

# N.A.B.U.

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### NOTES BRÈVES

**74) Additions to ‘Studies on the *sākinu*-Official (1), UF 33 (2001)** – In an article to be published in the forthcoming volume of *Ugarit-Forschungen* (33, 2001), I will discuss the office of the *sākinu* at Ugarit. In my article I mention Ba’lu-saduqu(?) (<sup>Pd</sup>u-ZA-DUGUD), *sākinu* of Ugarit, who received a letter from the king of Tyre, <sup>Pd</sup>iškur-di.ku<sub>5</sub> (17.397D+424C, PRU 4, 219f. ; see Arnaud, *SMEA* 37, 1996, 63f. and Singer, *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, 1999, 672 for another, yet unpublished letter from the same king). The name of this king I transcribed as Ba’lu-dān(u) on the basis of a number of syllabic and alphabetic spellings from Ugarit. However, I failed to mention that the same name is attested in the Amarna letters from Gezer (EA 292-293 ; for 294, see Izre’el, *Tel Aviv* 4, 1977, 159f. and *IOS* 8, 1978, 15 note 16) and that there are different opinions on the reading of this name. Knudtzon (*Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, 1915, 886 note a) read Addudani and he was followed by W. Moran (see *RA* 69, 1975, 153f. and *The Amarna Letters*, 1992, 335f.). Albright (*BASOR* 87, 1942, 36) opted for Ba’lu-šipti, a reading also adopted by Izre’el (*ibid.*), R. Hess (*Amarna Personal Names*, 1993, 53f. ; Hess read *ba’lu/haddu-šipti*), and N. Na’aman (*NABU* 1998, 119). EA 295 was identified by Na’aman as a letter from Tyre (*UF* 11, 1979, 673f.) and on the basis of the letters from Ugarit mentioned above he restored the name in line 3 as [<sup>Pd</sup>im]-di.ku<sub>5</sub> (*NABU* 1998, 119 ; the letter had previously been assigned to Addu-dāni/Ba’lu-šipti of Gezer).

The only support for the reading Ba’lu-šipti comes from Punic inscriptions (*b’lspt*, see Hess, *ibid.*, 54) and from the name Šipti-Ba’lu, the ruler of Lachish (EA 330-333). The latter is spelled both *Pši-ip-ti/ti<sub>4</sub>-dim* and *Pdi.ku<sub>5</sub>-dim* (Hess, *ibid.*, 143f.). In Ugarit, where over 8000 personal names are attested, one finds only *Tipti-* Ba’lu and Ba’lu-dān(u), not Ba’lu-tip̄tu. Although different traditions in name giving probably existed in Ugarit and in Tyre the reading Ba’lu-dānu would still seem to be more plausible on the basis of the texts from Ugarit. On the basis of the Amarna evidence the letter from Ugarit should be dated to the later years of Amenophis III, a date which should also be applied to the *sākinu* Ba’lu-saduqu (Na’aman, *NABU* 1998, 119).

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**75) The votive bead BM 89156 (BM 1835-5-9, 4)** – The votive bead BM 89156 (BM 1835-5-9, 4) was first made known by A. Cullimore, *Oriental Cylinders* (London, 1842) pl. 15 no. 80. Next, H.D. Galter in *ARRIM* 5 (1987) pp. 11, 13, 19, gave a copy and edition, on the basis of which some improvements were offered by K. Deller in N.A.B.U 1987/101. Deller relied on Galter’s copy, which is fully accurate so far as the wedges are concerned, but it fails to indicate the restrictions imposed by the object. It is barrel-shaped, with the white stone at each end and the brown stone in the middle. The left-hand end is complete, the right-hand end is damaged. However, the shape and the colour indicate that little is lost at the right. Galter ignored this factor in allowing the possibility of lost signs of the ends of lines 8-9. Deller correctly grasped from the sense that as preserved these lines are complete. However, in line 7 he restored one complete sign at the end, which seems unlikely when compared with the ends of lines 8-9. Also he accepted Galter’s “slight possibility” that the last

preserved sign in line 7 is DI, not IGI as copied. Galter's IGI has been confirmed by the present writer in recopying this inscription, which can now be fully restored as follows :

1	<i>ana AN.ŠÁR [UMUN-šu]</i>	To Aššur, [his lord],
2	<i>ana TI mGISK[IM-MAŠ]</i>	for the life of Tukul[ti-Ninurta]
3	<i>MAN KIŠ M[AN AŠ]</i>	king of the world, k[ing of Assyria],
4	<i>m̄dNÀ-UMUN-P[AP]</i>	Nabû-bēla-u[ṣur],
5	<i>rāb é-kál-li LI[BIR]</i>	commandant of the old palace,
6	<i>aš-šum AN.ŠÁR UMUN-[šu]</i>	because Aššur [his] lord
7	<i>il-te-šu IG[I]</i>	had appeared to him,
8	<i>ik-ru-ma</i>	dedicated and
9	<i>u-še-li</i>	offered (this bead)

Notes :

4-5 : <sup>d</sup>NÀ-EN-PAP was a *līmu* of the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I, see C. Saporetti, *Gli eponimi medio-assiri* (Malibu, 1979) pp. 119-120. In Neo-Assyrian times NIMGIR/600 É.GAL were commonly *līmus*, see R. Mattila, *The King's Magnates* (SAAS XI, 2000), pp. 29-43. The restoration LI[BIR] is supported by the fact that Tukulti-Ninurta I built a new palace for himself on a new site (*RIMA* I (1987) p. 237 ll. 40-66 ; pp. 245-246 ll. 70-126), referred to as "the new palace" (É.GAL GIBIL-te) by the later Aššur-bēl-kala (*RIMA* 2 (1991) p. 105 l. 28). There is no statement of Tukulti-Ninurta I that the old palace was demolished, so as a major state building this old palace would have needed a person in charge. See E. Weidner, *AfO* 13 (1939-40) 109-124, for a more detailed consideration of the different official residences of this king.

7 : If one were to read D[I] its resolution into *islimu* would be best : the dedicator had been out of favour with the god Aššur but was now restored to grace. There is no room for *usallimūni* or *usallimanni*, and the text is written in the third, not first person. A resolution *usallimu* complicates the persons in the inscription. However, DI is not on the stone, only IG[I], which is best resolved as *innamru*, literally "was seen with him," implying some kind of revelation. This is very unusual, but grammatically unobjectionable. It is a most interesting example of Assyrian "prophecy" in Middle Assyrian times.

The restorations given here confirm that this dates to Tukulti-Ninurta I, as argued by Deller. It offers then the earliest, but isolated, example of the writing AN.ŠÁR for Aššur. Generally the text is poorly engraved. The signs are badly proportioned, and the two ŠÁR signs are entirely different, though neither is "wrong." The use of U for *bēlu* and in *u-še-li* results from a wish to engrave as few wedges as possible to express the words, a common practice with such engraved gems.

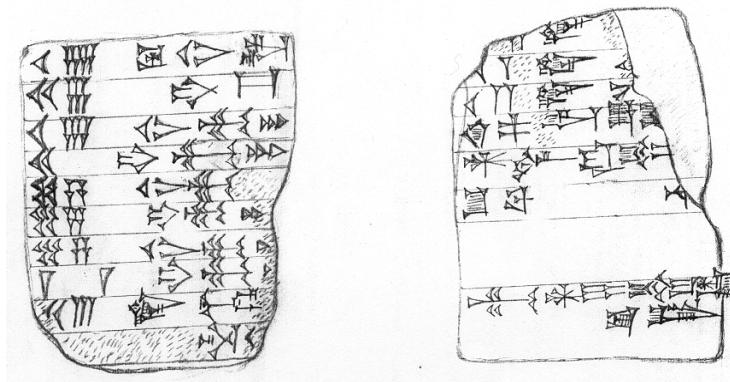
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**76) One more šu-ba-ti Ur III tablet** – The following Ur III tablet is the property of Emanuela Di Pasquale who copied it and to whom go my thanks for help and permission to publish it. It's a šu-ba-ti receipt of cattle and donkeys, dated to Ibbi-Sîn 1 and, probably, coming from Drehem. The tablet is badly damaged and the end of the lines from 5 to 10 on the obverse are illegible. The lower edge is broken so the last lines on the obverse and the first lines on the reverse are lost, as well as the end of the lines from 1' to 6'. The seventh line on the reverse is uninscribed.



Colour : pale beige.

Dimensions : 70x55x16 mm.

Receipt of cattle and donkeys : IS1/-/, Drehem?

o.	1)	19 àd-áb-máḥ	r.	[ ]
	2)	26 gu <sub>4</sub> -giš		[ ]
	3)	17 áb-mu-3	1')	[x+]2 [anše] [ ]
	4)	20 gu <sub>4</sub> -mu-3	2')	[x+]11[+x] anše-[x] [ ]
	5)	44 áb-mu-[2 ]	3')	12[+x] dù[r ]
	6)	55 gu <sub>4</sub> -mu-2 [ ]	4')	ki-ŕšabral-e-n[e-ta]
	7)	54 áb-mu-1 [ ]	5')	dIškur-ra-b[f ]
	8)	61 gu <sub>4</sub> -mu-1 [ ]	6')	šu-ba-t[i]
	9)	[x+]23 eme <sub>6</sub> -má[ḥ]	7')	blank line
	10)	[x anše(-x)]-níta-[x]	8')	mu dI-bí-dEN./ZU lugal

The PN <sup>d</sup>Iškur-ra-bí in the fifth line on the reverse is attested also in PDT I 025 (nu-bànda), a tablet from Drehem dated AS5/5/19.

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**77) gišlu-lum, “pernio ; chiodo”, nei testi di Ebla** – In un passo di un testo amministrativo eblaita, *MEE* 12 37 r. XXIV : 28-33 : 15 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / gišlu-lum / zà an-dùl-an-dùl / lú nundum / 1 la-ha sagi, quindici sicli d’argento vengono assegnati in relazione alla realizzazione di gišlu-lum per lo zà, probabilmente la “parte esterna”,<sup>1</sup> e per un numero non precisato di sculture (an-dùl-an-dùl) da utilizzarsi come elementi decorativi del bordo (nundum)<sup>2</sup> di una giara per il cappiere di corte (1 la-ha sagi). Si potrebbe trattare di figure teriomorfe, dato che la tradizione artistica del Vicino Oriente antico attesta diffusamente, già a partire dal IV millennio a.C., l’uso di rappresentare figure di animali, sia come disegni, sia come sculture, intorno al bordo dei recipienti destinati a contenere acqua o liquidi in genere, probabilmente con l’intento di riprodurre l’effetto dell’abbeveraggio naturale degli animali lungo i bacini d’acqua dolce, facendo diventare così il vaso simbolo stesso del lago, del fiume o della pozza. Questa tipologia figurativa è stata poi trasmessa grazie alla colonizzazione fenicia anche nel Mediterraneo occidentale, particolarmente in Sardegna.<sup>3</sup> Il termine eblaita gišlu-lum, attestato come *hapax* nella documentazione amministrativa nota<sup>4</sup> e finora non adeguatamente interpretato, deve essere confrontato con la glossa della lista lessicale eblaita *VE* 430 GIŠ-TE = lu-ru<sub>12</sub>-um (fonte A), lu-lum (fonte B).<sup>5</sup> La variante grafica lu-ru<sub>12</sub>-um della fonte A assicura un’etimologia con /r/ per la parola eblaita,<sup>6</sup> che, pertanto, difficilmente a nostro viso può essere tenuta distinta dal vocabolo mariota gišlu-, presente nei seguenti passi di testi amministrativi databili al periodo degli Šakkanakku :

ARMT XIX 320 r. I:1-4 : 5 gišlu-ru / iš é-gir / a-me-er-<sup>d</sup>nu-nu / im-<sup>b</sup>ur

ARMT XIX 460 r. I:3'-4' : [...] giša-pí-nu-šu / [...] gišlu-ru šu gišmá-gišmá

ARMT XIX 460 r. I:8' : 20 gišlu-ru 40 giša-pí-nu-šu šu gišKÍD.ALAM

L’editore traduce senza convinzione “accessoire de bateau”,<sup>7</sup> ma questa interpretazione non si adatta a spiegare tutti i contesti. Il riferimento, infatti, è, almeno in un caso, proprio come nel testo eblaita, ad un accessorio o componente di statue (gišKÍD.ALAM).<sup>8</sup> La tavoletta ARMT XIX 460 è in effetti un inventario dettagliato di utensili e strumenti necessari per effettuare vari lavori di artigianato.<sup>9</sup> Prendendo in considerazione una lettura gištemen, “chiodo”,<sup>10</sup> per il sumerogramma della sopra citata glossa di *VE* 430, è, pertanto, possibile supporre che ad Ebla i gišlu-lum indicassero i “chiodi” o “perni” di ancoraggio dello zà, “parte esterna ; rivestimento” della giara<sup>11</sup> e delle figurine da applicare sul bordo della stessa. Un medesimo significato può essere ora proposto anche per le attestazioni di Mari. Nelle lingue semitiche successive, il termine trova un probabile confronto con l’etiopico *lawara*, “perforate” (W. Leslau, *CDG*, p. 321).<sup>12</sup>

L’uso di chiodi e perni di ancoraggio per tenere unite varie parti delle figure, come ad esempio il rivestimento esterno in metallo prezioso, e consolidare queste ultime ad un piedistallo o altro sostegno ligneo, lapideo o metallico è una tecnica ben documentata grazie ai ritrovamenti archeologici. Di questa tecnica si ha sentore anche in alcuni interessanti passi biblici, in cui viene descritta minuziosamente, seppure con intenti satirici, la lavorazione delle immagini divine.<sup>13</sup>

1. Per questo sumerogramma, che ricorre ad Ebla soprattutto in contesti di carri, di vasi o sculture, si rimanda a G. Conti, *Carri ed equipaggi nei testi di Ebla*, MisEb 4, Firenze 1997, pp. 36-37, e H. Waetzoldt, *MEE* 12, Roma 2001, pp. 83 e 511 (“Aussenseite”).

2. Scritto KA.NU come di regola ad Ebla, anziché KA.NUN, como ha riconosciuto P. Fronzaroli, *Tre scongiuri eblaiti* (ARET 5 1-3), VO 7 (1988), p. 15. Per l’uso di NU al posto di NUN, si vedano le osservazioni di G. Conti, *MisEb* 3, Firenze 1990, p. 55. Diversamente H. Waetzoldt, *MEE* 12, pp. 83 e 512, interpreta la sequenza grafica KA.NU come un termine semitico con lettura zú-nu, “Beschlag”. Quest’ultima ipotesi appare, tuttavia, improbabile.

3. Per questo motivo iconografico, si vedano G. Cantagalli, *Osservazioni genetiche sul corpo centrale delle navicelle funerarie sarde*, SCO 14 (1965), pp. 276-281, O. Terrosi Zanco, *Il motivo degli animali sui bordi delle navicelle sarde*, SCO 14 (1965), pp. 285-290, e A. M. Bisi, *L'apport phénicien aux bronzes nouragiques de Sardaigne*, Latomus 36 (1977), pp. 925-926. per il « simbolismo cosmico » dei vasi destinati a contenere liquidi, si vedano ultimamente anche le osservazioni di A. M. Bignasca, *I kernoī circolari in Oriente e in Occidente. Strumenti di culto e immagini cosmiche*, Freiburg 2000, pp. 175 ss.

4. Un confronto con la grafia LU-LI, che qualifica 2 *ti-gi-na* contrapposti ad altrettanti *ti-gi-na* giš-zú in TM.75.G.1250 r. III :6-7 (citato da M. G. Biga, *The Marriage of Eblaite Princess Tagriš-Damu with a son of Nagar's King*, Subartu IV/2, Turnhout 1998, p. 20) allo stato attuale non si impone. Si veda, in proposito, anche MEE 10 20 r. IV :18-20, dove ai 2 *ti-gi-na* giš-zú vengono, invece, contrapposti 2 *ti-gi-na* dàra\* :dà\*?

5. Come notato ora anche da H. Waezoldt, MEE 12, p. 550, il quale propone un confronto con la glossa accadica gište-má = *tēhu*, “etwa Seitenwand” (von Schiff)”

6. Per lo scambio *l/r* nei testi di Ebla, si veda G. Conti, *MisEb* 3, p. 20, con bibliografia precedente.

7. Limet, *Textes administratifs de l'époque des Šakkanakku*, Paris 1976, pp. 111 e 165.

8. Data anche la presenza del determinativo giš, il sumerogramma gišKÍD.ALAM deve riferirsi preferibilmente ad un oggetto e non al nome di professione (“scultore”). Ad Ebla sono note sia la grafia gišKÍD.ALAM sia la grafia KÍD.ALAM, ed entrambe sembrano, comunque, riferirsi ugualmente ad una statua e non ad una persona, come ha dimostrato P. Fronzaroli, *Divinazione a Ebla* (TM.76.G.86), *MisEb* 4, pp. 2-4 e 13.

9. Si vedano le osservazioni fatte in margine alla *editio princeps* della tavoletta da M. Lambert, *Textes de Mari - dix-huitième campagne* -1969, Syria 47 (1970), pp. 257 ss.

10 Per il sumerico temen, si veda da ultimo S. Dunham, *Sumerian Words for Foundation. Part I: Temen*, RA 80 (1986), pp. 31-64.

11. Il termine zà ricorre soprattutto in relazione a carri e a vasi, ma almeno in un caso nella documentazione nota pare riferirsi esplicitamente anche a delle statue (an-dùl). Si tratta del passo seguente : TM.75.G.10201 v. XXIV :1ss. : 2 ma-na šušana<sub>x</sub> gín DILMUN kù :babbar šu-bal-aka šušana<sub>x</sub> -8 kù-sig<sub>17</sub> ni-zí-mu 4 zà an-dùl sagi lú gišbanšur sagi (citato da A. Archi, *The Steward and his Jar*, Iraq 61 [1999], p. 155).

12. Si consideri anche una possibile connessione con l'acc. *lurú*, di attestazione lessicale, che indica una persona la cui voce ha la qualità di « essere penetrante » (CAD, L, p. 256), come mi suggerisce gentilmente il prof. P. Fronzaroli.

13. Per cui, si vedano A. Fitzgerald, *The Technology of Isaiah 4 : 19-20 + 41 :6-7*, CBQ 51 (1989), pp. 433 ss., e M. B. Dick, *Prophetic Parodies of Making the Cult Image*, in M. B. Dick (ed.), *Born in Heaven, Made on Earth : the Making of the Cult Image in the Ancient Near East*, Winona Lake 1999, pp. 18 ss.

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## 78) Iranian Notes –

1. *De-e-mi-ši* son of Tu-mu-nu, a Scythian (<sup>lú</sup>sak-ka-A+A), acted as the first of four witnesses in Sippar on 23.VIII.10+x Darius I (sometime between 511/0 and 502/1 B.C., CT 55, 93, 9, see M.A. Dandamayev, *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*, Costa Mesa, Ca. and New York 1992, 70:127). His name may end with the suffix *-iča*, which is attached to OIran. \**Daiva-* with the primordial meaning “god” (LB intervocalic <m> can render \*/v/). \**Daiva-* > *δyw* is recorded in Sogdian anthroponyms such as *Δυργρόν* < \**Daiva-gauna-* “heavenly”, *Δέωδασ्त* “having god (as) creator”, as well as *Διώδαδ* < *Δέωδαδ* “Theódotos” (see W.B. Henning, BSOAS 28, 1965, 253f.). N. Sims-Williams, *Sogdian and other Iranian inscriptions of the upper Indus*, 2 (London 1992), 51 has *Δywn'm*, -'kk, -'štyc, *Snkδyw*(?), to which is added \**Δyw'y'n* (Y. Yoshida, *Studia Iranica* 13, 1984, 149). It may be surmised that \**daiva-* was productive both in the Sogdian and the Old Scythian onomasticon.

2. *Ú-ma-zi-ia* in a text from the Ebabbarra archive from Sippar, 17.IX.539/8 B.C. (Nbn. 457 = AH 83-1-18, 232, 11 ; there is no reason to emend the ZI to RI as K. Tallqvist, NBN, 215a hesitantly did) is probably identical with *Ú-ma-zi-iá* from the same archive (Til-gubbi, 19.VI.538/7 B.C. ; M. Jursa, AfOB 25, 234 : BM 74422, 17). If the reading is not *Ú-ba-zi-ia/iá* (BA and MA are indistinct in the NB/LB ductus of this period), his name may render OIran. \**Hūjīya-*, cf. OPers. *u-v-j-i-y* /*Ūjīya-* “Susian, Elamite”, adjective of OPers. *Ūja-* (presumably for *hŪja-*) “Susiana” (cf. F. Justi, *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie* 2, Strasbourg 1904, 417f. ; R.G. Kent, *Old Persian*, New Haven 1953, §23.II, 177b, s.v. ; W. Brandenstein and M. Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen*, Wiesbaden 1964, 150 ; R. Schmitt, *Epigraphisch-exegetische Noten zu Dareios' Bīsūtūn-Inschriften*, Vienna 1990, 36f. :16 ; *idem*, *The Bisutun inscriptions of Darius the Great[ :] Old Persian text*, London 1991, 7 ad DB v, 4). C. Bartholomae (*Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strasbourg 1904, 1846, s.v.) advocated the following normalized forms :

OIran. \**Huvajiya-*, OPers. *hUvajiya-* “Susian, Elamite”, adjective of OPers. *hUvaja-* “Susiana” (cf. Bartholomae, [Bezzenberger's] *Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen* 13, 1888, 70 ; IF 10, 1899, 189f. with n. 1). W. Foy (KZ 35, 1899, 62 ; 37, 1904, 542f.) assumed that Armen. *Xužastan* (based on a Middle Iranian form of the above-mentioned Old Persian designation for Susiana) was borrowed not before the early

Sassanian period (G. Bolognesi, *Le fonti dialettali degli imprestiti iranici in armeno*, Milan 1960, does not discuss this toponym). H. Hübschmann (*Persische Studien*, Strasbourg 1895, 169) stated : "Lieg uva oder u vor in ap. *uvž* = *huvaža-* oder *hūža-?*". A. Meillet and E. Benveniste (*Grammaire du vieux perse*, Paris 1931, 153) have *uvjiy*, (*x)uvajiya-* 'Susien' (they do not elaborate). Note *Ovačaín* (Procopius, *The Gothic war*, 4, 10, 9, cf. Ph. Huyse, *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šābuhrs I. an der Ka'ba-i Zardušt (ŠKZ)*, 2, London 1999, 2, 18f. ; cf. also Old Syr. *Hūz*, Jewish Aram. *By Ḥwz'y*). The anthroponym Aram. *Hw(?)z(?)y/l(?)* on a seal from the fifth century B.C. (provenience unknown, N. Avigad and B. Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic seals*, Jerusalem 1997, 295:787) is too doubtful for a comparison with NB/LB *Ú-ma-zi-ia/iá* (NB/LB intervocalic <m> can render \*/v/). If the etymology of *Ú-ma-zi-ia/iá* is correct (he is mentioned without a filiation and any indication of his relationship to Iran is missing), then it may strengthen the case for the form *\*Huvajiya-*.

3. *Da-ar-ra-ku* in the LB administrative text BE 8, 102 (line 12) is presumably a mistake for *Da-ar-ra-šu*. This spelling, which is not followed by any royal title (such a title is often missing in administrative documents) refers to Darius I, as it describes the period from year 6 of Cambyses until the accession year of *Da-ar-ra-ku*. Rare spellings with -šu (instead of the much more common -šú) referring to Darius I are *Da-a-ri-<sup>2</sup>-i-šu* (*Dar.* 38:16) and *Da-ri-ú-šu* (*CT* 51, 49:16; *Dar.* 311:16). Moreover, the scribe of BE 8, 102 wrote also the other royal name, viz. Cambyses, erroneously : line 10 has *Kam-bu-si-di-ia*. *Kam-bu-si-iá* in OECT 10, 127, 12' (collated) looks on the face of it as a form comparable with the Greek rendering Καμβυσης. However, in view of the numerous LB spellings with -ZI- it is more probably an audial mistake. Regarding OECT 10, 123, S. Dalley (*apud* J. Peat, *JCS* 41, 1989, 210) is of the opinion that the copy of the year as 9 is correct, but McEwan's copy of the lowermost row is inaccurate. A closer look at that row reveals that it consists only of two wedges ; the left wedge of the second row extends further down to the "base" of the sign :  The date is 19.VIII.8 Cyrus.

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**79) Iranian presence in Neo-Elamite Susa** – It is generally known that Achaemenid Elamite contains a huge number of Iranian anthroponyms, toponyms (and other proper names indicating a geographical feature) and loan words from various semantic categories. Elamites and Persians, however, did learn to know each other a few centuries before the genesis of the Achaemenid Empire. From ca. 1000 BC onwards Iranians began to settle in a part of the Elamite heartland and so contacts were established that would last for centuries.

As there are nearly no Elamite documents known from the first half of the first millennium, except for royal inscriptions, this ethnically interesting situation of two people living next to each other within the same country is a difficult research topic for the modern scholar. Fortunately the scholar is partly saved by an archive, discovered in Susa. Most likely the hundreds of texts belonging to this archive date from the period immediately preceding the Achaemenid Empire (ca. 625-539 BC). They cannot be dated with more accuracy since no kings or regnal years are mentioned.

The texts from this Neo-Elamite archive also contain various Iranian personal names and place names and thus function as a source for the study of the ethnic situation of those days. Most of the Iranian names have already been studied and analysed. Yet I would like to offer a few more, which have hitherto escaped the attention of modern scholars.

### 1. Anthroponyms

#### 1.1. hw.Ak-ki-da-da (El. Wb. 38)

Most likely Akkidada is a representation of Ir. \*Haxidāta-, "given as a friend". \*Haxi- is the weak stem of Old Persian *haxā-*, "friend, companion" (Zadok 1976: 66-67), while \*dāta- is the past participle of Old Persian dā-, "to give" (OPG 188).

#### 1.2. hw.Pír-ka₄ (El. Wb. 213)

Hinz – Koch (El. Wb. 213) propose an Iranian name \*Pṛga-, which does indeed not contradict the Elamite spelling, but which unfortunately is no plausible name either. Alternatively a name \*Bṛga- makes sense, since it can be derived from Av. *barəg-*, "to welcome". See 1.5 below.

#### 1.3. hw.Si-ir-un-da (El. Wb. 1078)

An Iranian name \*Čir(a)-vanta-, "having courage" is hidden behind this Elamite spelling. The Old Iranian lexeme \*čira- can be reconstructed on the basis of Av. čiriia- and NP čira-.

#### 1.4. v.Ú-pi-iz-za (El. Wb. 1241)

This name is described as being Elamite (El. Wb. 1241), but this is simply not acceptable. The Old Iranian hypocoristic suffix -(a)iča- is nearly always written -iz-za. The sequence -iz-za points almost certainly

to an Old Iranian name. In this particular case the name behind v.Ú-pi-iz-za could be \*Hup-(a)iča- or \*Huf-(a)iča-, but these proposals do not yield plausible meanings. Another possibility is \*Hu-biza-, “having good seed” from \*hu-, a frequently used prefix, and \*bīza-, the Old Iranian equivalent of Skt. bija-.

1.5. hw.Ú(?)-pír(?)-ka<sub>4</sub>(?) (El. Wb. 1241)

This name renders Iranian \*Hu-br̥ga-, “who welcomes well”. See 1.2 above.

2. Toponyms

2.1. hw.Ka<sub>4</sub>-am-na-ib-be (El. Wb. 406)

-Ib-be is the plural suffix, indicating that the inhabitants of a place Ka<sub>4</sub>-am-na are meant. Ka<sub>4</sub>-am-na renders Old Ir. \*Kamna-, “small, little”, cf. Av. and Old Persian kamna-.

2.2. Mat-taš-šá-an (El. Wb. 901)

According to Hinz – Koch (El. Wb. 901) Mattaššan is a Neo-Elamite toponym. It looks, however, more plausible to consider it an Iranian name. Ma-taš-šá (-an is a suffix attached to toponyms and is not a part of the root) is a perfect rendering of \*Maθasa-, “big horse”. This anthroponym is composed of \*maθa- and asa-. The former is the Old Persian form of Av. masa-, “big”, while the latter is the Old Persian form of Av. aspa-, “horse” (OPG 173).

References

El. Wb. = W. Hinz – H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch* (Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran. Ergänzungsband 17), Berlin, 1987.

OPG = R.G. Kent, *Old Persian : Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* (American Oriental Series 33), OPG New Haven 1953<sup>2</sup>.

Zadok 1976 = R. Zadok, “On Some Iranian Names in Late Babylonian Documents”, *Israel Oriental Studies* 6 (1976), 65-70.

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**80) Notes sur “Les tribus amurrites de Mari”** – Le bel ouvrage de M. Krebernik, *Tall Bi'a/Tuttul-II, Die Altorientalischen Schriftfunde*, WVDOG 100, nous a enrichis, entre autres, en informations sur “Les tribus amurrites de Mari”.

1. Pp. 86-87, pls. 21, 56, no. KTT 128 : il s’agit d’un “Fragment der Hülle einer Zensusliste” datant probablement de l’année de l’éponyme Adad-bāni, 1779/1778 avant notre ère, quand a eu lieu un recensement effectué par l’administration de Mari du 30.VI jusqu’au 6.VII. Krebernik traduit les deux lignes *tēbibti bītātim/ša Ha-a-na<sup>ki</sup>* comme suit : “Zensus der Haushalte von Hana”. Le pseudo-idéogramme Ha-a-na (= Hanûm) est nouveau à ma connaissance. Il se trouve aussi comme second élément dans des noms propres de l’époque des Šakkanakkū : Bu-na-Ha-a-na, p. 38, no. 5.4 et Ma-ku-Ha-a-na p. 39, no. 12.1 à comparer avec le nom Mu-ut-Ha-na qu’on trouve à Mari (*ARM* XIV.47.31 ; XXIV.233.I.30 ; A.4305.14 ; M.7001.3’ ; M.8874.11 [*FS Garelli*, pp. 38, 43] ; M.6202.II (*LAPO* 17, p. 371g). A Mari j’ai noté, à part Ha-na, la forme Ha-na-a (A.486+M.5319.51 (*FM* I, p. 140) ; A.1086.5 (*BENJ*, p. 989d) ; A.4319.11’ (*NABU* 1991/112). Quant au terme *bītātim*, il se réfère au sous-clan tribal, attesté aussi dans la Bible : *bayit*, voir Jos 7:14. Chez les bédouins c’est la plus petite unité sociale et économique, la famille patriarcale, le ’ā’ilah, qui habite une maison ou une tente et est dirigée par le père. A Mari on trouve dans *ARM* XXIII.87.1-36 des noms de sous-clans de Nihad, un clan des Hanûm (= “Bédouins” d’après D. Charpin et J.-M. Durand), dont une partie contient comme premier élément le terme Bit. Dans une lettre du temps de Zimri-Lim, *ARM* VI.28.6-10 (= *LAPO* 17, pp. 195-196, no. 573), il est question de recenser (ou : d’établir l’approvisionnement ; *paqādum*) les Hanûm (“Bédouins” d’après J.-M. Durand) section (*pirsum*) par section et clan (*gā’um*) par clan. Or, le nouveau document de Tuttul, du temps de Samsi-Addu, atteste un recensement par les plus petites unités tribales, les sous-clans, les “maisons”.

2. P. 70, pl. 16, KTT no. 92 : il s’agit d’un “Verköstigung von Boten, ‘welche Tafeln brachten” datant de l’éponyme Awīliya, 1780/1779 avant notre ère, qui enregistre deux groupes de messagers, l’un originaire de Hen (*lúHe-na-juki*) “Hēnäer” et l’autre de Zalpah (*lúZa-al-pa-ha-juki*) “Zalpahäer”. Yahdun-Lim mena une série de campagnes dans “la région d’amont” ; il conquit Tuttul, Abattum, Imar, Zalpah et Pahudara. Comme Zalpah est à localiser sur le Balih, on peut, peut-être, conclure que Hen aussi, doit être localisé sur le Balih. Cette localisation s’accorde avec la mention de Hen dans A.1146:24 (*FM* I, p. 115 [= *LAPO* 16, pp. 146-148]) et A.987:28 (*FM* I, p. 122, n. 11 ; *FM* II, p. 326, no. 33), voir P. Marello, *FM* I, p. 123.

3. P. 50, no. KTT 41:3 : [n] UDU TUR Si-im-a-li-u-um : il ne s’agit pas de “[n] junge(s) Schaf(e) : der Sim’āliter (oder PN)”, mais de moutons appartenant aux Bini-Sim’āl, cfr. *ARM* IX.15.7.

4. On sait bien qu'on trouve des noms propres qui sont aussi des noms de tribus. Nous signalons à ce propos les noms propres *I-ba-la-hu-um*, p. 38, no. 5.1 (clan Hanéen ou Bini-Sim'âlite d'après J.-M. Durand) et *Am-na-nu-um* p. 39, no. 9.7 (tribu bini-yaminite).

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**81)** – Dans son étude novatrice « Prophètes et rois dans le Proche-Orient amorrite : nouvelles données, nouvelles perspectives » (*FM* VI [2002], pp. 7-38) D. Charpin traduit aux pages 20-21 les lignes 18-21 de la lettre de Sammêtar *ARM* XXVI/1.199 : « Il a apporté à la déesse Dérîtum des verrous. Auparavant, il avait apporté un šernum, disant : “Le šernum n'est pas fiable. Les eaux l'ont mouillé. Renforce le šernum” ». Et à la page 21, n. 116 il note : « La portée exacte des gestes symboliques de Lupâhum nous échappe, mais importe peu pour le présent propos. » Or, dans un article en hébreu (*Beit Mikra* 136 [1994], pp. 23-25) nous avons essayé d'expliquer la portée de ces gestes symboliques. Notre explication se base sur deux données : 1. šernum est un récipient (cfr. J.-M. Durand, *ARM* XXVI/1, p. 428, n. b). 2. A la l. 21, au lieu de *i-sú-up-pu* le verbe serait *i-zu-ubbu* de la racine *zâbum* (d'après M. Stol, *JAOS* 111/3 [1991], p. 628a). En conséquence, nous avons proposé la traduction suivante : « Le šernum n'est pas fiable. Les eaux dégouttent. Renforce le šernum », et nous avons expliqué : « Dans la première fois, il (Lupâhum) lui (Dérîtum) a apporté un récipient suintant, qui symbolise la situation précaire dans le pays, et maintenant, il apporte un verrou (à corriger en “verrous”) – probablement de la ville de Mari – qui symbolise le besoin de renforcer la défense de la ville et du royaume contre l'ennemi (certainement Ešnunna), qui menace depuis le sud ».

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**82) The Sargon parody** – The Old Assyrian Sargon parody (Günbatti, *Archivum Anatolicum* 3 [1997], 152-55, re-edition Van De Mieroop, *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 42 [2000], 146-59 ; translation Hecker TUAT *Ergänzungslieferung* [2001], 58-60 ; notes relevant to passages discussed here by Dercksen, *NABU* 2001/1) is of interest for the use it makes of original Sargonic inscriptions, its wordplays referring to both scholastic learning and an already existing Sargonic legendary tradition, and aspects of its “story line”. This note offers suggestions to a few lines to illustrate these points.

(7-13) Wordplays in the summary of his conquests : *aşbat-ma, uşabbit*, lead to *şabítam aşbat*, discussed below. The oath is based on the formula  $DN_1 \dot{u} DN_2 ú-má la sú-ra-tim lu kí-ni-iš-ma$  (see further Lambert, *Quaderni di Semitistica* 18 [1992], 56-7), occurring in genuine inscriptions of Rimush, Manishtusu, and Naram-Sin (Kienast, *FAOS* 8 [1994], 272 ; Frayne, *RIME* 2 [1983], 94). Pairing of *surrātim* and *kiniš* may have suggested to the parodist a wordplay on Sargon's name, “the liar is truthful,” in the spirit of the later scholar who wrote it LUGAL.İM.GI, “the king is a pretender” (Glassner, *Chroniques* [1993], 28). Recourse to Manishtusu could help with the obscure wordplay in line (9) *a-na 70 a-lá-ni Ga-Ga-am a-dí-in* “I ‘gave’ a weapon to 70 cities” (V : “fought against”, H : “legte an 70 Städte die Waffe”) : had the author read a genuine inscription, such as perhaps used by the Neo-Babylonian forger of the “Cruciform Monument” (Sollberger, *JEOL* 20 [1967/8], 52 ; Steinkeller, *ZA* 72 [1982], 257 note 80 ; al-Rawi and George, *Iraq* 56 [1994], 139-48), in which Manishtusu did in fact refer to a cloister (*gagû*, should be *gagiam*), or, is the wordplay reference to oracles (*adîn*) and divination (*kakku-mark*)?

(13-18, wordplays in parentheses) *Za-BE-tam a-mu-ur-ma li-BE-tám a-na na-ri-im a-dí-ma i-na lá-sâ-mì-a mu-Za-ri i-BE-tí-iK-ma Za-ar-a-am áš-ta-kâ-an-ma al-sú-ma Za-BE-tám aş-ba-at li-BE-tám i-ma-e ú-šé-li* “I saw a gazelle (tavern keeper), I cast a ... (brick) into a river (a stela) and, while I was running, my trousers (my inscription) split (was formed) and I put on (set up for all time) chain mail(?) (a lie) and I caught (filed suit against?) the gazelle (tavern keeper), I brought up (set up) the brick (...?) from (made from) the water.” Wordplay or confusion between “gazelle” and “tavern keeper” occurs already in the OB “Baby-Beschwörungen” (W. Farber, *Schlaf, Kindchen, Schlaf!* [1989], 157). The meaning and very existence of OAssy *lipittu* are uncertain (Ahw suggested “etwa Arbeit(sbeanspruchung)”, which would fit the context very well, but, as C. Michel points out to me, the entries for *lipittu* in the dictionaries need to be reassigned to other lemmata and readings). Sargon casts it into a river and a brick is formed (ptq), which he brings out of the water later. The resulting handiwork is, by wordplay, his mu-sar “inscription,” using a humorous scholastic etymology *mu=mâ'u* and *sar=sarru*, hence something like “falsehood made/in/with water” (just as the brick/handiwork? was), the context allowing a further wordplay on *nârum* “river” and *nârû* “stela”, and perhaps *nâdû* “cast” and *nâdû* “stela”. The broken spelling *sa-ar-a-am* may recall the Sumerian spelling of Sargon (*Sar-um-GI*) and reinforce the wordplay on his name. That the author had seen a Sargonic Sumerian inscription in school may also be suggested by the spelling *A-ki-dí-e*, which, allowing for Assyrian vowel harmony, is nearer Nippur Ag-gi-dê than OAkk *A-ga-dê* ; a Sumerian original would explain his use of mu-sar, the word for “inscription” in genuine

Sargonic inscriptions (borrowed directly into Akkadian by at least MB), for which the OAkk equivalent was DUB=tuppu (Kienast, FAOS 8 [1994], 310). Reference to the latter actually occurs near the end of this text (63), where the author says *mì-na-am i-tup-pì-im lu-ša-am-i-id* “why should I multiply/enlarge on (implication here: give multiple meaning to?) what is in a tablet (an inscription),” precisely what he has done throughout. His suggestion that Sargon put on chain mail is not so farfetched if one compares the OB Sargon legend in which a contingent “from the colony of Haššum” (an Assyrian anachronism?) was wearing iron (*šūt parzilli*), J. Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade* (1997), 66 (“from the marketplace”).

Wordplays in the banquet incident (19-43): (*i-iG-re-e* “be hostile”, “invite”, *ikiltum* “meal” “darkness”, *ummeānu/ummānu* “creditor” “army”) have already been noted, if not as such, by V, H, and D. The incident is, as V noted, derived from the genuine bilingual Sargonic inscription in which Sargon boasts 5400 men ate daily before him (Kienast, FAOS 8 [1994], 177), but, I suggest, enhanced by a wordplay of the Sargonic epithet *nā'i irtim lā iddinūšum* “to whom (Enlil) gave no rival” (Kienast, FAOS 8 [1994], 259), playfully reinterpreting it to mean “no one turning the breast(-meat before the fire)”; hence the hapless cook scorched (*ú-ri-ir-ma*) the roast, as H saw. Small wonder that Sargon pleads for ample food deliveries at the end, instead of providing them himself, as kings should.

As for the story line, the incident of the creation of Sargon’s inscription begins with Sargon running, perhaps inspired by a scholastic etymology of one of his genuine titles, PA.KAS<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>INANNA, taking lúkas<sub>4</sub>=*lāsimu* “runner,” hence, the *mise-en-scène* finds Sargon acting as (Ishtar’s) heroic runner. Another Mesopotamian hero, Gilgamesh, “ran” (*rapādu*) through the steppe, like Sargon, wearing out his clothes in the process (*lubuštī iqṭī*, X 258, using line numbering of Parpola, SACT 1 [1997]), a picturesque detail not present in other Mesopotamian heroic runs. He too meets a *sabītum*, and throws objects into a river (not the sea, even though Ur-Shanabi had crossed the sea in his boat, so the SB Gilgamesh version of this story is, like the flood, not seamless); later Gilgamesh dives down and brings up the thorny plant, then returns to admire his brickwork (*libittu!*). Curiously, Gilgamesh also gives a different genealogy for Enkidu from that of the main narrative, saying his mother was a gazelle (VIII 3). Thus the same story, perhaps some well-known fairy tale, used in the epic, is surely alluded to as well in the Sargon parody, with some of the key elements reinterpreted, perhaps with humorous intent; did the hypothetical original hero running in *déshabilé* in the wilderness, for example, meet a gazelle, who gave him good advice?

With respect to the probability of parody, Gilgamesh and Sargon have further in common that they are both putative senders of parody letters (J. Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade* [1997], Chapter 5; Kraus, AnSt 30 [1980], 109-21). Parody is further known for the OB period in the spoof incantation against a bleating goat (so Foster, *Before the Muses* [1996], II.32).

With respect to wordplay in the 19th century B.C., a contemporaneous adroit use of may be found in the petition from an anonymous priest (Van Dijk, UVB 18 [1960], 61-2, W 19900,1 plates 20d, f; copy 28c), an effort worthy of Adad-šuma-uṣur: the “true shepherd” of “propitious name” (Sin-kashid), prophesied by the goddess, has actually “prevailed/arrived” (*ikšudu*); he “came out here from Ur” (a reference to the theophoric element in his name, if not to his actual origin, *ina Urimki ú-si-a-am*), so that the king of propitious name should live up to his name by realizing the goddess’s desires (*likšud*).

However the individual instances are weighed, the preponderance of the evidence is that the Old Assyrian Sargon piece is a deliberate parody of the “grand tradition” of Agade, in which a humorous double or multiple meaning for a pseudo-Sargonic inscription is constructed, using bilingual Sargonic inscriptions the parodist had probably read in school, humorous lexical equivalences, and wordplays. It takes its place with OB and later parodies, some also treating of Sargon. After graduating from school, the parodist, if he was identical with the tablet owner, probably went into his family’s mercantile business, thus depriving Akkadian literature of an original talent.

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**83) Reused columns in the ‘Stelenreihen’** – The Ashur royal stelae were described by W. Andrae in *Die Stelenreihen in Assur* (Leipzig, 1913). New ideas about why the stelae came to be set up where they were found, roughly in a line outside Shalmaneser III’s inner city wall, were suggested in an article by P. Miglus, ‘Another Look at the “Stelenreihen in Assur” (ZA 74 [1984], pp.133-140). He concluded that they were most likely repositioned at the time of Shalmaneser III (p.136) but had originally stood in a temple (p.138). Being holy objects the Assyrians did not want to throw them away, but from time to time they needed more space in the temple and so had to relocate them. Miglus suggested that, prior to Shalmaneser III, redundant stelae had been transferred from temples to an area slightly further east which could have been within the pre-Shalmaneser walls of the outer town. At Shalmaneser’s rebuilding of the walls the kings’ stelae would have been moved to the location where they were discovered, which would then have been within the new outer wall (pp.136-7). A

significantly later date than Shalmaneser seems unlikely because no building remains were found in this area (it is unlikely that an area within the city walls would have remained empty for a long time). Despite this valid point, other factors make the Shalmaneser III date questionable.

Three of the stelae were made from reused columns : No.15 of the Shamshi-Adad (IV), son of Tiglath-pileser (I), and the nearby Nos.16 & 17 whose inscriptions are illegible but which were attributed by Andrae to Ashurnasirpal I and Ashur-bel-kala. The columns had integral capitals and were used upside-down with their capitals buried in the ground. The shape of No 17 is unclear (Andrae, fig.36). The capital of No.16 flares outwards and has a series of sockets, perhaps for inserting decorative elements (Andrae, fig.34). No.15 has a leaf decoration with two leaves folding downwards, two more short ones sprouting sideways, and possibly further decoration above although this was broken off (Andrae, figs.29-31). The column part is eight sided with the sides slightly concave. A similar floral design of capital is illustrated on a relief of Ashurbanipal from Nineveh showing a garden scene with pavilion (J. Reade, *Assyrian Sculpture*, London, 1983, p.36). These unusual designs are not encountered elsewhere, and presumably represent an advanced stage of Assyrian column design. But, when did Assyrian architects begin to use columns?

Wooden posts with decorative capitals for use in tents, pavilions or baldachins, are known from illustrations of the ninth century or earlier ; e.g. on a relief showing Ashurnasirpal II's military camp (Reade, p.29), similarly on the Balawat gates (L. King, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser...*, London 1915, Pl.1 etc), and for Babylonia there is a stone tablet of Nabu-apla-iddina showing Shamash seated under a baldachin (e.g. H. Frankfort, *Art and Architecture ...*, Yale, 19704, fig.231). A mid-eighth century columned porch, presumably with wooden columns, is mentioned in a text of Tiglath-Pileser III (*CAD* vol.6, p.184, see under *hilanu*). A few columns are known from Sargon's late eighth century capital, Dur Sharrukin (G. Loud, *Khorsabad II*, Chicago, 1938, pp. 30-32). Residence L had a columned portico with the lower parts of the columns still in place, but they were made of brick! Palace F had a two columned porch in which very large stone column bases were found. Unfortunately there was no evidence as to what the columns were made of. There were a few other column bases and one piece of stone column which Loud suggested was a post-Sargon addition (p.32). A lake-side building with columns and capitals is shown on a Dur Sharrukin relief (P. Botta & E. Flandin, *Monuments de Ninive II*, Paris 1849, Pl.114). There is also textual evidence for Sargon's columns, stating that he built a *bit-hilani* with four huge cedar columns on bases of bronze lion colossi (Luckenbill, *ARAB II*, para.84). It is clear that at Dur Sharrukin, columns were still in a new and experimental phase, and were not normally made of stone. By the seventh century column bases became much more common in the palaces at Nimrud (J. Oates & D. Oates, *Nimrud...*, London 2001, pp. 75-7) and Nineveh. It therefore seems unlikely that advanced stone column designs were in use in Assyria before the seventh century and very unlikely that the Shamshi-Adad IV column stela can be dated to his own time in the eleventh century. The column stelae could be replacements for lost or broken stelae or they could have been produced to complete the sequence of kings in the Assyrian king-list.

Thus, contrary to Miglus' dating to Shalmaneser III for the arrangement of the stelae, many of them could have not been set up in Shalmaneser's time :

- 1) the three column stelae (No.15, 16 & 17) must be seventh century,
- 2) the three queen stelae (Nos.. 1, 4 a,d 5) are all post Shalmaneser III
- 3) the stelae of Ashurnasirpal II (No.6) would hardly have been removed from its temple *in* the time of his son Shalmaneser,
- 4) the stela of Eriba-Adad (No.27, well to the east of the other stelae) was thought by Miglus to have been left in Middle Assyrian deposits at the time of Shalmaneser's rebuilding (Miglus, p.136).

This would only leave about five of the legible royal stelae for Shalmaneser to reposition. I therefore suggest that, despite the above mentioned problem of the lack of previous occupation remains in this area, the row of royal stelae were set up in the seventh century. In the time of Ashurnasirpal there was much interest in history and literature — this period would better suit the idea of a line of royal stelae in historical sequence.

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**84) Is Ugaritic *s/šgr* a loan-word from Akkadian via Hurrian? –** In an article published recently (JSS 47 [2002] 203-207), I examined the obscure Ugaritic term *s/šgr* in the contexts where it occurs and also put forward a new proposal on the basis of Mehri (and Harsusi). On receiving an offprint, Joseph Tropper drew my attention to the fact that in Mehri *s* is a lateral and therefore could not correspond to Ug. *s/š*. In addition, it is now apparent that in Mehri the verb *šgr* has a quite different meaning from the one given in the article.<sup>1</sup> This means, in effect, that the comparison proposed there must be relinquished.

While it is generally accepted that Ug. *s/sgr* corresponds to Akk. *suhāru*, “(male) child, adolescent ; servant, subordinate, employee” (CAD S, 231) ; “Knabe, Jüngling, junger Mann ; Diener, Angestellter” (AHw, 1109), “boy, male child, servant” (CDA, 340), possibly with the more specific meaning of “manservant, servant ; shepherd-boy”<sup>2</sup>, the problem of the initial emphatic sibilant remains. It is possible, therefore, that instead, Ug. *sgr* or *šgr* can be explained by Akk. *suhīru*, “young of an animal”, i.e. of a donkey or horse (CAD S, 349) ; *suhīru, suherra* (churr. Lw.), “Jungesel, Fohlen” (AHw, 1054b) ; “foal” (CDA, 326 < Hurr.)<sup>3</sup> and mean “youngster” or the like.

However, it is perhaps more feasible, as Joseph Tropper suggested when I mentionned Akk. *suhīru*, that Akk. *suhāru* may have been borrowed by Hurrian (where the initial sibilant was no longer emphatic and Akk. *h* became voiced) and from Hurrian passed to Ugaritic (as *sgr* or *šgr*). This would make sense phonologically. The word *suhīru*, mentioned above, is probably another example of an Akkadian word borrowed by Hurrian<sup>4</sup>.

If this is the case, then we may conclude that Ug. *s/sgr* is an Akkadian loanword (i.e. *suhāru*), which was transmitted to Ugaritic via Hurrian, and because it seems to have been used exclusively in Ugaritic texts in connection with shepherds (cf. KTU 4.129 ; 4.243, etc.), the term probably had the specialised meaning “shepherd-boy”.

1. Personal communication courtesy of Dr Alexander Sima (Heidelberg) transmitted via P. D. Joseph Tropper (Berlin). My thanks to both scholars for their help.

2. G. del Olmo Lete – J. Sanmartín, *A dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition* (translated by W. G. E. Watson) (HDO I/67 ; Leiden 2002) 755.

3. Akk. *suhīru* also occurs as a PN (ADD 412 r. 12).

4. Possibly reflected in the Ug. PN *s̄hr* (KTU 4.65 :8 ; 4.331 :6 ; 4.422 ii 4).

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**85) Collation of AO 8864 (TCL 16 88), a ms. of Iddin-Dagan B (2.5.3.2)<sup>1</sup>** – This note aims to make public the regrettably modest results of my collation of AO 8864 which I carried out in the Louvre during the summer of 2002.<sup>2</sup> The six-sided prism is in worse condition than on de Genouillac’s copy, although it was recently restored and cleaned. Since the copy was made, a number of surface flakes have gone lost and numerous signs have worn off, especially on col. i and ii, leaving little room for improvements in readings. The numbers in brackets refer to the line count of the ETCSL edition.

ii 7’ (= 16) : The traces of the last sign suggest a SUM (see below the drawing of the sign). In i 14’ (=8) the SUM sign (read as *sig<sub>10</sub>*) looks similar on the tablet. L.16 is thus to be read as

ṭd<sub>1</sub>-di-din-ṭda-gan za-ra mu-ra-an-ṭšum<sub>2</sub>

Ll. 14-16 of Iddin-Dagan B can thus be rendered as “Enki has given to you, Iddin-Dagan, broad understanding, knowledge of everything, wise command, a life (?) that comes from the mouth of a lion.”

iii 21 (= 36) : The last sign of the line is a clear E, the end of which is missing (see below the drawing of the sign). The verbal form is thus to be read as *mu-ṭun-til<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>1</sub>*.

iv 16 (= 46) : See below the drawing of the sign after HE<sub>2</sub>.

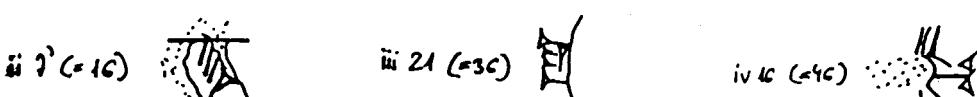
vi 10 (= 72) : the MU sign shown as broken off on de Genouillac’s copy is now on the tablet before RA. The verbal form is thus to be read as *mu-ra-an-ṭge<sub>4</sub>-en<sub>1</sub>*.

vi 19 (=77) : The last sign of the line is TUM<sub>3</sub>. The verbal form is to be read as *mu-ṭri-tum<sub>3</sub>*. A close parallel to vi 18-19 (= 76-77) is provided by l. 8 of Šulgi B (2.4.2.02), quoted after the ETCSL edition :

niḡ<sub>2</sub>-nam-ma ḡestug<sub>2</sub> eḡer-ra-bi, igi-še<sub>3</sub> mu-ṭri-tum<sub>3</sub> (vi 18-19)

ḡestug<sub>2</sub> eḡer-ra-bi igi-še<sub>3</sub> mu-un-na-de<sub>6</sub> (Šulgi B 8)

For the alternance of DU with tum<sub>3</sub> and de<sub>2</sub> in mss. of literary texts, see Attinger, ELS 184 (§ 118, 1°).



1. The composition was edited by Römer in SKIZ 209-235. An electronic edition of Iddin-Dagan B (composite transliteration and an English translation) is included in the Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (<http://www-etcsl.orient.ox.ac.uk>). The composition's catalogue number is 2.5.3.2 For the most up-to-date list of mss., see Tinney, *Iraq* 61 (1999), 171.

2. I would like to thank Dr Béatrice André-Salvini for her hospitality.

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**86) Pietre dure semipreziose ad Ebla. 1 : *wa-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-tum* // ŠÈ-li, “pietra verde”** – Il termine eblaita *wa-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-tum*, che può essere spiegato tramite il sem. \**wrq*, “essere verde”,<sup>1</sup> è noto come qualifica di *gu*, “fili (di lino)”, in un passo di un testo amministrativo che registra vari mu-DU, “apporti”, da parte di importanti regni : [1] MEE 12 3 r. XI :8 - v.I:7 : 21 gada-túg mu<sub>4</sub><sup>mu</sup> / 5 gada-túg *kir-na-nu* / 1 fú-túg 1 šu-kešda gada-túg / 10 lá-3 ma-na urudu / 1 izi-gar / 3 ma-na urudu / 1 níg-bànda 1 giš-šu<sub>4</sub> / 1 ha-ra na<sub>4</sub> / 2 an-zam<sub>x</sub> si / 7 zú LAGABxA / 1 KA-ma / 5 *gu* si<sub>4</sub> / 5 *gu* *wa-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-tum* / mu-DU / en / *DU-lu<sup>ki</sup>*. La parola è stata finora interpretata semplicemente come designazione di un colore.<sup>2</sup> Tuttavia, sulla base del contesto questo termine sembra potersi considerare come l'equivalente semitico del sumerogramma ŠÈ-li ed indicare, pertanto, il nome di una pietra dura semipreziosa verde.

Per la comprensione del sumerogramma ŠÈ-li, il dato fondamentale viene dalla liste lessicali MEE 3 45+46 e 61. Seguendo l'interpretazione di M. Civil,<sup>3</sup> ŠÈ-li za ha come fonetico semitico ù-ra-gú. Da ciò si deduce che ŠÈ-li è il nome di una pietra (za). Difficilmente, quindi, šu-gu-mu-mu, che è la traduzione di ŠÈ-li nella lista lessicale bilingue eblaita (VE 1171, fonti A<sub>2</sub> et B), può essere spiegata tramite l'accadico šagammu, “cardine superiore (della porta)”,<sup>4</sup> né appare pertinente il riferimento all'accadico šuqammumu, “essere forte”.<sup>5</sup> Purtroppo, la glossa eblaita di VE 1171 non risulta per il momento interpretabile.

L'identificazione con una pietra dura semipreziosa si adatta, del resto, anche alle attestazioni di ŠÈ-li nei testi amministrativi eblaiti. In [2-4], ŠÈ-li è qualificazione, come *wa-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-tum* in [1], di *gu*, i “fili (di lino)”, in cui verosimilmente le pietre erano infilate e chè è possibile ne costituissero anche l'unità di misura oppure fossero utilizzati come elementi decorativi delle vesti.<sup>6</sup> Questi oggetti preziosi sono una presenza costante degli “apporti” (mu-DU) delle città di *DU-lu<sup>ki</sup>* e *du-gú-ra-su<sup>ki</sup>*.<sup>7</sup> È noto un solo caso [9], in cui la città di provenienza è Mari. Oltre a *gu* ŠÈ-li, ricorrono in questi contesti [1-4, 9-14] *gu si<sub>4</sub>(-si<sub>4</sub>)*, “fili di (perle di) corniola rossa”,<sup>8</sup> *gu nab-ḥu* (var. <sup>n</sup>a *nab<sub>x</sub>(MUL)-ḥu*), “fili di (perle di) cristallo di rocca”,<sup>9</sup> *gu kù-sig<sub>17</sub> zà:gin*, “fili di (perle di) oro e lapislazuli”. Esistono, inoltre, *gu* qualificati come *gišir-zú*, “(un colorante) giallo”,<sup>10</sup> termine che solitamente indica la colorazione dei tessuti. Si potrebbe trattare di “fili” tinteggiati, ma più probabilmente, visti i casi precedenti, di “fili” composti di perle, magari in pietra di colore neutro, poi dipinte con quel colorante”.<sup>11</sup>

In [5], ŠÈ-li è qualificazione di *dib*, “placchetta(?)”, che si suppone pertanto realizzata o decorata con questa stessa pietra. Caratteristica costante di questo gioiello eblaita era, infatti, quella di essere lavorato, oltre che in legno e metallo prezioso, anche con pietre dure semipreziose, come è possibile dedurre dai testi amministrativi che elencano *dib* in “lapislazuli” e “corniola rossa” (KUR si<sub>4</sub>) in [17],<sup>12</sup> in “corno” o “avorio” (si) in [16],<sup>13</sup> o genericamente in “pietra” (na<sub>4</sub>) in [15] e [18].<sup>14</sup> In [6], ad essere decorate con la pietra ŠÈ-li sono, invece, le “briglie” (níg-anše-aka)<sup>15</sup> di un carro.

Sostanzialmente diversi risultano essere i passi [7] e [8], che menzionano la dazione di 4 sicli d'argento ad alcuni artigiani per la “lavorazione” (UNKEN-aka) della pietra ŠÈ-li, in un caso esplicitamente impiegata per decorare il tempio del dio d'ā-da.

Anche se questi testi sembrano a nostro giudizio stabilire che ŠÈ-li era una pietra dura semipreziosa, la sua identificazione resta, comunque, difficile. Certamente l'interpretazione di ù-ra-gú di MEE 3 61 fornisce un'indicazione importante. M. Civil notava che essa “could represent a form of the roots *wrq*, «to be green» or *'rq*, «to be long», con una identificazione con *u-ra-ku-um* dei testi di Ur III e con *urāku* dei testi paleobabilonesi di Mari.<sup>16</sup> Data la documentazione eblaita, è preferibile una derivazione dal sem. \**wrq*. Infatti, una interpretazione \**wurqu(m)* di ù-ra-gú è formalmente accettabile, considerando, per la resa di /w/ e /q/, l'uso di segni come ù et gú, più generici rispetto a *wu* e *gu*. Questa interpretazione è, inoltre, appoggiata dall'attestazione di *waruqātum* nel passo [1]. Pertanto, il fatto che le traduzioni semitiche della pietra ŠÈ-li fossero realizzate attraverso forme derivate di \**wrq*, “essere verde”, pare almeno assicurare che questa pietra aveva un colore verde.

PASSI CITATI :

- [1] MEE 12 3 r.XI:8 - v.I:7 : 21 gada-túg mu<sub>4</sub><sup>mu</sup> / 5 gada-túg kir-na-nu / 1 fb-túg 1 šu-kešda gada-túg / 10 lá-3 ma-na urudu / 1 izi-gar / 3 ma-na urudu / 1 níg-bànda 1 giš-šu<sub>4</sub> / 1 ha-ra na<sub>4</sub> / 2 an-zam<sub>x</sub> si / 7 zú LAGABxA / 1 KA-ma / 5 gu si<sub>4</sub> / 5 gu wa-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-tum / mu-DU / en / DU-lu<sup>ki</sup>
- [2] ARET III 484 I:2'-4' : 2 gada-túg kir-na-nu tur / 3 gu nab-hu ŠÈ-li / [x]-[x] [...]
- [3] ARET VIII 528 (= MEE 5 8) v. VI:8 - VII:11 : 2 ma-na ša-pi kù-sig<sub>17</sub> / 21 ma-na urudu / 1 izi-gar / 11 ma-na TAR urudu / 2 giš-šu<sub>4</sub> 1 níg-bànda / 4 giš-šu<sub>4</sub> 4 an-zam<sub>x</sub> nab-hu / 5 zú AN.LAGABxHAL / 4 gu nab-hu / 20 gu si<sub>4</sub> / 8 mi< at > 50 gu // ŠÈ-li / 3 kir-na-nu gíd / 12 kir-na-nu lugud-da / 40 lá-2 kir-na-nu tur / 26<sup>7</sup> gada-túg mah<sub>4</sub> / 16 gada-túg tur hul / 14 si-am / mu-DU / du-gú-ra-su<sup>ki</sup> / in / a-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>
- [4] TM.75.G.1556 v. VII:15 - VIII:9:<sup>17</sup> 4 gín DILMUN kù-sig<sub>17</sub> // (...) / 3 gada-túg / 1 gu-si<sub>4</sub>\* / 1 gu na\*na<sup>r</sup>b<sub>x</sub>(MUL)\*1-1<sup>r</sup>gu\*1 / 20 gu ŠÈ-li / mu-DU : du-gú-ra-su<sup>ki</sup> / ama-gal / en
- [5] ARET III 736 VI:1'-2' : [...] / 1 dib ŠÈ-li / 1 glír? ..] / [...]
- [6] MEE 12 35 v. III:56 - IV:3:15 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / šu-bal-aka / 3 kù-sig<sub>17</sub> / ni-zi-mu / 2 níg-anše-aka ŠÈ-li
- [7] MEE 10 29 v. IX:17-24 : 4 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / ag-ga / wa / ù-ru<sub>12</sub>-mi-du / UNKEN-aka / ŠÈ-li / é / d'<sup>2</sup>à-da.
- [8] TM.75.G.1559 r. IV:9-12:<sup>18</sup> 4 gín DILMUN kù:babbar / da-ma-ga-an / UNKEN-aka / ŠÈ-li
- [9] ARET VIII 528 (= MEE 5 8) v. IV:4-11 : 1 níg-lá-gaba 1 níg-lá-sag 1 aktum-túg 1 'à-da -um-túg-i 1 fb-iii-túg ma-ri<sup>ki</sup> / 1 'à-da-um-túg-i / lú dam / 3 gu kù-sig<sub>17</sub> za-gín / mu-DU / lugal / ma-ri<sup>ki</sup> / en
- [10] ARET VIII 528 (= MEE 5 8) v. III:20 - IV:7 : 1 gada-túg mu<sub>4</sub><sup>mu</sup> / 2 kir-na-nu / 2 gu nab-hu / mu-DU / DU-lu<sup>ki</sup> / ma-lik-tum / in / 'à-da-NIKi
- [11] MEE 2 1 v. VII:6-11 : 16 gada-túg / 5 zú / 10 lá-1 gu si<sub>4</sub>-si<sub>4</sub> / mu-DU / ar-ra-ti-lu / DU-lu<sup>ki</sup>
- [12] TM.75.G.2341 v. VI:9-11:<sup>19</sup> 3 gu si<sub>4</sub> 3 gu GI\* 1 gu nab-hu / mu-DU / ar<sup>l</sup>-ra-ti-lu / en
- [13] TM.75.G.10026 r. VI:3-6:<sup>20</sup> 1<sup>21</sup> gu-gu / <sup>n</sup>a nab<sub>x</sub>(MUL)-hu gišir-zú / mu-DU / DU-lu<sup>ki</sup>
- [14] TM.75.G.10026 r. VII:7 - VIII:4:<sup>21</sup> 6 gu-gu <sup>n</sup>a nab<sub>x</sub>(MUL)-hu gišir-zú / 5 gu-gu si<sub>4</sub>-si<sub>4</sub> hul 30 gu-gu si<sub>4</sub>-si<sub>4</sub> sa<sub>6</sub> / 4 mu-DU / DU-lu<sup>ki</sup>
- [15] ARET VI:49 (= MEE 12 17) r. I:1 - II:1 : ša-pi kù-sig<sub>17</sub> / 1 dib na<sub>4</sub> / il-ba-um / 50 kù-sig<sub>17</sub> / 1 gú-lí-lum na<sub>4</sub> / du-ur-NI
- [16] ARET VIII 528 (= MEE 5 8) r. III:9-14 : ša-pi-3 ku-sig<sub>17</sub> / 1 dib si / 1 ma-na TAR kù-sig<sub>17</sub> / NU<sub>11</sub>-za 1 an-dùl sagi / 1 si nídba kù-sig<sub>17</sub> / ir-'à-ag-da-mu
- [17] ARET VIII 539 (= MEE 5 19) v. VII:4-16 : 3 ma-na kù:babbar / šu-bal-aka / ša-pi-6 kù-sig<sub>17</sub> 4 / 1 dib KUR si<sub>4</sub> / 2 m-na kù:babbar / šu-bal-aka / ša-pi-6 kù-sig<sub>17</sub> / 1 fb-lá 1 si-ti-tum 1 gír kun / en / ù-ti-gú<sup>ki</sup> / é / i-bi-zi-kir / šu-ba<sub>4</sub>-ti
- [18] ARET VIII 540 (= MEE 5 20) r. VII:16 - VIII:5:3 'à-da-um-túg-ii 3 aktum-túg 3 fb-iii-túg sa<sub>6</sub> gùn 1 ma-na 11 kù-sig<sub>17</sub> / 1 dib na<sub>4</sub> / 50 kù-sig<sub>17</sub> / 1 dib na<sub>4</sub> / ša-pi-5 kù-sig<sub>17</sub> / 1 dib na<sub>4</sub> / níg-ba / en kiš<sup>ki</sup> / wa / dumu-nita-SÙ / ir-gum-NU-NU / kiš<sup>ki</sup> / in-ma-lik / lú ib-rí-um / šu-mu-taka<sub>4</sub>

1. Come proposto da G. Pettinato, *Le città fenicie e Byblos in particolare nella documentazione epigrafica di Ebla*, in *Atti del I Congresso internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici*, Roma 1983, p. 115, e ribadito da M. Bonechi, *Studies on the Architectonic and Topographic Terms in the Ebla Texts*, I, WdO 30 (1999), p. 28, e da H. Waetzoldt, *MEE* 12, Roma 2001, p. 67. Per il sem. \*wrq ed il relativo semantismo, si veda G. Conti, *Rapporti tra egiziano e semitico nel lessico egiziano dell'agricoltura*, Firenze 1978, pp. 42-48.

2. Si veda ultimamente H. Waetzoldt, *MEE* 12, p. 43, “gelbgrüne ‘Fäden’”.

3. M. Civil, *The Early History of ḪAR-ra : The Ebla Link*, in L. Cagni (ed.), *Ebla 1975-1985*, Napoli 1987, p. 143, linea 60 del sinossi.

4. Si veda M. Civil, *Ebla 1975-1985*, p. 152. Di conseguenza non risultano adeguate le traduzioni “hinges”. (P. Mander, *MEE* 10, Roma 1990, pp. 158 e 168, con lettura sè-li) e “baldacchino(?)”. (G. Pettinato, *MEE* 5, Roma 1995, pp. 160 e 165), con lettura éš-li, già proposta da E. Sollberger, *ARET* VIII, Roma 1986, p. 55, con traduzione “perhaps ‘rope-maker’”). Non traduce H. Waetzoldt, *MEE* 12, p. 311.

5. Secondo la proposta di K. Butz, *Bilinguismus als Katalysator*, in L. Cagni (ed.), *Il Bilinguismo a Ebla*, Napoli 1984, p. 120.

6. A Mari, secondo J.-M. Durand, *ARMT XXI*, Paris 1982, p. 240, il termine indicava “le « fil » (rang) où sont enfilés les divers constituants du collier ou de la ceinture”..

7. Per alcune osservazioni preliminari circa la peculiarità dei mu-DU di questi regni, si veda già J. Pasquali, *La terminologia semitica dei tessili nei testi di Ebla*, MisEb 4, Firenze 1997, p. 244.

8. Il sumerogramma si<sub>4</sub>(-si<sub>4</sub>), che nella lista monolingue precede immediatamente za:giñ (*MEE* 3 r. VIII:9-10), indica un tipo di pietra dura semipreziosa nota in una forma grande (mah) e in una forma piccola (tur), come si deduce da *ARET* VII 147, la cui identificazione è tuttora oggetto di discussione. Le interpretazioni finora offerte sono due : “corallo” (A. Archi, *ARET* I, Roma 1985, p. 302, e F. D'Agostino, *MEE* 7, Roma 1996, p. 135) oppure “corniola di colore rosso chiaro” (P. Fronzaroli, *A propos de quelques mots éblaïtes d'orfèvrerie*, in Ö Tunca (ed.), *Tablettes et images aux pays de Sumer et d'Akkad. Mélanges offerts à Monsieur H. Limet*, Liège 1996, p. 68), non offrendo finora i testi amministrativi prove sostanziali per preferire l'una ol'altra di queste traduzioni. L'evidenza archeologica, tuttavia, induce a favorire l'identificazione di questa pietra con un tipo di “corniola”, dato che perle realizzate con essa sono state ampiamente rinvenute in numero notevole, assieme a perle di lapislazuli

e cristallo di rocca, negli scavi del Palazzo Reale di Ebla (per cui si veda F. Pinnock, *Le perle del palazzo reale G*, Roma 1993, pp. 13-14).

9. Per questa interpretazione, si veda J. Pasquali, *Pietre dure semipreziose ad Ebla. 2 : nab-hu, <sup>na</sup>nab<sub>x</sub>(MUL)-hu, na-ba-hu* “cristallo di rocca”, *NABU* 2002.

10. Per l'interpretazione di questo termine come un nome dal sem. occidentale \*wrs, “essere giallo”. (arabo warasa, “essere di colore giallo”, e wars, “una pianta da cui si ricava un colorante giallo”), si veda J. Pasquali, *MisEb* 4, pp. 238-240.

11. Per l'uso di dipingere con coloranti le pietre nel Vicino Oriente antico, si veda, ad esempio, R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, vol. III, Leiden 1993, p. 249.

12. Le grafie KUR.KUR e KUR possono considerarsi come varianti o grafie abbreviate per za : gin, “lapislazuli”. Secondo M. Civil, *Ebla 1975-1985*, p. 145, l'omissione di za nei nomi di pietre nelle fonti semitiche indicherebbe che il segno era un determinativo. Per si<sub>4</sub>(-si<sub>4</sub>), “corniola rossa”, si veda la bibliografia citata sopra.

13. Per l'interpretazione del sumerogramma si in alcune occasioni come “avorio” nella documentazione eblaita, si vedano ora anche F. D'Agostino, *MEE* 7, p. 99, e H. Wetzoldt, *MEE* 12, p. 63. È dato acquisito che almeno in epoca successiva l'avorio arrivasse nel Vicino Oriente dall'Africa attraverso l'Egitto oppure dalla Valle dell'Indo tramite il commercio mesopotamico (si veda, ad esempio, I. Winter, *North Syria in the Early First Millennium B.C., with Special Reference to Ivory Carving*, New York, 1973, pp. 262-263). Tuttavia, è oramai accettata da molti studiosi l'esistenza di una varietà siriana dell'elefante asiatico sopravvissuta per tutta la metà del II millennio a.C. e di cui sono stati rivenuti gli scheletri ad Ugarit e ad Alalah (si vedano in proposito R. D. Barnett, *Ancient Ivories in the Middle East and Adjacent Countries*, Jerusalem 1983, p. 6, e E. Gubel, *Phoenician Furniture*, Leuven 1983, p. 21).

14. Si può pensare che gli scribi ricorressero a questo termine generico quando non erano in grado di stabilire di che pietra esattamente si trattasse.

15. Per una discussione di questo termine e delle sue attestazioni, si veda G. Conti, *Carri ed equipaggi nei testi di Ebla*, *MisEb* 4, Firenze 1997, pp. 45 ss.

16. M. Civil, *Ebla 1975-1985*, pp. 152 e 158. Si consideri anche il termine accadico *urrīqum*, che “could denote a precious stone (<sup>na<sup>4</sup></sup>SIG<sub>7</sub>.SIG<sub>7</sub>)”, come osserva W. F. Leemans, *Ishtar of Lagaba and her Dress*, Leiden 1952, p. 11, n. 40.

17. Citato da G. Pettinatto - F. D'Agostino, *TIE A 1/2*, Roma 1996, p. 119. Integrazioni sulla base dei passi paralleli.

18. Edito da A. Archi, *I rapporti tra Ebla e Mari*, *SEB* 4 (1981), pp. 155 ss.

19. Citato da A. Archi, *Minima eblaitica I*, *NABU* 1988/44. Si ringrazia per la collazione il prof. P. Fronzaroli.

20. Citato da A. Archi, *NABU* 1988/44. Si ringrazia per la collazione il prof. P. Fronzaroli.

21. Citato da A. Archi, *NABU* 1988/44. Si ringrazia per la collazione il prof. P. Fronzaroli.

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**87) Pietre dure semipreziose ad Ebla. 2 : nab-hu, <sup>na</sup>nab<sub>x</sub>(MUL)-hu, na-ba-hu, “cristallo di rocca”** – La grafia eblaita *nab-hu*, di cui sono note anche le varianti <sup>na</sup>nab<sub>x</sub>(MUL)-hu, na-ba-hu, è già stata spiegata da E. Sollberger tramite l'accadico *naphum*, “splendente, lucente”,<sup>1</sup> dal sem. \*nph, radice di ampia attestazione, derivante da una base bilittera \*np, “soffiare; oscillare”, variamente ampliata, il cui significato primario in tutte le lingue che l'attestano è quello di “soffiare”.<sup>2</sup> Questo significato si ritrova nella lista lessicale bilingue eblaita in *VE* 229, KA.A.SI = na-ba-hu(-um) (fonti C e D), *ma-ba-hu-um* (fonti A e B), rispettivamente *napālum*, “soffiare”, e *mappālum*, “mantice”.<sup>3</sup> La radice, quando applicata ad esempio al fuoco e agli astri, presenta anche il significato secondario di “accendere; attizzare”, e quindi “ardere”, “splendere”, “brillare”. Come tale, nelle liste lessicali mesopotamiche è equivalente al sumerico mul ed è sinonimo dell'accadico *nabātu* (*CAD*, N/1, pp. 263 s.).

Nei testi amministrativi eblaiti disponibili, il termine qualifica gu, “filo (di lino)”, in [1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10], i vasi an-zam<sub>x</sub> e giš-šu<sub>4</sub> in [3] e [6], ed un pugnale (gír) in [4]. Il pregiò degli oggetti è indicato dal loro inserimento in apporti (mu-DU) in favore della casa reale eblaita da parte per lo più dei regni di DU-luk<sub>i</sub> e du-gú-ra-su<sub>ki</sub>, apporti che in [2, 3, 6] hanno luogo esplicitamente nelle località di ’à-da-NI<sub>ki</sub> e a-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sub>ki</sub>, sede di importanti santuari, rispettivamente della coppia infera, formata da <sup>d</sup>ra-sa-ab e <sup>d</sup>a-dam-ma, e del dio ’a<sub>5</sub>-da-bal<sup>4</sup> e della sua paredra.

In questi contesti i gu sembrano potersi interpretare come “i fili (di lino)” in cui venivano infilate determinate pietre preziose e che probabilmente ne costituivano anche l'unità di misura oppure erano utilizzati come elementi decorativi delle vesti. Troviamo, infatti, gu qualificati come si<sub>4</sub>(-si<sub>4</sub>), “corniola rosso chiaro”, e za:gin, “lapislazzuli”, termini che con maggiore certezza indicano pietre dure semipreziose.<sup>5</sup> In ragione di ciò, è quindi, probabile, a nostro avviso, che anche il termine espresso dalle grafie *nab-hu*, <sup>na</sup>nab<sub>x</sub>(MUL)-hu e na-ba-hu debba analogamente interpretarsi non come un aggettivo,<sup>6</sup> ma piuttosto come il nome di una pietra dura semipreziosa: la “(pietra) splendente”. Ciò non è in contraddizione con in casi in cui la parola qualifica i vasi an-zam<sub>x</sub> e giš-šu<sub>4</sub> o il pugnale (gír). Si può supporre che questa pietra dura fosse il materiale in cui l'oggetto era realizzato o con cui era decorato. In [6], infatti, ad 1 giš-šu<sub>4</sub> *nab-hu* si oppongono 3 an-zam<sub>x</sub> si, vale a dire in “avorio” o “corno”.<sup>7</sup> Questi contenitori, più frequentemente realizzati in metallo o legno, potevano talvolta essere fatti anche in altro materiale come la pietra dura semipreziosa. Lo stessa

osservazione può essere ugualmente valida per i pugnali (gír), che almeno in caso nella documentazione nota [5], sembrano essere anch'essi provvisti ad esempio di parti in “avorio” o “corno” (si-si).

Questa interpretazione del termine eblaita come nome di una pietra dura semipreziosa è, inoltre, avvalorata della lettura *na nab<sub>x</sub>(MUL)-hu* qui avanzata per i passi [11] e [12]. In questi contesti, il termine risulta, infatti, indicare un bene non contato, oggetto di un “acquisto” (*nfg-sa<sub>10</sub>*). Più precisamente, in [11] viene assegnata una stoffa ad una persona di *kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-ul<sup>ki</sup>*, recatasi appositamente a *ga-ne-i<sup>š</sup>ki* per acquistare una quantità non precisata di *na nab<sub>x</sub>(MUL)-hu*, mentre in [12] 20 sicli d'argento sono il prezzo del *na nab<sub>x</sub>(MUL)-hu*, portato ad Ebla da *ga-ne-i<sup>š</sup>ki* sempre tramite un uomo di *kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-ul<sup>ki</sup>*. È allora possibile ritenere che le zone montuose limitrofe alla città anatolica di *ga-ne-i<sup>š</sup>ki* fossero quelle di origine e di smistamento di questo bene,<sup>8</sup> verosimilmente una pietra semipreziosa, che veniva appunto utilizzata per realizzare o decorare vasi e pugnali e che probabilmente veniva commercializzata raccolta in “fili” (gu). È possibile, data l'origine e la denominazione, identificare questo minerale con il “cristallo di roccia”, rinvenuto negli cavi eblaiti tra i materiali utilizzati per realizzare perle.<sup>9</sup> Sono stati rilevati, fino dal III millennio a.C., anche archeologicamente, un ampio uso e diffusione del cristallo di roccia presso le popolazioni anatoliche, che potevano facilmente reperire questa pietra nelle catene montuose di cui è ricco tutto il paese ed anche esportare, grezza o già lavorata in raffinati manufatti, verso la Siria-Palestina e la Mesopotamia. In Anatolia il cristallo di roccia veniva usato per realizzare, oltre a piccole sculture, soprattutto vasi, parti accessorie di pugnali, ma anche grani di collana ed elementi decorativi per vesti, ed era spesso associato alla corniola ed al lapislazuli.<sup>10</sup> Si tratta con evidenza degli stessi oggetti di cui parlano i sparsi citati testi eblaiti. I manufatti artistici in cristallo di roccia erano riservati spesso ai corredi funebri di personaggi d'alto rango dato il forte valore talismanico, connesso alla simbologia del potere, di cui la pietra godeva in ragione della sua limpidezza e del suo splendore.<sup>11</sup>

#### PASSI CITATI :

- [1] ARET III 484 I:2'-4': 2 gada-túg *kir-na-nu tur* / 3 *nab-hu* ŠÈ-li / [x]-x<sup>1</sup> [...]
  - [2] ARET VIII 528 (= MEE 5 8) v. V:20 - VI:7: 1 gada-túg *mu<sub>4</sub><sup>mu</sup>* / 2 *kir-na-nu* / 2 *gu nab-hu* / *mu-DU / DU-lu<sup>ki</sup>* / *ma-lik-tum* / *in* / 'à-da-NI<sup>ki</sup>
  - [3] ARET VIII 528 (= MEE 5 8) v. VI: 8 - VII:11 :2 *ma-na ša-pi kù-sig<sub>17</sub>* / 21 *ma-na urudu* / 1 *izi-gar* / 11 *ma-na TAR urudu* / 2 *giš-šu<sub>4</sub>* 1 *níg-bànda* / 4 *giš-šu<sub>4</sub>* 4 *an-zam<sub>x</sub> nab-hu* / 5 *zú AN.LAGABxHAL* / 4 *gu nab-hu* / 20 *gu si<sub>4</sub>* / 8 *mi<-at>* 50 *gu* // ŠÈ-li / 3 *kir-na-nu* *gíd* / 12 *kir-na-nu* *lugud-da* / 40 lá-2 *kir-na-nu tur* / 26' *gada-túg mah* / 16 *gada-túg tur hul* / 14 *si am* / *mu-DU / du-gú-ra-suki* / *in* / *a-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-du<sup>ki</sup>*
  - [4] MEE 2 16 r. V: 2 - v. III:4: 30 *ma-na kù- babbar* / 1 *ma-na kù-sig<sub>17</sub>* / 1 *gín DILMUN kù-sig<sub>17</sub>* / *bù-ga-na-a* / 1 *gír* / [n]a-ba-hu / 3 *gín DILMUN kù-sig<sub>17</sub>* / 5 *gín DILMUN gug<sub>x</sub>(GUL)* za:gín / 1 'à-da-um-túg 1 *ib-iii-túg* 1 *ib-i-[...]* / *níg-ba / en-na-da-gan / du-bí-šum ur<sub>4</sub>* / *i-péš-zí-nu / sá-gu-si* / 1 *šu-mu-taka<sub>4</sub>* / *ir-ra-ku<sup>ki</sup>*
  - [5] MEE 7 34 r. XVIII:7-11 : 1 *ma-na nagga / UNKEN-aka / f<sup>x</sup> mi-at gír mar-tu zabar / f<sup>x</sup> ma-na f<sup>x</sup> gín DILMUN kù:babar / níg-sa<sub>10</sub> / si-si-SÙ*
  - [6] MEE 12 3 r. X:8-17:<sup>12</sup> 3 *gada-túg kir-na-nu* / 2 *si am* / 1 *giš-šu<sub>4</sub> nab-hu* / 3 *an-zam<sub>x</sub> si* / *mu-DU / a-'à -w[a] / du-gú-ra-suki* / *in* / 'à -da-NI<sup>ki</sup> / *lú dAMA-ra*
  - [7] TM.75.G.1556 v. VII:15 - VIII:9:<sup>13</sup> 14 *gín DILMUN kù-sig<sub>17</sub>* // (...) / 3 *gada-túg* / 1 *gu-si<sub>4</sub>\** / 1 *gu na nab<sub>x</sub>(MUL)\*1-f<sup>x</sup> hu\* / 20 *gu ŠÈ-li / mu-DU / du-gú-ra-suki* / *ama-gal / en**
  - [8] TM.75.G.2341 v. VI:9-11:<sup>14</sup> 3 *gu si<sub>4</sub>* 3 *gu GI\** 1 *gu nab-hu* / *mu-DU / farl-ra-ti-lu / en*
  - [9] TM.75.G.10026 r. VI:3-6:<sup>15</sup> 1*gu-gu / na nab<sub>x</sub>(MUL)-hu gišir-zú / mu-DU / DU-lu<sup>ki</sup>*
  - [10] TM.75.G.10026 r. VII:7 - VIII:4:<sup>16</sup> 6 *gu-gu na nab<sub>x</sub>(MUL)-hu / gišir-zú* / 5 *gu-gu si<sub>4</sub>-si<sub>4</sub> hul* 30 *gu-gu si<sub>4</sub>-si<sub>4</sub> sa<sub>6</sub> / mu-DU / DU-lu<sup>ki</sup>*
  - [11] TM.75.G.1862 v. VI:6-10:<sup>17</sup> 1 *gu-dùl-túg kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-ul<sup>ki</sup>* *du ga-ne-i<sup>š</sup>ki níg-sa<sub>10</sub> na nab<sub>x</sub>(MUL)-hu*
  - [12] TM.75.G.2410 v. I:6-12:<sup>18</sup> 20 *gín DILMUN ku-babar níg-sa<sub>10</sub> na nab<sub>x</sub>(MUL)-hu kab-lu<sub>5</sub>-ul<sup>ki</sup> šu-mu-taka<sub>4</sub> NI-x[...] ga-n[e]-i<sup>š</sup>ki*
1. E. Sollberger, ARET VIII, Roma 1986, p. 63. Questa interpretazione è stata accettata anche da A. Archi, *Minima eblaitica I*, NABU 1988/44, e da G. Pettinato, MEE 5, Roma 1996, p. 160.
2. Si vedano G. Conti, *Rapporti tra egiziano e semitico nel lessico egiziano dell'agricoltura*, Firenze 1978, pp. 94ss., e W. Leslau, CDG, p. 388.
3. Si vedano P. Fronzaroli, *The Eblaic Lexicon: Problems and Appraisal*, in P. Fronzaroli (ed.), *Studies on the Language of Ebla*, Firenze 1984, p. 147, e G. Conti, *MisEb 3*, Firenze 1990, pp. 102-103, con bibliografia precedente.
4. Per la lettura e l'interpretazione di questo teonimo como ipostosi del dio della tempesta, si veda ultimamente P. Fronzaroli, *Divinazione a Ebla (TM.76.G.86)*, MisEb 4, Firenze 1997, pp. 18-19.
5. Per cui si veda J. Pasquali, *Pietre dure semipreziose ad Ebla. I: wa-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-tum // ŠÈ-li*, “pietra verde”, NABU 2002-86
6. Come intendono gli editori (si veda n. 1). Sulla base dei contesti sembra potersi escludere anche il confronto con l'accadico *nabi<sub>lu</sub>* e la traduzione “mit Ornamenten (verziert)”, recentemente proposta da H. Waetzoldt, MEE 12, Roma 2001 p. 64.
7. La traduzione “3 Gefässse mit ‘Horn’”. proposta da H. Waetzoldt, MEE 12, p. 42, appare a nostro avviso poco probabile (si vedano del resto i dubbi espressi dallo stesso autore a p. 65). Vasi *an-zam<sub>x</sub>* si ricorrono anche in MEE 12 3 r.XI:16 e MEE 12 36 r. II:3.

8. G. Pettinato, *L'Atlante geografico del Vicino Oriente Antico attestato ad Ebla e ad Abū Šalābikh* (I), *Or47* (1978), pp. 51s, identifica il toponimo con Kaniš, mentre A. Archi, *Ga-ne-iš/šu<sup>ki</sup> in the Ebla Texts*, in K. Emre - B. Hrouda - M. Lellink - N. Özgür (edd.), *Anatolia and the Ancient Near East. Studies in Honor of Tahsin Özgür*, Ankara 1989, p. 14, suggerisce una collocazione più meridionale al confine tra Turchia e Siria.
9. Si veda in proposito F. Pinnock, *Le perle del Palazzo Reale* G, Roma 1993, p. 14.
10. Per lo *status questionis*, si veda E. Rova, *Usi del cristallo di rocca in area anatolica (fine III-inizi II millennio a.C.)*, *OrAnt* 26 (1987), pp. 109-143. I giacimenti di cristallo di rocca in Asia minore sono ricordati ancora da Plinio il Vecchio (*Naturalis Historia*, XXXVII, 23 : *nascitur et in Asia, vilissima circa Alabanda et Orthosiam finitimusque*), che tuttavia li reputa inferiori per qualità ai giacimenti indiani.
11. Al cristallo di rocca era attribuito particolare pregio anche a Mari, per cui si veda C. Michel, *Les "diamants" du roi de Mari*, in J. -M. Durand (ed.) *Florilegium Marianum. Recueil d'études en l'honneur de Michel Fleury*, Paris 1992, pp. 127-136, con bibliografia.
12. Citato da G. Pettinato - F. D'Agostino, *TIE* A 1/2, Roma 1995, p. 156. Integrazioni sulla base dei passi paralleli.
13. Citato da G. Pettinato - F. D'Agostino, *TIE* A/12, p. 119.
14. Citato da A. Archi, *NABU* 1988/44. Si ringrazia per la collazione il prof. P. Fronzaroli.
15. Citato da A. Archi, *NABU* 1988/44. Si ringrazia per la collazione il prof. P. Fronzaroli.
16. Citato da A. Archi, *NABU* 1988/44. Si ringrazia per la collazione il prof. P. Fronzaroli.
17. Citato da A. Archi, *Studies in Honor of Tahsin Özgür*, p. 12, con lettura NA.MUL-MUŠEN e traduzione "some birds" (p. 13).
18. Citato da A. Archi, *Studies in Honor of Tahsin Özgür*, p. 12, con lettura NA.MUL-MUŠEN.

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**88) Another Huban-nikaš :** A reference in an inscription of Esarhaddon adds another Huban-nikaš (Akkadian *Ummangāš*) to the mix of Elamite-Assyrian-Babylonian relations in the mid-seventh century. K 8523 is a fragment of a royal inscription that relates the flight of Nabû-zer-kitti-lišir into Elam; his death at Elamite hands there; the flight of his brother Na'id-Marduk with another brother, Huban-nikaš, to Assyria; and the establishment of Na'id-Marduk in the Sealand. This Huban-nikaš is to be distinguished from the others of the same name mentioned in Assyrian sources: king Huban-nikaš I, 743-717; king Huban-nikaš II, 653 to 652(?); and Huban-nikaš, son of Amedirra, who revolted against Huban-haltaš III in the early 640s (*ABL* 280 : r. 16-22). The tablet K 8523 is extremely broken, and, although the exact restoration is problematic, its content is clear.<sup>1</sup> The extant portion of lines 5'-7' follows with minimal restoration.

- 5' [...] HUL-tim šá a-na ŠEŠ-[šu...]  
 6' [...] ZI-tim-šú ul-tú qí-rib KUR.NIM.MA.KI in-[nab-tam-ma...]  
 7' [...<sup>m</sup>u]m-ma-an-ga-áš ŠEŠ-šu ar-ši-šú-nu-ti ri-e-mu KUR tam-[tim...]

E. Frahm has offered a preliminary restoration and translation of the text, reading the name <sup>m</sup>Man-ga-áš in line 7'. Frahm regards the reading Mangaš as a form of Elamite Hunban-nikaš; he notes Winckler reads this name as [<sup>m</sup>U]m-man-ga-áš. Winckler's reading is preferable here. The last vertical wedge of the *um* sign is clearly visible, and there is room for 5-6 signs before it. The orthography of the Elamite name Hunban-nikaš varies in Assyrian sources, for example <sup>m</sup>Um-ma-i-gaš (common in Ashurbanipal's annals), <sup>m</sup>Um-man-i-ga-áš (common in the royal correspondence from Esarhaddon's and Ashurbanipal's reigns; note also the <sup>m</sup>Hu-ba-ni-ga-áš of *ABL* 917 discussed below), and <sup>m</sup>Hum-ba-ni-ga-áš (common in Sargon's inscriptions). The orthography of "Ummangaš" in K 8523 is slightly different, without an explicit vowel -i- : [... <sup>m</sup>U]m-man-ga-áš. This is simply another variant.

There are various explanations for the seeming anomaly of a Huban-nikaš, brother of Na'id-Marduk and Nabû-zér-kitti-lišir and thus a son of Merodach-baladan.

- 1) The text refers to another, unrelated historical episode.
- 2) The scribe conflated two episodes into one. There is no indication that this is the case.
- 3) Merodach-baladan married, or had as a concubine, an Elamite wife, and their child was given an Elamite name.

The obvious parallels with the main description of the Na'id-Marduk episode (see footnote 1) make the first explanation unlikely. There is no indication that the second explanation is the case. The third possibility is the preferred. In light of Merodach-baladan and his sons' close relations with Elam, a familial connection between that family and prominent Elamites should not be viewed as an anomaly, even if such a reference is anomalous in the extant sources. The only similar reference, to my knowledge, occurs in a letter of Bél-ibni from the late 650s or early 640s (*ABL* 282 : 6-16) that mention one Šumâ, son of Šumu-iddina, son of Gahal, nephew of Tamaritu.<sup>3</sup> As a sister-son of Tamaritu, Šumâ was member of an extended royal family. It would be speculative to posit that the Huban-nikaš named in K 8523 had connections to the Elamite royal family through his mother. It is a possibility, though not a verifiable one.

A parallel reference occurs in *ABL* 917, a letter from Na'id-Marduk to Zakūtu, the mother of Esarhaddon. Na'id-Marduk writes of an Elamite attack upon the Sealand and requests military support. The end of the obverse is broken away, but a Huban-nikaš (<sup>m</sup>Hu-ba-ni-ga-áš is mentioned in a broken context in line 17,

the second to last line of the obverse). This is most likely the same Huban-nikaš described as the brother of Na'id-Marduk in K 8523, as both K 8523 and ABL 917 share the same historical context: Na'id-Marduk's appointment to and term as governor of the Sealand during Esarhaddon's reign.

1. I thank Erle Leichty for drawing my attention to this text and for sharing his work on it, to be published in his forthcoming volume of Essarhaddon's inscriptions in the RIMA series. For K 8523 see R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Assarhaddons Königs von Assyrien*, AfO Beiheft 9 (Graz : Biblio-Verlag, 1956), 110 §72 (Fr. B); and note the expanded version of this episode at pp. 46-47 Episode 4 (Nin A ii 58-64). For background on and discussion of the Na'id-Marduk episode, see G. Frame, *Babylonia 689 - 627 B.C. : A Political History* (Leiden : Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1992), 88-89 and my "Te'umman in the Neo-Assyrian Correspondence" JAOS 119 (1999), 473-77.

2. *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* 2/II ed. H. Baker (Helsinki : Neo-Assyrian Corpus Project, 2001), 677 ; H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 2 (1893-97), 528.

3. <sup>m</sup>šu-ma-a DUMU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>MU.SUM-na DUMU <sup>m</sup>Ga-hal DUMU.NIN-šú šá <sup>m</sup>Tam-ma-ri-ti. For Gahal, see *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* 1/II, ed. K. Radner (Helsinki : Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1999), 418-419.

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**89) New attestation for OA Šimtum** – In one Cappadocian tablet<sup>1</sup> (kt oo/k 6) we come across the following statements, in which the word Šimtum may mean “accused of/ murderer and the principal/ guilty”. The relevant passages of the text follow and the text kt n/k 794,7-11<sup>2</sup> supports us in this respect.

37) i-nu-me da-mu-<sup>f</sup>ú<sup>l</sup> (38) [ša DUMU <sup>d</sup>]A-šur i-na a-li-kà (39) [ú-ma]-<sup>f</sup>tíl-kà i-ni-pu-šu-ni (Rev.40) [hu-lu-]qá-um i-ba-ší-ú-ni (41) [a]-<sup>f</sup>na<sup>l</sup> da-me-e ší-im-<sup>f</sup>tám<sup>l</sup> (42) [ta-]dá-na-ni-a-tí-ma ni-du-wa-ak... “when bloodshed, concerning the citizen(s) of Ashur in your city and country, has been done (40) and there are losses (41-42) for the bloodshed/violation done you shall give us the principal/the murderer then we shall kill him”. Compare this expression with kt n/k 794,7-11 another treaty agreed between Anatolia and Ashur :

7) ... šu-ma (8) da-mu i-na ma-tí-kà (9) i-ta-áb-ší da-i-ki (10) lu ta-du-nu-ni-a-tí-ma (11) lu ni-du-ku “when bloodshed has taken place in your country, you should give us the murderer (so that) we may kill him”. Here dā'iku “murderer” alternates with Šimtum which should mean also murderer, and in both cases they are to be punished by death penalty. Šimtum again occurs in kt oo/k 6, 70-75 with the meaning “principal/the accused of”.

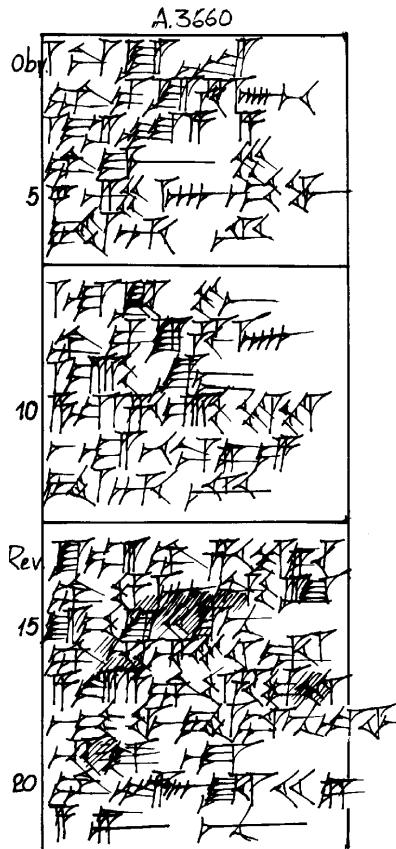
70) šu-ma DUMU A-šür DUMU Kà-ni-iš (71) i-ta-ah-ba-al-ma a-na ma-tim (72) ša-ni-tim i-ta-la-ak a-pu-hi-šu (73) tá-am-kà-ra-am ša-ni-a-am a-hi-a-am (74) ú a-hu-šu lá i-ṣa-bu-tù-ni ha-bu-la-nam (75) ší-im-tám i-šé-e-ú-ni... “If a citizen of Ashur has been indebted to a Kanishian, and has gone to another country, they shall not seize another merchant, a colleague or his brother in his place, the creditor should look for the accused of/the principal”.

1. kt oo/k 6. This text was presented in Leiden, during the 48<sup>th</sup> R.A.I.
2. Salih Çeçen - Karl Hecker, “*ina mätika eblum*” (AOAT 40 (1995) 35 ff.; Emin Bilgiç, “Ebla in Cappadocian Inscriptions”, in: H. Otten - E. Akurgal - H. Ertem - A. Süel (ed.), *Hittite and Other Anatolian and Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Sedat Alp*, Ankara, 1992.

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**90) A Neo-Assyrian Text of unknown Provenance :** <sup>1</sup> The text is said to have been brought to the museum by Bektas Gedik and was purchased by the museum's administration and given inv. no A.3660. The exact provenance is unknown. We note the fact that the text does not bear an eponym, but reveals itself to be a Neo-Assyrian text dealing with an informal appeal to the governor. Intact. 7.2x3.5x2.2 cm.

Obv.	1) <sup>m</sup> <i>Qa-lu-su</i> 2) LÚ *.SIPA-MUŠEN.MEŠ ÚŠ 3) <sup>m</sup> <i>Ra-tu-a-a</i> 4) LÚ*.GAL-50 5) 4 ZI.MEŠ <i>ina ka[s]-pi</i> 6) <i>it-ti-din</i> <hr/> 7) <sup>m</sup> <i>La-qe-pu</i> 8) LÚ *.SIPA-MUŠEN.MEŠ 9) <sup>m</sup> <i>Ga-lul</i> 10) <i>a-na</i> <sup>m</sup> <i>Ha-ga-te-te</i> 11) <i>ina URU.til-qa-né-e</i> 12) <i>it-ti-din</i>
Edge	uninscribed
Rev.	13) <i>ku-um</i> LÚ*.ha-te-ni-šú 14) LÚ *.ERIM.MEŠ <i>bal-tu</i> 15) <i>lu-bit-lu-l niš-šlú-nu</i> 16) LÚ *.EN.NAM <i>liš-al</i> 17) <i>a-ta-a</i> LÚ *.ERIM?.MUŠEN-x-x 18) <i>ina kas-pi id-du-nu-na-ši</i> 19) EN <i>x-la</i> <sup>3</sup> 20) LÚ *.ARAD.MEŠ <i>ša man-ni</i> 21) <i>a-ni-nu</i>



(1-3) Qallusu, fowlherd, is dead. (4-6) Ratuya, the commander of fifty, has sold (his) 4 dependents for silver. (7-12) La-qepu, fowlherd-Gallulu has sold (him) to Hagatete in the town Til-qanê. (Rev. 13-16) The men are/were alive instead of his protector/brother-in-law. Let them bring them (and) let the governor inquire (the case). (17-18) Why are the ...-officials selling us for silver ? (19-21) My lord ... Whose servants are we ?

1. I thank professor Simo Parpola for his comments on the translation. The texts cannot be gained fully due to obscurities in two places (18 and 19). The PNN's Ratuya and Hagatete and the toponym Til-qanê (Tell of reeds) are not otherwise attested in NA (Simo Parpola).
2. According to the traces on the tablet one could read as LÚ \*.ERIM.MUŠEN-di-te. A connection to *pigittūtu* is less probable (see AHw 865b).
3. Perhaps can be reconstructed as EN *qa*<sup>?</sup>-la. But the sign looks more like *su*.

Veysel DONBAZ (13-01-2003)

**91) Corrections to « Seized by royal order », FM VI (2002) 289-372** – The table on p. 306-307 of D. Charpin and J.-M. Durand (eds), *Florilegium Marianum VI. Recueil d'études à la mémoire d'André Parrot* (Paris : SEPOA, 2002) deviates in some details from its original, which is reproduced below.

men	women	boys	girls	description	summary	destination
i 1-26'	24			<i>sekretum</i>		
i 27'-ii 2	20			<i>munus-uš-bar</i>		
ii 3-7	4			<i>ša hamdē</i>	munus-uš-bar	
ii 8-9	1			<i>kasirtum</i>		
ii 11-14	3	2		<i>ša mardatim</i>		
ii 15-21	6			<i>lú-túg-du₈</i>		
ii 22-26	4			<i>lú-TUG</i>		
ii 27-29	2			<i>ša gad</i>	dumu-meš	
ii 30-33	3			<i>nagar</i>	<i>ummēni</i>	
ii 34	1	2		<i>ašgab</i>		
ii 35-36		1		<i>kù-dím níg-šu Tāba-Sūmū</i>		
ii 39-iii 2'	9	[2]	[1]	[...]		
iii 3'-7'	3			<i>géme Karanātum</i>		
iii 8'-9'	1			<i>géme Malik-Ea</i>		
iii 13'-18'			4	<i>ana munus-nar</i>		<i>si-lá Tābat-šarrussu</i>
iii 19'	1			<i>lú-lunga</i>		
iii 20'-21'	1			<i>nu-ḡīš kiri₄ níg-šu Šum-Ištar</i>		
iii 22'	1			<i>ad-KID</i>		
iii 23'	1			<i>šu-ha₆</i>		
iii 24'-26'	2			<i>i-šur</i>		
iii 27'-[.]	x a	2 <sup>+</sup>	2 <sup>+</sup>	[...]		
[.]-iv 14	7	2		-		<i>si-lá Etel-pi-šarrim</i>
iv 15-19/20	5			[...]		[...]
iv 20/21-23	1 <sup>+</sup>			<i>ša kuruštē</i>		<i>si-lá Apil-Kubi</i>
iv 24-29		5		<i>ša é Inibšina</i>		[...]
iv 30-[.]	13 <sup>+</sup>			[gir-si-ga ɻ dumu-meš šu-i]		[...]
v 1-7	6			<i>muhaldim</i>		
v 8-10	2			<i>ēpū</i>	níg-šu <i>Apil-Kubi</i>	31 <sup>+</sup> [lú] <i>ša</i> [...]
v 11-16	5			<i>lú-SU-ra</i>		<i>si-lá Bu-un-[o]</i>
v 20-26	5			<i>kartappu níg-šu Dagan-šadūni</i>		-
v 29-vi 12	15	6		<i>ša ḡīš apin-meš</i>		-
vi 13-21	84	85	7	7	(total:) 183 lú-lú-meš <i>ša bīt Sammetar ša Mari</i>	

Regrettably, a number of erroneous references escaped my notice during the preparation of this article. I would like to take this opportunity to rectify the following mistakes :

- p. 291 note 5 : ARMT XXVI/1, p. 47f.
- p. 293 note 31 : ARMT XXVI/2.
- p. 294 note 36 : ARMT XXVI 202, where Kanisān calls Kibri-Dagan his “father”
- p. 295 fourth section : ARMT VII 228.
- p. 298 note 56 : ARMT XXV 63 (also to be corrected in the index on p. 563).
- p. 304 line 12 : (ARMT XXIV 275). Transfer of textiles and axes.
- p. 306-307 : The table is to be replaced by the one produced in this note.
- p. 307 note 90 : FM IV, 1999, p. 173f.
- p. 309 note 97 first and second line : ARMT XXVI/2.
- p. 311 note 110 : The second sentence should be : Another example is the case of three felt makers, Ana-Ea-taklāku, Kī-milki-El and Gumul-Sīn, who appear in FM VI 43 ii 16, 18 and 20, two of which reappear in B xiv 2-3 (Kī-milki-El and Gumul-Sīn) and in A (Gumul-Sīn in x 18 and Ana-Ea-taklāku in x 35) in two adjoining work teams.
- p. 312 second line from below : (no. 33) ; note 112 first line : note to FM IV 42 : 3.
- p. 314 bottom : In this overview of the content of the wine account ARMT XXIV 66<sup>+</sup> // M.11613, the second to the fourth and the sixth line should have appeared more to the left, so that the numbers 42, 10, 2, 28 and 49 that make up the total of 131 of the last line area arranged in the same vertical row.

- p. 321 note 155 : second reference should be : *ARMT XII* 141 (also to be corrected in the index on p. 562).
- p. 324 note 173 : *ARMT XXVI/1*, p. **435**.
- p. 326 fourth paragraph : *ARMT XXV* 521 (20-viii-ZL 7') ; note 187 : (C. Michel, *MARI 5*, 1987, p. 511).
- p. 328 note 205 : the first reference should be : **M.12375** (also to be corrected on the index in p. 561).
- p. 330 note 218 (...) is it **likely** that *ARMT VIII* 65 (no year, a guarantee contract for the presence of a goldsmith for the benefit of Asqudum, also comes from his private archive.
- p. 331 note 221 : **M.12631** (also to be corrected in the index on p. 561) ; note 223 : (18-v**bis**-ZL 11').
- p. 333 note 239 : *ARMT IV 5* : 9 (also to be corected in the index on p. 562).
- p. 341 sub 4. The second sentence should be : in both lists Kasap-Šamaš(identified as *sa-mi-hu*) in *ARMT IX* 27 : i 7) appears, , comparable to the situation of the cowherd Qurud-Ištar in *ARMT IX* 25 and 26 (identified as *sa-mi-hu* in *ARMT IX* 26 : i 22').
- p. 350 Description of no. 43 : (see 2.4.4 and 2.5.3) ; no. 43 : i 36' : (B **vi** 14\*).
- p. 351 no. 43 : i 37' : (B **vi** 13\*?) ; no. 43 : ii 24 : (B viii **17'f\***).
- p. 352 no. 43 : iii 13'-16' : (*FM IV* 13 : v 30, 32, 31, 27).
- p. 353 no. 43 : iv 34 : [**za-ha-a]t-ni-dingir**.
- p. 357 Commentary to no. 45 : 6' : *CAD N/1*, p. **91b** ; note 261 : no. 60 : **15**

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