

N.A.B.U.

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NOTES BRÈVES

48) Le sacrifice de chèvres lors d'alliances sous le règne de Zimri-Lim – Il est bien connu qu'à l'époque amorrite, les alliances conclues lors d'une rencontre entre les parties prenantes comportaient l'immolation d'un animal, le plus souvent un ânon : ce rituel est alors évoqué dans les textes par l'expression *hâram qaṭâlum* (voir en dernier lieu B. Lafont, « Relations internationales, alliances et diplomatie au temps des rois de Mari », *Amurru* 2, 2001, p. 213-328, spéc. p. 263-271). Or trois lettres du chef nomade (*merhûm*) bensim'alite Ibal-El sont particulièrement intéressantes à cet égard. L'affaire date de l'année 10 de Zimri-Lim (ZL 9'). Ibal-El se trouvait alors à Mal(a)hatum ; il fut rejoint par une délégation de représentants de l'Ida-Maraš, qui souhaitaient conclure une alliance et lui dirent : « Tuons une chèvre et un chiot pour que nous ju[rions]! » Ibal-El manifesta son désaccord en répliquant : « De tout temps, [jāma]is notre seigneur Zimri-Lim [n'a tué] une chèvre ou un chiot [pour jurer] » et il ajouta à l'adresse de son roi : « J'ai acheté moi-même un âne [et j'ai fait tuer] un ânon petit d'une ânesse. » (*MARI* 7, p. 182 n°7 : (11) [um-ma-m]i ùz [ù] mé-ra-nam a-na [za-ka-r]i-ni (12) [i ni-i]q-tú-u[l] ù a-na-ku ú-ul [am-gu-ur] (13) [um-ma a-n]a-ku-ma iš-tu pa-na a-di wa-[ar-ka] (14) [ma-ti]-[ma] be-el-ni [i]zi-im-r[i-li-im] (15) [ù]z [ú]-lu-ma mé-ra-nam a-na [za-ka-ri-im ú-ul iq-tú-ul] (16) a-na-ku anše a-na kù-babbar a-ša-[am] (17) anše ha'-a-ra-am dumu-ru a-ta-n[im ú-ša-aq-ṭi-il]. Les lettres n°8 et 9 résument la même affaire. On voit donc qu'en Ida-Maraš, le rituel d'alliance pouvait comporter l'immolation d'autres animaux qu'un ânon, en particulier une chèvre.

Il se trouve que quelques textes administratifs rédigés au tout début du règne de Zimri-Lim semblent être l'écho d'une telle pratique. Ils appartiennent à un lot de petites tablettes enregistrant des dépenses d'ovins ; la plupart des textes sont dépourvus de nom d'année, mais on sait désormais qu'ils remontent aux premiers mois du règne de Zimri-Lim (année dite ZL 0, cf. *FM* V, p. 170-175). Il s'agit généralement de moutons, destinés le plus souvent à la divination (*nêpišti* dumu-meš máš-šu-su₁₃-su₁₃), mais aussi à d'autres occasions, comme la table du roi ou des sacrifices à des divinités. On trouve aussi quelques dépenses de chèvres, toujours formulées de la même manière : « 1 chèvre pour le serment par les dieux » :

- *ARM* XXIII 268 (16/x) : (4) 1 ù[z a]-na ni-iš dingir-meš
- *ARM* XXIII 285 (7/xi) : (6) 1 ùz a-na ni-iš dingir-meš
- *ARM* XXIII 287 (8/xi) : (8) 1 ùz a-na ni-iš dingir-meš
- *ARM* XXIII 289 (9/xi) : (8) 1 ùz a-na ni-iš dingir-meš
- *ARM* XXIII 311 (22/xi) : (6) 1 ùz (7) a-na ni-iš dingir-meš
- *ARM* XXIII 321 (5/xii) : (1) 1 ùz (2) a-na ni-iš dingir-meš
- *ARM* XXIII 322 (7/xi) : (1) 1 ùz (2) a-na [ni]-iš dingir-meš

Dans deux cas (*ARM* XXIII 321 et 322), la dépense est l'unique objet de la tablette ; il s'agit toujours d'opérations effectuées à Mari. Le contexte de ces « serments par les dieux » n'est indiqué nulle part : il était indifférent aux comptables chargés de la gestion des troupeaux du roi. Mais on sait que les premiers mois d'un nouveau règne étaient toujours le moment où le souverain devait renouveler les alliances conclues par son prédécesseur – ou au contraire en conclure de nouvelles : Zimri-Lim se conforma à l'usage (cf. *FM* V, p. 178-184). On peut donc se demander si ces chèvres ne furent pas sacrifiées dans ce contexte.

Cette hypothèse pose naturellement de nombreuses questions. On voudrait savoir avec qui de telles alliances furent conclues : il est évidemment tentant de penser notamment aux rois benjaminites Yaggih-Addu,

Hardum et Sumu-dabi (cf. *FM* V, p. 178). Faudrait-il alors opposer une façon benjaminite de conclure une alliance (sacrifice d'une chèvre) à une façon bensim'alite (sacrifice d'un ânon)? Ce serait sans doute aller trop loin. Il n'empêche qu'on est frappé par le ton de la lettre d'Ibal-El, qui marque une vive répugnance à l'idée d'immoler un autre animal qu'un ânon. Il faut par ailleurs se garder de systématiser les données fragmentaires à notre disposition : il ne faudrait pas en déduire que Zimri-Lim conclut au début de son règne des alliances comportant l'immolation d'une chèvre, alors que par la suite il utilisa toujours des ânon. Du moins peut-on constater que l'affirmation d'Ibal-El (« [jama]is notre seigneur Zimri-Lim [n'a tué] une chèvre ou un chiot [pour jurer] ») n'est sans doute pas à prendre au pied de la lettre.

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49) “Vue de dot elle est belle!” – Cette (mauvaise) plaisanterie de l'humour gaulois, qui vise une riche héritière moins gâtée par la nature que par son papa, pourrait néanmoins s'appliquer à une mademoiselle Ušdi de Munbāqa qui devrait désormais rejoindre les ténèbres du non-être où Edmond Sollberger de bonne mémoire reléguait ses “princes fantômes”.

On lira en effet, Mbq 21 (MBQT 66) : 27 : 1 ma-na 15 kù-babar nì-mí-ús-sá, a-na dumu-meš la-hi-ha-mi-iš ta-ta-ru et, *ibid.* : 29, šum-ma-mi ur-ra še-ra, tu-pu ka-ni-ku i[l-l]a-am-ma, ša^{1d} da-gan-i-pu [nì-mí-ús-sá] šì-tu ; Mbq 26 (MBQT 61) : 13 kù-babar an-nu-ú {NÌ} ku-[um], nì-mí-ús-sá, š[a] dumu-mí^{1d}[a ...].

Les autres collations de Munbāqa sont publiées dans les Chroniques des textes de l'Euphrate, rubrique nouvelle ouverte dans la revue d'Assyriologie.

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50) ûmâ/êti ša « aussi longtemps que » – La langue des textes du Moyen-Euphrate recourt, avec une pluralité de variantes graphiques, à l'expression ûmâti ša pour signifier « aussi longtemps que... », suivie d'un permansif. Cela est bien attesté par le petit corpus suivant :

(1) *RA* 77 (1983) p. 13 (cf. *ASJ* 13, p. 288-289, n°25) : 17 : u₄-meš-ma-ti ša a[m]a-šu-nu, bal-tá-at, ha-[la] ú-ul qa-bi

(2) *Recherches* (1986) 156 : 20-21 : [u]₄-ma-ti ša^f dumu-munus-a-ri-me, [ba]l-tá-at, i-na lib-bi é-ti-ši, tu-uš-ša-ab

(3) *ASJ* 13 (1991) 23 : 12-13 : u₄-ma-ti^{meš}, <ša> dam-ia ù dumu-munus-ia bal-tá-at, 3 dumu-meš-ia it-ta-na-bal-š[u-n]u

(4) *AuOr-Sup.* 1 (1991) 69 : 12 ; ^fi-na-am-mi ù ^fa-bi-ì-lí nu*-gig*, u₄-ma-ti ša ba-al-ta-{AT}, it-ti ab-da-ma-lik i-na é-šu ú-uš-ša-ba

La graphie de D. Arnaud incite vivement à une lecture nu-gig, à la place de l'improbable *be-li-tà*, forme supposée venir de *BLT*. Pour ce titre de prêtresse dans les textes de l'Euphrate, cf. *ASJ* 13 23 : 6, 12, 16, 22, 34, 40, ainsi que *MBQ* 76 : 3 (présent sur la copie, quoique non dans la transcription).

(5) *ASJ* 16 (1994), p. 231 : 8 : u₄-meš-mé-ti ša til-la-at, ^Izu-ba-ah-la dumu-ša, it-ta-na-bal-ši

(6) *HANE/M* II (1996) 15 : 12-13 : u₄-meš^ú-ma-a-ti š[a^{fd}]a-gan-ni dam-ia, bal-tá-at 2 dumu-munus-[meš-ia], lu-ú it-ta-na-bal[l-lu]-ši

(7) *HANE/M* II (1996) 37 : 23-24 : ^dutu-te (= Šamšate) a-bu, ú um-mu u₄-ma-ti, ša bal-tá-at 3 dumu-meš-ša it-t[a]-na'-bal'-ši.

On ajoutera à ces exemples les deux suivants de Tell Munbāqa :

(8) *MBQ* 39 (2001) : 13 : é-tum ù giš-kiri₆-geštin, ša^f da-gan-la-i, u₄*-meš-tu₄ ša til-la-at

(9) *MBQ* 40 (2001) : 13 : u₄*-meš-ti ša ^lku-bi-il-la, ù ^fda-gan-la-i til-la, ir-i-bu dumu-šu-nu, it-ta-na-bal-šu-nu

On abandonnera donc l'improbable compréhension de l'éditeur (*ex. gr.* n°39) : *gada-meš-tum-ša be-la-at* rendu « Über ihr Leinen verfügt sie selbst » = « elle a tous les droits sur son lin ». La véritable graphie du signe GADA se trouve effectivement au n°19 : 15, ce à quoi on comparera les deux graphies des n°39 et 40 discutées ici et qui se présentent comme de nets UD ; il faut donc simplifier le tableau des signes, *Textes de Munbāqa*, p.178, n°90.

Les formulations (5), (8), (9) font d'autre part apparaître l'usage de TIL-LA pour signifier « vivre » et non « mourir », comme c'en serait plutôt l'usage dans une région moins périphérique ; *CAD* B, p. 46a signalait néanmoins déjà l'usage de TIL = *BLT* à EA et Ugarit, auquel vient s'ajouter désormais celui de l'Euphrate.

On comparera dès lors dans *MBQ* 36 : 11-12, l'expression tout à fait parallèle à celles ci-dessus :

(10) ù i+na u₄-mi ^fša^l* nam-til-la-šu-nu, it-ta-na-ab-bal-lu-ma.

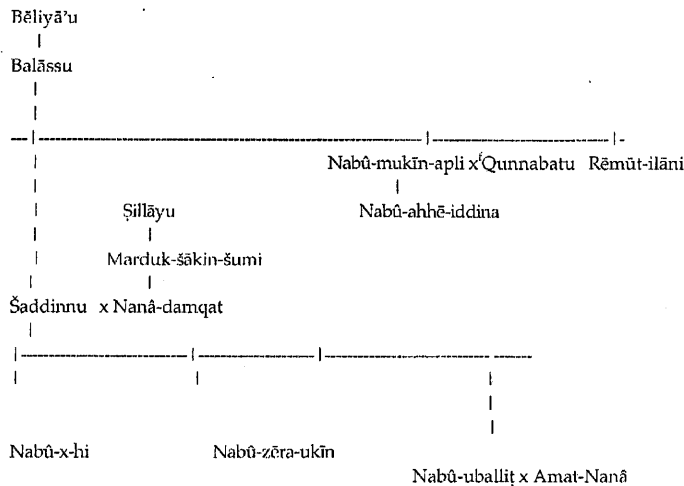
Jean-Marie DURAND & Lionel MARTI

51) Two Deeds from the Šaddinnu Archive – We should like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish BM tablets. The research of R. Zadok is supported by the Israel Science Foundation. Tikva Zadok is responsible only for the copy. A single stroke (/) denotes “son/daughter of” and a double one (//) “descendant of”.

Šaddinnu son of Balāssu, a member of the Bēliyā’u clan, in his capacity as the foreman of the bakers¹ in Ezida, leased the pertinent temple functions to others (in most cases outside his own clan, notably to descendants of Kidin-Sîn). His important task involved links with palatial authorities (cf., e.g., BM 21965) and brought him from time to time to the capital, Babylon, where several deeds of his archive were issued, e.g., BM 25098. The latter deed (from 21.V.25 Dar. I = 497/6 B.C.) records the name of Nargiya (*Nar-gi-ia*) the Simmagir (^dXXX-*ma-gi-ir*) official (cf. A.C.V.M. Bongenaar, *The Neo-Babylonian Ebabbar Temple at Sippar: Its Administration and its Prosopography* [Leiden 1997], 128, n. 142; 299).

The documentation concerning Šaddinnu’s activity in Ezida has sub-dossiers and can be somewhat expanded by comparing related documents, which do not strictly belong to his archive. From his archive one can get a glimpse of his diversified economic activity. Šaddinnu held both urban and rural real estate, cf., e.g., the house rentals VS 4, 137; BM 28995,29036, 29053, 96323, 96396, 96424 (BM 96243 is a rental of a storehouse and BM 28963 concerns a building plot) on the one hand and the land in Bīt-Amu (BM 21976, 96219),² Esaggil-mansum³ (BM 28884, 96164, 96211 and possibly BM 96186), Bīt-Ḥabširti (VS 3, 119; 5, 92, in the “fifty” of the Šillāyu and the Butcher clans respectively) and the “fifty” of the Carpenter clan (BM 96315) on the other. Deeds concerning bricks (e.g., BM 29002, 29229, 96384), gardening contracts (e.g., BM 29004, 29020, 96140) as well as sale of slaves (e.g., VS 5, 85; BM 21978, 25098, 28877) and donkeys (e.g., BM 28908, 28917) were probably arising from the maintenance and development of this extensive and variegated property and for the marketing of its products (apart from the usual deeds concerning dates and barley cf. BM 28984 [reeds]). There are numerous promissory notes of silver as well (e.g., BM 28931, 29494, 96187, 96234, 96248, 96266; BM 28864, 29716 with slaves as pledge, and 29448, which has the same witnesses’ list as 29484).^f Nanâ-damqat, wife of Šaddinnu, had a female slave according to BM 28934 and a palm grove in the “fifty” of the Basiya clan according to BM 96280.

Descendants of Balāssu//Bēliyā’u



In general see R. Zadok, *IOS* 18 (1998), 271f.

- Nabû-mukīn-apli, 5.II.5 Cyr. = 534/3 B.C. (BM 95869);
- Rēmūt-ilāni, 2.XIb.16 Dar. I = 506/5 B.C. (BM 96132);
- Nabû-ahhē-iddina, time of Dar. I (BM 96202);
- Nabû-uballit and his wife are mentioned in the dowry contract of Amat-Nanâ, the daughter of the scribe Marduk-šuma-ibni/Šulā/Iliya, another prebendary of Ezida (brewer’s prebend, BM 26483);
- Nabû-x-ḫi, time of Dar. I (BM 96148A).

— **BM 96246** - Borsippa, 2.VIII.6 Cyr. = 533/2 B.C.; *ḫarrānu*-enterprise type A

1. 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR SAG.DU šá AŠ 1 GÍN *pit-qa*
2. šá ^mšad-din-nu A-šú šá ^mba-laṭ-su A ^{md}+EN-ia-ú
3. a-na KASKAL^{II} AŠ UGU^{bi} ^mmu-na-aḫ-ḫi-šu (text ZU)-^dAMAR.UTU
4. A-šú šá ^{md}+AG-ŠEŠ^{meš}-MU A ^mšu-lu-tu
5. u ^{md}AMAR.UTU-MU-DÙ A-šú šá ^mre-mut A ^mki-din-^dXXX
6. *mim-ma ma-la* AŠ URU u EDIN AŠ UGU^{bi} *ip-pu-šú*²
7. SAG.DU KÙ.BABBAR *i-šal-lim* u AŠ *ú-tur a-ḫi* KÙ.BABBAR

8. $m\check{s}ad-din-nu\ it-ti\ m\mu-na-ah-\check{h}i\check{s}-d$ AMAR.UTU
 9. $u\ md$ AMAR.UTU-MU-DÙ *ik-kal*
 LO.E. 10. 1-*en pu-ut 2-i na-šu-u*
 11. $ú-il-ti\ IGI-tu_4\ \check{s}á\ 1/3\ GÍN\ KÙ.BABBAR$
 12. $\check{h}e-pa-a-tu_4$
 R. 13. $lú\ mu-kin-nu\ md+AG-SU\ A-šú\ \check{s}á$
 14. $md+AG-NUMUN-DU\ A\ m\check{k}i-din-dXXX$
 15. $m\check{u}-bar-ia\ A-šú\ \check{s}á\ md+AG-PAP^{me}.MU\ A\ xx(x)$
 16. $md+AG-MU-GAR^{un}\ A-šú\ \check{s}á\ md+AG-ke-šir$
 17. (erasure) A $mSIPA$ (text PA) ANŠE.KUR.RA^{si-i}
 18. $lú\ UMBISAG\ md\ AMAR.UTU-MU-DÙ\ A-šú\ \check{s}á\ m\check{r}e-mut$
 19. A $m\check{k}i-din-dXXX\ bar-sip^{ki}\ iti\ GAN\ U_4\ 2\ KAM$
 20. MU 6 KAM $m\check{k}u-ur-ra-á\check{s}$
 U.E. 21. LUGAL TIN.TIR^{ki} LUGAL KUR.KUR

Translation: One mina of silver, capital, of which is 1/8 shekel alloy belonging to Šaddinnu son of Balāssu descendant of Bēliyaū' is charged for a business venture against Munahḫiṣ-Marduk son of Nabû-ahḫē-iddina descendant of Šulūtu and Marduk-šuma-ibni son of Rēmūtu descendant of Kidin-Sîn. Whatever (profit) they make in the city and the country, they will pay the capital (to Šaddinnu) and of the profit Šaddinnu will have an equal share with Munahḫiṣ-Marduk and Marduk-šuma-ibni. Each assumes warranty for the other. The former promissory note of 1/3 shekel of silver will be broken.

Witnesses: Nabû-erība son of Nabû-zēra-ukīn descendant of Kidin-Sîn, Ubariya son of Nabû-ahḫē-iddina descendant of..., Nabû-šuma-iškun son of Nabû-kēšir descendant of *Rē'ú sisē* (Horseherd), (and) the scribe Marduk-šuma-ibni son of Rēmūtu descendant of Kidin-Sîn.

Borsippa, Kislev (IX), day two, year six of Cyrus, King of Babylon, King of Lands.

Remarks

7. One expects *i-šal-lim-mu*.
 17 *in fine* - Note the phonetic complement.
 18. Scribe = co-debtor.

The capital is explicitly repaid to the creditor (Šaddinnu), whereas this is just implied from the typical formulation of the other *harrānu* deeds (cf. H. Lanz, *Die neubabylonischen harrānu-Geschäftsunternehmen* [Berlin 1976], 33: "...aus der Begründungsklausel ergebenden Verpflichtung zur Rückgabe des Stammkapitals"). Only of the profit do they have their shares: half for the creditor and half for both debtors (i.e. one quarter for each, cf. Lanz, *harrānu*, 23 with n. 163). The term for the repayment of the capital to the creditor is not indicated here (for cases where the term is fixed see Lanz, *harrānu*, 33f.). This deed can be compared with another *harrānu*-enterprise:

— BM 103661-Babylon, 5.VI.3 Nbn = 553/2 B.C.

1. 5 GÍN KÙ.BABBAR $\check{s}á\ md+AG-da-la-'$
 2. A-šú $\check{s}á\ m\check{r}-d+AG\ A\check{s}\ UGU^{bi}$
 3. $md+AG-Ú\check{s}-TIN^{it}\ A-šú\ \check{s}á\ md+AG-DA$
 4. *a-na* KASKAL^{II} AŠ MU.AN.NA 3 *ri-ba-a-tú* KÙ.BABBAR
 5. $\check{s}u-ú\ \check{H}.A.LA-šú\ md+AG-Ú\check{s}-TIN^{it}$
 6. $i-nam-da-á\check{s}-šú\ md+AG-da-la-'$
 7. AŠ *ú-tur ul ik-kal*
 8. AŠ *mi-ṭi-ti ul ú-šal-lam*
 LO.E. 9. $lú\ mu-kin-nu\ m\check{i}n-nu-d+AG$
 R. 10. A-šú $\check{s}á\ m\check{h}a-ri-ma-'$
 11. $m\check{a}m-ma-nu\ A-šú\ \check{s}á\ m\check{b}a-si-iá$
 12. $u\ lú\ UMBISAG\ m\check{r}e-mut-DINGIR.GAL$
 13. A-šú $\check{s}á\ m\check{D}INGIR.GAL-ŠE\check{S}^{me\check{s}}.MU$
 14. TIN.TIR^{ki} $iti\ KIN\ U_4\ 5\ KAM$
 15. MU 3 KAM $md+AG-I\ LUGAL\ TIN.TIR^{ki}$
 16. AŠ $u_4-mu\ md+AG-da-la-'$
 17. *a*-na ši-ma-tu_4 it-tal-ku*
 U.E. 18. KÙ.BABBAR IGI $\check{J}ba-zi-tu_4$
 19. *id-dag-gal*

Translation: Five shekels of silver belonging to Nabû-dalā son of Ardi-Nabû are charged for a business venture against Nabû-mīta-uballit son of Nabû-lē'. Each year 3/4 of the silver is his (i.e. Nabû-dalā's), Nabû-mūta-uballit will give him (that as) his share. Nabû-dalā will not have (any share in) the profit, nor will he pay for the deficit (make up the loss).

Witnesses : Innu-Nabû son of Ḥarīmā (and) Ammānu son of Basiya ; and the scribe Rēmūt-Iltarān son of Iltarān-aḥḥē-iddina.

Babylon, Elul (VI), day five, year three of Nabû-na' id, King of Babylon. When Nabû-dalā dies, the (aforesaid) silver will be handed over/transferred to Bazītu.

Remarks : *ḥarrānu*-transaction type A (Lanz, *ḥarrānu*, 7f.).

4. The interest is fixed at 75% in this clause.

8. *miṭṭu* "shortage, deficit, losses" is followed by *ek-bi*, i.e. "delay, hindrance" (to 'K-B "to withhold, delay" in Jewish Aram. and Middle Heb.), in *TuM* 2/3, 108, 10 (cf. *CAD* I/J, 48b) "(to meet) losses and any delay", an Aramaic loanword in NB/LB.

10f. Both witnesses are of West Semitic extraction, like Nabû-dalā. For the names *Ḥa-ri-ma-* ("consecrated") and *Am-ma-nu* (**Amm-ān*) see R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian periods: An onomastic study* (Jerusalem 1978), 123 and 56 (*ad* NA *Ḥa-ma-a-ni*) respectively.

12f. Both the scribe and his father bear names with a common theophorous element, viz. the god of Dēr, which points to a family tradition.

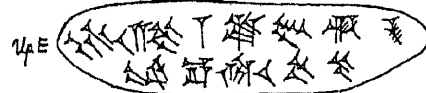
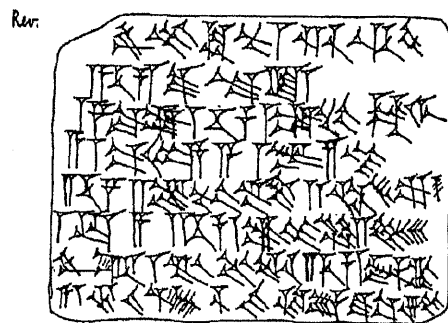
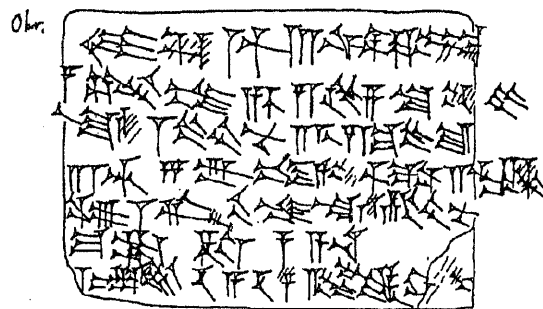
18. Bazītu was presumably Nabû-dalā's wife. It may be surmised that Nabû-dalā was an aged or a sick person (or both), and this modest investment was just one of his moves to guaranty the subsistence of his future widow.

— **BM 96181** - Borsippa, 15.XI.12 Dar. I = 510/09 B.C. ; promissory note for dates (see copy)

1. 16 GUR 1 (PI) 1 BÁN 3 ŠĪLA ZÚ.LUM.MA
2. *šá* <^m>*ni-din-tu*₄ A-*šú šá* ^m*gu-za-la-da*(?)-KAM
3. AŠ ŠU^{II} ^m*šad-din-nu* A-*šú šá* ^m*ba-laṭ-su*
4. A ^mEN-*ia-ú* ŠÁM MAŠ MA.NA 2 MAŠ GÍN KÙ.BABBAR
5. BABBAR-*ú* ^m*ni-din-tu*₄ AŠ ŠU^{II} ^m*šad-din-nu*
6. *ma-ḥir* KÙ.BABBAR *šá a-na*
- LO.E. 7. ^{md}+AG-*URU-šú* A-*šú šá* ^{md}+AG-*it-ta*[*n-n*]u
8. *a-na* UGU^{bi} ^m*šad-din-nu*
9. SUM^{na}
- R. 10. ^{lú}*mu-kin-nu* ^m*re-mut*
11. A-*šú šá* ^m*ba-la-ṭu*
12. ^mNÍG.BA-^d+AG A-*šú šá* ^{md}+AG-*NUMUN-GÁL* ^{ši}
13. A ^mGISSU-A+A ^{md}+AG-A-MU
14. A-*šú šá* ^{md}+AG-*NUMUN-SI.SÁ* A ^m*ši-gu-ú-a*
15. ^mUR-a A-*šú šá* ^{md}+AG-MU-*ŠEŠ* A ^mMU(?)*-xx*
16. ^{lú}UMBISAG ^m*mu-še?-zib?*^d+EN A-*šú šá* ^{md}+AG-SUR-ZI<^{me}>
17. A ^m*ki-din*^dXXX *bar-sip*^{ki} ^{iti}ZÍZ U₄ 15 KAM
- U.E. 18. MU 12 KAM ^m*da-*'*ri-šú*
19. LUGAL E^{ki} u KUR.KUR

BM 96181

BM 96181 (cont.)



Translation : 16 *kors*, one *pānu* (and) three *seahs* of dates, which Nidintu son of Guzala-da(?)*-KAM* received from the hands of Šaddinnu son of Balāssu descendant of Bēliya'u. (The dates) are worth (lit. the price

of) half mina and 2.5 (= 32.5) shekels of white silver. The silver was given to Nabû-ušuršu son of Nabû-ittannu on Šaddinnu's account.

Witnesses: Rēmūtu son of Balātu; Iqīša-Nabû son of Nabû-zēra-ušabši (or -šubši) descendant of Šillāyu; Nabû-apla-iddina son of Nabû-zēru-lišir descendant of Šigū'a; (and) Kalbā son of Nabû-šuma-ušur (or -nādin-aḫi) descendant of...; scribe: Mušēzib-Bēl son of Nabû-ēter-napšāti descendant of Kidin-Sîn.

Borsippa, Shebat (XI), day 15, year 12 of Darius, King of Babylon and the Lands.

Remarks

2. The paternal name is unexplained.

4f. Prices for commodities are given in the majority of cases by quoting the quantity of silver first and the commodity in the second place. The inverted order here is analogous to, e.g., *AnOr* 8, 12, 1 (101 *kors* of barley, the price of 1 5/6 (=1.833) minas of silver, Uruk, 577/6 B.C.)

1. Compare BM 29087 (Borsippa, 29.IV.4 Dar. I = 518/7 B.C.), where 1 (+1x?) mina of silver, rations (PAD^{bi.a}) of lú-ú-pi-ú-t[u (xx)] for the period VII.3 Dar. I -end of VI.4 Dar. I, are recorded. They were received from Šaddinnu by Bēl-iddina/Marduk-šuma-iddina/Kidin-Nanā as proxy of Nabû-šumu-lišir the chief administrator (*šatammu*) of Ezida on account of the bakers of Ezida. The mention of bakers proves that lú-ú-pi-ú-t[u] denotes the bakers' profession (with -ūtu denoting an abstract noun) and - like *upūtu* - is probably based on ' -P-Y (Akkad. *epū(m)*) "to bake".

2. Read ^{garim} É-a-mu in *VS* 3, 151, 18 (not -Apla-iddina as transcribed in *RGTC* 8, 81).

3. This undated area is named after the "fifty" of the Esaggil-mansum clan as can be seen from BM 96164.

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52) The *ḫablu* building in Emar and Ekalte – Among different types of buildings mentioned in legal texts from Emar, besides the most frequently attested houses and ruins/building plots (*kiširtu*), namely *é-tugguru*, *ḫidru*, *ḫablu* and *ḫaba'u*, the *ḫablu* building is also cited in two texts from Ekalte and a connection between the textual and archaeological evidence in both sites may give a clue to understand the meaning of the term.

Several etymological explanations have been proposed for the Emar documentation: Fleming has supposed a derivation from the verb "*ḫabālu* III, to be in debt, to borrow", with the meaning "encumbered house",¹ a meaning retained by Westenholz "under mortgage".² Differently, Tsukimoto takes it to be a damaged (?) house, from the Akkadian *ḫabālu* II, "to do wrong, to destroy", while Pentiuć, following the proposal by Huehnergard of deriving the word from a West Semitic root ḤBL "lot, portion", interprets the Emarite attestation as designating a "kind of house combined with a lot, as opposed to *é-tu₄* the generic term for property".³

But the contexts in which this term appears seem to indicate a type of building rather than a "state" of a house and considering its attestation together with a house in a sale contract from Munbaqa, the ancient town of Ekalte, Mayer proposes the translation of "Nebengebäude, Anbau" from *ḫabālu* IV "to bind".⁴

The Emar evidence points to this last proposal for several reasons. The term is mentioned in the following texts:

E6.34, a will where it is adjacent to a "main house" in the list of bequeathed properties (1.7: *é-tu₄ GAL ḫa-ab-lu*).

In E6.85 where it is sold together with a house by three brothers, and it is located in the same place as the house: 1.7: *é-tu₄ ḫa-ab-lu aš-[ri-i]š-ma*. The bordering properties are indicated only for the house and not for the *ḫablu* building but this is the only case where its dimensions are given (20 x 15 cubits). The building is nevertheless sold together with the house, as it is usually the case, and the text gives the total value of the two buildings, so that the price of the individual properties is impossible to determine.

In E6.91 it is mentioned again in a will, possibly as part of the inheritance share of one of the heir, but in a broken line. A location is given: 1.16: [*é-ta ù é*] *ḫa-ab-la ša KÁ-bi é "ku-ú-bi"* and, as in the following lines one of the heirs complains against the one given the house and the *ḫablu* building, accusing him to have a new house whilst he bequeathed a damaged one, Durand has supposed an assimilation of the *ḫablu* building with the mention of "new house",⁵ but the adjective could be related to both the inherited buildings.

E6.154 is a fragment of a sale contract and a 1. 3': [*é-tu₄*] *ḫa-ab-lu ù* [KIRI₆.NUMUN] are mentioned but in a too fragmentary context.

Another sale contract where the building is connected to a house and also adjacent to it is HCCT.E-10, 1.13 and 1.18: *é-tu₄ ù é ḫa-ab-lu ša ZAG-šu*.

A similar building is mentioned as a bordering property of a house in *AuOr*.5-9, 1.4: *GÜB-šu é ḫa-ab-lu*, in a text that registers the exchange of houses between two persons; similarly in RE 68 a *ḫablu* building is attested as a bordering property of a *ki-ir-ší-tu*, a ruin, 1.5: *GÜB-ši é ḫa-ab-lu ša ¹Gu-ri-ni*.

A further will mentions a *ḫablu* building together with a new house and a ruin as part of the inheritance share of the two sons of the testators, a location besides a house is again cited: BLMJ 15, ll. 3-4 ... *é ḫa-ab-lu / ša it-ti é DUMU.MEŠ ¹Tu-ul-li*.

HCCT-E 51 records “the *hablu*-building besides the house of Imutha son of Hāza”, ll. 25-26: *é ha-ab-lu ša i-tu₄ é-tu₄ ša i-mu-ut-ha DUMU ha-a-za*, as the inheritance share bequeathed to the daughter of the testator’s wife, whilst another three houses are given to his son together with a threshing floor. The text could be from Munbaqa as the scribe Ikūn-^dDagan is the most frequently mentioned in tablets from Ekalte.

Finally the most useful indication on one of the possible uses of this type of building comes from HCCT-E 22, where the *hablu* is again cited with a house and where it is said that this building is for baking: 1.25: *é-tu₄ ša-ra (?) ù ha-ab-lu ša e-pi*.

In two tablets from Munbaqa the term is present: MBQ-T 69 = *WDOG* 102 text 9 is a sale contract where a house is bought together with the *hablu*-building, the measures are not given but it is stated in a single expression for both buildings “to its full extent” ll. 2-3: *é-tum ù é ha-ab-lu / ma-la ma-šu-ú*. A second *hablu* is listed together with a house as the left-hand bordering property.

MBQ-T 75 = *WDOG* 102 text 35 mentions a *hablu* located adjacent to the main house, as the inheritance share of one of the heirs ll. 7-8: *é-tu₄ ha-ab-lu / i-na GÜB é-ti GAL*.

The textual evidence gives information of a rather frequently attested type of building, always located adjacent to houses and connected to them, but usually not necessary to describe, as if it was a sort of functional extension of the house, often the main house of the family group.

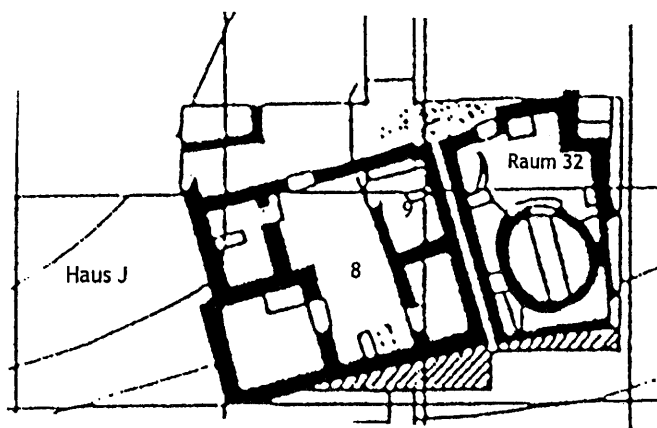
The archaeological evidence can help in recognizing what is meant in the texts: if we keep in mind the mention of a baking activity performed at least in one *hablu*-building in a text from Emar, a connection between what has been found in Mumbaqa can clear the situation.

Adjacent to Haus J, one of the excavated houses in the “Aussenstadt” at Mumbaqa, a one-room building has been found, Raum 32. It is rectangular in shape, 11.0 x 7.5 m and has the peculiarity of containing a large oven, 5 m in diameter, which, according to the archaeologist could have been a baking oven: “alles spricht für einen grossen Backofen”.⁷

The dimensions are comparable and almost identical to the only attestation of the size of such a construction in text E6.8, 20 x 15 cubits, if we take a cubit to be 50 cm. The function is similar, it is adjacent to a house and it is indeed one of its bordering properties. The concordance to the epigraphical data is striking and this is a good candidate of a *hablu*-building type.

This does not mean that all the *hablu* buildings were used for baking, but that “annex buildings” were functional one-room buildings where specific activities, connected to a house, could be performed. For this reason Mayer’s proposal of interpreting the term as “Nebengebäude, Anbau” is probably the closest translation to the reality.

The need to build a functional building beside houses, at least in Emar, even if from the archaeological data from that site it is difficult to recognize such structures, is probably due to the typical ground plan of Emar houses, which are relatively small, the average area together with external walls being 70 m² ca. and, as has been pointed out by McLellan, may have been too small to accommodate substantial work areas.⁸



Haus J and Raum 32 in the excavated area “Aussenstadt” in Mumbaqa (from Machule 1993, p. 90, Abb. 12).

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1. Fleming 1992, p. 65, fnt. 43.
2. Westenholz 2001, p. 43 note 3.
3. Pentiuć 2001, pp. 54-55.
4. Mayer 2001, p. 83, fnt. 2.
5. Durand J.-M., RA 84, 1990, p. 49 ftn. 92.
6. Tsukimoto 1991, p. 287 n. 26.
7. Machule et al. 1993, p. 92.
8. McLellan 1997, p. 44.

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53) NA Qu-ra-šú-te = Κορωτή – An individual from ^{kur}Qu-ra-šú-te acted as a witness in a NA deed from 632* B.C., which was found in Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad (ancient Dūr-Katlimmu, K. Radner, *Die neuassyrischen Texte aus Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad*, Berlin 2002, 65, le.e. 1) on the lower Habur. ^{kur}Qu-ra-šú-te is in all probability the same place as Κορωτή (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1, 5, 4). The latter form is with dropping of an unstressed short a. Korsôtê is sought on the Euphrates south of the mouth of the Habur, see F.H. Weissbach, *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 11 (Stuttgart 1922), 1439f., s.v. Korsote (cf. K. Kessler, *Der kleine Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*, Stuttgart and Weimar, 6, 760). However, Weissbach's identification of Korsôtê with Hur-ze-e of Sūhu is unacceptable as Korsôtê — like Dūr-Katlimmu — was in all probability situated on former Laqean territory.

Ran ZADOK (02-06-2003)

54) The Tale of the Illiterate Doctor in Nippur – Andrew George was right (*Iraq* 55 [1993] 65) in correcting my translation in the humorous Tale of the Illiterate Doctor in Nippur (*PAPS* 130 [1986] p. 1) from “Ninlugalabzu ... the gardener-woman of the Henun-Enlil orchard, sitting in the Tillazida street pulling up weeds” to “Bēltiya-šarrat-Apsī ... who tends the garden called Abundance of Enlil and sits [at a] plot on Right Street selling vegetables.”

Had I realized when I made my translation that asking your way from an old woman selling vegetables in the street is a topos, I too would have interpreted the verb written with the logogram BÚR as *pašāru* 'to sell'. Here is a parallel from Petronius' *Satyricon* (6.3 - 7.1):

Sed nec viam diligenter tenebam [quia] nec quod stabulum esse sciebam. Itaque quocumque ieram, eodem revertēbar, donec et cursu fatigatus et sudore iam madens accedo aniculam quamdam, quae agreste holus vendebat. et 'rogo' inquam 'mater, numquid scis ubi ego habitem?' Delectata est illa urbanitate tam stulta et 'quidni sciam?' inquit consurrexitque et coepit me precedere.

“But I had neither taken careful note of the route nor knew where the lodging was. Thus, whichever direction I took, I kept coming back to the same place. Finally, tired of running around and dripping with sweat, I came upon a little old woman selling vegetables from the farm. “May I ask, mother,” I said to her, “whether you know where I live?” She was amused by such inane wit, and replied: “Why wouldn't I?” She got up and began to lead the way.”

Our interpretations of the comic thrust of the Akkadian tale differ, but about the comic character of the Petronius episode there is no doubt; in fact, it has a double sting: for one, the lost traveler asks not for another person's address but for his own and, second, instead of to his lodging, the old woman takes the hero of Petronius' tale to a brothel.

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55) Polygynie en Mésopotamie. Complément – Lors de la Rencontre Assyriologique de Helsinki (S. Parpola et R.M. Whiting, eds, *CRRAI* 47, Helsinki, 2002, pp. 151-164), on a tenté de montrer qu'il existait dans les sociétés mésopotamiennes des femmes dont les statuts sociaux étaient variés, parfois dépréciés, et avec lesquelles il était possible pour un homme d'avoir en toute légalité des relations sexuelles. Deux références sont à ajouter à ces pages :

1) *BRM* 4, 19 : 28 et parallèles qui fait référence à un exorcisme permettant d'avoir des rapports avec une femme « sans encourir de châtement » (*hiṭu*). Ce texte a déjà été amplement commenté par J. Bottéro (*Mythes et rites de Babylone*, Paris, 1985, p. 105).

2) *MEE* 4, p. 340 : 1412' : des sources lexicographiques bilingues d'Ebla établissent la correspondance suivante :

géme.kar.ak	sà-bí-tum
géme.kar.ak	ša-ma-ak-tum
géme.gàr.ra	sà-bí-tum

Où l'on découvre que géme.kar.ak est traduit par « cabaretière » mais aussi par « beauté ».

Partant, il est possible de préciser la traduction de l'expression géme.kar.ak na.sa₁₀ qui figure dans les *Instructions de Shuruppak* et qui doit se comprendre : « ne fais pas d'affaires avec une cabaretière ».

Une lecture *za-ne-tum* en lieu de *sà-bí-tum* a également été proposée, le terme étant rapproché de l'hébreu *zonah*, « prostituée ». Mais si cette hypothèse devait être retenue, ce qui paraît peu vraisemblable, on penserait davantage à rapprocher le terme de la racine sémitique *zny* qui a deux sens, ceux de « forniquer » et de « raconter ». Le mot ne serait pas sans évoquer l'arabe *aluma*, « savante », un terme qui désigne une femme instruite. On donnait ce nom, dans la société cairote du 18^e siècle, à des femmes diseuses accomplies de poésie. Vers le milieu du 19^e siècle, ce terme est utilisé comme une sorte de nom de métier pour les danseuses et les courtisanes.

En Mésopotamie comme dans toute société patriarcale, le pouvoir et l'argent appartenaient aux chefs de familles nantis dont les enfants n'héritaient, parfois tardivement, qu'à la mort du père. Ne pouvant accéder au mariage, ils avaient le loisir d'entretenir des rapports avec des femmes de statuts différents qu'il est difficile de subsumer sous l'unique traduction de prostituées. Ces relations avaient le mérite de satisfaire les uns sans contraindre les autres à s'engager dans des relations institutionnalisées et non désirées avec autrui.

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56) Ni 9930 : A new Manuscript of "Išme-Dagan and Enlil's Chariot" – Ni 9930 is an obverse only fragment of a tablet with at least two columns published in ISET 1, p. 198 = pl. 140. The fragment may come from the top left corner of the original tablet as the six fragmentary lines of the first column duplicate ll. 2-4 of the composition "Išme-Dagan and Enlil's Chariot" (Išme-Dagan I) (2.5.4.09).¹ The text of Ni 9930 is written with short lines. The lines of col. ii cannot be matched with any of the lines on the other manuscript; they may well belong to the gap before l. 28 of the composition.

The variant in l. 5' of col. i supports Klein who on the basis of the context rightly suggested in his commentary that - me-en, at the end of l. 3 of ms. A must be a scribal error (Klein 1989 : 41).

What follows is a transliteration of Ni 9930 (= ms. B) and the relevant lines on CBS 6137 + Ni 9868 + Ni 4480 (ms. A) :

2	A i 2	e ₂ -kur eš ₃ maḥ-a-na dim ₂ -me-za bi ₂ -in-dug ₄
	B i 1'-2'	†dim ₂ [?] -me [?] -za ¹ / [bi ₂]-in-dug ₄
3	A i 3	ḏiš-me-ḏda-gan sipad gal-zu mu dug ₃ sa ₄ -a-me-en
	B i 3'-5'	[ḏiš]-me-ḏda-gan / [sipad] †gal ¹ -zu / [mu dug ₃] †sa ₄ ¹ -a-na
4	A i 4	šag ₄ ama sig ₇ u ₃ -tud mas-su ₂ kalam-ma-ka
	B i 6'	[šag ₄ ama sig ₇] †u ₃ [?] -tud ¹
i	B ii 1'	†KA ¹ [...]
ii	B ii 2'	†MA [?] [...]
iii	B ii 3'	sa- [...]
iv	B ii 4'	†UN ¹

1. The composition was edited by Civil (1968) and Klein (1989). An electronic edition of Išme-Dagan I (composite transliteration and an English translation) is included in the Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (<http://www-etcsl.orient.ox.ac.uk>). Its catalogue number is shown in brackets behind the title of the composition. Ni 9930 has been identified with the help of ETCSL's searchable files.

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57) Ni 4345 - A new manuscript of "The advice of a supervisor to a younger scribe" (E-dubba C) – Ni 4345 is a small fragment published in ISET 1, p. 145 = pl. 87. The fragment appears to be an as yet unrecognized manuscript of the composition "The advice of a supervisor to a younger scribe (E-dubba C)" (5.1.3).¹ The obverse duplicates ll. 53-55 and the first half of l. 57; l. 56 is omitted by ms. The reverse duplicates ll. 63-64 and three more lines which I was unable to identify from the traces. What follows is a transliteration of Ni 9906

together with the composite text of the ETCSL edition :²

53 ³	obv. 1'-2'	ni ₂ tur-tur-re e-ra-da-zaḥ ₂ -zaḥ ₂ -na pa ga-ra-ab-ed ₂ zu-a [...] XXX -ra-da-a'-zaḥ ₂ ' ; [...] -ra'-ab-ed ₂ zu-a
54	obv. 3'-4'	ud-bi-ta lu ₂ -tur ḥe ₂ -me-en-na i ₃ -ne-še ₃ saḡ-zu il ₂ [...] -ta' lu ₂ -tur ḥe ₂ -me-en ; [...] -eš' saḡ-BA' il ₂
55	obv. 5'-6'	šu-zu lu ₂ -ra mu-da-an-gi ₄ -gi ₄ -in a-ra ₂ -bi-še ₃ DU-mu-un [...] lu ₂ -ra mu-da-an-gi ₄ ' gi ₄ ' ; [...] -bi' -še ₃ DU-mu-un
57	obv. 7'	na-rig ₅ -ga ga i ₃ gu ₇ -a-gin ₇ su-ḡa ₂ i-ni-in-kur ₉ -ra [...] -ga' ga i ₃ gu ₇ -a'
63	rev. 1'	«nam i-ri-tar-ra mu-na-ra-kur ₂ -ru šu zid ḥa-ra-an-ḡa ₂ -ḡa ₂ » «{ 1 ms. has instead the line : ⁴ } šu dug ₄ -ga ^d nisaba-me-en gu ₂ an-še ₃ [...]» [...] gu ₂ ' an-še ₃ ḥe ₂ -[...]
64	rev. 2'	šaḡ ₄ ḥul ₂ -la nam-še ₃ ḥe ₂ -bi ₂ -tar šaḡ ₄ sig ₃ ḥe ₂ -da-zig ₃ [...] tar' šaḡ ₄ sig ₃ ḥe ₂ -da-zig ₃ '

1. No print edition of the composition is available. A translation of the composition based on the published sources was published by Vanstiphout 1997. An electronic edition of the composition (composite transliteration and an English translation) is included in the Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (<http://www-etcsl.orient.ox.ac.uk>). Its catalogue number is shown in brackets behind the title of the composition. Ni 4345 has been identified with the help of ETCSL's searchable files. I thank Prof. Konrad Volk for kindly confirming to me in an email that the fragment had not been recognized before.

2. The semi-colon indicates an indented line in the score. Ll. obv. 2', 4', and 6' were probably indented.

3. See Vanstiphout 1996 : 2 on this line.

4. The manuscript is : CBS 7843 + CBS 7853 + CBS 19826 (Schooldays 3) + Ni 4092 (ISET 2 84) + Ni 4243 (SLTN 114) + Ni 4262 (SLTN 125) c 19-d. The variant line in question is l. 39 on Ni 4323 (SLTN 114) side b. Prof. Volk kindly informed me that the end of the line is to be restored as ḥé-nam on the basis of unpublished sources.

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Gábor ZÓLYOMI (08-07-2003)

58) Ni 9906 : a new manuscript of "Enlil in the Ekur (Enlil A)" – Ni 9906 is a small obverse only fragment published in ISET 1, p. 195 = pl. 137. The fragment appears to be an as yet unrecognized manuscript of the composition "Enlil in the Ekur (Enlil A)" (4.05.1).¹ It duplicates ll. 7-15 of the composition. What follows is a transliteration of Ni 9906 together with the composite text of the ETCSL edition :

7	obv. 1'	diḡir ki ni ₂ -ba-mu-un-na-gur ₂ -e-eš [...] mu' [...]
8	obv. 2'	diḡir-diḡir ^d a-nun-na mu-un-na-sun ₅ -sun ₅ -ne-eš [...] -na mu-na- ^f sun ₅ ' [...]
9	obv. 3'	a ₂ aḡ ₂ -ḡa ₂ zid-de ₃ -eš im-ma-sug ₂ -ge-eš [...] zid'-de ₃ -eš im- [...]
10	obv. 4'	en uru ^{ru} gal an ki-a dirig di-zu gal-an-zu-e [...] an ki-a dirig [...]
11	obv. 5'	dur-an-ki-ka dur ₂ ba-an-ḡar ḡeštug ₂ daḡal-la-ke ₄ [...] dur ₂ ' ba-an- [...]
12	obv. 6'	nam-nun-na ni ₂ pa ed ₂ -a ši-bi ₂ -in-ak ki-ur ₃ ki gal-la [...] -bi-a [...]
13	obv. 7'	nibru ^{ki} ud ₅ -saḡ maḥ an ki-ka ki-tuš im-ma-ni-in-du ₃ [...] -saḡ maḥ an' [...]
14	obv. 8'	iri igi-bi ni ₂ me-lem ₄ ḥuš-a [...] ni ₂ ' me- [...]
15	obv. 9'	bar-bi diḡir uru ^{ru} -na saḡ nu-ḡa ₂ -ḡa ₂ -dam [...] -na' [...]

Remarks :

12 : Ni 9906 probably has ni₂-bi-a instead of ni₂ pa-ed₂-a similarly to ms. A (CBS 8533 = PBS 10/4 10) and ms. KK (Ni 4341 = TAD 8/2 pl. 33) :

A obv. 12 nam-nun-e ni₂-bi-a ši-bi-in-ed₂ ki-ur₃ ki gal-la
 KK obv. 12 nam-nun-na ni₂-bi-a ši-bi-in- [...]

1. The composition was edited by Falkenstein (1959 : 5-79) and Reisman (1970 : 41-12). An electronic edition of the composition (composite transliteration and an English translation) is included in the Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (<http://www-etcsl.orient.ox.ac.uk>). Its catalogue number is shown in brackets behind the title of the composition. Ni 9906 has been identified with the help of *ETCSL*'s searchable files.

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Gábor ZÓLYOMI (08-07-2003)

59) Ni 4538 – a new manuscript of Šulgi B – Ni 4538 is a small fragment published in ISET 1, p. 163 = pl. 105. The fragment appears to be an as yet unrecognized manuscript of the composition “Šulgi B” (2.4.2.02).¹ The side designated as obverse in ISET 1 duplicates ll. 345-350 of the ETCSL edition of the composition. The side designated as reverse duplicates ll. 231-237. The arrangement of lines therefore shows that the assignment of sides in ISET 1 cannot be correct.

The fragment must come from the lower left-hand corner of the tablet. The obverse preserved the last seven lines of col. 1. The reverse preserved the first six lines of the last column of the tablet. As the composition is 385 lines long, the last column must have been 41 lines long. Between the last line of col. i on the obverse (= l. 237) and the first line of the last column on the reverse (= l. 345) the tablet had 108 lines. As the last column of the tablet may have ended before the end of the tablet, and may have contained also a colophon, it seems reasonable to assume that these 108 lines were split into the two columns. Consequently the original tablet of Ni 4538 must have been a two-column tablet that was the second tablet of a two-tablet recension.

What follows is a transliteration of Ni 4538 together with the composite text of the ETCSL edition :

231		nam-kug-zu-ḡu ₁₀ gam-gam-da-bi-gin ₇
	col i 1'	[X X]-f zu ⁷ l- [...]
232		nam-kalag-ga saḡ-izi [bar ₇]-a-gin ₇
	col i 2'	[X X X] saḡ-izi [...]
233		ama tuku nu-me-en šag ₄ inim-[ma] mu-zu
	col i 3'	[X] f tuku ¹ nu-me-en-na f šag ₄ inim ¹ - [...]
234		inim-ḡu ₁₀ saḡ i ₃ -li inim-ma-kam
	col i 4'	[X]-f ḡu ₁₀ ¹ saḡ i ₃ -li inim- [...]
235		šag ₄ izi-gin ₇ bar ₇ -a šed ₁₀ -bi mu-zu
	col. i 5'	[X] f izi ¹ -gin ₇ bar ₇ -a šed ₁₀ (MUŠ ₃ .DI) f mu ¹ - [...]
236		ka ḡiš-gi-gin ₇ izi-ba šum ₂ -ma te-en-te-en-bi mu-zu
	col. I, 6'	[X X]-gi-a-gin ₇ f izi-ba šum ₂ -ma ¹ [...]
237		inim-ḡu ₁₀ lu ₂ -inim-ma dirig-ga ki mu-un-ši-ib-la ₂ -e
	col. I 7'	[X X] f lu ₂ ¹ -inim-e dirig-f ga ⁷ l [...]
345		ḡur-saḡ niḡ ₂ šag ₄ -ge nu-gid ₂ -i-gin ₇
	col. iv 1	[X]-f saḡ niḡ ₂ ¹ šag ₄ -ge nu-f gid ₂ ¹ - [...]
346		šag ₄ -ge šu nu-teḡ ₃ -ḡe ₂₆ -e-gin ₇ ib ₂ -ak
	col. iv 2	f šag ₄ -ge šu ¹ nu-teḡ ₃ -ḡe ₂₆ -e-gin ₇ [...]
347		inim ib ₂ -ta-DU.DU i-gi ₄ -in-zu lul na-nam
	col. iv 3	f inim ¹ [X]-ta-DU.DU i-f gi ₄ ¹ - [...]
348		ki nam-dub-ba inim dugud-dugud-da-bi
	col. iv 4	[X X]-f dub ¹ -ba inim dugud-f dugud ¹ - [...]
349		nam-kug-zu-ḡu ₁₀ nam-kalag-ga-ḡu ₁₀
	col. iv 5	[X X X]-f ḡu ₁₀ ¹ nam-kalag- [...]
350		a ₂ ḡal ₂ taka ₄ -a ki silim-še ₃ di-ḡa ₂
	col. iv. 6	[X X X X] f ki ¹ silim- [...]

1. No reliable print edition of this composition is available. Castellino 1972 is qualified by Klein (1981 : 39, fn. 67) as “highly unreliable”. An electronic edition of the composition (composite transliteration and an English translation) is included in the Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (<http://www-etcsl.orient.ox.ac.uk>). Its catalogue number is shown in brackets behind the title of the composition. Ni 4358 is not listed among the manuscripts of Šulgi B by Klein 1981 : 38-39, and is not among

the cuneiform sources listed on the ETCSL website. The ETCSL's list is based on an unpublished catalogue of Miguel Civil. Ni 4358 has been identified with the help of ETCSL's searchable files.

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Gábor ZÓLYOMI (08-07-2003)

60) Some further remarks on indefinite genitive in Sumerian – The following note aims to reflect on some of the proposals made by Bendt Alster and Gebhard Selz in their recent papers Alster 2002 and Selz 2002.

Both Alster (2002 : 24–25) and Selz (2002 : 132) make observations about the terms indefinite vs. definite genitive introduced by Zólyomi 1996 : 36–38 into Sumerian context. The term derives from grammatical descriptions of Turkish where two types of possessive constructions can be distinguished on formal grounds. (1a) is an example of an indefinite genitive, while (1b) is a definite genitive.

(1a)	(1b)
yatak oda-sı	uzman-in rapor-u
<i>bed room-its</i>	<i>expert-of report-his</i>
bedroom	the expert's report

The two constructions differ also functionally. In an indefinite genitive the relation between its elements cannot “sensibly called that of ‘possession’. Rather, the possessive affix simply marks some sort of attributive relation between the head and the modifying noun, a relation which is signaled by simple concatenation in English” (Spencer 1991 : 315). In a Turkish indefinite genitive the “non-head loses its referentiality and becomes simply a modifier of the head” (Spencer 1991 : 318).

Zólyomi 1996 suggested that one can distinguish two types of genitives also in Sumerian which are *functionally* similar to the two types of genitives in Turkish.¹ The suggestion related to constructions of the following types (Zólyomi 1996 used different examples) :

(2a)	(2b)
/sipad anše-ak lugal-ak/ ²	/sipad anše lugal-ak-ak/
<i>herder donkey-genitive king-genitive</i>	<i>herder donkey king-genitive-genitive</i>
“the king's donkey herder”	“the herder of the king's donkey”

(2a) is an indefinite genitive. Here the word anše “donkey” is unreferential, similarly to *yatak* ‘bed’ in (1a), it does not refer to an existing donkey ; rather, it modifies the meaning of the word *s i p a d* “herder”. In (2b), a definite genitive, the same word refers to an existing animal, namely that of the king. The functional difference between the two types of genitives is reflected in the syntax of the constructions : in (2a) /lugal-ak/ follows /sipad anše-ak/, while in (2b) it is placed between /sipad anše/ and the genitive case-marker /ak/. Definite and indefinite genitives differ structurally only if either (i) the construction is a double genitive as in (2a) and (2b) ; (ii) the construction contains a possessive enclitic as in (3a) and (3b) ; or (iii) the construction contains an adjective as in (4a) and (4b) :

(3a)	(3b)
/sipad anše-ak-ani/ ³	/sipad anše-ani-ak/
<i>herder donkey-genitive-his</i>	<i>herder donkey-his-genitive</i>
“his donkey herder”	“the herder of his donkey”
(4a)	(4b)
/sipad anše-ak zid/	/sipad zid anše-ak/
<i>herder donkey-genitive faithful</i>	<i>herder faithful donkey-genitive</i>
“faithful donkey herder”	“faithful herder of a/the donkey”

The simple construction /sipad anše-ak/ can mean either “donkey herder” or “the herder of a/the donkey”.

Alster observes that the Turkish definite genitive “is exactly parallel to the Sumerian anticipatory genitive, cf. /é-ak ig-bi/” (2002 : 24). Then, in connection with “indefinite genitives”, he remarks that “it is surprising to find that Zólyomi (pp. 37–38) uses the term [for] Sumerian constructions which do not formally conform to their Turkish counterparts” (24). He then suggests that it is possible “to identify true Sumerian parallels to” the Turkish indefinite genitives (25). His candidate is the type of construction *l u g a l a n - u b - d a l i m m u - b a* “king of the four quarters”.

In sum, Alster states (i) that my use of the term indefinite and definite genitive differs from the way they are used in grammars of Turkish, and suggests on formal grounds (ii) that constructions of the type *l u g a l a n - u b - d a l i m m u - b a* are the true counterparts of Turkish indefinite genitives, and

“deserve the designation ‘indefinite genitive’ in Sumerian” (2002 : 25).

As regards (i), it should be clear from the description both in Zólyomi 1996 and in this note that in my view the Sumerian and Turkish indefinite genitive show similarities only in their function but not in their form. It is misleading to identify constructions in two unrelated languages solely on the basis of form; similar forms may have different functions in different languages. Alster looks for similarity only in form and by doing this he misses the defining trait of indefinite genitive. Indefinite genitives are called indefinite genitives because in these constructions the possessor is non-referential and, consequently, indefinite. It is the non-referentiality of the possessor that makes Turkish and the Sumerian indefinite genitive similar, but not their form. As a matter of fact indefinite genitive is a misnomer, a name “unreferential genitive” would reflect better its linguistic nature.

The identification of Sumerian and Turkish genitives on the basis of their form is accepted also by Selz who writes: “Während evin kapısı ‘des Hauses sein Tor’ einen bestimmten (definitiven) Sachverhalt beschreibt, bezeichnet indefinites ev kapısı ‘Haus seine Tür’ allgemein die ‘Haustür’. Bereits ein erster Blick auf das Sumerische macht es wahrscheinlich, daß hier die Differenzierung ähnlich war. Am deutlichsten ist die Parallele in Bezeichnung wie diġir imin-bi ‘Die Siebengötter’ und ähnlichen Ausdrücken. Dagegen wäre diġir-ra imin-bi ‘die(se) sieben Götter’ (Selz 2002 : 132). Note that the second Sumerian construction mentioned by Selz, “diġir-ra imin-bi ‘die(se) sieben Götter’”, does not exist as in Sumerian numerals normally follow the quantified noun and do not form a possessive construction with them.

Selz’s first type of construction, di ġ i r i m i n - b i, leads us back to Alster’s suggestion in connection with constructions like l u g a l a n - u b - d a l i m m u - b a. This construction is to be analyzed as /lugal anubda limmu-bi-ak/. Alster’s proposal must relate to the /anubda limmu-bi/ part of the phrase. He suggests that this and similar constructions may be considered anticipatory genitives in which “the genitive marking of the rectum is omitted” (2002 : 25). He proposes the omission of the genitive case-marker here because Zólyomi (1996 : 39–40) showed that pace Hayes (1990 : 111 and 2000 : 131) a n - u b - d a cannot contain a genitive case-marker. No explanation is given by Alster as to the reason for the omission of the genitive case-marker in these construction, unless to make them formally similar to Turkish indefinite genitives. I can, however, see no reason to assume that /anubda limmu-bi/ derives from a genitive, given the syntax of numerals and quantified nouns in Sumerian, The function of -/bi/ here can be well explained from its use as a demonstrative pronoun : “that four quarters” ⇒ “the four quarters” .

1. “So, apart from the differences in the morphological marking, Turkish and Sumerian show an interesting similarity from the point of view of function” (Zólyomi 1996 : 38).

2. Cf. ki sum-ma ensi₂-ka/ ki sum-ak ensik-ak/ “the onion plot of the ruler” (Ukg. 4 4 : 10-11).

3. Cf. sipad anše-ka-ni (Gudea Cyl. B 10 : 1), and ki banšur-ra-ġu₁₀ “my dining place” (Gudea Cyl. A 10 : 27).

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Gábor ZÓLYOMI (17-08-03)

61) Ni 9857 and Ni 4400 : two new manuscripts of “Enmerkar and En-suġgir-ana” –

Ni 9857 – Ni 9857 is a very small fragment from the righ-hand upper corner of the original tablet, published in ISET 1, p. 189 = pl. 131. It appears to be an as yet unrecognized manuscript of the composition “Enmerkar and En-suġgir-ana” (1.8.2.4).¹ Following the system of sigla established by Berlin (1979) and Behrens (1983–1984), Ni 9857 will be labelled as ms. JJ.² The original tablet of Ni 9857 may have been a one-column tablet. What follows is a score transliteration of the lines duplicated by Ni 9857 with some commentary :³

117	D iv 4	en-suġ-gir ₁₁ -an-na-ke ₄ a ₂ aġ ₂ -ġa ₂ gu ₃ ¹ [...]; †inim ¹ im-kiġ ₂ -kiġ ₂ -e
	L rev. 14	[...] X X (X) [...]
	P obv. 19	en-suġ-gir ₁₁ -an-na a ₂ aġ ₂ -ġa ₂ gu ₃ ba-an-de ₂ inim im-kiġ ₂ -kiġ ₂ -e
	JJ obv. 1	†en-suġ ¹ -[X]-†an-na-ke ₄ ¹ [...]

118	D iv 5	[...] -†ge ₅ ¹ ? †ġi ₆ -par ₄ ¹ -ra til ₃ -la
	P obv. 20	išib lu ₂ -maġ gudu ₄ ġir ₃ -sig ₁₀ -ga ġi ₆ -par ₄ -ra til ₂ -la
	JJ obv. 2	išib [...]

119	D iv 6	[...] -†ab ¹ -kuš ₂ -u ₃
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	P obv. 21 JJ obv. 3	gu ₂ -X mu-ni-in-ḡar šag ₄ mu-da-ab-kuš ₂ -u ₃ gu ₂ X [...] X [...]
120	D iv 7 P obv. 22 JJ obv. 4	[...] ḡa-an-na ¹ -ab-be ₂ a-na ga-an-na-ab-be ₂ a-na ga-an-na-ab-be ₂ ḡa-na ga-an-na-ab ² -be ₂ ^{ḡ1} [...]
121	D iv 8 P JJ obv. 5	[...] en unug ^{ki} -ga en kul-aba ^{ki} -ra a-na ga-an-na-ab-be ₂ [...] ḡkul ^ḡ -aba ^{ḡ1} [...]
(Appendix)		
i	K iv 1' JJ iv 1'	[...] X ḡdug ^{ḡ1} [...] X X X [...]
ii	K iv 2' JJ iv 2'	[...] BI SI [...] X X X X [...]
iii	K iv 3' JJ iv 3'	[...] X-ta [...] X nu-um X [...]
iv	K iv 4 JJ iv 4'	[...] -an-dug ₄ [...] ḡinim ¹ -ma ba- [...]
v	K iv 5 JJ iv 5' S+ i 1	[...] -in-ku ₄ -ku ₄ [...] ḡen ¹ -na-še ₃ ḡlu ₂ [...] [...] ki en-na-še ₃ lu ₂ [...]
vi	K iv 6 JJ obv. 6' S+ i 2	[...] ḡen ¹ -na ; [...] ḡku ₄ ¹ -ku ₄ [X X]-nun-na ki ḡen ¹ [X X] ; lu ₂ mu-ni-ḡin ¹ - [...] ḡur ¹ -ḡir ₃ -nun-na ki en-na-še ₃ lu ₂ mu-ni-ḡin ¹ -ku ₄ -ku ₄
vii	S+ i 3	[maš]-maš-e sukkal GA ₂ an-sig ₇ -ga-ri-a na-mu-un-ne-dug ₄ -ga
viii	S+ i 4	[X]-bi-še ₃ nu-uš- [...];
ix	S+ i 5	[...] X X [...]

The obverse of Ni 9857 duplicates ll. 117–121 of the composition. The reverse of Ni 9857 duplicates the lines of the short segment of text that was edited after the main text of the composition as an “Appendix” by Berlin (1979 : 58), and as Segment B by ETCSL. The score transliteration above shows that the lines of this segment come from ll. iv 1’–7’ of ms. K (CBS 11345 = PBS 5 9) and ll. i 1–4 of ms. S + T + Z (UM 26-16-424 + UM 29-16-450 + N 3494).

The position of these lines within the composition is unclear and controversial. Behrens (1983–1984 : 103) thinks that l. v of the “Appendix” “wohl mit Z. 135 zu verbinden”. Attinger (1993 : 36), however, assumes that ll. v–vi are extra lines (= 150a, b), and l. vii–viii correspond to ll. 151–152 :

151	C iv 10 R obv. 12	X lu ₂ [...] [...] X an-sig ₇ -ga-ri-ḡa na ¹ -mu-ni-ḡdug ₄ -ga ¹
152	R obv. 13	X X X X nu-uš-ma-ab-ḡdug ₄ ¹ - [...]

The difference of assumptions between Behrens and Attinger can be traced back to how they position col. i of ms. S. This manuscript was joined with mss. T and Z, and the arrangement of the three fragments makes almost certain that the distance between col. i 1’ of ms. S and obv. 1 of ms. T (= S+ i 1 = the “Appendix” v) is seven lines (for a photo of the tablet see Behrens 1983–1984 : 100). Ll. 140–149 and ll. 153–162 of the composition are, however, the same, and consequently col. i of ms. S can be matched both with ll. 142–146 and ll. 155–159 :

142/155	S i 1’	[...] ḡne ¹
143/156	S i 2’	[...] AN-ba-al
144/157	S i 3’	[...] ni-ib ₂ -ḡar
145/158	S i 4’	[...] mi-tag
146/159	S i 5’	[...] ab-ta ; [...]

Behrens prefers the former, while Attinger the latter reconstruction. In my view, Attinger's suggestion is preferable as his solution accounts better for the similarity between ll. vii–viii and ll. 151–152. There is a problem, however, with his solution too, namely that the lines preceding l. 150 are not similar to ll. i–v of the “Appendix”. One should therefore account for more lines than “only” for ll. v–vi.

My suggestion is the following. L. vi of the “Appendix” is apparently the last line of a subsection both on ms. K and on ms. JJ, as on both manuscripts the text ends here and is followed by an emphasized ruling and then space. This subsection apparently precedes the subsection that starts with l. 151, if one accepts with Attinger that ll. 151–52 and ll. vii–viii are the same. In the interpretation of the ETCSL edition, ll. 140–149 contain the speech of Ur-ḡirunna, the sorcerer, to Ansigar-ria, the minister of En-suḡgir-ana.⁴ The same speech is repeated in ll. 153–162 by Ansigar-ria to En-suḡgir-ana, the lord of Aratta.

I would like to suggest that mss. K, S+, and JJ, i.e., the mss. with the lines of the “Appendix”, might have preserved a textual tradition different to that of the other mss. They may differ in that Ur-ḡirunna's speech is not repeated in them by Ansigar-ria to En-suḡgir-ana, but is delivered only once when both Ansigar-ria and En-suḡgir-ana are present. This may explain the difference between the verbal form of l. vii (na-mu-un-ne-dug₄-ga) and l. 151 (na¹-mu-ni-¹-dug₄-ga¹) which probably differ in the number of the addressees. L. vi could then be interpreted as the narration of how the sorcerer arrives in front of them and may be rendered as “one has made Ur-ḡirunna enter the place of the lord = Ur-ḡirunna was introduced in front of the lord”.

Ni 4400 – Ni 4400 is a very small fragment published in ISET 1, p. 152 = pl. 94. It appears to be an as yet unrecognized manuscript of the composition “Enmerkar and En-suḡgir-ana” (1.8.2.4). The side designated tentatively as obverse in ISET 1 is in fact its reverse.

The reverse of Ni 4400 contains parts of ll. 103–107 of the composition. The fragment preserved only the end of the lines. L. 107, however, is written in three lines on the fragment, so parts of all three finite verbs of this line are preserved. Ni 4400 also preserved the very end of ll. 45–46 from the obverse written presumably on the right edge of the tablet.

The arrangement of the lines on the original tablet of Ni 4400 may have been very similar to that of ms. C (N 1454 + N 1779 + N 1770) + L (Ni 4126a+b).⁵ The fragment Ni 4126a (ISET 2, pl. 40) is also from the right edge, and on the basis of its copy in ISET 2, the distance between the ends of l. 45 and l. 105 cannot be larger than three or four lines on Ni 4126a. On Ni 4400 the end of l. 45 meets the end of l. 105. Consequently the original tablet of Ni 4400 may have been a two-column tablet that similarly to ms. C + L was the first tablet of a two-tablet recension of the composition.

Ni 4400 will be labelled as ms. KK in the following score transliteration that shows the relevant lines of all known manuscripts:⁶

45	C ii 6'	ANŠE.ARAD AŠ.ḏDU ¹ [...]; kur [...]
	D ii 9'	ḏANŠE ¹ .ARAD ^{ur3} AŠ.DU-e ḏšakkan-gin ₇ ḡur-saḡ-ḡa ₂ i ₃ -dag-ge ₄
	E rev. 7'	ANŠE.ARAD AŠ.ḏDU ¹ [...]
	G rev. 13	[...] ḏDU ¹ -e ḏšakkan-gin ₇ ḡur-saḡ-ḡa ₂ [...]
	K ii. 9'	[ANŠE].ARAD AŠ.DU-e ḏšakkan-[X]; [X]-saḡ-ḡa ₂ i ₃ -si-il-[X]
	L obv. 9'	[...] ḏDU ¹ -e ḏšakkan-gin ₇ ; [...] ḡa ₂ i ₃ -si-il-le
	KK ii 1'	[...] ḡil ¹ -le
46 ⁷	D ii 10'	ḏANŠE ¹ .ARAD ^{ur3} uru ₁₆ gal-gin ₇ kušu i ₃ -tag-tag-ge
	E rev. 8'	ANŠE.ARAD ^{ur3} ḡuru ₁₆ [...]
	G rev. 14	[...] uru ₁₆ gal-gin ₇ kušu i ₃ -tag-tag ¹ -[...]
	KK ii 2'	[...] ḡtag ¹ -ge
103	C iii 13'	sig ₄ kul-aba ₄ ^{ki} -ka ḡe ₂ -en-[...]
	D iii 29' ⁸	sig ₄ kul-aba ₄ [...] -X-ti ₃ ḡkur ¹ [X] ḡsiki ¹ X X a-na ak
	L rev. 1'	[...] ḡA [?] .AN [?] mu-ḡna [?] -[X]
	P obv. 6	sig ₄ kul-aba ₄ -ka ḡe ₂ -en-ti ¹ me kur me sikil-še ₃ a-na-am ₃ ab-ak-e
	KK iii 2'	[...] ḡmu ¹ -un-na-ḡaḡ ₂ [?]
104	C iii 14'	mu 5 mu 10 ḡLAM ¹ . [...]
	D iii 30'	mu 5-am ₃ [...]
	K iii 1'	ḡmu ¹ 10-ḡA [?] . [...]
	L rev. 2'	[...] ḡLAM ¹ .KUR.RU ^{ki} -aš ba-ḡra ¹ -[X]
	P obv. 7	mu 5-am ₃ mu 10-am ₃ LAM.KUR.RU ^{ki} -aš ba-ra-ḡen
	KK iii 3'	[...] -a ba-ra-ḡen
105	C iii 15'	ud LAM.KUR-[...]
	D iii 31'	ud LAM.KUR.ḡRU ¹ [...]
	K iii 2'	ud LAM.KUR.ḡRU-aš ¹ [...]

	L rev. 3'	[...]RU ^{ki} -aš in-ga-du-a-[X]
	P obv. 8	ud LAM.KUR.RU ^{ki} -aš in-ga-an-du-a-ba
	KK iii 4'	[...]du-a-aš
106	C iii 16'	kug gal ¹ [...]
	D iii 32'	[X] gal [...]
	K iii 3'	kug gal nin e ₂ -an-[X X]
	L rev. 4'	[X] gal ¹ ^d nin e ₂ -an-na-ke ₄
	P obv. 9	kug gal nin e ₂ -an-na-ke ₄
	KK iii 5'	[...] X-ke ₄
107	D iii 33'	[...] LAM.KUR [...]
	K iii 4'	ad-bi mu-da-an-gi ₄ -[...] ; LAM.KUR.RU ^{ki} -aš ba-ra-[X]
	L rev. 5'	ad ¹ -bi mu-da-an-gi ₄ -a-aš inim-bi mu-dug ₄ -a ¹ -aš ; LAM.KUR.RU ^{ki} -aš ba-ra-ḡen
	P obv. 10	ad-bi mu-un-da-gi ₄ -a inim-bi mu-un-zu-a-aš LAM.KUR.RU ^{ki} -aš ba-ra- ḡen
	KK iii 6'-8'	[...]an ⁷ -gi ₄ -a-aš ; [...] mu ⁷ -da-zu-a-aš ; [...]ḡen

Remarks

103 : The last sign of the line on ms. KK looks like AĜ₂. After collation it may prove to be AB-AK. Note that ms. L also seems to have a MU at the end of this line.

1. The composition was published by Berlin 1979 with the title "Enmerkar and Ensuĕkešdanna". An electronic edition of the composition (composite transliteration and an English translation) is included in the Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (<http://www-etcsl.orient.ox.ac.uk>). Its catalogue number is shown in brackets behind the title of the composition. Ni 9857 and Ni 4400 have been identified with the help of ETCSL's searchable files.

2. Behrens's list ends with ms. HH. Attinger (1993 : 36) mentions one more new ms. which is then ms. II.

3. The semi-colon indicates an indented line in the score.

4. Berlin assumes that the speech in ll. 140-149 is made to En-suĕgir-ana by Ansiga-ria.

5. It was suggested both by Heimpel (1981 : 404) and Vanstiphout (1987 : 47) that these two manuscripts are joins.

6. Although ms. C and ms. L are joins, they will be presented separately in the score below as it is easier to refer to this lines this way.

7. Mss. C, K, and L omit this line.

8. For this reading of the line, see Behrens 1983-1984 : 102.

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62) Il segno DAR nei testi di Ebla – In MEE 12 p. 31 sg. ad II 1f. H. Waetzoldt, giustificando la sua scelta della lettura gùn al posto di dar in termini quali ìbx3-túg-ša6-DAR e simili, sostiene che in sumerico solo gùn avrebbe valore di "colorato, multicolore"¹, mentre dar andrebbe tradotto con "separare, tagliare, dividere" e simili. Nel commento al passo, inoltre, afferma che dar sarebbe solo una variante grafica di gùn (citando, a questo proposito, ZATU 69 e LAK 69), variante della quale gli Eblaiti non avrebbero tenuto conto, e che nei testi di Ebla i due segni sarebbero identici. Ora, se è vero che nei testi arcaici di Uruk DAR e GUN₃ sono differenziati solo da un cuneo (talvolta due) orizzontale in più o in meno (si vedano ZATU 69 = DAR e ZATU 245 = GUN₃), è altresì certo che nel periodo di Fara (cui i testi di Ebla paleograficamente appartengono) i due segni erano ben distinti. Mentre infatti DAR è espresso da LAK 69, GUN₃ corrisponde a LAK 86 = si₄². Il fatto, quindi, che dalle foto delle tavolette non si riscontri alcuna differenza grafica tra i due (supposti) segni gùn e dar (come osservato da H. Waetzoldt, *loc.cit.*, p. 32), indica semplicemente, a mio avviso, che il valore gùn non è attestato nei testi editi di Ebla e che, quindi, il segno HU.gunû (= DAR) abbia sempre, nei documenti eblaiti, il valore dar, con il significato di "colorato, multicolore"³. Questo valore è confermato inoltre dalla Lista di uccelli attestata a Fara e Ebla dove si ha, rispettivamente, dar⁴ e dar-mušen⁵; quest'ultimo lemma viene tradotto nei vocabolari bilingui eblaiti⁶ con ba-ra-ma-nu-um = "(uccello) variopinto"⁷.

1. Per questo significato si veda H. Waetzoldt, *Untersuchungen zur neusumerischen Textilindustrie*, Roma 1972, p. 52.

2. Una conferma della differenziazione si trova nel Sillabario S^a che tiene ben separati i due valori : 1. 236 da-ar = da-ar-ri ; 1. 250 si-i = gu-un-nu-ú.

3. Si veda *TIE D* in stampa, s.v. dar I. Per la lettura dar in luogo di *gûn* si veda già G. Pettinato, *MEE* 2 p. 12 ad r. III 11.
4. SF 48 = VAT 9124 v. I 9 (VIII 9). Il segno è chiaramente DAR nonostante la tracrisione di A. Deimel che legge mušen, si veda anche M. Civil, *MEE* 3 p. 247 ad l. 47.
5 *MEE* 3 p. 111 l. 48.
6. *MEE* 4 p. 302 l. 912.
7. Si veda *CAD B* s.v. *barāmu*.

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63) On the Dating of Some Middle-Assyrian Cylinder Seals – The cylinder seal from Tyre was assigned by Porada (1978) to the second half of the thirteenth century, the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I, mainly because of its association with the third cylinder seal impression (impression C) on the Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon revealed at Nimrud. Based on these glyptic finds Porada (1979, 6-7) suggested that devotional scenes, alongside traditional Middle Assyrian themes of animals, hybrids, trees and combats, accompanied at times by scenery, began to appear during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I. The low relief of the Tyre cylinder seal, complemented by incised lines, makes it exceptional in Middle Assyrian glyptics. This latter class of seals is usually worked with deep incisions creating a high degree of modeling, which emphasizes muscles and conveys power (Porada 1979. Marcus 1990, 136). Considering the conclusion, offered by Matthews (1990, 90, 110-111) that linear engraving was not typical before the mid-eleventh century, this unique workmanship of the Tyre seal may suggest a later date and, probably for a few other related cylinder seals.

It was D.J. Wiseman in his publication of the Vassal Treaties who attributed impression C to a thirteenth century cylinder seal. Wiseman's proposal was based on the "general freedom of style and especially details of the head-gear, hair style, dress and crouching animals". Initially, however, Wiseman proposed assigning the original seal to Tiglath-pileser I, in the late twelfth – early eleventh century, corroborating this proposal by parallels dating as late as the eighth century. But, because he also referred to an inscription of Sennacherib, where the king reported about an ancient lapis lazuli cylinder seal inscribed with legends of Tukulti-Ninurta I and Šagarkti-Šuriaš which he found in Babylon, Wiseman ultimately preferred to assign impression C to a seal used by Tukulti-Ninurta I (Wiseman 1958, 20-22 and note 182. *RIMA* I, 28: 281 A.O.78.28).

Reservations with regard to the identification of the original owner of the seal of impression C were raised already by Watanabe (1985, 387), who maintained that the traces of the inscription in the impression negate its attribution to Tukulti-Ninurta, since they do not match the lapis lazuli seal reported by Sennacherib. Furthermore, although the figure of the kneeling king on impression C may recall that of Tukulti-Ninurta I on the well-known pedestal from Ashur, this posture is shown also on an impression from the archive of Tiglath-pileser I, and as it is often seen on first-millennium seals (Moortgat 1969, pl. 246. idem. 1944, 36-37, compare Collon 2001, nos. 165-169). Therefore, impression C cannot definitely be attributed to Tukulti-Ninurta I: with the same degree of certitude it can be ascribed to the late twelfth century or later. Accepting Sennacherib's words at face value - and through them identifying the original owner of the seal of impression C - is problematic anyway considering the propagandistic nature of Sennacherib's text, aimed at exalting the king as the great monarch of Assyria. Sennacherib's choice in attributing the "found" seal to Tukulti-Ninurta is thus not incidental as the latter had been at the helm of Assyria in its heyday, a period of glory to which Sennacherib also aspired: like the former he conquered Babylon and removed the statue of Marduk to Assyria (Frame 1992, 70).

Coming back to the Tyre seal the thirteenth-century date was challenged also by Moortgat-Correns (1988, note 3), who proposed assigning it to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III. I may add that an alternative dating for this seal - not earlier than the late twelfth or eleventh century - is suggested by the aforementioned linear technique combined with the representation of a devotional scene - as well as by the following arguments. First, a similar tablecloth appears on the White Obelisk, possibly assigned to Tiglath-pileser I (Pittman 1996) and it was also common on Neo-Assyrian seals (Collon 2001, nos. 122, 125, 126, 137). Thus it cannot serve as an exclusive dating feature as suggested by Porada. Second, the Tyre seal, in order to corroborate its early date, was compared by Porada with the cylinder seal found in the Ishtar-Dinitu temple at Ashur (Moortgat 1940, 139, no. 591). However, the linear engraving of the Ashur seal and its flat modeling imply, as noted, its later dating, probably to the eleventh century. Moreover, the archaeological context of the Ashur seal is far from clear: It was found in the debris of the temple, so that all we know is that it preceded the ninth century; its attribution to the thirteenth century strata was only reached at by a conjecture: "Not younger than the ninth century ... possible from the stratum of Tukulti-Ninurta I ..." (Andrae 1926, 45). Third, the Tyre cylinder seal itself is unstratified. It was found in a trial section and was assigned to the thirteenth-century level XV only according to its theme and style.

Another seal commonly assigned to the thirteenth century and, similarly to the Ishtar-Dinitu cylinder seal, which represents a worshipper before a ziggurat, is an agate cylinder seal from Babylon, revealed in a

tomb dated 1300-1100 (Moortgat 1940, 139, no. 592. Stiehler-Alegria 2000). This seal, too, conveys flat modeling and some linear engraving. Although depictions of ziggurats are known in thirteenth-century glyptics (Dur Katlimmu : Kühne and Röllig 1989. Tell Mohammed Arab : Collon 1988, 74-76, no. 9), dating the seal later than the thirteenth century is not improbable : as mentioned by Stiehler-Alegria, the latest date for this Babylonized seal could have been in the first half of the twelfth century. Another cylinder seal commonly regarded as a thirteenth-century product depicting, in this case, a worshipper before a moon god standing in a boat, was found at Samsat. However, it should be borne in mind that similarly to the Tyre and the Ishtar-Dinitu seals, this seal was also found in a relatively late layer -- stratum 8 -- dated to the ninth century (Özgüç 1987, 436-438).

The linear workmanship employed on the Tyre seal recalls a chalcedony cylinder seal whose original provenance was probably in the middle Euphrates, as suggested by the mention in its legend of Apladad, a deity worshiped in that area (Rainey 1973). The seal, however, was found in a *favissa* of a second-century Hellenistic temple at Beer-Sheba, Israel (Derfler 1981. *NEAEHL*, 172-173). Portraying a worshipper before a storm god (fig. 1), it was classified as an eighth-century provincial product mainly because Apladad is known from later sources. Dating the seal to the eighth century was further sustained by the semicircles adorning the god's dress and the manner the god holds his lightning fork, resembling the two huge lapis lazuli cylinders from Babylon and the stela of Šamaš-reš-ušur originally from Suhi (Back 1973). However, the crossed bands on the worshipper's chest, recalling portrayals on two *kudurrus* dated to the first half of the eleventh century (Seidl 1989, 46-49, nos.76, 79), raise the possibility that the imagery of this seal too may be regarded as a late second-millennium product. In favor of this date is the combination of the linear style with a devotional scene, a blend which is scarce on ninth-eighth century seals, while typical of the few seals discussed here. Furthermore, the linear workmanship of the Beer-Sheba and Tyre seals may associate them with the linear embroidery decorations of the garments depicted on the above-mentioned eleventh century *kudurrus*. The diagonal hatchings below the legend, similar to those depicted on the podium on which the storm god is standing, imply that a second deity standing behind the worshipper was originally shown on the seal. This figure may have been erased in the first millennium during a presumed reworking of the seal, when the positive inscription was added.

The attribution of the above seals to some hundred years after the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I or later coincides with the political, economic, and artistic decline of Assyria, mostly evident from the latter part of the eleventh century onward, mirrored in relative scarcity of written documentation, rather poor architectural remains and little monumental art. These seals then may be seen as artifacts connecting late Middle Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian glyptics, reaffirming the notion that late-second-millennium features in Assyria formed the roots of Neo-Assyrian glyptics in general, and that of Neo-Assyrian devotional scenes in particular (Matthews 1990, 106, 110-113. Cf. Frankfort 1939, 89. Marcus 1996, 127-128, fig. 103, pl. 25). This glyptic continuity demonstrates only one facet of the wider connections between the two periods, as for example annalistic historical writing, so typical of Neo-Assyrian historiography, which began at the end of the twelfth century under Tiglath-pileser I (cf. Roaf 2001, Pittman 1996, 351-352).



Fig. 1 A Cylinder Seal from Beer-Sheba

1. The seal bears an almost totally erased inscription (my thanks to Dominique Collon for this information).

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64) An Akkadian anatomical term and Ugaritic *tprt* – So far only one probable explanation has been put forward for Ugaritic *tprt*, which denotes an article of clothing of some kind (KTU 4.146:4; 4.341:10)¹ valued at 3 shekels, but two others that have not been considered are also feasible. All three explanations are discussed here.

(1) Comparison with the term with Akk. *iušparu* ("Weber", AHw, 397, 1441; "weaver", CAD I/J, 255-256), as proposed in DLU, 502 and DUL, 926.

- However, even though UŠ.BAR (i.e. *iušparu*) is attested in the texts from Ras Shamra (PRU 3, 205 A 7; PRU 6, 93:23; Ugar. 5, 99:5; see DUL, 926), there is no direct connection between the Ugaritic and Akkadian words. Also, in Akkadian itself, no terms for garments are derived from Akk. *iušparu*.

(2) Another possibility (unnoticed so far) is to compare Ugaritic *tprt* with Akk. *šeburtu*, "a color(?) of wool)" (CAD Š/2, 256; cf. CDA, 365) and a meaning such as "a (coloured) woollen garment (?)" would then be possible.

- However, this would require Ug. /p/ to correspond to Akk. /b/ (which is rare even though attested, e.g. Ug *lpš* and Akk. *libšu*) and in addition, *šeburtu* only occurs in Neo-Assyrian.

(3) This leaves the way open for yet another explanation, but first a short digression is required. In their joint paper "Akkadian Terms for Genitalia: New Etymologies, New Textual Interpretations",² L. Kogan - A. Militarev discussed the Akk. term *šapru* and concluded as follows: "it seems more than probable that at least in some contexts *šapru* does not mean 'thigh' but rather 'area of the genitals, perineum' and more concretely, 'female genitalia, vulva'" (p. 312). They support this meaning, which as they acknowledge had been proposed before, by reference to Arabic *tafr-*, *tufr-*, "vagin, canal du vagin, sexe, parties sexuelles, etc."³ Furthermore, they also note that names for specific garments are often derived from anatomical terms (p. 315, n. 10). It can be argued therefore (a) that Ug. *tprt* derives from **tp̄r*, an unattested word for the female pudenda, cognate with Akk. *šapru* and Arabic *tafr-*, *tufr-* with the same meaning, and (b) that Ug. *tprt* denotes a garment for women covering this area of their anatomy.⁴

Some confirmation for this proposal comes from KTU 4.341:10, where *tprt* co-occurs with *kdwṭ*. The term *kdwṭ* is probably a form of *kndpnṭ* (see Tropper *UG*, 146),⁵ which seems to mean "bikini" (as proposed by M. Dietrich - O. Loretz)⁶ corresponding to Akk. *kindabašše*, "loincloth" (CDA, 158; cf. CAD K, 384),⁷ a meaning accepted for the Ugaritic word by Ribichini - Xella⁸ and now by *DUL*, 449: "a garment (woman's underclothes?)". Coincidentally, Ug. *kdwṭ* / *kndpnṭ* may also be explained as a garment that covers **knd*, a term possibly corresponding to Hamito-Semitic *kūd*, "genitals"; cf. Orel - Stolbova, *HSED*, 351 §1617, where Agaw **kwid-*, "anus, vulva" is cited.

1. S. Ribichini - P. Xella, *La Terminologia dei Tessili nei Testi di Ugarit* (Collezione di Studi Fenici 20; Rome 1985) 69 correctly reject the explanations proposed by R. Stieglitz, "Commodity Prices at Ugarit", *JAOS* 99 (1979) 15-23 (22 n. 42), who refers to Arabic. *tafr*, "saddle strap", and by Aistleitner, *WUS* §2924, who erroneously cites Akk. *šapartu*, followed by M.

Heltzer, *Goods, Prices and the Organization of Trade in Ugarit* (Wiesbaden 1978) 50, 71 n. 461.

2. In S. Parpola - R. M. Whiting, *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the XLVII^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Helsinki, July 2-6 2001* (The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus project; Helsinki 2002), vol I, pp. 311-319.

3. See *op. cit.* (previous note) p. 313 for references and other cognates.

4. It is uncertain whether there is any connection with Eg. *sfrt*, "e. Kleidungsstück; feines Leinen" (R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, Mainz 1995) 697b.

5. See previously J. Tropper, "Beiträge zur ugaritischen Lexikographie", *UF* 29 (1997) 661-668 (664-665)

6. M. Dietrich - O. Loretz, "Die Ug. Gewandbezeichnungen *pgnd, knd, knpnt*", *UF* 9 (1977) 340.

7. See J.N. Postgate, *Iraq* 35 (1973) 13-14 (cited by Ribichini - Xella 1985, 41 n. 40).

8. Ribichini - Xella 1985, 41.

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65) Further Comments on the Prostration Formula – In a note published ten years ago,¹ I drew attention to the unique proskynesis formula in a letter written in the Akkadian of Ras Shamra, i.e. [*amqut*] *ana ultu rugiš GİR^{meš} GAŠAN-ia 3-šú 9-šú*, "[I fall] – from a distance – at the feet of my mistress, three times, nine times". Another peculiar formula in the same language occurs in the recently published text RS 92.2017 lines 19-20 (*RSOu* XIV, p. 262). It is *ana gir.2 en-ia u gašan-ia 2-šú 3-šú amqut*, "I fall (or: have fallen) twice, three times at the feet of my master and my mistress", and would appear to be unique. The analogy with "2 times 7 times" (total 14) indicates that rather than the sequence "twice followed by three times" (total: 5), here it should be understood as "twice three times", resulting in a total of six. The following table can now be drawn up for attested sequences (for details see *WO* 24, 1993, 40, 41)²:

	text tradition	number of times	total	ratio
(a)	Akk. (incl. peripheral) letters	7 times, 7 times	14	7:7 = 1:1
(b)	Akk. (incl. peripheral) letters	twice 7 times	14	7:7 = 1:1
(c)	Ug. Akk. letters	twice 3 times	6	3:3 = 1:1
(d)	Ug. Akk. letters	3 times, 9 times	12	3:9 = 1:3
(e)	Bab. historical epic	100 times, 200 times	300	100:200 = 1:2
(f)	Hurro-Hittite myth	5 times, 5 times, 15 times	25	5:5:15 = 1:1:3

The standard sequences in (a) and (b) are equivalent and assume that the (fictitious) number of bows on one's belly matches those made on one's back. The same applies to (c) but not to (d), although one could argue that there the total 12 is equivalent to two sets of six bows. The sequences in (e) and (f) are even less realistic and already belong to the sphere of "myth", and in both (d) and (f) the ratio of 1:3 occurs, whatever its significance may be. In this connection it may be of interest to consider an unusual variant of the "standard" proskynesis formula "seven times (on my belly) and seven times (on my back)". It is to be found in an OB "bawdy ballad" (HS 1879), discussed recently by V. A. Horowitz,³ where a girl called Ištar has an unusual tryst with 120 men. Line 15a of the composition runs as follows: "Seven (times) facing her chest (and) seven (times) facing her haunches (*7 panīša 7 qablīša*) sixty and sixty (young men) satisfy themselves again and again in her vagina" (see the translation by Horowitz, *op. cit.*, 546 and his discussion, *ibid.* 553-555). I suggest that the model for this line must be the standard proskynesis formula of letters (as in (a) in the table), which would provide some support for the proposal by Horowitz (*op. cit.*, p. 557 n. 37) that the whole composition may be a satire.

1. "An Unusual Prostration Formula in Ugaritic Akkadian", *WO* (1993) 39-41.

2. For (e) see I.L. Finkel, "The Dream of Kurigalzu and the Tablet of Sins", *AnSt* 33 (1983) 75-80 (78).

3. "An Old Babylonian Bawdy Ballad", in Z. Zevit - S. Gitin - M. Sokoloff, eds., *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots. Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (Winona Lake 1995) 543-558.

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66) Ritual locust control in SAA 1 103 – ABL 1015, a Neo-Assyrian letter written to his king by Ṭab-šilli-Ešarra, governor of Assur under Sargon II, concerns a locust plague.¹ Our proper understanding of the nature of the actions undertaken to end the infestation has hitherto been hampered by the use of the problematic *ku-du-bur-a-ni* in the letter's key passage. This note means to solve this crux.

In 1987, Simo Parpola's edition of the letter as SAA 1 103 was published. He transliterated and

translated the king's instruction concerning the locusts and the governor's own order to his subjects as follows: The king's order (II.8-11): *šu-pur in É NAM.ERIM.MUŠEN.MEŠ iḫ-ri-tu-u-ni [ma]-a¹ ku-du-bur-a-ni [lu-k]a-di-ru* "Send word that fields infested with locusts be marked off with boundary stones!" The governor's order (r.4-7): [*ina É.NAM.ERIM.MUŠEN.MEŠ iḫ-[ri-tu-u-ni] ku-du-[b]ur-a-[ni] ka-di-ra*] "Set up boundary stones at places infested with locusts!" Parpola collated the letter and explicitly confirmed the reading *ku-du-bur-a-ni*;² he comments on the word: "No simple scribal error can be involved since the spelling recurs in r.6. The word in question is nevertheless undoubtedly (a variant of?) *kudurru* 'boundary stone'." (note on p. 86). Although not mentioned, Parpola's assumption relies on the fact that the verb *kadāru* (G- and D-stem) is only securely attested in connection with *kudurru*, the noun it was derived from.³

In 1996, Wolfgang Heimpel used SAA 1 103 in a study of the Old Babylonian evidence on locust plagues from Mari and gave a translation of part of the text.⁴ He translated the king's order (II. 8-11) as follows: "Give orders: in the area where the locusts oviposited ('engraved'), that they mark it with" . In a note he remarked on the noun: "KU DU *bur-a-ni*: S. Parpola proposes a form of *kudurru* 'boundary stone'. If there were boundary stones in the open country then they would have been the last thing one dared moving. If they were stored in office or home, they would still be the most cumbersome method of marking. *AHw* s.v. *kut/dabbiru* proposes barrels for the purpose."

Wolfram von Soden's suggestion, however, is very problematic. It ignores that the verb *kadāru* is only used together with *kudurru*, it presents unsolvable phonetic problems to connect a *nA* writing *ku-du-bur-a-ni* with *nB* *ku-ta-bi-ri* (the only certain attestation of the word) and it makes just as little sense in the context of locust fighting.

The problem can be solved if the hitherto universally accepted interpretation of the verbal forms [*lu-k]a-di-ru* and *ka-di-ra* as *lukaddirū* = precative 3 pl. and *kaddirā* = imperative 2 pl. of *kadāru* D is abandoned. I propose to read [*lu-k]a-ti-ru* = *luqaṭtirū* and *ka-ti-ra* = *kaṭtirā*, verbal forms based on *qatāru* D "to cause something to smoke, to cense, to fumigate."⁵ In accordance with Geer's Law,⁶ the Semitic root *qtr* is usually realized in Akkadian as *qatāru*.⁷ In our text, however, *lḫ* seems to remain unaffected while *lq* is transformed into *k*.⁸

This allows us to discard the connection with *kudurru* "boundary stone" altogether. Already at a first glance, the signs KU DU BUR A NI are unlikely to represent a syllabic writing of any Akkadian noun. Taking the first sign as a determinative, the obvious reading of the remainder is *du-pur-a-ni*, an unproblematic Neo-Assyrian spelling for *duprānu* "juniper (*Juniperus drupacea*)."⁹ One of the sign KU's many meanings as a determinative is ZĪ, marking flour and other powdery substances. In powder form, juniper is attested e.g. in KAR 90 r.19 (= TuL 120) and KAR 192 iii 54 in magical-medical context.

SAA 1 103 is hence to be translated as follows (II.7-r.9): "Concerning the locusts about which the king, my lord, wrote to me: 'Write where the locusts have laid eggs!¹⁰ They shall fumigate (these areas) with juniper powder (ZĪ *du-pur-a-ni [lu-k]a-ti-ru*)! At the moment of their hatching they shall overthrow them!¹¹' Already before the letter of the palace came to me I wrote and put forth the following order in the cities and villages: 'Fumigate with juniper powder (ZĪ *du-[p]ur-a-[ni] ka-ti-ra*) where the locusts have laid eggs!' At the moment of their hatching we will overthrow them."

Fumigating locusts with juniper may well be a useful method in itself; I am not aware of its use in traditional or modern day pest control.¹² However, it appears that king and governor are referring to the use of the ritual series "To Seize the Locust Tooth" (*zū-buru₅ dab-bé-da*) which is well attested in the Neo-Assyrian libraries of Nineveh, Sultantepe and also Assur as a means to exorcise locust plagues.¹³ This is especially likely as the ritual prescribes fumigating with juniper (*duprānu*).¹⁴

1. The topic is also covered in another letter by the same author from Kalḫu (CTN 2 240 = SAA 1, 104).

2. Thereby ruling out the emendation to *ku-du-ra¹-a-ni* as suggested in CAD K 31.

3. *AHw* 419 s.v. *kadāru* III and CAD K 30f. s.v. *kadāru* B.

4. W. Heimpel, "Moroccan Locusts in Qaṭṭunan," RA 90, 1996, 117f: source no. 13.

5. *AHw* 907f and CAD Q 166-168.

6. GAG § 51e.

7. Cf. *lu-qa-at-ti-ru* in SAA 10 323 r.4 for an explicit Neo-Assyrian example.

8. A reading *qā* for *ka* is not attested in Neo-Assyrian.

9. *AHw* 162 and CAD D 189f.

10. I follow Heimpel's interpretation of *ḫarāḫū*, see Heimpel *loc. cit.* 104.

11. In this sentence and its equivalent in the end of the letter, the locusts (BURU₅ MUŠEN.MEŠ) are referred to by the singular suffix. This is also the case in NL 103 = ND 2617: 10, 14 (see H.W.F. Saggs, *The Nimrud Letters*, 1952. CTN 5, 2001, 199, pl. 39).

12. The United Nations' *Food and Agriculture Organization* at Rome is the home of the *Desert Locust Group* that maintains an informative web page, see <http://www.fao.org/WAICENT/FAOINFO/AGRICULT/AGP/AGPP/Locusts/Default.htm>.

13. Andrew George has announced a complete edition of the series; see, for now, A.R. George, "The Dogs of Ninkilim: Magic against Field Pests in Ancient Mesopotamia," in (eds.) H. Klengel/J. Renger, *Landwirtschaft im Alten Orient*. BBVO 18 [= CRR 41], 1999, 294-299 for an overview of the sources and the contents of the ritual series and cf. also D. Schwemer, *Die Wettergottgestalten Mesopotamiens und Nordsyriens im Zeitalter der Keilschriftkulturen*, 2001, 682 and A.

Cavigneaux/F. al-Rawi, "Liturgies exorcistiques agraires (Textes de Tell Haddad IX)," ZA 92, 2002, 12-14.
14. Cf. George *loc. cit.* 296.

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67) Extispicy during a siege – None of the dictionaries realised that Akkadian *liwîtum* can indicate the "siege" of a city. Many years ago, D.O. Edzard saw that in Riftin 121 :13 *li-wi-it a-li* must mean "the siege of the city"; in this case Larsa, besieged by Hammurabi; Edzard, ZZB (1957) 23. An unpublished Larsa text lists among various expenditures: "food rations: Uqâ-Šamaš, during the siege" (šuku *ú-qâ-dutu i-nu-ma li-wi-tim*), YBC 7071:11 (dated to day 30.XI) (courtesy Tina Breckwoldt). A letter from Mari speaks of the siege of Andarig as *li-wi-it A.* (ARM 18 5:14).

The lung model YOS 10 4 reflects an extispicy taken during a siege; for the text, see I. Starr, *The Rituals of the Diviner* (1983) 75. The verbal forms in the last two lines are given in the second person, probably addressing a king or general who needed advice. We assume that these lines follow the first apodosis (in the third person), as an addition. Thus the first apodosis reads: "The king: his hand will conquer a land that is not his" (*šar-ru-um er-šé-tam la ša-tam qâ-at-su i-ka-ša-ad*). Now follows the second: "And if you are besieging (verb *lawûm*) a city, you will enter into it" (*ù šum-ma a-lam la-wi-at a-na li-bi-šu te-ru-ub*). The form *lawiat* is normally *lawiāta*; see W. von Soden, GAG (1952) § 75 c note 2 (this example!). More in K.A. Meztler, *Tempora in den altbabylonischen literarischen Texten* (2002) 205. In these two additional lines, the diviner offers an *ad hoc* interpretation of a related but more general apodosis that he had found in his handbook (very similar is YOS 10 40:1-2); we could translate *ù* here as "so": "So, if you are besieging a city, you will enter into it".

YOS 10 6 offers "two unconnected liver omnia" (so A. Goetze). The apodosis of the first omen reads: "The enemy will enter into the city" (*nakrum ana alim irrubam*). The second omen takes one more step: "The enemy will take you away in its midst" (*nakrum gi-ir-bi-iš ikkemka*). We interpret *gi-ir-bi-iš* as "in its midst", i.e., in the city; otherwise CAD Q 213b *qerbiš*, "in close combat (?)", or AHW 914 "alsbald". Here, the enemy has already entered the city and he now captures "you" - again an unexpected second person form, addressing an individual, like a king or general. The capturing (verb *ekēmum*) clearly reflects the protasis which deals with the feature *nēkentum* (a substantive derived from *ekēmum*), seen within (another) *nēkentum*; CAD N/2 154b; U. Jeyes, *Old Babylonian Extispicy* (1989) 87 f., 133. The hermeneutic here is of "one inside the other". First, the city is said to be captured; then you, within that city, are captured. Though unconnected in terms of their protasis, common to the two omnia on the model is the situation of a siege. Note that the lung model YOS 10 4 (see above) the left side of the "finger" was taken away (*i-ki-im* [!], 5; variant *e-ki-im*, YOS 10 40:1), also leading to the conquest of a city.

The liver model YOS 10 3 also refers to a siege: "The enemy will stand up, wage war (?) (*i-ša-ba-aḥ*) (verb *šabā'um*?), together with his helpers and allies he will besiege your city and through a breach (*i-na <pi>-il-ši-im*) he will enter into your city". On the reverse we discover the addition *šēp tazzimtim* "foot of complaint / grievance" which we do not understand.

I thank Abraham Winitzer, Harvard University, specialist in extispicy, for his help when I was preparing this note *brève*.

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68) Bird and Fish in the OB Sumerian literary catalogues – Two Old Babylonian catalogues of Sumerian literary works have recently proved crucial to understanding the notion of curriculum in Nippur scribal schools. The first ten lines of catalogue N2 from Nippur (UM 29-15-155: *BASOR* 8 12; *ETCSL* 0.2.01) and the unprovenanced catalogue L (AO 5393: *TCL* 15 28; *ETCSL* 0.2.02) list a curricular grouping now known as the Decad (Tinney 1999). They also share 34 of the next 39 (N2)/43 (L) entries. The final section of each catalogue differs completely from the other's: N2 has 13 eduba compositions, dialogues and diatribes, while L lists 14 royal hymns, which it describes as na-rú-a 'inscriptions' (Flückiger-Hawker 1996). A total of 46 compositions listed in N2, L or both are attested archaeologically in the Nippur scribal school House F (Robson 2001).

Discounting the final na-rú-a section of L, only 8 entries common to both catalogues, and a further 1 of N2 and 4 of L, are incipits of hitherto unidentified compositions. Lines 27 of N2 and 20 of L share the entry *ud ul-re-ta*, which has hitherto been tentatively identified as the incipit of the problematic composition *The Instructions of Ur-Ninurta*, or *Ur-Ninurta G* (Alster 1991; 1992), *ud ul-li-a-ta ud ub-til-la-[ta]*. This incipit is found in the unprovenanced catalogue B4 (AUAM 73.2402: *RA* 70 131; *ETCSL* 0.2.11) as *ud ul-lí-a-ta ud ba-zal-la-ta*.

By looking at thematic groupings within N2 and L, counting attestations in House F, and by comparing with OB catalogue U2 from Ur (U 17900 H: *UET* 6 123; *ETCSL* 0.2.04), I propose instead to identify this line with the partially restored incipit of the Debate between Bird and Fish: [ud ul-e-re]-[ta] nam dūg tar-ra-a-ba (*ETCSL* 5.3.5).

The relevant sequences in the two catalogues are:

Line of N2	Incipit	Composition	<i>ETCSL</i> number	Attestations in House F
24	iri na-nam	Enlil and Ninlil or Nanše A	1.2.1 or 4.14.1	4 6
25	e ḡišal-e ḡišal-e	Hoe and Plough	5.3.1	30
26	lugal-e mu-ni níḡ-ul-e	Šulgi B	2.4.2.02	17
27	ud ul-re-ta	Bird and Fish	5.3.5	1
28	ki-ūr gal-e	Tree and Reed	5.3.4	1
29	an-né nam-nir-ḡál	Winter and Summer	5.3.3	4
30	ḡiš-gi a-na ḡu mu ¹ -un-dé	Heron and Turtle	5.9.2	2
31	u ₅ -ḡiš-gi kug-ta	Nanše and the Birds	4.14.3	–
Line of L	Incipit	Composition	<i>ETCSL</i> number	Attestations in House F
16	e ḡišal-e al-e	Hoe and Plough	5.3.1	30
17	lugal-e mu-ni níḡ-ul-e	Šulgi B	2.4.2.02	17
18	lugal ud me-lem ₄ -bi ḡir ¹ -ḡál	Ninurta's Exploits	1.6.1	15
19	iri na-nam	Enlil and Ninlil or Nanše A	1.2.1 or 4.14.1	4 6
20	ud ul-re-ta	Bird and Fish	5.3.5	1
21	ki-ūr gal-e	Tree and Reed	5.3.4	1

Winter and Summer, Heron and Turtle and Nanše and the Birds appear in lines 30, 53, and 49 of Catalogue L. Nevertheless, in each case we have two very similar sequences of entries clustered around the themes of debates and marshes/water, whether we take the entry iri na-nam to refer to Enlil and Ninlil or Nanše A. Šulgi B is attracted into the sequence because of Šulgi's role as judge in Bird and Fish. Only Ninurta's Exploits, in L, seems out of place thematically — but like Hoe and Plough and Šulgi B it belongs to the curricular grouping now known as the House F 14 (Robson 2001).

Catalogue U2 has 55 entries, one of which reads simply 11 lugal '11 royal (hymns)'; a further 5 are edubas and dialogues. It has further 34 entries in common with N2, L, or more usually both, including nine members of the Decad in the first half of the list. Bird and Fish appears in line 19 as ud ul-e-re-da in the following context:

U2 line	Incipit	Composition	<i>ETCSL</i> number	Attestations in House F
18	ḡišal-e ḡišal-e	Hoe and Plough	5.3.1	30
19	ud ul-e-re-da	Bird and Fish	5.3.5	1
20	ki-ūr gal-e	Tree and Reed	5.3.4	1
21	é-u ₄ -nir	Temple Hymns	4.80.1	–
22	an-né nam-nir-ra	Winter and Summer	5.3.3	4

Ninlil and Enlil, Nanše A, and Šulgi B do not appear in U2. Common to all three catalogues is the sequence Hoe and Plough – Bird and Fish – Tree and Reed, with interpolations between the first two compositions in both N2 and L. Tree and Reed is followed in N2 and U2 by Winter and Summer; in L it is found in line 30 immediately before the Temple Hymns, which have also found their way into the sequence in U2. The attestation frequencies of these compositions in House F suggest that, in that school at least, only Hoe and Plough was a mainstream member of the curriculum. The other three debates were copied less frequently; following Veldhuis (forthcoming: ch. 4) we might call these extra-curricular compositions.

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69) Mari Letter A. 4293, published by Lafont in FM VI, 2002, No. 55, pp. 397-399 – The letter, sent by Yabni-Dagan to Mukannišum, reads in ll. 5-9 “What is this (story) that in a region far off (*rūqum*), I made a successful undertaking by myself, but that in a region near-by (*qērbum*) I shall be unable to succeed by myself”. The crux here is “a region far off” and “a region near-by”. Lafont draws attention to a parallel statement in *ARM XVIII 32* (= *LAPO 18 917*).

I assume that in all similar cases of a demarcation between a distant place, as well as a near-by place, refer to a specific category in international relations of the ancient Near Eastern countries. In my lecture at the *RAI 47*, Paris 1999 to be published in *Amurru 3*, I dealt with this subject and referred to five such cases in the Bible and to three in cuneiform sources. Thus the statement in the case cited above seems to relate to a political, legal or military procedure rather than to, at least an original, simply a proverbial saying, as stated on p. 399.

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70) Minima eblaitica 17: níg-du₈ “price for release; ransom” – Níg-sa₈ is the Sumerian term which qualifies at Ebla the silver expended as “price for release; ransom.” D. O. Edzard, *ARET II*, p. 135, was the first to remark that “níg-du₈ steht jeweils zwischen einem Silberbetrag und einer Personenbezeichnung, so dass man zunächst an eine Bedeutung ‘Auslösung, Lösegeld’ denken möchte.” He was followed by the present writer, *ARET VII*, p. 229: “pagamento, riscatto,” and by H. Waetzoldt, *MEE 12*, p. 466: “Mittel zum Lösen, Lösegeld (?), » who noted that the same word formation is found in níg-kaskal « provisions for an expedition, travel” (du₈ = Akk. *paṭāru, wašāru* D; see *AHW II*, coll. 849-851; III, col. 1484). H. Waetzoldt, “Zahlung von Lösegeld in Šeḫnā”, in: *Festschrift für B. Kienast*, G. J. Selz ed. (Münster 2003), pp. 707-716, studied also the prices paid for release at Šeḫnā and Mari in the OB period, which vary between 8 and 20 shekels; in some cases the amount of the silver requested can be even higher.

The documents of Ebla concern only the central administration and not private property. There is, therefore, no passage where níg-du₈ means “price paid for redemption of property,” as it is the case, instead, of Akk. *ipīrū* (which the Lexical Lists equates to nam-du₈), *AHW I*, p. 385; *CAD I-J*, pp. 171-173. On this topic, see in general G. Ries, “Lösegeld”, *RIA 7*, pp. 77-80 (with previous literature).

The passages nos. 29-33 use a more complex wording: “silver: price (níg-sa₁₀) of ... price for release (níg-du₈) (to) ...”. The last passages, nos. 34-39, concern, instead, the purchase of people.

It is unclear why all those people had lost their freedom. Some captives were released by towns which kept usually regular diplomatic relations with Ebla, as Iritum (nos. 2 and 12) and Kakmium (no. 4). Notice the release from Mari of a woman originally from Adab, who was the mother of a singer probably active in Ebla (no. 15). In one case, the price is given back to the merchants who had paid the ransom of two boys (no. 16). On this aspect of the activity of a *tamkāru* in the OB period, see W. F. Leemans, *The Old-Babylonian Merchant, his Business and his Social Position* (Studia et Documenta ad Jura Orientis Antiqui Pertinentia III; Leiden 1950), pp. 6-10. Some cases could also concern the restitution of fugitives, *zàḫ / záh*, a term which occur several times in the documents, see A. Catagnoli, in: *Miscellanea Eblaitica I*, p. Fronzaroli ed. (Firenze 1988), pp. 219-222. The passage no. 20 remind of the fact that mules are less numerous and, therefore, more valuable than common human beings.

Prices in shekels

30 sh.	no. 24	7,5 sh.	no. 37
26	38	7	30
25	26, 28	6,3	12
20	10, 13, 17, 19,	6	3
15	6, 11, 15	5	8, 27
13	36	4	32, 35
12	2, 14	3,1	34
10,7	16	3	4, 9
10	29, 31	2,5	7
8	16	2	5

Particular abbreviations: g.: gín (1 shekel = 7.83 gr); kb.: kù-babbar; kg.: kù-gi; m. = m. (1 mina = 470 gr); Arr.: the minister Arrukum; Ibr.: the minister Ibrum (followed, when possible, by the year of his mandate); I.Z.: the minister Ibbi-zikir (followed, when possible, by the year of his mandate).

a) Ransom of captives

Annual accounts of expended (è) metals

1) TM.77.G.730 (Arr.) obv. VI 16-VII 7 : 1.05 m. kb. A[-...] šu-ba₄-ti níg-du₈ dam dumu-nita dumu-mí Ar-si-a-ḥa ì-ti “509 gr of silver A. has received : price for release of the wife, the sons and the daughters of Arsi-aḥa (who was) present”

2) TM.75.G.1705 (Ibr. 1.b) rev. VII 6-12 : 12 g. kb. níg-du₈ 1 lú šitim Ab-ru₁₂-ti-um^{ki} áš-ti Ir-i-tum^{ki} “94 gr of silver : price for release of 1 man, a house builder of the town Abrutium, from the town Iritum”

3) TM.75.G.10077 (Ibr. 2a) obv. IV 20-V 5 : 6 g. kb. ì-na-sum Zi-rí-gú níg-du₈ dumu-nita La-da-il Ma-rí^{ki} “47 gr of silver given (to) Zirigu (as) price for release of a son of Lada-il of the town Mari”

4) TM.75.G.2464 (Ibr. 3a) obv. XVI 18-23 : 3 g. kb. níg-du₈ dumu-nita Û-du-bù^{ki} áš-ti Kak-mi-um^{ki} « 23 gr of silver : price for release of a boy of the town Udubu from the town Kakmium »

5) TM.75.G.1904 (Ibr. 7) obv. XV 10-16 : 2 g. kb. níg-du₈ Û-ba-ti KAR kg. en Ma-nu-wa-ar^{ki} “16 gr of silver : price for release of Ubatí (PN ?) ... gold of the king of the town Manuwat”

6) TM.75.G.10148 (Ibr. 8) obv. VIII 7-13 : 15 g. kb. níg-du₈ šeš Ti-la-rí-in^{ki} ’À-ne-gú^{ki} áš-da Tarš-ḥa-um^{ki} “117 gr of silver : price for release of a brother (of a man) of the town Tilarin of the town ’Anegu from the town Tarḥaum”

7) TM.75.G.10148 (Ibr. 8) rev. III 18-21 : 5 g. kb. níg-du₈ 2 dumu-nita Bur-ḥa-áš^{ki} [... “39 gr. of silver : price for release of 2 boys of the town Burḥaš [from ...]”

8) TM.75.G.2359 (Ibr. 9) rev. V 19-VI 6 : 5 g. kb. MU.MU níg-du₈ 1 guruš Lu-wa-šum^{ki} áš-ti Ba-na-i-um^{ki} “39 gr of silver ... price for release of 1 young man of the town Luwašum from the town Banaium”

9) TM.75.G.2359 (Ibr. 9) rev. VI 7-14 : 3 g. kb. níg-du₈ 1 dumu-nita Ti-in^{ki} lú A-da-su^{ki} I-šar Da-ti-um^{ki} šu-ba₄-ti “23 gr of silver : price for release of 1 boy of the town Tin of the town Adasu, Išar of the town Datiu has received”

10) TM.75.G.2359 (Ibr. 9) rev. VII 1-9 : 20 g. kb. níg-du₈ Dam-da-il Ib-su^{ki} in Kiš^{ki} lú Na-zu-mu níg-du₈ “157 gr of silver : price for release of Damda-il of the town Ibsu in the town Kiš, whom Nazumu has released”

11) TM.75.G.1464 (Ibr. 12) obv. III 9-16 : 15 g. kb. níg-du₈ 1 dumu-nita A-ti-lum^{ki} maškim Za-ba-rúm áš-ti Ìr-ku^{ki} “117 gr of silver : price for release of 1 boy of the town Atilum (to) a representative of Zabaram, from the town Irku”

12) TM.75.G.2365 (Ibr. 13) rev. II 12-20 : 20 g. kb. níg-du₈ 3 na-se₁₁ Ib-la^{ki} áš-ti Ir-i-tum^{ki} Mi-ga-ì lú gud-gud šu-ba₄-ti “157 gr of silver : price for release of 3 people of the town Ebla from the town Iritum. Miga-i(1), the overseer of the cattle has received”

13) TM.75.G.1923 (Ibr. 18) obv. XII 18-24 : 20 g. kb. níg-du₈ I-šar Ḥa-lab^{ki} áš-du Mi-su-wa-du Ma-rí^{ki} “157 gr of silver : price for release of Išar of the town Ḥalab from Misuwadu of the town Mari” (The release of Išar was in connection with the peace between Mari and Ebla [nídba ì-giš]; Misuwadu had already received 157 gr of silver as a gift, obv. XII 4-14)

14) TM.75.G.2508 (MEE XII 37) (I.Z : 9) rev. XVIII 20-25 : 12 g. kb. níg-du₈ 1 dumu-nita Na-gàr^{ki} áš-da DU^{ki} “94 gr of silver : price for release of 1 boy of the town Nagar from the town DU”

15) TM.75.G.2429 (MEE XII 36) (I.Z : 10) obv. XX 4-12 : 15 g. kb. níg-du₈ 1 dam Adab^{ki} ama-gal dumu-nita nar áš-da Ma-rí^{ki} “117 gr of silver : price for release of 1 woman of the town Adab, mother of a young male singer, from the town Mari”

16) TM.75.G.2429 (I.Z : 10) obv. XXII 4-19 : 42 g. kb. níg-du₈ 3 dumu-nita Ib-la^{ki} áš-da A-zi Nap-ra-ra-du^{ki} 16 g. kb. níg-du₈ 2 dumu-nita áš-da I-šar wa Da-nu-LUM dam-gàr Da-ra-um^{ki} “329 gr of silver : price for release of 3 boys of the town Ebla from Azi of the town Napraradu. 125 gr of silver : price for release of 2 boys from Išar and DanuLUM, the merchants of the town Daraum (who had bought them)”

Documents concerning expended (è) metals

17) ARET II 29 (7) : 20 g. kb. níg-du₈ ir₁₁ Ma-rí^{ki} Sal-ba-du^{ki} níg-du₈-sù “157 gr of silver : price for release of a slave of the town Mari, the town of Salbadu (has received) its price for release”

18) ARET VII 6 (16) : 1.07 m. kb. níg-du₈ dam-dam I-ti-NE ur₄ ì-na-sum 10 g. kb. “525 gr of silver : price for release of women, Iti-NE the ur₄-official has given, (plus) 78 gr of silver”

19) TM.75.G.1559 (Arr. ; SEB 4 [1981] 155-161) obv. I 7-II 2 : 20 g. kb. níg-du₈ guruš En-bù-uš-li-im áš-ti Ma-rí^{ki} “157 gr of silver : price for release of a young man of Enbuš-lim from the town Mari”

20) TM.75.G.1654 obv. I 1-II 1 : 1.20 m. kb. níg-sa₁₀ BAR.AN 15 g. kb. níg-du₈ In-gàr “627 gr of silver : price of a mule. 117 gr of silver : price for release (given to) Ingar”

Documents concerning expended (è) textiles

21) TM.75.G.2357 (Arr.) rev. V 3-7 : (2 clothes) UR-a-ḥa níg-du₈ A-bar-sal^{ki} šu-mu-“tag₄” “2 clothes (to) UR-aḥa, (who) has brought a price for release (from) the town Abarsal”

22) TM.75.G.1363 (Ibr.) rev. III 13-IV 3 : (2 clothes) I-ti-um Ib-su^{ki} maškim Za-ba-rúm níg-du₈ maškim Ḥa-ra-il “2 clothes (to) Itium of the town Ibsu, a representative of Zabaram, (as) price for release of a representative of Ḥara-il”

23) TM.75.G.10135 (Ibr.) rev. V 11-VI 4 : (2 clothes) I-ku-a-bí SA.ZA^{ki} lú dumu-nita-sù níg-du₈ áš-ti

Ìr-ku^{ki} “2 clothes (to) Iku-abi of the Palace, who released his own son from the town Irku”

Documents concerning deliveries (*mu-DU*) of metals to the Palace

24) TM.75.G.2355 (Ibr. 7) rev. I 9-11 : 6.30 m. kb. níg-du₈ 5 dam 2 dumu-mí 6 dumu-nita *Ga-rá-ma-an*^{ki} “3055 gr of silver : price for release of 5 women, 2 girls (and) 6 boys (paid by) the town Garaman” (1 individual : 235 gr ; Garaman was a town close to the Euphrates. The total of the silver in III 7-IV 3 is made up in part by deliveries which were “competence of the king” and in part by metal received as “price for release” : níg-ki-za en *wa níg-du*₈)

25) TM.75.G.1587 (*MEE* VII 2) (Ibr. 12) rev. V 12-VI 10 : 3.22 m. kb. *wa* 7.00 m. *zabar* 4.40 ma-na urudu lú níg-du₈ 7 lú *Tin-mi-za-ù*^{ki} *wa* 1 lú *Lu₅-a-tum*^{ki} “1582 gr of silver and 3290 gr of bronze, 2193 gr of copper, which is the price for release of 7 men (paid by) the town Timmizau and 1 man (paid by) the town Luatum”(Luatum was a town which controlled the north-east frontier by the Euphrates ; Timmizau was a fortress belonging to Luatum. Here again, the total of the silver, VI 11-VII 3, is made up in part by deliveries “competence of the king” and in part by “prices for release” : níg-ki-za en *wa níg-du*₈).

26) TM.75.G.1527 (Ibr. 14) rev. IV 12-16 : 50 g. kb. níg-du₈ 2 lú *Kak-mi-um*^{ki} É-ŠÈ.KU “391 gr of silver : price for release of 2 men (paid by) the town of Kakmium, ...”

27) TM.75.G.2616 (Ibr.) obv. I 1-3 : 15 g. kg. lú níg-du₈ 3 dumu-mí *Kab-lu₅-ul*^{ki} “117 gr of gold : price for release (paid by) the town Kablul”

28) TM.75.G.2351 (I.Z. 2) obv. VIII 11-IX 4 : 25 g. kb. (1 textile) níg-du₈ 1 *na-se*₁₁ DU^{ki} *I-ri-ig-da-mu* ì-na-sum “196 gr of silver (and) 1 textile : price for release of 1 people of the town DU, Irig-damu has given (to the Palace)”

b) níg-sa₁₀ níg-du₈

29) TM.75.G.1552 obv. III 2-4 : 10 g. kb. níg-sa₁₀ dumu-nita níg-du₈ *Ga-du-um* “78 gr of silver : price of a boy, released (by / for) Gadum”

30) TM.75.G.1353 (Arr. ; *SEb* 3 [1980] 12-17) obv. IV 4-9 : 7 g. kb. níg-sa₁₀ dumu-nita sikil níg-du₈ en “55 gr of silver : price of a *pure* boy, price of release (by / for) the king” (cfr. *ARET* III 323 rev. VI 3” : 4 dumu-mí sikil)

31) TM.75.G.1735 is “a tablet (concerning) prices for release” *dub-gar níg-du₈-níg-du₈*, rev. I 5-IV 1 : 10 g. kb. níg-sa₁₀ dumu-nita sikil [.....] dumu-nita *Za-ba-áš* 40 g. kb. níg-ba dumu-nita-dumu-nita *Ib-la*^{ki} *En-na-ì* lú *Ti-ir* šu-mu-“tag₄” 26 g. kb. níg-du₈ dumu-nita-dumu-nita *Ib-la*^{ki} *áš-ti* EN-*mu*^{ki} “78 gr of silver : price of a *pure* boy [.....] son of Zabaš. 313 gr of silver : gift for boys of the town Ebla brought (by) Enna-i(1) (son) of Tir. 204 gr of silver : price for release of boys of the town Ebla from the town ENmu” (obv. fragmentary)

32) TM.75.G.2182 obv. II 2-6 : 4 g. kb. níg-sa₁₀ dumu-nita níg-du₈ *I-in-zé* “31 gr of silver : price of a boy, released (by / for) In-ze”

33) TM.75.G.10026 rev. III 1³-IV 2 : [x g. kb.] níg-sa₁₀ guruš sikil níg-du₈ [...]

c) *Purchase of people*

34) TM.75.G.1923 (Ibr. 18) obv. IX 5-7 : 2.30 m. kb. níg-sa₁₀ 48 dam dumu-nita dumu-mí “1175 gr of silver : price for 48 women, boys, girls” (1 individual : 24.47 gr)

35) TM.75.G.1860 (*MEE* 10, 20) (I.Z. 1) rev. XIX 17-21 : 8 g. kb. níg-sa₁₀ 2 dumu-mí níg-ba *ma-lik-tum* ^dSÁRA₁₀-*iš* “63 gr of silver : price of 2 girls, gift of the queen to the goddess Išhara (of the towns Mane and Zuramu)”

36) TM.76.G.534(+) (I.Z. 12) obv. V 5-9 : 3.15 m. kb. níg-sa₁₀ 15 dumu-nita “ur₄”-“ur₄” gùn-gùn *áš-ti* *Ga-ga-ù*^{ki} “1527 gr of silver : price of 15 boys ... and dyers from the town Gagau” (1 boy : 102 gr)

37) TM.76.G.534(+) (I.Z. 12) rev. V 15-23 : 30 g. kb. níg-sa₁₀ 3 dumu-mí 1 dumu-nita níg-ba *ma-lik-tum* ^dSÁRA₁₀-*iš* “235 gr of silver : price of 3 girls (and) 1 boy, gift of the queen to the goddess Išhara (of the towns Zuramu, Mane and Ugušu)”

38) *MEE* II 18 obv. I 1-II 1 : 26 g. kb. níg-sa₁₀ guruš *Ti-ti* šu-ba₄-ti “204 gr of silver : price of a young man, Titi has received”

39) TM.75.G.1685 rev. III 9-IV 3 : 31 g. kb. tag₄ níg-sa₁₀ dumu-nita-dumu-nita “243 gr of silver : rest of the price of boys”

The term níg-du₈ “release, ransom” has also a no clear religious meaning in the following passages :

40) *MEE* II 49 obv. I 7-II 2 : 3 m. kg. KIN-ag an-dùl níg-du₈ en é ^dÀ-da “1410 gr of silver for doing a statue (for) the ransom of the king (in) the temple of the god Hadda”

41) *MEE* II 48 obv. VII 7-VIII 7 : 5 g. kb. KIN-ag 1 an-dùl níg-du₈ *Ti-ri-in-da-mu* *Lu-ba-an*^{ki} 1 g. kb. KIN-ag an-dùl níg-du₈ *Zàr-i-ig-da-mu* “39 gr of silver for doing 1 statue (for) the ransom of (the priestess) Tirin-damu (in the temple of the god Hadabal of) the town Luban. 8 gr of silver for doing a statue (for) the ransom of Zarig-damu”

TM.75.G.2598 obv. III 9-17 : 20 udu ^dEn-ki in GIŠ-nu-kiri₆ en nídba in ud níg-du₈ húl-sù “20 sheep (for) the god Enki in the garden, the king has offered on the occasion of the ransom of his feast”

TM.75.G.2598 rev. V 1-7: [x udu DN] Īr-’à-ag-da-mu nídba in ud níg-du₈ 2 si-sù “[x sheep (for) the god X,] Īr’ag-damu has offered on the occasion of the ransom of his 2 ...”

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71) L’Épopée de Gilgameš XI, 1-7 – Les premiers sept vers de l’onzisième tablette de l’Épopée de Gilgameš racontent que le héros éponyme, se trouvant après un long et pénible cheminement face à face avec Utnapištim, lui demanda de lui révéler le secret de l’acquisition de la vie éternelle. Ces sept vers initiaux furent reconstruits presque complètement sur la base de quatre textes fragmentaires (A = Haupt NE p. 95 ; B₁ = Haupt NE p. 120 ; D₁ = Haupt NE p. 114 ; e = Haupt NE p. 121 ; voir Parpola SAACT 1, p. xxv et p. 109, IX 1-7). Leur partition est la suivante :

A	^d GIŠ.GÍN.MAŠ a-na šá-šu-ma MU-ra a-na ^m ut-ZI ru-ú-qi
B ₁	[x x x x]Z[I]
D ₁	[]-qi
A	a-na-aṭ-ṭa-la-kúm-ma ^m ut-ZI
B ₁	[]-ṭa-la-kúm-ma []
D ₁	[]-tim
A	mi-na-tu-ka ul šá-na-a ki-i ia-ti-ma at-ta
B ₁	[]-tu-ka ul šá-na-a ki-i []
D ₁	[] ul šá-na-a ki-i ia-a-ti-m[a]-ta
A	ù at-ta ul šá-na-ta ki-i ia-ti-ma at-ta
B ₁	ù at-ta ul šá-na-ta ki-i []
D ₁	[]x[u]l šá-na-ta ki-i ia-ši-ma []-ta
A	gu-um-mur-ka [-b]i ana e-peš tu-qu-un-ti
B ₁	[]-mur-ka ŠÀ-bi ana e-[]
D ₁	[]x ŠÀ-bi ana e-peš t[u-q]u-un-tú
e	[]t[u-qu-un-ti
A	[]-a)t e-lu še-ri-ka
B ₁	[]x a-hi(?) na-da-at e-lu []
D ₁	[]n]a-da-at-ta e-li še-[r]i-ka
e	[]-l]u še-ri-ka
A	[]-ma ina UKKIN DINGIR.MEŠ ba-la-ṭa téš-ú
B ₁	[]x x x ki-i ta-az-ziz-ma ina UKKIN DINGIR []
D ₁	[]x x]x ki-i ta-az-ziz-ma ina UKKIN DINGIR.MEŠ ba-la-[]téš-’u-um
e	[]-ziz-ma ina UKKIN DINGIR.MEŠ ba-la-ṭa téš-ú

Le texte reconstruit est le suivant :

1	^d GIŠ.GÍN.MAŠ a-na šá-šu-ma MU-ra a-na ^m ut-ZI ru-ú-qi
2	a-na-aṭ-ṭa-la-kúm-ma ^m ut-ZI (var. D ₁ :]-tim)
3	mi-na-tu-ka ul šá-na-a ki-i ia-ti-ma (var. D ₁ : ia-a-ti-m[a] at-ta
4	ù at-ta ul šá-na-ta ki-i ia-ti-ma (var. D ₁ : ia-ši-ma) at-ta
5	gu-um-mur-ka ŠÀ-bi ana e-peš tu-qu-un-ti (var. D ₁ : t[u-q]u-un-tú)
6	[e-nin-n]a a-hi(?) na-da-at (var. D ₁ : n]a-da-at-ta) e-lu (var. D ₁ : e-li) še-ri-ka
7	[qi-ba-a] ki-i ta-az-ziz-ma ina UKKIN DINGIR.MEŠ ba-la-ṭa téš-ú (var. D ₁ : téš-’u-um)

Nous voyons que la forme des textes conservés est fort unifiée ; toutes les variantes sont attestées dans le seul texte (D₁). Les vers XI, 1-4 et 7 ne présentent aucun problème important ; tous les assyriologues s’accordent sur leur traduction. La situation est plus compliquée dans le cas des vers XI, 5-6. Ici, nous voyons dans les traductions existantes (nous n’avons consulté qu’un choix représentatif) des différences considérables.

La traduction anglaise par E. A. Speiser (ANET 1969, p. 93) est la suivante :

My heart had regarded thee as resolved to do battle,
[Yet] thou liest indolent upon thy back !

J. Bottéro les traduit en français (L’Épopée de Gilgameš 1992, p. 183) :

(Seulement,) tu n’as plus le coeur à te battre :
Tu es là, couché sur le dos, [dans le far]niente !

La dernière traduction allemande par K. Hecker (TUAT III 1994, p. 729) :

Mein Herz ist deinetwegen ganz darauf eingestellt, Streit zu beginnen,
(aber) mein Arm ist untätig gegen dich.

R. J. Tournay et A. Shaffer les traduisent (*L'Épopée de Gilgamesh* 1998, p. 222) :

Vis-à-vis de toi, mon coeur avait décidé de livrer combat.
Comment mon bras, contre toi, reste-t-il inerte ?

La traduction anglaise par A. R. George (*The Epic of Gilgamesh* 1999, p. 88) :

I was fully intent on making you fight,
but now in your presence my hand is stayed.

Et enfin, la dernière traduction anglaise par B. R. Foster (*The Epic of Gilgamesh* 2001, p. 84) :

Yet your heart is drained of battle spirit,
You lie flat on your back, your arm [idle].

Le vers XI, 5 se compose d'une proposition principale et d'une proposition infinitive subordonnée finale. Le sujet de la proposition principale est le substantif *libbu* avec le pronom possessif suffixé de la 1^{ère} personne du sg., son prédicat est le statif de la 3^{ème} personne du sg. m. du verbe *gummuru*, son complément indirect est le pronom personnel suffixé de la 2^{ème} personne du sg. m. Littéralement : « Mon coeur est / fut décidé envers toi à combattre. »

Le vers XI, 6, même si son commencement n'est pas conservé, se compose, évidemment, d'une proposition principale dont le prédicat est le statif de la 3^{ème} personne du sg. f. du verbe *nadû* et le sujet est, probablement (le texte est ici endommagé), le substantif *ahu* « bras » avec le pronom possessif suffixé de la 1^{ère} personne du sg. (La forme *n]a-da-at-ta*, qui a l'air du statif de la 2^{ème} personne du sg. m. du même verbe et qui est, évidemment, à la base de quelques-unes des traductions mentionnées ci-dessus, n'est qu'une variante erronée, attestée dans un seul texte [D₁].) Au commencement de la phrase l'existence d'un adverbe est supposée, peut-être *eninna* « maintenant », en fin de phrase se trouve le complément circonstanciel de lieu formé par la préposition *elu / eli* et le substantif *šēru* « dos » avec le pronom possessif suffixé de la 2^{ème} personne du sg. m. Littéralement : « [Maintenant] mon bras est posé sur ton dos. » La traduction des vers XI, 1-7 est, à mon avis, la suivante :

Gilgameš dit à lui, à Utnapištim l'éloigné :

« Je te regarde, Utnapištim,

tes membres ne sont pas différents, tu es comme moi.

Tu n'es pas du tout différent, tu es comme moi.

Je me décidai à combattre avec toi

[(et) maintenant] j'embrasse tes épaules.

[Dis-moi], comment tu te trouvas dans l'assemblée des dieux, (comment) tu cherchas
la vie (éternelle) ? »

Gilgameš, se dirigeant vers Utnapištim, se décida à arracher de lui le secret de la vie éternelle coûte que coûte, même de force. Après qu'il se trouvât face à face devant lui il arriva à comprendre qu'il avait rencontré un homme proche, qui pourrait devenir son ami et qui partagerait de lui ses expériences de vie.

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72) Eine Ebla-Urkunde in Japan. Zu Santag 7, Nr. 61 – Die Publikation von T. Ozaki, Keilschrifttexte aus japanischen Sammlungen. Santag 7 (Wiesbaden 2002), enthält erwartungsgemäß mehrheitlich Ur III-Urkunden. Als Nr. 61 ist dort eine als "altsumerisch" bezeichnete Urkunde veröffentlicht, die allerdings aus Ebla stammen dürfte.

Die semitische Sprache des Textes erweisen die Zahlwörter *mi-at* und *li-im* sowie der von Ebla bis Babylonien verbreitete Monatsname *za-'à-tum*. Die Konjunktion *ap* jedoch spricht ebenso wie der in der Kopie noch zu erahnende Duktus für die Herkunft aus Ebla. Der Bearbeiter der Texte hat mit gutem Grund diese Möglichkeit nicht bedacht, da man in kleineren Sammlungen kaum Ebla-Urkunden erwarten kann (vgl. nur M. Dietrich, UF 25 [1993] 93-98). Die Umschrift des Textes ist deshalb völlig missglückt (lukur für *wa*, 3 áb für *lú*, SU für *iti*, usw.).

Hier soll nur eine korrigierte Transliteration des Textes geboten werden, um damit auf diesen Irrläufer aufmerksam zu machen. Die Zeichenidentifikationen weichen zwar stark von denen der Edition ab, dürften aber unter Berücksichtigung der Zeichenformen von Ebla ohne weiteren Kommentar nachzuvollziehen sein. Für wichtige Hinweise (s. unten) danke ich herzlich A. Archi.

- i 1 *li-im* 8 *mi-at*
1,30 udu
wa
- ii *ma* ʿxʿ x = *ma-ʿrʿlki*
áš-da
a-li-im zu a s. unten
lú ibʿ (DIB)-du-lu
ap
3 *mi-at* 53 udu
- iii *lú II šeš-sù*
áš-da
puzur₄-ra-BE
2 *mi-at* udu
a-x-ma zu a s. unten, x = *na?*, nicht *ma :na*
- iv *iti za-ʿà-tum*

ii 1 und ii 4 : Die Vorschläge zur Lesung verdanke ich A. Archi. Für *ma-ʿrʿlki* weist er auf *gud ma-ʿrʿlki* in TM.75.G.2600 Rs. iv 7-8 hin; zudem teilt er mit, dass sowohl *a-li-im* (ii 3) als auch *puzur₄-ra-BE* (iii 3) in TM.75.G.2381 erscheinen (TM.75.G.2381 nach MEE 1, Nr. 1820: “assegnazione di bestiame a diverse persone”).

a in ii 3 und iii 5 las Ozaki “1/3”. Es liegt aber offensichtlich ein A vor, bei dem im Ebla-Duktus (gerade der späten Jahre) der untere Teil des gebrochenen Senkrechten nach rechts “abgespreizt” ist, so dass der in der Kopie wiedergegebene Eindruck entstehen kann (vgl. Beispiele wie ARET 9, 35 r. iii 3. 53 iii 10).

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73) Erratum – Dans la note *NABU* 2002/83, intitulée “Reused Columns in the ‘Stehlenreien’” écrite par B. Porter, il faut lire “Ashurbanipal”, et non “Ashurnasirpal”. A ce propos, nous rappelons à nos auteurs qu’ils doivent nous envoyer systématiquement une version électronique ET un tirage papier de leur notes.

La rédaction.

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