichtigen Zwischenkommentare des Textes, von Michel-Nozières zudem ignoriert, beweisen. Obv. 4: [i-na<sup>iti</sup>SIG<sub>4</sub> UD 15 KAM 1 EN-NU GE<sub>6</sub> a-n]a u<sub>4</sub>-mi i-na-ap-pa(!)-al “[On the 15<sup>th</sup> of Simanu, the night] transfers 1 (mina) of the watch to the day”; obv. 7: [i-na<sup>iti</sup>KIN-INANNA UD 15 KAM 1 EN-N]U u<sub>4</sub>-<sup>f</sup>mu a-na<sup>1</sup> GE<sub>6</sub> ut-te-er “[On the 15<sup>th</sup> of Ululu,] the day returned 1 (mina) of the watch to the night”; rev. 11: [i-na<sup>iti</sup>GAN-GAN-È UD 15 KAM 1 EN]-NU u<sub>4</sub>-mu a-na GE<sub>6</sub> i-na-ap-pa-al “[On the 15<sup>th</sup> of Kislimu,] the day transfers 1 (mina) of the watch to the night”; und rev. 14: [i-na<sup>iti</sup>ŠE-GUR<sub>10</sub>-KU<sub>5</sub> UD 15 KAM 1 EN]-<sup>f</sup>NU GE<sub>6</sub> a-na<sup>1</sup> u<sub>4</sub>-<sup>f</sup>mi i-na-ap-pa-al “[On the 15<sup>th</sup> of Addaru] the night transfers 1 (mina) of the watch to the day” (Transliteration und Übersetzung nach C. B. F. WALKER).

Diese Zwischenkommentare besagen, um obv. 4 zum Beispiel zu nehmen, doch dies: die Äquinoktinalnacht (Addaru 15) gibt als Nachtwache (= volle Nacht) von 3 Minen (= 12 Stunden) 1 Mine (= 4 Stunden) an den Tag ab. Dadurch schrumpft sie als Nachtwache (= volle Nacht) auf 2 Minen (= 8 Stunden). Im Gegenzug wächst allerdings der Tag als Tagwache (= voller Tag) um 1 Mine (= 4 Stunden) auf 4 Minen (= 16 Stunden) an, was folglich dem Verhältnis 1 (Nacht): 2 (Tag) und damit – nach Mesopotamiens alter Überlieferung – dem Sommersolstiz (Simanu 15) entspricht. Nur wenn also, EN.NU = “Wache” in der Bedeutung “volle Tagwache” bzw. “volle Nachtwache” verstanden wird, machen die Zwischenkommentare des altbabylonischen Textes 17175+17284, ja macht dieser Text selbst überhaupt Sinn.

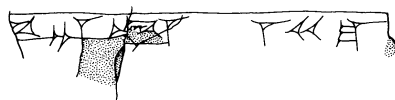
Johannes KOCH (09-2002)  
Thomas-Zweiffel-Str. 11  
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**62) Zur Lesung der Königsnamens ŠÚ-URU.NINA** – Die Lesung des Königsnamens, der an der 54. Stelle in der assyrischen Königsliste erscheint, ist der Gegenstand von verschiedenen Deutungsvorschlägen gewesen. Während J. Gelb und B. Landsberger<sup>1</sup> die Schreibung ŠÚ-URU.NINA in den beiden assyrischen Königslisten<sup>2</sup> als *Kidin-Ninua* deuteten, hat J.A. Brinkman<sup>3</sup> dies in Zweifel gezogen und sich für eine Lesung *Šu-Ninua* ausgesprochen. Die Lesung *Šu-Ninua* wurde teilweise in der Literatur übernommen,<sup>4</sup> teilweise wurde die Lesung *Kidin-Ninua* unter Hinweis auf die Unsicherheiten bei der Deutung beibehalten.<sup>5</sup>

Brinkman stützt seine Interpretation des Namens auf zwei Argumente: Zum einen weist er darauf hin, daß das als ŠÚ gedeutete Zeichen graphisch sehr verschiedene Formen annehmen kann und oft nicht von dem Zeichen BAR zu unterscheiden ist, mithin also BAR das Logogramm für *kidinnu* “Privileg, Schutz” sein könnte. Weiterhin gäbe es keinen Beleg für die Benutzung des Zeichens BAR oder ŠÚ für *kidinnu* nach dem 13. Jh. v. Chr., während die assyrischen Königslisten aus dem 1. Jt. stammen. Zum anderen ist die einzige syllabische Schreibung des Namens in KAV 14, Zeile 6 in der Kopie Schröders keineswegs eindeutig zu interpretieren.<sup>6</sup> Während Landsberger [*Ki-d*]in-<sup>d</sup>NINA liest, wurde die gleiche Stelle von A. Poebel nach Kollation als [Š]Ú-U-<sup>d</sup>Ninua gedeutet,<sup>7</sup> und kann daher für beide Deutungen in Anspruch genommen werden.

Beide Argumente, die für eine Lesung *Šu-Ninua* sprechen, können nun entkräftet werden. Nach erneuter Kollation von VAT 9812 (KAV 14) kann in Zeile 6 nur [*Ki-d*]in-<sup>d</sup>NINUA gelesen werden.<sup>8</sup>

VAT 9812, Z. 6



Der untere horizontale Keil des Zeichens DIN, der sich bis zum Zeichen DINGIR durchzieht, ist

eindeutig zu sehen, und schließt die orthographisch ohnehin sehr ungewöhnliche Schreibung Šu-u für Šu, wie von Poebel erwogen, aus. Weiterhin läßt sich auch das Logogramm BAR/ŠÚ für *kidinnu* nunmehr eindeutig im 1. Jt. belegen. So findet sich dieses Zeichen in einer Beschwörung des Typs *ša maldi eršija* auf einem Pazuzu-Amulett aus der neuassyrischen Zeit.<sup>9</sup> Während in den anderen Manuskripten<sup>10</sup> dieser Beschwörung der betreffende Abschnitt *ana kidinni ša bēlē andaqut* "unter den Schutz der (beiden) Herren bin ich gefallen" syllabisch mit *ki-din(-ni)* wiedergegeben wird, findet sich auf dem Pazuzu-Amulett die logographische Schreibung *ana ŠÚ 2 EN.ME an-da-qut*. Paläographisch erscheint das Zeichen einem ŠÚ weit ähnlicher als einem BAR.<sup>11</sup> Ein weiterer Beleg für ŠÚ = *kidinnu* wurde, allerdings in versteckter Form, kürzlich von P. Gesche publiziert. In einer Liste von Personennamen erscheint ein Mann namens <sup>d+</sup>AG-ŠÚ, der sicher *Nabû-kidinnî* zu lesen ist. Auch wenn beide Belege kein paläographisch völlig eindeutiges ŠÚ aufweisen, deuten sie dennoch darauf hin, daß das Logogramm für *kidinnu* zumindest im 1. Jt. nicht BAR, sondern eher ŠÚ lautet.

Somit spricht die einzige syllabische Schreibung des Namens eindeutig für eine Lesung von ŠÚ-URU.NINA als *Kidin-Ninua*,<sup>12</sup> und auch das Argument, die Schreibung ŠÚ für *kidinnu* sei im 1. Jt. nicht zu belegen und damit auch nicht in den aus dem 1. Jt. stammenden Königslisten anzusetzen, entfällt. Der Vater der assyrischen Könige *Šarma-Adad II.* und *Erišum III.* dürfte daher sehr wahrscheinlich auf den Namen *Kidin-Ninua* gehört haben.

1. J. Gelb, JNES 13, 1954, 225f. ; B. Landsberger, JCS 8 (1954) 42.

2. SDAS ii 20-22, 27 ; Hørsabad-Liste 24, 26, 28, 35.

3. J.A. Brinkman, OrNS 42, 1973, 318f.

4. Z.B. J. Reade, JNES 60, 2001, 8.

5. A. Fuchs, in : H.D. Baker (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire 2/I*, H-K, S. 615.

6. Eine weitere Kopie hat E. Weidner, *Die Könige von Assyrien*, MVAG 26/2, 1921, Taf. 5 publiziert.

7. A. Poebel, JNES 1, 1942, 475.

8. Persönliche Kollation im Januar 2002 im Vorderasiatischen Museum, Berlin.

9. Zu diesem Amulett aus Assur siehe N.P. Heeßel, *Pazuzu. Archäologische und philologische Studien zu einem altorientalischen Dämon*, Ancient Magic and Divination IV, Leiden/Boston/Köln 2002, Nr. 14, S. 120 und 193f., sowie die Textbearbeitung S. 97.

10. Zur Bearbeitung der Beschwörung *ša maldi eršija* siehe G. Wilhelm, ZA 69, 1979, 34-40.

11. Siehe das Foto in N.P. Heeßel, op.cit., S. 193.

12. Der Name *Kidin-Ninua* ist in mittlassyrischer Zeit durchaus belegt, vgl. <sup>1</sup>Ki-din-Ni-nu-a in Iraq 32, Taf. 34 BM 122635+, Rs. 4 (siehe auch NAOMA 73). Für diesen Hinweis danke.

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**63) Les étoiles de Tuttul** – Dans son article « Lever d’astres et calendrier agricole à Mari » Hervé Reculeau (*FM VI*, p. 520, texte n°79, note b), étudiant les rares documents de Mari illustrant des observations d’astres, s’est interrogé sur le rapport qui pourrait exister entre le terme *nîrum* (joug) qui désigne une étoile connue en Babylonie et la dénomination stellaire syrienne homonyme, pour savoir s’il s’agissait du même mot et de la même réalité, précisant ainsi les relations entre la culture babylonienne et la culture syrienne d’époque amorrite. Lors de nos relectures des textes de Tell Bi’a, au cours de notre programme conjoint à Jean-Marie Durand et à moi-même concernant les textes babyloniens de Syrie, grâce aux autorités des Musées de Damas et de Ar-Raqqa, une collation m’a permis de mettre en relation le terme *nîrum* avec l’étoile mar-gíd-da que l’on considère généralement comme « le Chariot ».

On lira, en effet, KTT 345 (Bi.29/49 :116,1)

2 udu 3 giš[banšur-há]

14 a-na ni-ri-[im ša mul giš ma]r\*-gíd\*-da\*  
dše\*-ri-im\*

16 ù li-la-at  
ni-iq na-wa-ar [u<sub>4</sub>-mi-im].

Cela devrait permettre de préciser l’identification de l’étoile *nîrum* dans le ciel syrien amorrite puisque l’un des textes édités par H. Reculeau appartient, tout comme ceux de Tell Bi’a, à l’époque éponymale. Si l’étoile appartient réellement au Chariot il me paraît sûr que *nîrum* convoie le sens de « joug » et non pas celui de « lumière » mis en évidence dans les NP amorrites par J.-M. Durand dans *NABU 94/76*, sens qu’était prêt à donner M. Krebernik à l’occurrence de KTT 345.

On signalera de plus que le terme non lu par M. Krebernik l. 15 doit se lire *ina še-ri-im* où l’on peut donc retrouver *šêrum* « matin », en opposition au *li-la-at* « nuit » de la ligne suivante.

l. 3 lire : ù mul *le-li-im* é-gal, sans doute référence aux « étoiles de la nuit ».

l. 9 lire : mul<sub>si</sub>\*-an-n[a

l.10 lire : *mul<sup>1</sup>si-ih-ri š[a]\**. Il n'y a certainement pas de E après le RI.

l. 12 lire : *ni-iq q[a\*-ab-li-tim]* ; la deuxième section commençait donc à la l. 5.

Pour d'autres commentaires, je me permets de renvoyer à notre recension conjointe à J.-M. Durand et moi-même sur les textes paléobabyloniens de Tell Bi'a.

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**64) Données nouvelles sur l'astronomie amorrite.** La récente collation du texte de Tuttul KTT 345 par L. Marti lors d'une mission conjointe au musée de Raqqah avec J.-M. Durand (*NABU 2002/63*) permet d'aller plus avant dans l'analyse que j'avais proposée dans mon article « Lever d'astres et calendrier agricole à Mari » (*FM VI*, p. 517-538, part. p. 534-537). Que l'auteur trouve ici l'expression de ma gratitude pour m'avoir fait part du résultat de ses travaux avant leur publication.

Le point le plus marquant qui ressort du texte après collation concerne la lecture, l. 14, de l'offrande « pour le Joug du Chariot » (*a-na ni-ri-[im ša mul<sup>gš</sup>ma]r\*-gíd\*-da\**) : il apparaît désormais certain, comme je l'avais suggéré dans *FM VI*, qu'il n'est plus possible d'identifier de manière univoque les astres mentionnés par les textes tout au long de l'histoire de la documentation cunéiforme, et encore moins, comme le font les dictionnaires (ex. gr. *CAD N/2*, p. 260 sq, s. v. *nīru A*), d'appliquer mécaniquement, pour les hautes époques, les équivalences entre notre propre système astronomique et celui des Anciens proposées à partir de l'analyse du texte néo-assyrien de l'*Enuma Anu Enlil* (Cf. E. Reiner et D. Pingree, *Babylonian Planetary Omens 2 : Enuma Anu Enlil, Tablets 50-51, BiMes 2/2*, 1981 [=BPO 2]). D'après cette dernière documentation, en effet, le *nīrum* serait à identifier au Bouvier, ou à son étoile majeure Arcturus (BPO 2, p. 15, s. v. ŠUDUN = *nīru*), tandis que le Chariot (*gšmar-gíd-da*) serait la Grande Ourse (BPO 2, p. 13, s. v. MAR.GÍD.DA). On voit bien que ces identifications n'ont aucun sens dans le cas de KTT 345, dans la mesure où il est impossible que le Bouvier se trouve dans la Grande Ourse...

Il faut donc désormais abandonner les équivalences commodes mais trompeuses proposées par les dictionnaires pour les époques autres que celles où ont été rédigés les textes sur lesquels elles s'appuient, au profit d'une analyse mettant l'accent sur les données propres aux textes appartenant à une même époque, ou relevant à tout le moins d'une tradition commune précisément identifiable. Il n'en reste pas moins frappant de constater que, à travers les époques —et jusqu'au système des Grecs dont nous avons hérité— un même réseau sémantique se trouve réemployé pour nommer les astres, même si un même mot ne désigne pas le même objet céleste en des lieux et temps différents. Il y a là, sans doute, les prémisses d'une histoire qui reste à écrire de la culture savante tout au long de l'histoire mésopotamienne, qui devrait mettre au jour l'évolution chronologique et les emprunts faits par les différentes écoles aux systèmes antérieurs et/ou voisins, comme en témoigne d'ailleurs l'analyse que l'on peut faire des gloses rencontrées à l'intérieur même du seul *Enuma Anu Enlil* (cf. *FM VI*, p. 534).

Pour l'heure, le texte de Tuttul, d'époque éponymale, et ceux de Mari, datés pour l'un de Yasmah-Addu et pour l'autre de Zimrí-Lîm, permettent de poser des jalons pour comprendre le système astronomique qui prévalait sur l'Euphrate à l'époque amorrite. Il est frappant de voir que l'astre *nīrum*, étoile majeure du ciel de Mari qui permettait aux Anciens, à plusieurs années d'intervalle, de préciser les fluctuations du fleuve, se retrouve à Tuttul parmi les astres importants auxquels sont faites des offrandes. On remarque que, dans le texte de Tuttul, le lever du *nīrum* semble être observé à l'aube (lever héliaque), si du moins les offrandes qui sont faites à l'astre (« offrandes du matin », *ni-iq na-wa-ar [u<sub>4</sub>-mi-im]*, l. 17) le sont au moment où ce dernier apparaît dans le ciel, ce qui est probable. À Mari, en revanche, en nous appuyant sur des critères hydrologiques (variations du régime du fleuve) et historiques (calendrier agricole), nous avons montré que c'était sans doute le lever du soir (lever acronyque) qui était pris en compte. Ces deux visions ne sont en rien contradictoires, puisque le même texte KTT 345 témoigne que des offrandes étaient faites à certains astres au crépuscule (« offrandes du soir », *ni-iq ba-ra-ar-tim*, l. 4), d'autres au milieu de la nuit (*ni-iq q[a\*-ab-li-tim]*, l. 12) et d'autres enfin à l'aube. Ainsi, le même astre pouvait être observé tantôt à son lever acronyque et tantôt à son lever héliaque, et les textes de Mari et Tuttul se situent à deux moments différents de l'année.

En ce qui concerne l'identification de cette étoile *nīrum*, j'avais proposé (*FM VI*, p. 537) qu'il s'agisse, à Mari, de Sirius, dont le lever acronyque était en accord avec l'ensemble des données des textes. KTT 345 vient renforcer à point cette analyse : il y est en effet fait mention d'offrandes, au milieu de la nuit, à l'étoile *zappum*, que l'on comprend généralement comme désignant les Pléiades. Si cette identification devait être confirmée pour nos textes (ce qui reste à être démontré, compte tenu des distortions constatées pour le *nīrum* et *gšmar-gíd-da*), la situation serait alors tout à fait cohérente : au lever héliaque de Sirius, aux environs du 15 juillet (du calendrier julien rétrospectif) correspond en effet un lever des Pléiades aux environs de minuit, soit au milieu d'une nuit d'un peu moins de neuf heures (coucher du soleil vers 19h20, lever vers 05h00). Il faudrait alors comprendre, pour Mari et Tuttul, que le Chariot (*gšmar-gíd-da*) correspondrait au

groupe d'étoiles dans lequel s'insère Sirius, soit l'équivalent de notre Grand Chien, avec une marge d'incertitude due au fait que nous ignorons encore la façon dont les contemporains regroupaient les étoiles qu'ils observaient.

Les textes de Mari et Tuttul permettent ainsi d'entrevoir quelques éléments d'un système astronomique propre, différent de celui connu pour des époques postérieures —ce qui ne veut pas dire sans relation avec lui. De nombreux éléments restent cependant encore obscurs, que je me propose d'éclairer, autant que faire se peut, dans un futur proche, en incorporant en particulier l'ensemble des données de KTT 345.

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**65) An Achaemenid queen** – Rations (consisting of meat cuts) of the lady *Ap-pa-mu-ú* (*f.ap-pa-mu-ú* < Old Iranian [henceforth : OIran.] \**Apamā-*, see below ad BM 29447, 7) are mentioned in two deeds from the archive of Šaddinnu son of Balāssu descendant of Bēliyā'u. Both deeds were issued in Borsippa. The first deed is BM 29447 from 21.III.19 Dar. I (503/2 B.C.) and the second is BM 85009 from .VI.20 Dar. I (502/1 B.C.). *Ap-pa-mu-ú* is defined as *šá É.GAL* in BM 85009, 14. This title (Akkad. *ša-ekalli*), which is otherwise written MUNUS *šá É.GAL* in LB (BE 9, 28, 1 ; 50, 4), i.e. “Lady of the Palace” (“Palastdame”, cf. already J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, Hundert ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden aus der Spätzeit des babylonischen Schrifttums von Xerxes bis Mithridates II [485-93 v. Chr. ; Leipzig 1911], 51ff. :74, 76 ad BE 9, 28, 1 ; 50, 4), denotes “queen” (see R. Borger, Esarh., 99, n. 43 ; idem, BiOr 18 [1961], 151f. ad CAD E, 61f. ; B. Landsberger in G.W. Anderson et al. [eds.], Hebräische Wortforschung : Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von W. Baumgartner [Leiden 1967], 200 and M.W. Stolper, Entrepreneurs and Empire : The Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia [Leiden 1985 ; henceforth : EE], 62 ; hesitatingly W. von Soden, AHW., 193a, s.v. ekallu(m) B, 2 regarding BE 9, 28, 1 ; 50, 4). According to M. Brosius (Women in Ancient Persia [henceforth : Women], 559-331 BC [Oxford 1996], 28f.), *ša-ekalli* denotes the king's wife rather than the king's mother. Darius I had five named wives, viz. Artystone, Atossa, Parmys, Phratagone, and Phaidyme. A sixth wife, Gobryas's daughter, is not mentioned by name (see Brosius, Women, 47ff. ; A.S. Shahbazi, Encyclopaedia Iranica 7 [Costa Mesa, CA 1996], 42ff.). If the list of Darius I's wives which came down to us is complete and if none of these wives had an official double name, then it seems that Gobryas's daughter is the most likely candidate to be identified with *Ap-pa-mu-ú*. The name, viz. \**Apamā-* “the last” (see W. Hinz, Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen [henceforth : ASN ; Wiesbaden 1975], 31, cf. J. Kellens and E. Pirart, Les textes vieil-avestiques, 2 : Répertoires grammaticaux et lexique [Wiesbaden 1990], 201, line 25, s.v. for the Gathic equivalent of Old Indian *apamā-*) > “the youngest”, reoccurs in the Achaemenid family (cf. Shahbazi, Encyclopaedia Iranica 2 [1987], 150) : Apamē, daughter of Artaxerxes II ; her grand daughter was named after her (see Brosius, Women, 76, 78f. for an homonymous Seleucid queen of noble Persian descent). In addition, a Seleucid prince was named *A-pa-am-mu* according to a LB contemporary source from 11 Nisan 66 Seleucid Era = 14 April 246 B.C. (A. Sachs and H. Hunger, Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia, 2 : Diaries from 261 B.C. to 165 B.C. [Vienna 1989], 68 and pl. 83 : -245, Obv'. 12f.). In accordance with his name, viz. OIran. \**Apama-* “the youngest” (cf. just above), he was the youngest son of Antiochus II and Berenice (see R.J. van der Spek, in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, R.J. van der Spek, H.C. Teitler, and H.T. Wallinga [eds.], De Agricultura. In Memoriam Willem de Neeve (1945-1990) [Amsterdam 1993], 72 with n. 7 ; cf. G.F. Del Monte, Testi della Babylonia Ellenistica 1 : Testi cronografici [Pisa and Rome 1997], 47). Meat cuts rations of the king were supplied by Babylonian temples (see, e.g., G.J.P. McEwan, Iraq 45 [1983], 188ff.). The rations were presumably distributed among employees of her household and not for the queen's own consumption, the more so since both deeds are from summer months (III, VI), when the queen probably did not stay in Babylon, which generally served as her winter residence.

Both deeds are presented below in a rather preliminary transliteration and commentary. They record the activity of the creditor, Šaddinnu, in his capacity as the foreman of the bakers of Ezida, the temple of Nabû in Borsippa. He explicitly bears this title according to BM 96231 from 23.I.6 Darius I (516/5 B.C.) and BM 28915 from 25.XII.15 (Darius I = 507/6 B.C.), but he must have exercised this function for many years during his long career judging from numerous texts relating to the bakers' prebend. These texts are preserved in his archive. Since the archive of the Ezida Temple is not preserved, these documents elucidate to some extent the managerial aspect beyond what is known from other private archives of prebendaries of Ezida (such as Oxherd and Iliya). I should like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish these important documents and to quote from other unpublished BM tablets.

A. BM 29447

Dimensions (in millimeters) : 60.5 length x 41 width x 28 thickness ; roughly rectangular and pillow shaped.

1. [10/20+1-2?] +3 MAŠ (i.e. at least 3.5) GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-ú nu-uh-hu-tu šá (text DIŠ) AŠ 1 GÍN pit-qa
2. šá m.šad-din-nu A-šú šá m.ba-laṭ-su A m.d+EN-iá-ú
3. AŠ UGU.hi m.lib\*-lu-tu A-šú šá m.d+AG-TUK.ši
4. ul-tu iti.GU<sub>4</sub> MU 19 KAM m.da-a-ri-ia-muš
5. ITI 2 uzu.ha-ar-mi-il-la-nu šá GÚ
6. pa-ni d+AG u d.na-na-a ù 1-en gu-qu-ú pa-ni d.IŠKUR hal-lab
7. PAD.hi.a šá f.ap-pa-mu-ú šá AŠ IGI m.lib\*-lu-tu
8. m.lib\*-lu-tu AŠ KÙ.BABBAR-šú a-na m.šad-din-nu
- lo.e. 9. it-ta-din ul-tu iti.GU<sub>4</sub> MU 19 KAM
10. a-di qí-it iti.BÁR MU 20 KAM
11. m.da-a-ri-iá-a-muš LUGAL É.ki u KUR.KUR
- r. 12. m.lib\*-lu-tu a-na m.šad-din-nu it-ta-din
13. ul-tu UD 5 KAM a-di\* UD 11 KAM šá iti.BÁR
14. ha-ar-mi-il-la-nu šá GÚ pa-ni d+AG u d.na-na-a
15. ap-pu-tú-mu šá ha-ar-mi-il-la-nu šá GÚ
16. m.šad-din-nu AŠ ŠU.II m.lib\*-lu-tu ik-kal
17. lú.mu-kin-nu m.d+AG-bul-liṭ-su A-šú šá m.d.A.É-E A m.ki-din-d.XXX
18. m.LÚ-d.IDIM A-šú šá m.d+AG-PAP.me-SU A m.šá-pi-li-ia
19. [m.er]i1-[b]a-a A-šú šá m.MU-d+AG A lú.NAGAR
20. [m.]ka(?)-šir(?) A-šú šá m.d+AG-MU-GI.NA A m.d+EN-iá-u
21. [m.re]-mut-d+AG A-šú šá m.lib\*-lu-tu šá É sa-di-ir-ri(?)
22. [m.M]U(?)-ia A-šú šá m.d+AG-DU-A A m.ki-din-d.XXX
- u.e. 23. [D]UB.SAR m.d+EN-SUR A-šú šá m.gu-za-nu A m.ši-gu-ú-a
24. [bar-s]ip.ki iti.SIG<sub>4</sub> UD 21 KAM MU 19 KAM
25. m.da-a-ri-iá-a-muš LUGAL E.ki u KUR.KUR
- r.e. 26. a-ki-i pu-ru-su x1[xx]
27. i-hu(?) -ru-ú m.šad-din-n[u (x)]

Operative section

Creditor: Šaddinnu/Balāssu//Bēliyā'u. The debt consists of ([10/20+1-2?]+3.5 shekels which have 1/8 (alloy) per shekel of white silver of *nuhhutu* quality.

Debtor: Libluṭ/Nabû-ušabši. He acts as principal in other deeds of the same archive, where his paternal name is spelled phonetically, notably BM 29408, a receipt for *harmīlu* meat cuts from 15.XII.[18 or 19] Dar. I (504/3 or 503/2 B.C.), and BM 29433. Apart from the debt in silver (specified just above), which is to be repaid during a year (II.19-I.20 Dar. I), it is stated that he is obliged to supply each month (starting from II.19 Dar. I for an unspecified duration, perhaps for twelve months like the debt in silver) two meat cuts of the *harmīlu* type as offerings to Nabû and Nanâ, as well as one *guqqû* offering for Adad of Aleppo. The rations of Apammu are at the disposal of Libluṭ. The creditor will enjoy for one week (5-11.I; presumably of the 20th year of Dar. I) the *apputumulapputammu* (cf. below ad line 15) of the *harmīlu* meat cuts of the neck supplied by the debtor and offered to Nabû and Nanâ.

Witnesses

1. Nabû-bullissu/Mār-bīti-iqbi//Kidin-Sîn; 2. Amēl-Ea/Nabû-ahhē-erība//Šapî-iliya (with sandhi writing: Šá-pi-li-ia); 3. Erībā/Iddina-Nabû//Naggāru; 4. Kāširu (?[m.]ka(?) -šir(?))/Nabû-šuma-ukīn//Bēliyā'u; 5. Rēmūt-Nabû/Libluṭ of bīt-sa-di-ir-ri(?); 6. Iddiniya (or Šumiya?, [m.M]U(?) -ia)/Nabû-mukīn-apli//Kidin-Sîn. As is expected in a deed concerning prebends in Ezida, all the witnesses (except for the fifth) are members of Borsippean clans. Two of them belong to the Kidin-Sîn clan some of whose members were employed as bakers in Ezida. One witness is of the same clan as the creditor. The fifth witness is perhaps the debtor's son. The first witness appears frequently in witnesses lists of the Šaddinnu archive, e.g. BM 28996, 29034, 96190, 96253. His brother, Nabû-apla-iddina, acts as a witness in BM 28925 of the same archive. The third witness acts in the same capacity in BM 29408, 13 and BM 96262, 8, both of the same archive, where his name is fully preserved.

The scribe, Bēl-ēter/Guzānu//Šīgū'a, wrote many documents of this archive. He may be responsible for their somewhat peculiar shape. An interesting task would be to study his own seemingly distinctive ductus.

Remarks

3. *Lib\*-lu-tu* - the shape of the LIB sign is peculiar:

His paternal name is spelled phonetically (d+AG-ú-šib-ši, for *-ušabši*, CVC signs like ŠIB are indifferent to vowel quality) in BM 29408 and 29433. This strengthens the case for TUK as a rendering of Š in *bašû* in NB/LB (cf. Borger, ABZ 196 ad 574).

5. uzu.ha-ar-mi-il-la-nu šá GÚ – meat cuts of the *harmīlu* type originating from the neck of the animal. For the spellings of *harmīlu* see Zadok, NABU 1997/148. Many other meat cuts are defined by parts of the animal's body, but the case of *harmīlu* is different: the fact that the *harmīlu* cuts are specified here as originating from the neck, indicates that such cuts can originate from other parts of the animal's body. It may be surmised that *harmīlu* denotes choice meat cuts as they were destined for consumption of members of the royalty, perhaps distinguished by certain properties.

6. d.ĪŠKUR hal-lab – This is, as far as I know, the only direct evidence for the worship of Adad of Aleppo in a Babylonian temple during the first millennium B.C. An indirect evidence for his worship in Babylonia may be the anthroponym *d.Ad-da-ha-la-ab* (divine name used as a personal name) from Bīt-Silim-Bēl (found in Kish), 28.X.468/7 B.C. ([Watelin and] Langdon, Kish 3, pl. 16: W.1929, 142, 10; subject to collation; the reading *d.Ad-da-kū(?) -la-ab* in S. Graziani, I testi mesopotamici datati al regno di Serse [485-465 a.C.; Rome 1986], 63, is not based on collation). Cf. D. Schwemer, Die Wettergottgestalten Mesopotamiens und Nordsyriens im Zeitalter der Keilschriftkulturen (Wiesbaden 2001), 54 with n. 297 (for Adad cult in Borsippa see 639f. and cf. 649ff.).

7. LB *Ap-pa-mu-ú* for OIran. \**Apamā-* can be compared with LB *Ba-ga-pa-nu-u* (I. Spar and E. von Dassow, Private Archive Texts from the First Millennium B.C. [Turnhout 2000], 117, r. 3) < OIran. \**Baga-pāna-* and *Ba-ga-'zu-uš-tu-* (OIran. \**Baga-zušta-*) lú.mi.šir-A+A lú.SAG LUGAL (son of Ma-ar-ha-ár-pu) lú.ú-ma-as-ta-ar-ba-ra-', Babylon, 18.VIII.26 Dar. I (496/5 B.C.). Regarding lú.ú-ma-as-ta-ar-ba-ra-', the editors, F. Joannès and A. Lemaire (RA 90 [1996], 49 ad 48: 6, 1), point out that LB <ma> = OIran. /val. This would favour Hinz's etymology, viz. OIran. \**vastra-bara-* "Gewandträger, Kammerer" (ASN, 258, cf. Stolper, EE, 63 with n. 51) over the earlier one, OIran. \**vistar-bara-*, lit. "Teppichträger", offered by Eilers (Beamtennamen, 81ff.).

15. *ap-pu-tú-mu* (or *ap-pu-tam-mu*) seems to denote a kind of income, like usufruct (with *akālu* "to enjoy"). It is very probably the same word as the Biblical Hebrew hapax 'ptm (of the kings, Ezra 4, 13). For a recent attempt at an interpretation of 'ptm (by emendation; < Akkad. *iptu*) see H. Tadmor, in Y. Avishur and R. Deutsch (eds.), Michael, Festschrift Michael Heltzer (Tel Aviv 1999), 143\*-145\*, with an appendix by S. Shaked on 145\* (in Hebrew). The fact that this word is not recorded before the Achaemenid period and its occurrence in connection with the Achaemenid palatial sector, rules out an Akkadian or any Semitic origin, although I cannot offer so far a plausible Iranian etymology.

B. BM 85009

This tablet, especially the obverse, is damaged in many points. Therefore the transliteration of lines 1-2 is little more than guesswork.

- |       |     |   |
|-------|-----|---|
|       | 1.  | [...uzu.ḥ <sup>1</sup> la-ar-mi-la]-nu šá GIŠ <sup>1</sup> .ŠUB.ḥ <sup>1</sup> B <sup>1</sup> [A] ḥ <sup>1</sup> [ú.MU]-ḥ <sup>1</sup> ú <sup>1</sup> -ḥ <sup>1</sup> t[u](?) |
|       | 2.  | [...] ḥ <sup>1</sup> šá <sup>1</sup> ? xx šá (or rather PAD.hi.a (?) ù? 2-ta  |
|       | 3.  | [...na]p(?) -ta-nu <sup>1</sup> pa-ni d+AG u d.ḥ <sup>1</sup> n[a-n]a-a   |
|       | 4.  | [...]ḥ <sup>1</sup> x x (illegible traces) [uz]u.ha-ar-mi-l[ā-nu]   |
|       | 5.  | p[a-ni d].ḥ <sup>1</sup> su-ti-ti <sup>1</sup> (?) ù d.a-ri(?) -tu <sub>4</sub> xxx   |
|       | 6.  | 1 uz[u.xx]-ḥ <sup>1</sup> ri (?) pa-ni DUMU.meš É? <sup>1</sup> [...]   |
|       | 7.  | 1 uz[u.x] ḥ <sup>1</sup> x x (both very damaged and illegible!) ḥ <sup>1</sup> x <sup>1</sup> +šú pa-ni É d.GAŠAN [...]   |
|       | 8.  | 3 uzu.ḥ <sup>1</sup> la-ar-mi-la-nu šá (text DIŠ) GÚ pa-ni d+A[G(?)..]  |
|       | 9.  | 32(!) UZU šá? iti.KIN 2 uzu.ha-ar-m[i-la-nu ...]  |
|       | 10. | pa-n[ḥ <sup>1</sup> ? d.su-t]i-ti u d.a-ri-tu <sub>4</sub> m.ḥ <sup>1</sup> x <sup>1</sup> [...]  |
|       | 11. | xxx é-zi-da 1 U[ZU ...]   |
| lo.e. | 12. | ḥ <sup>1</sup> pa?-ni? É xx -ia PAP 16 meš [...]  |
|       | 13. | x(x) ul-tu <sub>4</sub> UD 16 KAM a-di <sup>1</sup> UD 20+[x KAM ...]   |
|       | 14. | PAD.hi.a?! šá f.ap-pa-mu-ú šá É.GAL ḥ <sup>1</sup> x <sup>1</sup> [   |
|       | 15. | šá AŠ ŠU.II m.d+EN-SUR u m.d+EN-it-tan-nu šá AŠ IGI m.x <sup>1</sup> [...]  |
| r.    | 16. | A(text DIŠ)-šú šá m.d+AG-ka-šir ù m.gab-bi-d+EN-um-ma A <sup>1</sup> -[šú šá]   |
|       | 17. | m.ta-at-tan(?) -nu a-na 7 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-ú a-na m.šad-din-nu <sup>1</sup>   |
|       | 18. | A-šú šá m.ba-laṭ-su A m.d+EN-ia-ú it-tan-nu- <sup>1</sup> KÙ.BABBAR-ÀM  |
|       | 19. | 7 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-ú m.šad-din-nu a-na m.lib-luṭ u m.x <sup>1</sup> [...]   |
|       | 20. | i-nam-din lú.mu-kin-nu m.šul-lu-ma-a DUMU šá m.x <sup>1</sup> [...]   |
|       | 21. | DUMU m.é-sag-ḥ <sup>1</sup> l-a-mat-su m.d+AG-bul-liṭ-su DUMU šá [m...]   |
|       | 22. | DUMU m.ki-din-nu-d.XXX m.la-ba-a-ši DUMU šá m.GIŠ.x <sup>1</sup> [... DUMU]   |
|       | 23. | m.é-sag-ḥ <sup>1</sup> l-a-mat-su m.d+AG-ŠEŠ-it-tan-nu DUB(?) <sup>1</sup> .ḥ <sup>1</sup> SAR <sup>1</sup> (?)   |
|       | 24. | [DUMU šá m.l]ib?-luṭ? DUMU <<šá>> m.d+AG-x-ú-a bar-šip.ki iti.KIN   |
|       | 25. | [UD x KAM M]U 20 KAM m.da-a-ri-ia-a-mu-uš LUGAL E.ki  |
|       | 26. | [u/LUGAL KUR.KUR(/.meš)] ḥ <sup>1</sup> e-lat 2 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR BABBAR-ú šá AŠ IGI m.lib-luṭ  |
| u.e.  | 27. | [.] KÙ.BABBAR ḥ <sup>1</sup> x <sup>1</sup> [xx] ḥ <sup>1</sup> m.ga <sup>1</sup> b-bi-d+EN-um-ma   |
|       | 28. | [...] ḥ <sup>1</sup> x [...] m.[d+D]N <sup>1</sup> -iq-bi u m.gab-bi-d+EN-um-ma   |
|       | 29. | [...]ḥ <sup>1</sup> x <sup>1</sup> -nu-ú  |

- le.e. 30. [m].d+AG-ŠEŠ-it-tan-nu u m.mu?-[...]  
 31. [A] m.ku-du-ra-nu m.d+AG-šá-[x] [...]  
 32. [x] [xx-ú-a

Operative section

Creditor : Šaddinnu (same as in A).

Other principals (at least partly debtors) : 1. Bēl-ēter, 2. Bēl-ittannu, 3. x<sup>1</sup>[...]/Nabû-kāšir, 4. Gabbi-Bēl-umma/Tattannu(?), 5. Libluṭ, and 6. x<sup>1</sup> [...].

Witnesses

1. Šullumā/x<sup>1</sup>[...]/Esaggil-amāssu ; 2. Nabû-bullissu/[Mār-bīti-iqbi]/Kidīn-Sīn ; 3. Lā-abāši/GIŠ.x<sup>1</sup>[...]/Esaggil-amāssu as well as, perhaps, 4. Nabû-aha-ittannu/[...]/Kudurānu, his brother 5. Mu(?)[...]; and 6. Nabû-šá-[x<sup>1</sup>] [...]. The second witness is identical with the first one of BM 29477, unless one restores his paternal name as Nabû-aha-ittannu (Nabû-bullissu/Nabû-aha-ittannu/Kidīn-Sīn is the first witness in BM 29021 from Borsippa, same archive, 3.II.485/4 B.C.). However, Nabû-bullissu/Mār-bīti-iqbi occurs more frequently in this archive. Apart from two witnessing brothers, another two witnesses belong to the Esaggil-amāssu clan.

The scribe is Nabû-aha-ittannu/Libluṭ(? m.l]ib?-luṭ?)/Nabû-.u'a.(d+AG-x-ú-a).

Remarks

5, 10. *d.A-ri-tu<sub>4</sub>* – cf. *kakkab.A-ri-tu<sub>4</sub> = d.Tug-nun-na*, see E. Ebeling RIA 1, 151a quoting E.F. Weidner, AfK 2 (1924/5), 72, iv, 18a (cf. A, iii, 14, col. 2) ; 19 : *d.Tug-nun-na = d.MIN* ; Meissner, Seltene Assyrische Ideogr., 8787 and Ebeling, KAR 1, 30, 28 (cf. Reiner, Šurpu, 40, viii, 28) ; J. Nougayrol, Ugaritica 5, 222 : H, 213 has [*d*].*A-ri-tum* (var. E : [*d*].*A-ri-<<NI>>[t]um*), to *arītu* “bow, Venus planet” (see Weidner, AfK 2, 72, n. 10 ad loc.). For *d.Tug-nun-na* see Deimel, Pantheon, No. 3266.

30f. Presumably additional witnesses.

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**66) Some Additions and Corrections concerning NB/LB documentation** – Ad R. Zadok, Contributions to Babylonian geography, prosopography and documentation, in O. Loretz, K.A. Metzler and H. Schaudig (eds.), Ex Mesopotamia et Syria Lux : Festschrift für Manfred Dietrich zu seinem 65. Geburtstag (AOAT 281, Münster 2002), 871-897.

875 : BM 26533 – read “and Kupītu, who ...Banât-Esaggil, two-thirds, which..”. Ša-Nabû-šū was not young (at least high in his fifties) by then if he is identical with his namesake from 676/5 BC (forty years earlier). This is a donation in anticipation of death. For such donations see G. van Driel, in M. Stol and S.P. Vleeming (eds.), The care of the elderly in the ancient Near East (Leiden 1998), 184ff. ; M.W. Stolper in W.H. van Soldt (ed.), Veenhof anniversary volume : Studies presented to Klaas R. Veenhof on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday (Leiden 2001), 467-473. Was Banât-Esaggil, the sister of his wife, unmarried and was supposed to take care of his wife when Ša-Nabû-šū dies?

877, n. 4 – read *tag-mì-il-ti* (not *tak-pi-il-ti* ; the deed will be published in Fs. J. Klein with kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum) which has nothing to do with *takpur/štu*.

878 : BM 27854 –

9 – read *šá* (text DIŠ) : For the first three years his share of the yield is one fifth (20%) whereas for the last three years his share is one quarter (25%).

12 – read *šal-šú ši-ib-šú* : Šamaš-nāšir/ušur had to pay one third of the yield of the grain field as *šibšu*. This accords well with what is known about the *šibšu* in Babylonia during the “Chaldean” and Achaemenid periods : one third of the *šibšu* is delivered by the tenant according to VS 5, 33 from 541/0 B.C., BM 82660 (from Borsippa, 527/6 B.C.), OECT 10, 168 (time of Darius I), and perhaps CT 55, 164 (see M. Jursa, AfOB 25, 82f.).

883 : 2, 1 read 15 instead of 13 (collated).

Correct *i-tin-nu* for *i-din-nu* (with a Personenkeil) in Zadok and Zadok, NABU 2000/2 : BM 114720, 21 in fine.

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**67) A Hattian “whistle”?** – In NABU 2002/1 : 8 f., O. Soysal, following Chr. Girbal, identified in a Hattian mythological text (KBo 37, 28) a series of onomatopoeic locutions expressing the silencing of animal and



human voices in a crisis situation: “the sheep does not say *me-me*” (*šeš=ta=hu=meme*), “the ox does not say *mu-mu*” (*šeš=ta=hu=mumu*), “the human being does not say *fiuh*” (*šeš=ta=hu=wi<sub>j</sub>-u-uh*). What human utterance could this *fiuh* (or *piuh*) express? Soysal informs me that in his forthcoming *Hattischer Wortschatz in hethitischer Textüberlieferung* he interprets this vocable, which also occurs in other ritual texts, as “a sound of joy”. While this is quite possible, I would suggest the alternative interpretation of identifying *fiuh* as the sound of a whistle, an age-old method of gathering herds. A similar sound is imitated, for example, by German *pfeifen*. The concept of whistling may refer to the forcing of air through the lips or through a musical instrument, such as a pipe, possibly to both. It is universally employed in traditional societies (see, e.g. P. F. Oswald, “When People Whistle”, *Language and Speech* 2/3, 1959, 137 ff.), and ancient Anatolia, with its preponderant animal husbandry, must have echoed with the sound of whistling and animal lowing. In some cultures whistling even acquired a high spiritual value, described for example as “breathing the breath of Nature” in the ancient Chinese treatise *Hsiao Chih*, on the “Principles of Whistling” (E. D. Edwards, *BSOAS* 20, 1957, 217 ff.).

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**68) Corrections to readings of Konya-Seal inscription (1997.12.1)** – In a recent article in *Archivum Anatolicum* 5 (2002) 93-95, G. Karauğuz published a very uniquely shaped silver Hittite seal in the Konya Museum, which contains hieroglyphic signs. We are grateful to him for making this interesting piece accessible to the scholarly community. However, his readings of the seal inscription do not reflect the current stage of knowledge of hieroglyphic Luwian. He tentatively suggests the transliteration *á* (L. 20)- *i* (L. 376)- *li* (L. 278) with an unknown title or profession (L. 459) which should now be reread as:

Center: *sà* (L. 104) + *ra / i-* (L. 383)- REL (L. 329)- *li* (L. 278)  
Left and right: AURIGA (L. 289).

The initial element of the name consists of combination of “*sà*” (= “GAZELLA”) and “*ra / i*”, which is also observed on proper name *sà + ra / i- wa / i* in SBo II 218 (cf. cuneiform name Šarawa cited by E. Laroche, NH [1966] Nr. 1113). The following sign is one of those listed under L. 329 as “REL” and most possibly identical with the second one of the top line in E. Laroche, HH (1960) p. 170. As J. D. Hawkins and A. M. Davies, *Kadmos* 32 (1993) 55, 58, 59, have demonstrated, this sign must be kept apart from the similar looking “CURRERE” (with phonetical value *hwa / i, hua / i*) and should have the phonetical value *kwa / i* or *kua / i*. The syllables with *a / i*-alternations such “*ra / i*” and “*kwa / i* (*kua / i*)” make several alternative readings possible for the interim part of the present name, but for onomastic reasons, *sà + ra / i- \*kwa / i- li* would preferably be defined in *Sarkuali* or rather in *Sarkuili*. This name is not yet attested in cuneiform sources, its structure \*Šarku-ili, however, represents a good Anatolian sample; cf. the cuneiform names *Ḫakipu-ili, \*Ḫaššu-ili, Ḫašdu-ili, Ḫimu-ili, Tašku-ili*, for example. If this name belongs to IE-Hittite stock, the first element may be related to the Hittite word *šarku-* “high, eminent, mighty”.

The two identical signs placed on the right and left side of the proper name –thus this seal is not to be dated before the time of Šuppiluliuma I.– indicate the title or profession of the seal’s owner. Although the form of these signs here is not included in E. Laroche, HH p. 150, it obviously displays a simplified version of L. 289 “AURIGA”, a well attested indication “charioteer” on the Hittite seals. For the similar samples of “AURIGA” cf. C. Mora, *Studia Mediterranea* 6 (1987), Gruppo VII Nr. 4.14 (Tav. 49), Gruppo XII(a) Nr. 2.26 (Tav. 86), Gruppo XII(b) Nr. 1.89 (Tav. 106).

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**69) Korrekturen zu SANTAG 6: Natalia Koslova. Ur III-Texte der St.Petersburger Eremitage (Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2000)** – Gegenüber den ursprünglichen Druckfahnen hat sich bei der computertechnischen Aufbereitung des Manuskripts bedauerlicherweise eine Reihe von Druckfehlern und/oder Auslassungen eingeschlichen, die nachfolgend für den Benutzer korrigiert werden.

Der Fettdruck in diesen Bemerkungen verweist jeweils auf die richtige, korrigierte Lesung der entsprechenden Passagen.

S.40 : Nr.1 : (nach <sup>d</sup>šu-<sup>d</sup>suen lugal kala-ga lugal uri<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>-ma lugal **an**-ub-da limmu<sub>2</sub>-ba)

S.42 ff. : Nr.12, 24, 26, 32, 45 : die Verweise auf die Siegelinschriften in der Dissertation von R. Mayr unter der Form RM XXX.Nr. (ursprünglich RM XXX.?) beziehen sich auf andere Siegel mit der gleichen Legende unter der besagten Nummer XXX.1ff. Gemeint ist also nicht das Siegel, das in der vorliegenden Edition behandelt ist.

- S.63 : Nr.19 Vs.I:10 : 300 ku<sub>6</sub> **eštub** ; Vs.I:27 : ga-**muru**<sub>13</sub>  
 S.64 : Nr.19 Vs.II:22 : diese Zeile ist doppelt aufgenommen.  
 S.69 : Nr.19 Rs.IV :1 : dub la<sub>2</sub>-i<sub>3</sub> lu<sub>2</sub>-ni<sup>g</sup><sub>2</sub>-dab<sub>5</sub>-ba-ke<sub>4</sub>-[**ne**]  
 S.76 : Nr.33 : **Rs.** (Siegelabrollung)  
 S.81 : Nr.41 Vs.III:10 : **30 gi**<sup>k</sup>askal suhur(KWU 453)  
 S.82 : Nr.41 Rs.I:1 : <sup>g</sup>iš e<sub>2</sub> mar-du<sub>2</sub>-k[a? ...] x gal-zu **DA?** KA? x [...](\*)  
 S.91 : Nr.53, Anmerkung : Zu ba-sa<sub>6</sub> in Umma s. Stepien, 115f. **Zu ur-<sup>d</sup>nisaba in Umma s. Stepien, 181 ; sehr ähnlich auch Nik 2 :516, MVN 20:12, 17 und 169.**  
 S.100 : Nr.76 Rs.1 : 2/3 sila<sub>3</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-**šah**<sub>2</sub>  
 S.108 : Nr.99 Vs.4 : mu ha-ar-šiki ki-maški **ba**-hul  
 S.122 : Nr.121 Rs.5 : **al-ba-ni-du**<sub>11</sub>  
 S.128 : Nr.128 Vs.2 : <sup>g</sup>iš **kid**<sub>7</sub>-a  
 S.129 : Nr.128, Anmerkung, letzte Zeile : TCL 5 :6036 **III :7 / IV :5, TENS 474, MVN 16 :1120**, usw. (s. P. Steinkeller, NABU 1991/4). Nr.130, Anmerkung : CST 524 : pisan-dub-ba kišib dib-ba ša<sub>3</sub>-ze<sub>2</sub> ur-e<sub>11</sub>-e-ka i<sub>3</sub>-**gal**<sub>2</sub>  
 S.130 : Nr.131 Rs.5 : **mu en-mah-gal-an-na ba-huḡ**  
 S.146 : Nr.157 Vs.10 : 5 tug<sub>2</sub>-mug-**kal**  
 S.148 : Nr.161 Vs.3 und 10 : urum<sub>x</sub>(**UR**<sub>2</sub>xA.HA)  
 S.172 : Nr.197, Anmerkung : I:13' S. UTAMI 3 :2151, auch UNT, 121f.  
 S.177 : Nr.207, Siegel 3 : lugal uri<sub>3</sub>-**ki**-ma  
 S.182 : Nr.216 Vs.4 : [**a**]ra<sub>5</sub>?\* <sup>d</sup>šara<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-ib<sub>2</sub>-ba  
 S.210 : Nr.265 Vs.9 : **3** tug<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub>-anšu  
 S.224 : Nr.286 Rs.11 : diese Zeile sollte nicht eingerückt sein.  
 S.230 : Nr.292 Vs.5 : kišib lugal-ušur<sub>3</sub>(LAL<sub>2</sub>.**NIGIN**<sub>2</sub>)  
 S.232 : Nr.296 Vs.II:4 : **5** <sup>tu</sup>g<sub>2</sub>guz-za 3-kam-us<sub>2</sub>  
 S.242 : Nr.309 Rs.5 : <sup>d</sup>nin-[**li**]<sub>2</sub>-ra  
 S.251 : Nr.322 Rs.3 und 323 Rs.3 : mu <sup>d</sup>šu-**d**suen  
 S.259 : Nr.340 Vs.I:20 : MUG.LU.**SAR**  
 S.262 : Nr.340 Vs.VI:7 : MUG.LU.**SAR**  
 S.263 : Nr.340 Vs.VII:19 : <<x>>  
 S.270 : Nr.341 Rd.1 : 120+52.1.0 2 sila<sub>3</sub> gur (**ohne 5** am Ende der Zeile)  
 S.290 : Nr.376, Anmerkung : **Rs.I :2**, nicht Rs.II :2.  
 S.294 : Nr.380 Rs.II :10' : 5/6 ur-**TAR**.[LUH?]  
 S.295 : Nr.381 Vs.6 : ku<sub>3</sub>-bi **1 gin**<sub>2</sub> **12 še**  
 S.298 : Nr.383 Vs.I' :2' : [...] **NUN?**(\*)  
 S.306 : Nr.384 Rs.III :35' : **UN**.[**IL**<sub>2</sub>-me]  
 S.308 : Nr.384 Rs.V :18' : ki ur-**TAR**.LUH

### Indices.

#### 1. Gottheiten und vergöttlichte Herrscher.

SS.311-313 : verbessere "Index 4" in "Index 6". Verweise mit "Jahresnamen" beziehen sich auf den Index 4, die mit "Monatsnamen" auf den Index 5.

#### 2. Personennamen.

- S.314 : a-du : 381 (diri la<sub>2</sub>-i<sub>3</sub> ni<sup>g</sup><sub>2</sub>-ka<sub>9</sub> **AK** siki-ka PN)  
 S.314 : A<sub>2</sub>.AN.DU.RU, V. lugal-ušur<sub>4</sub>(**LAL**.**NIGIN**<sub>2</sub>) (dub-sar) : 292(S)  
 S.317 : gu-du-du : 340 Rs.VII :3 (ni<sup>g</sup><sub>2</sub>-ka<sub>9</sub> **AK** mun-gazi PN)  
 S.318 : i-ta<sub>2</sub>-ra-**qi**<sub>2</sub>-i<sub>3</sub>-li<sub>2</sub>  
 S.322 : lu<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>nin-šubur : 310 (ni<sup>g</sup><sub>2</sub>-ka<sub>9</sub> **AK** PN)  
 S.323 : lugal-ezem : 384 Rs.III :4' / Rs.V :**30**' (ki a-ši-AN PN)  
 S.329 : šeš-kal-la : 2. dam-gar<sub>3</sub> : 120 (ni<sup>g</sup><sub>2</sub>-ka<sub>9</sub> **AK** PN)  
 S.331 : ur-<sup>d</sup>bil<sub>3</sub>, šabra, V. ur-ni<sub>9</sub>-**gar** : 352  
 S.331 : ur-<sup>d</sup>da-ni : 2. V. a-kal-la : **380** Vs.II' :13'  
 S.331 : ur-<sup>d</sup>dumu-zi-da : 2. dam-gar<sub>3</sub> : 119 Rs.III :5 (ni<sup>g</sup><sub>2</sub>-ka<sub>9</sub> **AK** PN)  
 S.331 : ur-e<sub>2</sub>-gu-la, **gab**<sub>2</sub>-us<sub>2</sub> : 115  
 S.331 : ur-e<sub>11</sub>-e : 1. 47 (ni<sup>g</sup><sub>2</sub>-ka<sub>9</sub> PN), 184 (ni<sup>g</sup><sub>2</sub>-ka<sub>9</sub> **AK** tug<sub>2</sub> gu<sub>2</sub>-na-ka PN), 269 Rs.II :18 (ni<sup>g</sup><sub>2</sub>-ka<sub>9</sub> **AK** siki PN), 288 Rs.II :7-8 (ni<sup>g</sup><sub>2</sub>-ka<sub>9</sub> **AK** siki PN)  
 S.332 : ur-<sup>g</sup>iš<sup>g</sup>gir : 8. unu<sub>3</sub> ensi<sub>2</sub>-ka : 254 (ni<sup>g</sup><sub>2</sub>-ka<sub>9</sub> **AK** PN)  
 S.336 : *Nach* x-a, V. lugal-ur<sub>2</sub>-ra-ni : 296 Rs.I :1 : [x]-**BAR**.AN, S. bar-[ra?]-e<sub>11</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> : **383 Rs.II' :4'** (UN PN)

#### 3. Geographische und topographische Bezeichnungen.

Verbessere auch hier "Index 4" in "Index 6" an folgenden Stellen :

S.337 :

a-pi<sub>4</sub>-sal<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup> → lu<sub>2</sub>-tir-ra a-pi<sub>4</sub>-sal<sub>4</sub><sup>ki</sup> (Index 6)  
 d<sup>an</sup>zu<sup>mu</sup>šen-babbar<sub>2</sub> → gu<sub>4</sub> d<sup>an</sup>zu<sup>mu</sup>šen-babbar<sub>2</sub> (Index 6)  
 ba(b)bilum(KA<sub>2</sub>.DINGIR)<sup>ki</sup> → ensi<sub>2</sub> KA<sub>2</sub>.DINGIR-ma<sup>ki</sup> (Index 6)

S.338 :

e<sub>2</sub>-gal → gu<sub>4</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-gal (Index 6)  
 e<sub>2</sub>-gal → maš<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-gal (Index 6)  
 e<sub>2</sub>-kaš<sub>4</sub> → bahar<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-kaš<sub>4</sub> (Index 6)  
 e<sub>2</sub>-ki-tuš-min-kam → ka<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ki-tuš-min-kam (Index 6)  
 e<sub>2</sub>-lunga → bahar<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-lunga (Index 6)  
 eredu<sup>ki</sup> → ensi<sub>2</sub> eredu<sup>ki</sup> (Index 6)  
 gir<sub>13</sub>-gīš<sup>ki</sup> → bara<sub>2</sub> gir<sub>13</sub>-gīš<sup>ki</sup> (Index 6)  
 ia<sub>3</sub>-ab/a-ba-ra-ad<sup>(ki)</sup> → lu<sub>2</sub>-kin-gi<sub>4</sub>-a ia<sub>3</sub>-ab/a-ba-ra-ad<sup>(ki)</sup> (Index 6)  
 ib-gal → gala-mah ib-gal (Index 6)

S.339 :

KLAN<sup>ki</sup> → lunga<sub>3</sub> KI.AN<sup>ki</sup> (Index 6)  
 ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup> → lu<sub>2</sub> ma-ri<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup> (Index 6)  
 si-ma-num<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup> → lu<sub>2</sub> si-ma-num<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup> (Index 6)  
 su-ŠA<sub>3</sub>X<sup>ki</sup> → ensi<sub>2</sub> su-ŠA<sub>3</sub>X<sup>ki</sup> (Index 6)  
 umma<sup>ki</sup> → ensi<sub>2</sub> umma<sup>ki</sup> (Index 6)  
 za-ab-ša-li<sup>ki</sup> → kaš<sub>4</sub> za-ab-ša-li<sup>ki</sup> (Index 6)  
 za-ab-ša-li<sup>ki</sup> → lu<sub>2</sub> za-ab-ša-li<sup>ki</sup> (Index 6)  
 zabala<sub>3</sub> → gala-mah zabala<sub>3</sub> (Index 6)

#### 4. Jahresnamen.

S.340 :

mu d<sup>amar</sup>-d<sup>suen</sup> lugal-e ša-aš-ru<sup>ki</sup> mu-hul 161, 163  
 mu d<sup>amar</sup>-d<sup>suen</sup> lugal-e ša-aš-ru-um<sup>ki</sup> mu-hul 154

S.342 :

mu ša-aš-ru<sup>ki</sup> ba-hul 44, 45, 48, 151, 197 passim  
 mu ša-aš-ru-um<sup>ki</sup> ba-hul 43, 165

#### 5. Monatsnamen.

S.344-345 :

iti še kar!(=TE) g<sub>2</sub>al<sub>2</sub>-la 345  
 Doppelt aufgenommen.

#### 6. Vokabular und Berufsbezeichnungen.

S.358 : g<sup>1</sup>pisan sila<sub>4</sub>(-ga?) su-ba 41 passim : doppelt aufgenommen.

S.375 : ma<sub>2</sub> : 131 (ma<sub>2</sub> zi<sub>3</sub>-da ba-a-dul<sub>9</sub>!)

S.386 : sum-ma : → lu<sub>2</sub>-sum

Natalia KOSLOVA (09-2002)  
 ST.PETERSBURG (Russie)

**70) Le NP « \*Appuh-illas.sunu, \*Appuh-puhur-šu »** – Dans *LAPO* 16, p. 411, en rééditant *ARMT* XIII 22 (= texte 262), j'avais pour le NP Appuh-illat-šunu gardé la lecture de *ARMT* XVI et je l'avais interprété (sans grande conviction) comme « En échange c'est leur groupe ». Il existait un NP qui m'avait paru parallèle dans l'inédit *ap-pu-uh-pu-hu-ur-šu-nu*, « En échange c'est leur groupe ». Il m'apparaît aujourd'hui que ces deux NP doivent bien plus simplement être interprétés comme des appellations commémoratives : *is-pu-uh-illat.sunu*, « il a dispersé leur groupe » et *is-pu-uh-pu-hu-ur-šu*, « il a dispersé la troupe qu'il (= l'adversaire) avait mobilisée » ; elles commémorent toutes deux une victoire royale.

On trouvera très facilement des parallèles immédiats dans les lettres de Mari, pour se limiter à ce seul corpus. S'il en était besoin d'une preuve, je citerais l'explicite *iš<sup>o</sup>-pu-uh-pu-hu-ur-šu-n[u]* de l'inédit M.12021.

Jean-Marie DURAND (15-11-2002)  
 Assyriologie, Collège de France  
 52, rue du Cardinal Lemoine  
 75005 PARIS

## VIE DE L'ASSYRIOLOGIE

**71) Florilegium marianum VI** – Vient de paraître : D. Charpin & J.-M. Durand (éd.), *Recueil d'études à la mémoire d'André Parrot, Florilegium marianum VI, Mémoires de NABU 7*, Paris, 2002.

Un volume de 576 pages, contient la publication de 80 inédits de Mari (très nombreuses photos).

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**72) Troisièmes journées syro-françaises sur les archives royales de Mari** – Les 2 et 3 novembre 2002 ont eu lieu à Damas les troisièmes journées syro-françaises sur les archives royales de Mari.

Samedi 2 Novembre 2002 à la Faculté des Lettres, Département d'Histoire

Thème : *La femme à l'époque amorrite*

Accueil : F. Abdallah, J.-M. Durand

Communications de :

– F. Abdallah, Professeur à l'Université de Damas : « Les alliances matrimoniales à l'époque de Mari »

– J.-M. Durand, Professeur au Collège de France, Directeur d'Études à l'EPHE IV<sup>e</sup> Section : « La correspondance féminine de Mari »

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– S. Lafont, Directeur d'études à l'EPHE, IV<sup>e</sup> Section : « Aspects juridiques de la condition féminine à l'époque amorrite »

- N. Ziegler, Chargée de recherche au CNRS, Professeur à L'École du Louvre : « Les harems au Proche-Orient »
- M. Guichard, Maître de conférences à l'Université de Paris I : « Les princesses de Mari en Haute-Mésopotamie »

Dimanche 3 Novembre 2002, à la Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées

*Thème : Recherches sur Tell Mishrifé, l'ancienne Qatna*

Accueil : M. Al-Maqdissi, J.-M. Durand

- F. Abdallah, Professeur à l'Université de Damas : « La lutte politique entre Qatna et le Yamhad au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. »
- D. Charpin, Professeur à l'Université de Paris I, Directeur d'Études à l'EPHE IV<sup>e</sup> Section : « Babylone face au conflit entre Alep et Qatna »
- L. Marti, Doctorant à l'EPHE IV<sup>e</sup> Section : « La frontière entre les royaumes de Qatna et d'Alep »
- H. Reculeau, ATER au Collège de France : « Les échanges commerciaux entre Carkémish et Qatna »
- M. Al-Maqdissi, Directeur des Fouilles et Études Archéologiques à la DGAM-Damas : « Compte rendu des fouilles syriennes à Mishrifeh-Qatna (1994-2002) »
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- Conclusion : D. Charpin, F. Abdallah

**73) RAI 49** – The 49<sup>e</sup> Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale will be held in London on 7-11 July 2003. The theme is "Nineveh". For more information please look up the RAI website at [http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/rencontre/RAI\\_2003.html](http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/rencontre/RAI_2003.html)

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