

# N.A.B.U.

## *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*

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### **NOTES BRÈVES**

**22) Un šakkanakku de Dēr redécouvert?** – Parmi les objets trouvés dans le palais d'Ešnunna (Tell Asmar) par les fouilleurs de l'Oriental Institute figure la tablette 1930-T255, qui porte ce sceau :

- i.       $^d\text{KA.DI}$  / [d]a-núm / [luga]l bàd.an $^f\text{ki}1$  / [x]- $\text{r}\text{x}1$ -ba / [lú da-núm]
- ii.     mi-gir  $^d\text{KA.DI}$  / na-ra-[am] /  $^d[\text{I}\text{štar}]$  / gi[r.nita] / [bàd.an $^k\text{i}$ ] / [ir-zu]

(Ištaran, le puissant, roi de Dēr : [x]- $\text{r}\text{x}1$ -ba, l'homme puissant,  
le favori d'Ištaran, le bien-aimé d'Ištar, le šakkanakku de Dēr, est votre serviteur)

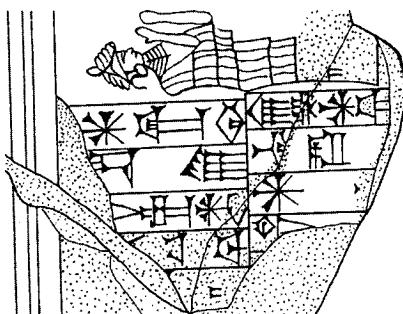
Th. Jacobsen (Frankfort 1940 : 155f.) a restauré ce sceau suivant les inscriptions de Anum-mutappil, le šakkanakku célèbre de la ville de Dēr, qui utilise les mêmes formules. On peut regretter que du nom du souverain à qui appartenait ce sceau il ne reste que le dernier signe et quelques traces avant celui-ci, car toute information supplémentaire sur la ville de Dēr, encore si mal connue, serait la bienvenue.

Nous proposerions de restaurer le nom du propriétaire du sceau sur base d'une empreinte publiée par F. Blocher dans son étude d'impressions de sceaux paléobabyloniens du British Museum. Parmi ces sceaux, il y a en effet un appartenant à un scribe d'un šakkanakku de Dēr, et ce šakkanakku porte le nom A'abba/Tâmtu (Blocher 1992 : 57) :

- i.      a-ab-ba / gîr.nita / [b]àd.anki
- ii.     i-lí-[ba-ni] / dumu a-w[i-il- $d\text{UTU}]$  / dub.[sar] / ir-zu

(A'abba/Tâmtu, šakkanakku de Dēr :  
Ili-bani, fils d'Awil-Šamaš, le scribe, est votre serviteur)

Ce nom conviendrait fort bien pour restaurer le nom [x]- $\text{r}\text{x}1$ -ba en [a]- $\text{r}\text{ab}1$ -ba. Les traces du second signe du nom sur la tablette 1930-T255 pourraient en tout cas être la deuxième moitié du signe AB, comme on peut le voir sur la copie qu'a publiée R.M. Whiting Jr. (Whiting 1987 : Pl. 27) :



Les dates des deux tablettes ne sont pas non plus contradictoires. La tablette du British Museum portant le sceau en question (BM 22693) et son enveloppe (BM 22704), sont datées sous Sabium de Babylone. La tablette 1930-T255 ne porte pas de date, mais Jacobsen indique qu'elle a été trouvée « in or slightly below the Ibiq-Adad I – Ibalpiel I palace » (Frankfort 1940 : 156). Ce palais, construit par Ipiq-Adad I et reconstruit

par Ibal-pi-El I, était en service jusqu'au règne d'Ipiq-Adad II, qui l'a encore rénové et qui, plus tard dans son règne, a démolie la partie du palais dans laquelle la tablette a été trouvée pour construire son nouveau palais (cf. Frankfort 1940 : 77 ff.). Cet Ipiq-Adad II était contemporain de Sabium de Babylone<sup>1</sup>.

1. Cf. la table chronologique dans Saporetti 2002.

Bibliographie :

- Blocher, F., 1992 : *Siegelabrollungen auf frühbabylonischen Tontafeln im British Museum. Ein Katalog* (= MVAS 10), München/Wien.  
 Frankfort, H., e.a., 1940 : *The Gimir-Sin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers at Tell Asmar* (= OIP 43), Chicago.  
 Saporetti, C., 2002 : *La rivale di Babilonia. Storia di Ešnunna, un potente regno che sfidò Hammurapi*, Roma.  
 Whiting Jr., R.M., 1987 : *Old Babylonian Letters from Tell Asmar* (= AS 22), Chicago.

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**23) Šutalpatu in einem Brief des Bābu-aha-iddina** – Das nach einem der Briefe des Bābu-aha-iddina (KAV 99:26) in AHw 1284<sup>a</sup> als šuris/stu und in CAD Š<sub>III</sub> 349<sup>a</sup> als šuristu angesetzte Lemma ist zu streichen. Das bisher nicht sicher zu lesende dritte Zeichen ist weder -is/š- noch -ma-, sondern erweist sich nach Kollation als -pa-. Die beiden waagerechten Keile kreuzen den senkrechten Keil, was die Schroedersche Kopie nicht zu erkennen gibt. - Somit kann šu-tal-pa-ta gelesen werden, und es liegt das Verbaladjektiv des Št-Stammes von *lapātu* vor, der als Passiv des Š-Stammes hier offenkundig angewendet worden ist, um Elfenbein und Ebenholz? (*ašū*) zu bezeichnen, das “ruiniert” worden ist. Die in dem Brief folgende Aufforderung, das Material zu wiegen, könnte dafür sprechen, daß das “Beschädigte” bzw. “Zerbrochene” eher Bruchstücke oder Einzelteile als Reparaturbedürftige Gegenstände meint.

Mit dem Vorschlag, in der Zeichenfolge ein Wort für “Stücke” zu vermuten (MAOG VII 1/2 [1933] 9), hatte sich E. Ebeling bereits intuitiv der zutreffenden Deutung angenähert.

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**24) Zappan and zabar (“copper, bronze”) in Elamite** – In NABU 2004.1 (note 28), G. Giovinazzo responded to my paper in *Achaemenid History* XIII, 2003 : 101-72. In this publication, I argued that Achaemenid-Elamite (AE) šumar does not mean “Schafstall,” as the *Elamisches Wörterbuch* (EW) claims, but refers to the tombs or burial mounds (*vel sim.*) of deceased royal and noble Persians, including those of Cambyses and Hystaspes. Four unpublished Persepolis Fortification texts on šumar are given in my paper, along with some comments on grammar, lexicon and prosopography. In this context (p. 104), I listed various groups of workers associated elsewhere with a certain supply official, saying that these included “*kurtash appa zappan nutip*” (‘workmen who [are] caretakers/handlers of copper’ [this interpretation of *zappa-* is not irreconcilable with that of Vallat 2002 : 137-8].”) Giovinazzo claims to have been very surprised about this statement.

First, Giovinazzo points to the fact that F. Vallat (*Akkadica* 123 : 137-8) does not discuss the meaning “copper” for *zappan*. This is true, but I only claimed that Vallat’s interpretation could possibly be reconciled with mine. As *zappan* was of secondary importance to my paper, I did not elaborate on the issue then, but I will try to make up for that omission here. Vallat amply discusses the Elamite verbal root *zappa-*, which occurs from Middle Elamite onwards and is, e.g., attested in Darius’ Bisotūn inscription (DB<sub>E</sub> III.43, *zap-pi-iš*) where it indeed must mean “faire prisonnier” (*vel sim.*). Earlier, the editors of the EW had taken the same stand (s.v. *zap-pi-iš*, “er nahm gefangen”), but they had also related Neo-Elamite GIŠ<sub>za-ap-pan</sub> and AE GIŠ<sub>za-ap-pan nu-ti-ip</sub> to the same root. This relation is not stated explicitly, but clear from the slightly awkward translations “Joch” and “Jochwarte(?)”, by which the EW seems to suggest that *zappan* is the instrument by which one is captured, detained or suppressed (cf. Germ. “unterjochen;” see also the entry on AŠ<sub>za-ap-pi</sub>). I think that the implicit ‘argumentation’ of the EW (which may have escaped Vallat o.c. 138) is principally correct, but that the translation is misguided.

For the EW the determinative GIŠ necessarily implies a vegetal object or product (a “Joch” would be made of wood). Yet, as Giovinazzo rightly notes, it is agreed upon nowadays that in later Elamite GIŠ can precede a whole range of materials (including stone and *zabar*, “copper/bronze”). If *zappa-* means something like “to take prisoner,” *zappan* could well mean “fetter.” This contention is endorsed by the Old-Persian version (DB<sub>P</sub> III.88) of the aforementioned passage of the Bisotūn inscription : [*bastā anaya*], “(he) led (them) fettered/in fetters” (cf. I.82, V.26, 28 for the restoration).

As I am convinced that “copper” or (preferably) “bronze” is the first meaning of the loan or Kulturwort *zabar* and its derivative *zappan* (see below), I am inclined to translate the verb *zappa-* as “put s.o. in copper/bronze fetters” (cf. Eng. “to put in irons”), i.e. “to fetter.” From this a derivative meaning “to arrest,” “to capture” or “to take prisoner” (as proposed by Vallat o.c.) is easily conceivable. Along the same lines *zappan* could, apart from its first meaning “bronze/copper,” probably have the derivative meaning “fetter(s),” (cf. Eng. “irons”). Bronze (and copper) fetters (*maškanum*) are known from Mesopotamia (see Stol in OBO 160.4 : 911, also citing the expression “Man hat mir Kupfer, Block und Haartracht angelegt” – see also CAD B

254-5 *birītu* 4, I-J 205-6 *iš qātī a-b*, S 224 *semēru* 3).

Secondly, Giovinazzo contests the validity of the interpretation of *zappan* as “copper” (or “bronze”). *Zappan*, she writes, “ne peut pas signifier le ‘cuivre’ qui, en élamite, est rendu par GIŠza-bar, za-bar<sup>MEŠ</sup>, za-ba-ru<sup>MEŠ</sup>, zu-ba-ar, etc.” This affirmation is, I think, a bit too strong. *Zabar*, conceivably an early loan from Sum. *zabar* (cf. Akk. *siparru*), could well have been elamized by adding an *-n* for the inanimate class (apparently replacing the original *-r*). This is, in fact, the same mechanism as the one Giovinazzo tacitly assumes in her proposal to relate *zappan* in MDP 9, 5 : 2 to Akk. *sappu* or *šappu*.

That the two forms, *zabar* and *zappan* co-existed is remarkable, but not inexplicable. Note that *zabar* is often followed by *MEŠ* from late Middle Elamite onwards (Stolper TTM 10), but that the adapted form *zappan* never is. Normally, *MEŠ* indicates logograms in Elamite, but can also be used with loanwords (cf. Stolper TTM 20), in which case the term ‘pseudo-logogram’ seems appropriate. One could compare the case of *za-bar<sup>MEŠ</sup>* and *zappan* to GIŠŠIKAK<sup>MEŠ</sup> (“lance”) which was also spelled *ši-ik-ki* and *ši-ik-ka<sub>4</sub>* and therefore probably pronounced as [šika] in Elamite (Henkelman, ARTA 2002.007). In my view, it cannot be excluded that *za-bar<sup>MEŠ</sup>* was not treated as a full loanword in (later) Elamite, but as a pseudo-logogram pronounced [zapan].

In the Persepolis Fortification texts, the expression *kurtaš appa zappan nutip* (GIŠza-ap-pan nu-ti-ip, GIŠza-pan nu-ti-ip) occurs four times (PF 1815 ; NN 0948 ; NN 1280 ; NN 1368). The documents pertain to the same group of four workers stationed at the – extensive – *partetaš* (παράδεισος; “plantation”) called *Parsaraš*, at Persepolis. Giovinazzo holds that these are “les ouvriers qui conservent / prennent soin des récipients / de la vaisselle.” Their activity would therefore be completely unrelated to that of *Manišdadda*, the GIŠza-bar<sup>MEŠ</sup> *tuk-ki-ra*, “copper/bronze-hammerer” or “brazier” who is also stationed at Persepolis. Yet, in NN 1984 five KÙ.GI-kazzip, “goldsmiths,” two *zab<sup>2</sup>-ba-<sup>1</sup>an?* *hul-ut-ti-ip*, “zappan-makers,” as well as two unqualified female workers and a boy constitute a group of *kurnukaše*, “artisans” (no location given). To me this is an additional indication that *zappan* means “bronze” and that *zappan-huttip* are “bronze-makers” or “bronze-workers.” It should be admitted, however, that Hallock’s restoration of *zabban huttip* is not completely certain. Prof. M.W. Stolper kindly informs me that all the signs are clear, except for the first which is almost completely destroyed (but seems to end in a vertical wedge). As far as I can see the only viable alternatives are *appan*, *nappan* and *zippian* (all attested in PF texts), but none of these suits the contexts. Hallock’s restoration therefore remains the most likely solution (the spelling *zab-ba-* is attested in forms built on the root *zappa-*).

Incidentally, the occurrence of *zappan-huttip*, made me rethink the interpretation of *zappan nutip*. My previous interpretation of *nutip* as “caretakers/handlers” (as well as Giovinazzo’s “[ouvriers qui] conservent...”) may be erroneous. The point is that the verb *nuti-* and its derivations, apart from the combination with *zappan*, occur exclusively with grain in the Fortification texts. In those contexts the verb must be translated as “to store.” With “bronze” (or “vaisselle”) the verb seems to fit uneasily. Perhaps one should therefore analyse *za-ap-pan-nu-ti-ip* as *zabban-hutip*, “bronze-makers/workers.” It is well known that /h/, especially in initial position had become very weak in Achaemenid-Elamite and *zappan-hutip* would have been heard as [zappanutip] and thus could plausibly be written as *za-ap-pan-nu-ti-ip*. I note in this context that the four texts with *za-ap-pan-nu-ti-ip* are all letters drafted by Hintamukka ; the spelling may be particular to this scribe.

Thirdly, Giovinazzo claims that HAL (BE)*zap-pan* and GIŠza-ap-pan are not identical “comme le laisse supposer W. Henkelman.” This is my turn to be very surprised, for I never mentioned HAL*zap-pan*, nor any of the texts in which it occurs (PF 1497 ; NN 0550 ; NN 1856). In fact, I carefully avoided discussing HAL*zap-pan*, as the term is problematic in several respects and, moreover, did not have a bearing on the subject of my paper. The word does not have the plural marker *-p*, nor does it belong to ‘conjugation II’ which is normally used in AE for passive formations (expected : \**zappap* ; cf. EW s.v. *zab-ba-be-ip*). Interpretation of HAL*zap-pan* as a ‘conj. III’ passive participle is not excluded (cf. Vallat o.c. 138), but the lack of a gender suffix (expect : \**zappanip*) makes this troublesome. It may be noted that the three texts with HAL*zap-pan* are of irregular shapes and concern very similar operations, which strongly suggests a single scribe. HAL*zap-pan* may be an idiosyncrasy of his (note that the spelling *zap-pan* does not occur elsewhere). The word may or may not be related to *zappa-* (and *zappan*), but any interpretation would seem hazardous at this point. A geographical designation, “workers (who are) Zappan(-people)” cannot be excluded at this point (cf. the toponym Zappan [in the Diyala region?], well-known from Mesopotamian sources and mentioned in a Middle-Elamite inscription ; see Vallat RGTC 11 : 305 with references).

Finally, a few words on Giovinazzo’s interpretation of GIŠza-ap-pan *šá-ah-ši* in MDP 9, 5 : 2, as “vaisselle royale” may be useful. The explanation of *zappan* as a loanword from Akk. *sappu* or *šappu* certainly seems worth considering. I am curious, however, how Giovinazzo explains the rendering of Akkadian */s-/* or */š-/* by Elamite *z(a)-*. As far as I am aware, ascertained loans with *z-* reflect Akk. */z-/* (*zalmu* ~ *šalmu* ; *zagratume* ~ *ziqquratu*). In addition, I do not believe that *šá-ah-ši* is a loan from Old Persian (I assume G. thinks of \**xšaçiya-*) with the meaning “royal.” The form could perhaps technically be such a loan (though \**ša-ak-ši-ia* would have been more precise), but Yusifov’s reading *ša-ah-ši<ka<sub>4</sub>>* (VDI 85 : 202) remains preferable. The

form is attested in the same archive (MDP 9, 59 : 4; compare also *šahšikra* in 105 : r.1, 134 : 9) and is obviously related to *šašika* (also *šasika*, *šašaka*, *šaššaka*) which is well-attested in the Fortification texts (Hallock OIP 92 : 755, “left over”).

The Elamite lexicon remains a treacherous minefield of uncertainties (cf. Giovinazzo *AION* 49.3 : 315); definite conclusions rarely can be drawn. I would therefore not claim that the case of *zappan* may be closed by now. At the same time, it would seem safe to say that my interpretation in AchHist XIII can and should be retained, be it with the stipulation that “copper” is to be corrected to “bronze” and “handlers” to “makers” (or “workers”). The *kurtash appa zappannutip* are more likely to be “workers who (are) bronze-makers (-workers),” than “ouvriers qui prennent soin de la vaisselle.”

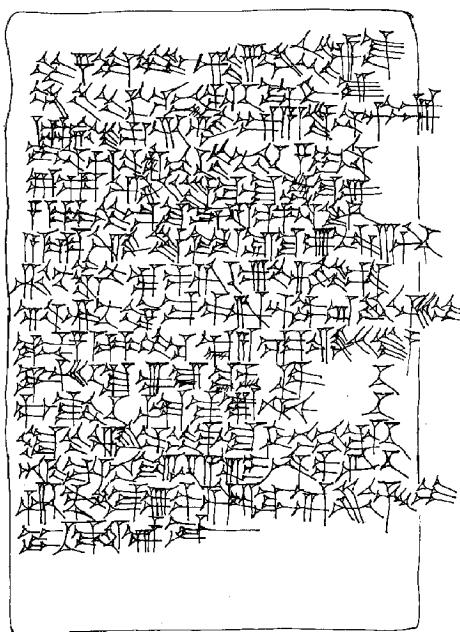
Wouter F.M. HENKELMAN (20-02-2005)

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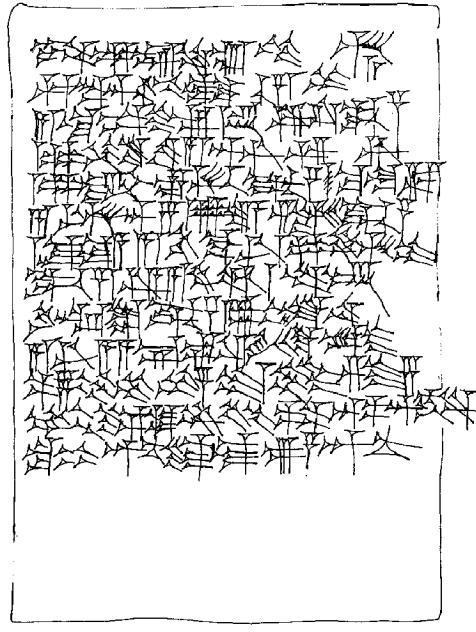
**25) On the Esaggil-mansum Clan** – All the BM tablets below are published or quoted with kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. Tikva Zadok is responsible only for the copy. The months in Roman figures are the Babylonian ones.

BM 29379 - Esaggil-mansum, 8.XII.4 Camb. = 526/5 BC

(1) MU 4 KAM <sup>m</sup>kam-bu-zi-iá LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> (2) LUGAL KUR.KUR <sup>f</sup>qu-da-šú DUMU.MUNUS-su  
 (3) <šá> <sup>md+</sup>AG-mu-tir-ri-gi-mil A <sup>m</sup>SUM<sup>na-d</sup>pap-sukkal (4) i-na hu-ud ŠÀbi-šú ŠE.NUMUN-šú šá i-na (5) é-sag-gil-man-sum ma-la ba\* (over erasure)-šu-ú (6) šá <sup>md+</sup>AG-MU-SI.SÁ DUMU-šú šá <sup>md+</sup>AG-na-šir (7) A <sup>m</sup>sag-gil-<man>-sum DAM-su\* ku-ú nu-dun-né-šú (8) ik-nu-uk-<>ku pa-ni-šú ú-šad-gi-li (9) ta-ak-nu-uk-ma pa-ni <sup>md+</sup>DUMU.É-ŠEŠmeš-MU (10) DUMU-šú šá <sup>md+</sup>AG-MU-SI.SÁ A <sup>m</sup>sag-gil-man-sum (11) DUMU<>-šú ku-ú su-da-di-šú (12) pa-la-hi-šú ù ma-šar?!-ti-šú (13) tu-šad-gil u<sub>4</sub>-mu ma-la <sup>f</sup>qu-da-šú (14) bal-ṭa-tu<sub>4</sub> BURU<sub>14</sub> A.ŠÀ i-na pa-ni-šú (15) ar-kát-tu-ú pa-ni <sup>md+</sup>DUMU.É-ŠEŠmeš-MU (16) DUMU-šú id-dag-gal (r. 17) i-na ka-nak na<sub>4</sub>DUB MUmeš (18) IGI <sup>m</sup>IR-dgu-la DUMU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>MU-a (19) A <sup>m</sup>la-kup-pu-ru <sup>md+</sup>EN-ib-ni DUMU-šú šá (20) <sup>md+</sup>AG-MU-SUM<sup>na</sup> A <sup>md</sup>DÙ-ib-ni (21) <sup>md+</sup>AG-ra-'-<im>-UNmeš-šú DUMU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ba-la-tu (22) A <sup>md</sup>DÙmeš-<šá>-DINGIR-iá <sup>md+</sup>AG-KAR-Zimeš DUMU-šú šá (23) <sup>m</sup>šu\*-la-a A <sup>m,lú</sup>GAL DÙ <sup>md+</sup>AG-ŠEŠmeš-MU (24) DUMU-šú šá <sup>m</sup>DÙ-a A <sup>m,lú</sup>NAGAR <sup>m</sup>IR-d+EN (25) <sup>lú</sup>DUB.SAR DUMU-šú šá <sup>md+</sup>AG-MU<sub>4</sub>-SUM<sup>na</sup> (26) A <sup>m</sup>DÙ-A+A é-sag-gil-man-sum itiŠE (27) U<sub>4</sub> 8 KAM <> MU 4 KAM <sup>m</sup>kam-bu-zi-iá (28) LUGAL TIN.TIR<sup>ki</sup> LUGAL KUR.KUR d(text PA)UTU dPA dAMAR.UTU (29) dib!-bi an-nu-tu la ú-šá-an-nu-<ú>



BM 29379 obv



BM 29379 rev

**Translation :** Year four of Cambyses, King of Babylon, King of the Lands :

Qudāšu daughter of Nabû-mutîr-gimilli descendant of Iddina-Papsukkal in her own free will, her arable land in Esaggil-mansum, as much as exists, which her husband, Nabû-šumu-lišir son of Nabû-nâšir descendant of (E)saggil-mansum, had transferred under seal (by producing a sealed document) to her (as equivalent) for her dowry, she transferred under seal to her son, Mâr-bîti-ahhê-iddina son of Nabû-šumu-lišir descendant of (E)saggil-mansum, for his caretaking, service and guarding of her. As long as Qudāšu is alive, the crop of the field is at her disposal. Thereafter (i.e. after her death) it will be transferred to Mâr-bîti-ahhê-iddina, her son. At the sealing of this tablet were present (lit. “before”, followed by the list of witnesses) :

Ardi-Gula son of Iddinā (or Šumā) descendant of Lā-kuppuru ; Bēl-ibni son of Nabû-šuma-iddina descendant of Bān-ibni (recte Ilu-bani?) ; Nabû-rā'īm-nišēšu son of Balātū descendant of Banē-ša-iliya ; Nabû-ēṭir-napšati son of Šulā descendant of Rab-banē ; Nabû-ahhē-iddina son of Bāniya descendant of Naggāru.

Scribe : Ardi-Bēl son of Nabû-šuma-iddina descendant of Ibnāyu. Esaggil-mansum, month Addaru (XII), day eight, year four of Cambyses, King of Babylon, King of the Lands. Šamaš, Nabû (and) Marduk will not change this agreement.

**Remarks :** The text (horizontally oriented) is presumably a copy as it bears neither seal impressions nor nail-marks. It has several mistakes, omissions, and inconsistencies.

**5, 7, 10, 26.** Unlike the toponym (Esaggil-mansum, 2x), the eponymous surname is with aphaeresis (Saggil-mansum, 2x).

**6ff.** The consecutio temporum is not expressed here.

**11f.** This combination is so far unique, but cf. *suddudu u maṣṣarti* (CAD S, 342) ; -da- of *su-da-di-šú* is presumably mistake for -du-. Cf. H. Petschow, Neubabylonisches Pfandrecht (Berlin 1956), 111, n. 346.

**15.** “Thereafter” is required by the context. One would expect here *arka/i* or *arkāniš* ; *arkatu* with the meaning “after” is not recorded in N/LB according to CAD A/2, 276f. and the spelling *ar-kát-tu-ú* is unique.

**20 in fine.** As far as I know, the surname, although it is explicable in Akkadian terms, is not attested elsewhere. Is it a mistake for Ilu-bani (DINGIR-ba-ni), which is very common in Borsippa, with -ib-ni as an erroneous repetition influenced by the same component of the given name, which is written at the end of the previous line, just above the surname?

**28f.** This postscript has a unique lapidary formulation. Elsewhere one encounters a relative sentence with a subordinate clause followed by the main one, e.g., *ša dibbi annūtu ušannū ilāni halāqšu liqbū* (cf. NRV 36f. ad VS 5, 43.154, 9 ; CAD A/1, 131f.) : “whoever changes this agreement, may the gods/DNN order his ruin”.

**Discussion :** This deed belongs to the archive of the Borsippean clan Esaggil-mansum. The husband, who was very probably dead when this deed was issued, had compensated his wife for dowry goods that he had probably subsumed into the family property. Her decision to reserve it for a certain son as heir is compatible with the contemporary Babylonian custom (cf. J. Oelsner, B. Wells and C. Wunsch in R. Westbrook et al., eds., *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law*, Leiden 2003, 2, 940f.). Transfers of property were done by apparently aged individuals in exchange for care and sustenance. For instance, according to VS 5, 21 = NRV 12, a father gives his daughter his share of a prebend after his death, for food, anointment and clothing (cf. G. van Driel in M. Stol and S.P. Vleeming, eds., *The Care of the Elderly in the Ancient Near East*, Leiden 1998, 161-197). According to BM 25630 from 23.I.20 Dar. I = 502/1 BC, Šaddinnu received from Bēl-iddina/Nabû-(mu)kīn-apli//K[āširu]) (restored according to BM 25588) 0;1.5 kor of palm grove on condition that he will take care of Bēl-iddina, who was probably old and apparently childless : Šaddinnu will assign Bēl-iddina a daily ration of one *pānu* and half *qū* of barley, a quantity (not preserved) of dates and each year will supply him 0;2.1 kor of sesame, as well as clothes, viz. one *tūg*KUR.RA, one *šir'am* and one *rašūtu*, as well as thirty pieces of linen fabric (*ki-tu<-u>*). After Bēl-iddina’s death, Šaddinnu will donate Itti-Nabû-gūzu, Bēl-iddina’s slave (*qallu*), to Ezida. Mār-bīti-ahhē-iddina/Liširu (<Nabû-šumu-liširu>)/(E)saggil-mansum exchanged 0;1 kor of palm grove in Esaggil-mansum with Iddina-Nabû/Šamaš-kāšir//(E)saggil-mansum on 9.X.1 Dar. I = 521/0 BC (BM 28902). Mār-bīti-ahhē-iddina’s palm grove was adjacent to the estate of the anonymous sons of Erība/Ašlāku. The palm grove of Iddina-Nabû also bordered on the same estate, but other details are lost. A brother of Mār-bīti-ahhē-iddina, Nabû-šuma-ukīn, is mentioned as early as 30.XIb.6 Cyr. = 533/2 BC in connection with the bleacher’s craft (*aslākūtu* = *lúTÚG.BABBAR-ú-tu*, BM 102345 from Borsippa). Esaggil-mansum was originally the “fifty” plot of land of the homonymous clan : cf. 50<sup>e</sup> šá *garim*É-sag-gil-man-sum (BM 96164). Esaggil-mansum is written either with the determinative GARIM = *tamirtu/tawwertu* “irrigated farmland, inundated area” or without any determinative (this interchange is very common in such microtoponyms).

The toponym is first mentioned on 26(?).II.2 Camb. = 528/7 BC (BM 29401, Gallābu archive). The earliest occurrence of the “fifty” of Esaggil-mansum (*mé-sag-íl-ma-an-s[um]*) is from 6.IX.7 Camb. = 523/4 BC in BM 29248, a promissory note from the archive of Šaddinnu/Balāssu/Bēliyā'u (issued in Borsippa). The same “fifty” plot is recorded a year later in the (Ea-)ilūta-bani archive (24.VIII.0 Nbk. II = 522 BC ; YOS 17, 8 = F. Joannès, *Archives de Borsippa...*, Geneva 1989, 75, 326f. ; cultivation contract with a descendant of Iddina-Papsukkal) and in VS 3, 104 from 21.V.9 Dar. I = 513/2 BC (50<sup>e</sup> šá é-sag-gil-man-sum, location of a palm grove, delivery of dates, assessed rent, in Borsippa). This promissory note, like the remaining documents, belongs to the Šaddinnu archive : BM 96164 was issued in *garim*El-li eš-šú (12 Dar. I = 510/09 BC ; promissory note for dates, assessed rent of a palm grove in Esaggil-mansum, delivery in Borsippa), BM 28884 (É-sag-gil-man-sum, 16 Dar. I = 506/5 BC, same type and location, probably specifying a sector of Esaggil-mansum ; delivery in Esaggil-mansum), BM 22006 (*garim*Sag-gil-man-sum, 24 Dar. I = 498/7 BC, receipt for dates, assessed rent and by-products from the previous year), and BM 96211 (*garim*Sag-gil-man-sum, promissory note for dates, assessed rent of a palm grove in Esaggil-mansum, delivery in Borsippa) from 28.I.[x] Dar. I (sometime between 522 and 486 BC). BM 96186 has *garim*É-sag-gi[l-man-sum] (year lost). It is a promissory note for dates, assessed rent of a palm grove of Nanā-damqa/Marduk-šākin-šulum//Šillāyu, wife of Šaddinnu. BM 28989 (Borsippa, 19.III.26 Dar. I = 496/5 BC) has 50<sup>e</sup> šá É SAG.ÍL\*, perhaps a short form, but it cannot

be proven that it refers to the same plot. On the other hand, there is good reason for thinking that Esaggil-mansum is the same place as Esaggil-amāssu, seeing that <sup>f</sup>Qu-un-na-ba-tu<sub>4</sub> /TIN-su//É-sag]-íl-a-mat-su in BM 96102 is the same lady as <sup>f</sup>Qu-un-na-ba-a-ta/TIN-su//É-Sag-gil-man-sum (BM 29067) and <sup>f</sup>Qu-un-na-ba-tu<sub>4</sub>/Ba-laṭ-su//É-sag-gil-man-sum (BM 96171). BM 28861 is a testament, basically for the sustenance and care of Qunnabatu/[TIN-s]u //é-sag-gil-man-sum, Nādinu's wife ( Borsippa, 18.xii.6 Cyr. = 533/2 BC ; archive of Nādinu/Zababa-zēra-ibni//Pahāru).

BM 28984- 16.VIII.14 Dar. I =508/7 BC ; Šaddinnu archive ; receipt.

(1) 5 ME ruk-sa pi-ti šá GI (2) <sup>m</sup>šad-din-nu A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>TIN-su ḫA md+EN-'-ú (3) AŠ ŠU<sup>II</sup> md+AG-bul-liṭ-su A-šú šá (4) <sup>m</sup>su-qa-A+A a-na UGUhi (5) <sup>m</sup>su-qa-A+A AD-šú ma-h[i-ir] (6) e-lat GÍD.DA IG-[ú] (7) 1+en-<TA>.AM TE-[ú] (r. 8) lúmu-kin-nu <sup>m</sup>[d]+AG-[...] (9) A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>MU?(damaged)-ia md+A[G/EN-...] (10) A-šú šá md+AG-it-tan-nu [(xx)] (11) <sup>md</sup>[x]-MU A-šú <šá> <sup>m</sup>man-nu-k[i-... ] (12) <sup>md</sup>+AG-ŠEŠ-it-tan-nu A-šú šá <sup>md</sup>! [xx] (13) lúUMBISAG <sup>md</sup>U.GUR-zi-mu-ÙRU A-šú šá (14) <sup>m</sup>gi-mil-lu A <sup>md</sup>XXX-KUR-nu (15) uruÉ-sag-íl-a-mat-su itiAPIN (16) U<sub>4</sub> 16 KAM MU 14 KAM <sup>m</sup>da-a-*<*ri*>*-muš (squeezed) (17) LUGAL E<sup>ki</sup> u KUR.KUR

**Translation :** Šaddinnu son of Balāssu descendant of Bēliya'u received 500 bundles of reeds from the hands of Nabû-bullissu son of Sūqāy on account of his father Sūqāy. Apart from a previous (deed recording) debt. Each has taken a document.

**Witnesses :** Na[bû...] (or Bē[l-...]) son of Nabû-ittannu ; [DN]-iddina son of Mannu-k[ī-...]; Nabû-aha-ittannu son of [DN-...]. Scribe : Nergal-zīma-uṣur son of Gimillu descendant of Sīn-šadūnu. Esaggil-amāssu, month Arahsamnu (VIII), day 16, year 14 of Darius (I = 508/7 BC), King of Babylon and the Lands.

#### Remarks :

1. *ruk-sa pi-ti* : *riksu* “bundle” (RUK is a CVC sign, which is indifferent to vowel quality) ; *pītu* unit (cf. CAD R, 350f.). 13. *zīmu* “appearance, luster”, cf. OB PN Zi-mi-<sup>d</sup>UTU-lu-mur (CAD Z, 120a).

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**26) Borsippean Notes –** All the BM tablets below are published or quoted with kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. I should like to thank Professors P. Steinkeller, and P.-A. Beaulieu as well as the Harvard Semitic Museum for permission to quote from an unpublished HSM tablet. The months in Roman figures are the Babylonian ones. A single stroke (/) denotes “son of” and a double one (//) “descendant of”. My research is supported by the Israel Science Foundation.

#### 1. LAM.MUR = *allānu*

The surname of one and the same person, viz. Marduk-šuma-uṣur (or -nādin-ahi)/Nabû-iddina, is written both phonetically (<sup>m</sup>Al-la-nu, BM 94546, 2, 21, lúAl-la-nu, 19) and with a Sumerogram (<sup>m</sup>LAM.MUR, line 9). Cf. gišLAM.MAR and gišLAM.GAR = *allānu* meaning “accorn shaped suppository” (both in KAR 203, see CAD A/1, 354f.).

BM 94546 from 7.XIIa.0 [Dar. I = 522/1] BC (horizontally oriented) records exchange of five palm groves (amounting to 0;3.2 kor in the inundated area of Iddina-Amurru) of Marduk-šuma-uṣur (or -nādin-ahi)/Nabû-iddina//Allānu (the tablet was written by his son) with three slaves (a male and two females) of Nabû-kīn-zēri/Aplā// Rē'i-alpē :

upper long side : adjacent to the field of Bēl(?)-ema-ṭābi/Itti-Nabû-balāṭu//Rišū'a and his (anonymous) brothers ;

lower long side : adjacent to the field of Nabû-aha-rēmanni/Rāšilu//Nikkāyū ;

upper short side : adjacent to Nār-mihri ;

lower short side : adjacent to the Mannu-igiriš road.

(1) [tup-pi šu-pe]l-tu<sub>4</sub> šá <sup>md</sup>+AG-DU-NUMUN A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>A-a A lúSIPA GU<sub>4</sub> ù <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-M[U-ÙRU] (2) [A-šú šá <sup>md</sup>+A]G-MU A <sup>m</sup>al-la-nu it-ti a-ha-meš uš-pel-lu (text TÚ) (3) [3 (PI) 2 BÁN] ḫŠE.NUMUN gišGIŠIMMARmeš zaq-pu i-na(?) MU-<sup>d</sup>KUR.GAL (4) <sup>!5!</sup>(? 3 are visible)-ta A.ŠÀmeš ÚS.AN.TA ÚS.SA.DU A.ŠÀ šá <sup>m</sup>[d]+JEN(?)e-mu-ṭa-a-bi (5) ù ṢEŠmeš-[š]ú DUMUmeš šá <sup>m</sup>KI-<sup>d</sup>+AG-TIN A <sup>m</sup>SÚ-ú-a ÚS.KI.TA (6) ÚS.SA.DU A.ŠÀ šá <sup>md</sup>+AG-ŠEŠ-re-man-ni A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ra-ṣil A <sup>m</sup>n[ik]-ka-A+A (7) SAG.AN.TA ÚS.SA.DU I<sub>7</sub>-mi-hir SAG.KI.TA<sup>I</sup> ÚS.SA.DU KASKAL<sup>II</sup> (8) šá man-nu-i-gi-ri-iš PAP 3 (PI) 2 BÁN ŠE.NUMUN <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-ÙRU A-šú šá <sup>md</sup>AG<sup>1</sup>-M[U] (9) A <sup>m</sup>LAM.MUR AŠ hu-ud ŠÀbi-šú ik-nu-uk-ma a-na u<sub>4</sub>-mu ša-a-tú p[a-ni <sup>md</sup>+A]G-DU-[NUMUN] (10) A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>A-a A lúSIPA GU<sub>4</sub> ú-ṣad-gil ù <sup>md</sup>+AG-DU-NUMUN AŠ hu-ud ŠÀbi-šú (lo.e. 11) <sup>md</sup>+AG-SIPA-ú-a fbi-da-a fa-na-UGU-<sup>d</sup>na-na-a-t[ak?-lak?] (12) PAP 3 -ta a-me<sup>1</sup>-fut<sup>1</sup> šá AŠ ŠU<sup>II</sup> <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-ÙRU a-na ka-s[ap] (r.13) gam-ru-tu im-hu-ru ik(?)-nu-uk-ku-ma a-na u<sub>4</sub>-mu ša-a-tú<sup>1</sup> (14) pa-ni <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-ÙRU ú-ṣad-gil mi(?)-nu i-na tup-pi šu-pe-lu<sub>4</sub>l (15) ú-ṣu-uz-zu a-<sup>f</sup>na la <e>-né -e 1<sup>+</sup>en-TA.ÀM il-te-qu-ú (16) šá a-na UGU tup-pi šu-pe[l-ti [i]-he-si 1 MA.NA ú-ṣal-lam  
(space)

(17) lúmu-kin-nu <sup>md+</sup>AG-DU-NUMU[N] A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>NUMUN-TIN.TIRki A lúSIMUG (18) [<sup>m</sup>]KI-<sup>d</sup>UTU-TIN A-šú šá <sup>m</sup>NUMUN-TIN.TIRki A lúSIMUG (19) [<sup>md+</sup>A]G-GÁLši A-šú šá <sup>md+</sup>AG-NUMUN-SI.SÁ A lúal-la-nu (20) [<sup>m</sup>xx]lx A-šú šá <sup>md</sup>UTU-MU A <sup>m.lú</sup>ŠITIM (21) [<sup>m</sup>xxx] lúDUB.SAR DUMU-šú šá <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-ÙRU A <sup>m</sup>al-la-nu (22) [GN itiŠ]E IGI-ú U4 7 KAM MU SAG NAM.LUGAL.LA (23) [(long RN, room for 6 signs) LU]GAL TIN.TIRki LUGAL KUR.KUR

**Translation :** Deed of exchange, which Nabû-kîn-zêri son of Aplâ descendant of Rê'i-alpê and Marduk-suma-uşur (or -nâdin-ahi) son of Nabû-iddina descendant of Allânu have exchanged with each other (description of the palm groves). Marduk-suma-uşur has voluntarily transferred under seal (by producing a sealed document) in perpetuity to Nabû-kîn-zêri ; and Nabû-rê'û'a, <sup>f</sup>Bidâ and <sup>f</sup>Ana-muhhi-Nanâ-t[aklâk(?)], altogether three slaves, whom Nabû-kîn-zêri had received from Marduk-suma-uşur for full payment in silver, Nabû-kîn-zêri has voluntarily transferred under seal in perpetuity to Marduk-suma-uşur. ... keep his right to the deed of exchange. Each (of the contracting parties) took (one copy of) the document so that there should be no retracting. Whoever acts wrongly (in relationship) to the deed of exchange will pay one mina (of silver). Witnesses : Nabû-kîn-zêri son of Zêr-Bâbili descendant of Nappâhu ; Itti-Šamaš-balâtu son of Zêr-Bâbili descendant of Nappâhu, Nabû-ušabši son of Nabû-zêru-lîšir descendant of Allânu ; [xx] son of Šamaš-iddina descendant of Itinnu ; scribe : [xxx] son of Marduk-suma-uşur descendant of Allânu. [Borsippa (very probably)], Addar I, day seven, accession year of [Darius I (that year had an intercalary Addar)] King of Babylon, King of Lands.

**Remarks :** 16ff. For *hesû* with the meaning “to conceal information” see F. Joannès, NABU 1987/108 ; D. Charpin, ARM 26/2, 65 ad 307, n. c.- The first two witnesses are brothers. The scribe is son of a principal. The surname of additional four members of the Allânu clan is spelled both with the Sumerogram and phonetically :

1. Nabû-balâssu-iqbi (<sup>d+</sup>AG-TIN-su-iq-bi)/Nabû-iddina (<sup>d+</sup>AG-SUM<sup>na</sup>)//LAM.MUR, Borsippa, 30.VIII.16 Dar. I = 506/5 BC (BM 17665, 3f.) = <sup>d+</sup>AG-TIN-su-E/N//Al-la-nu, Babylon, 22.I.9 Dar. I = 513/2 BC (BM 96168, 3f.) ; N./N//Al-la-nu, Borsippa, 1.IV.16 Dar. I = 506/5 BC (BM 27793, 14f.) ; <sup>d+</sup>AG-TIN-su-E/<sup>d+</sup>AG-MU//Al-la-nu, Borsippa, 12.V.19 Dar. I = 503/2 BC (BM 103481, 3f.).- 2. Nidinti-Nabû (ni-din-tú-<sup>d+</sup>AG)/Zêr-Bâbili (NUMUN-Eki )//LAM.MUR , Borsippa, 30.VIII.16 Dar. I = 506/5 BC (BM 17665, 3f., 15f.) = Ni-din-tu<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d+</sup>AG/Z//Al-la-nu, Borsippa, 15.VI.34 Dar. I = 488/7 BC (BM 26505, 18).- 3. Bêl-iddina (<sup>d+</sup>EN-MU)/Nabû-zêra-ukin (<sup>d+</sup>AG-NUMUN-DU)//LAM.MUR, principal and scribe, Borsippa, 3.II. and 25.IX.11 Dar. I = 511/0 BC (BM 22179, 4f.13f. and 25829, 3f. resp.) = B./N//Al-la-nu, scribe, Borsippa, 27.VIb.0 Camb. = 530/29 BC (BM 29207, 14.).- 4. Šamaš-mukîn-apli (<sup>d</sup>UTU-DU-A)/Ezida-šuma-ibni (é-zi-da-MU-DÙ)//LAM.MUR, scribe, Til-bûri, 15.XII.2 Camb. = 528/7 and 28.VI.3 Camb.= 527/6 BC (BM 95182, 13f. and 25794, 13f. resp.). = Š./E//Al-la-nu, scribe, Til-bûri, 23.V.1 Camb. = 529/8 BC (BM 25766, 16f.).

(to be followed)

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**27) A flayed eunuch** – In an article published in RA 95 (2001 : 67-79, figs.1-9), J. Reade supports the authenticity of the Wellesley stone fragment, carved with the figure of a nude captive hand-tied to a ground patterned with mountain scales. He suggests that the stone may belong to a battle scene depicted among the wall reliefs in room M of Ashurbanipal’s North Palace at Nineveh. Years ago, I questioned the authenticity of the Wellesley fragment based upon stylistic criteria (JNES 29 1970 : 145-150, figs. 1-7). Below, I respond to several comments in Reade’s article.

(1). Following R.D. Barnett, Reade proposes the placement of the Wellesley fragment near the M 7 slab, a small fragment of which is in the Louvre (Reade 2001, figs. 5-6 ; Barnett, *Sculptures of the North Palace of Ashurbanipal*, (London 1976), p. 46, pl. XXXIV a). The fragment measures H.12 1/2”, W. 13 2/3” (31 cm ; 34 cm). The scene carved on the fragment includes a small nude enemy, lying on his back with his head turned downward, stretched out upon the patterned ground. The Wellesley fragment measures H. 21.8 cm, W. 21.2 cm. On this fragment the extant torso and head of the nude captive extend across three-quarters of the stone surface. My mathematical calculations indicate that the size of the nude captive on the Wellesley fragment is too large for it to have formed part of the composition on the M 7 or nearby slab. In addition, one may observe that there are about eleven mountain scales beneath the head/torso of the Wellesley captive ; five mountain scales are drawn beneath the head/torso of the Louvre captive.

(2). Except for the acquired Wellesley captive, the known excavated examples of flayed nude captives in Assyrian art are bearded. The absence of a beard has led Reade to conclude that this figure is a eunuch. (There are many representations of Assyrian foot soldiers, as well as Assyrian court officials, who are likewise beardless ; all eunuchs?). In my article cited above, I state that “beards denote importance and, as we have seen, only important people were flayed,” (p. 150, n. 27). Could it be that the maker of the Wellesley fragment failed to include the beard, because he did not know what style to carve – round curls, corkscrew curls, or straight hair – or did he lack the skill to do so? And were mistakes made with the striations of the hair on the head of the Wellesley captive, which led to its entire area to be neatly cut away? Of course, these questions cannot be

answered with certainty. However, it may be pointed out that the continuous contour line of the angular jaw and long chin of the Wellesley captive is quite similar to that of a fleeing Arab on a camel who falls to the right (compare figs.1 and 7 in my article). The contour line of the Arab's jaw and chin frames the outer edge of a short beard filled with straight striations. One may therefore surmise that a short beard was originally intended for the nude captive on the Wellesley fragment.

(3). Reade comments (p.68) that at present there are no plausible nineteenth-century forgeries of Assyrian sculptures, and this one is "far too small to have been worth faking at the time." But see M. Joachim Menant, *Les Fausses antiquités de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée*, (Paris 1888).

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**28) Larak and the "Old Tigris"**\* – The town of Larak, which was immortalized by its inclusion in the antediluvian section of the Sumerian King List,<sup>1</sup> is documented in third millennium sources only once. The occurrence in question comes from an Ur III Puzriš-Dagan tablet, which records an expenditure of two sheep "for Nin-Isina of Isin when she went to Larak."<sup>2</sup> The occasion of that trip undoubtedly was to call on Nin-Isina's spouse, Pabilsag, who is well-documented as the divine master of Larak.<sup>3</sup>

Among the early data on Pabilsag, of special interest is his mention in the Pre-Sargonic riddles from Lagash (Al-Hibba), where he bears the title *ur-sag dEn-lil-lá*, "hero of Enlil".<sup>4</sup> Since that title otherwise belonged to Ninurta and Ningirsu, Pabilsag counted as a warrior god. Moreover, it appears certain that, already by that time, he had been syncreticized with the former two deities. The same riddle also connects Pabilsag with the canal MAŠ.TI.HAR,<sup>5</sup> which must have flowed in the vicinity of Larak (as the riddle is obviously about Larak itself).

Although the precise location of Larak is unknown,<sup>6</sup> all the indications are that it was situated comparatively close to Isin. Note, especially, the following data :

(1) A Middle Babylonian tablet from Isin mentions a *šangu* priest of Larak (LÚ.É.BAR *uruLa-ra-ki*),<sup>7</sup> indicating that these two localities remained in close physical contact.<sup>8</sup>

(2) Two Early Old Babylonian tablets from Isin mention a local city-gate named after Pabilsag (abulla *dPa-bíl-sag* [BIN 9 380 : 9]; *gišig abulla dPa-bíl-sag* [MCS 5, 121 no. 7 : 4-5]), which very likely led in the direction of Larak.<sup>9</sup>

(3) The same city-gate is probably also meant in a Sargonic legal document from Isin (BIN 8 170 : 15-16),<sup>10</sup> which records legal proceedings that occurred "at the place of Pabilsag" (*ki dPa-bil-sag-ka di-bi si bí-sá*). Alternatively, Larak itself could be meant here, which would make the Larak–Isin connection even stronger.

(4) As a general rule, divine couples usually reside in relative proximity to one another.<sup>11</sup>

(5) And last but not least, there is the evidence of SACT 1 169 (see above), which demonstrates that ritual intercourse was conducted (apparently overland) between Isin and Larak on regular basis.

If Larak and Isin were in fact relative neighbors, the distance between them probably did not exceed 20-30 kms. This – and the fact that Isin lay to the west of the Euphrates, on the very edge of the alluvium – would mean that Larak is to be sought in the general eastward direction in relation to Isin and the Euphrates, within a section of the alluvium marked off to the east by the Tigris.<sup>12</sup>

No references to Larak are extant in second millennium sources, except for the Middle Babylonian attestation of a "priest of Larak" just cited (which proves that it continued to operate as a cult-center), and its mentions in the antediluvian section of the Sumerian King List, the "Lamentation over Ur,"<sup>13</sup> and a number of other literary compositions.<sup>14</sup> However, Larak's name reappears in Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid sources.<sup>15</sup> It is one of those attestations (PBS 2/1 181 : 7) that, in fact, provides exceedingly important information on Larak's location. That text, which lists some of the landed properties managed by the Murašu firm of Nippur, and dates to the first regnal year of Darius II (423-405 BCE), names a field situated "in Larak on bank of the Old Tigris" (*ina URU.UD.UD.KI GÚ ÍD.IDIGNA la-bi-ri*).

When we confront this datum with our earlier observations about Larak's position in relation to Isin based on the third- and second-millennia sources, it becomes clear that the waterway in question must have been identical with the Tigris's main course as it flowed during the third and second millennia over the lower section of the alluvium, past Maškan-šapir, Urusagrig, Adab, Karkar, Zabalam, Apíšal, and Girsu.<sup>16</sup> One can conclude, accordingly, that Larak was situated either directly on or very close to the Tigris,<sup>17</sup> somewhere along its stretch between Urusagrig and Adab.<sup>18</sup>

The "Old Tigris" is mentioned in three other Murašu texts (BE 10 36 : 8 [1/v/2], 41 : 9 [1/vi/5], and 98 : 9 [4/?/?]), which likewise date to the reign of Darius II. In each of those cases, agricultural land is said to be located "on the bank of the Old Tigris" ((šá) GÚ ÍD.IDIGNA *la-bi-ri*). In addition, the same waterway is referred to in an unpublished Neo-Babylonian text from Sippar, which names a settlement *uruBu*(or *Gíd*)-da-na situated on the ÍD.IDIGNA *la-bi-ri*, clearly in the vicinity of Sippar.<sup>19</sup> The last example demonstrates that the

designation “Old Tigris” applied equally to the course of the Tigris north of Maškan-šapir, all the way to Sippar.

The existence of a waterway called “Old Tigris” during the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods is of obvious significance for the history of the Tigris, but, as far as I know, this point has sofar escaped the attention of scholarship. Clearly, if there was an “Old Tigris” in Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid times, there must, by that time, have existed a “New Tigris” as well, which ran to the east of the old branch, and, almost certainly, constituted the river’s main branch. Thus, the sources in question provide a secure *ante-quem* date for a major eastward shift of the Tigris. A *post-quem* date of this event is established by a Kassite letter from Nippur,<sup>20</sup> dating roughly to the reigns of Kurigalzu II and Kadašmanturgu (1354-1280 BCE), according to which, at that time, Nippur still obtained irrigation water from the Tigris. As for the Achaemenid “Old Tigris,” chances are that it continued to be part of the Tigris system, rather than to have become one of the Euphrates branches. Against the latter possibility speaks not only its name, but also the fact that the Euphrates tended historically to shift westward, which was due to the continuous rise of the alluvium (resulting from the accumulation of silts and the prevailing upward tectonic movement of the Euphrates-Tigris floodplain).

- \* This note profited from exchanges with Robert McC. Adams and Ran Zadok, to whom I offer my cordial thanks.
- 1. Th. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, AS 11 (Chicago, 1939), 74-75.
- 2. 2 udu [...] <sup>d</sup>Nin-Isin<sub>x</sub>(IN)-[<sup>s</sup>i-na] Isin<sub>x</sub>(IN)<sup>s</sup>i..ki še ud La-ra-akki-ṣrē il-gin-na-a (SACT 1 169 : 1-4). Collated by M. A. Powell, OA 20 (1981) 130. For this text, see most recently Th. Richter, *Untersuchungen zu den lokalen Panthea Süd- und Mittelbabylonien in altbabylonischer Zeit*, AOAT 257 (Münster, 1999), 158. Unfortunately, this attestation was overlooked by Rép. géogr. 2, which left Larak without any entry in that compendium.
- 3. For Pabilsg and his connection with Larak, see Richter, op. cit., 96, 158-59, 172-73, with earlier literature.
- 4. R. D. Biggs, JNES 32 (1973), 30 x 1'-4'.
- 5. id-bi MAŠ.TI.HAR, “its (i.e., of Larak) canal is the MAŠ.TI.HAR.” This toponym is identical with the name of a wagon part, which is documented in the Pre-Sargonic sources from Nippur and Lagaš : 3 <sup>giš</sup>MAŠ.TI.HAR (TUM 5 140 i 1); 1 umbin MAŠ.TI.HAR sumun (DP 482 iv 3). Cf. also <sup>giš</sup>TI.HAR in EV 349 (MEE 4, 238). The last attestation suggests a possible reading mašti.HAR.
- 6. See D. O. Edzard, RLA 6/7-8 (1983) 494-495.
- 7. C. B. F. Walker and C. Wilcke in *Isin – Išan Bahriyāt II*, ed. by B. Hrouda (Munich, 1981), 101 IB 1052 rev. 5.
- 8. Cf. Kh Nashef’s observation regarding the same source : “Unser Beleg ... deutet ausserdem möglicherweise auf eine Lage in der Nähe von Isin” (Rép. géogr. 5, 176).
- 9. Richter, op. cit., 173, thinks that the structure in question was “die Türe des Heiligtums,” but abulla never describes temple-gates. Here note that the alleged examples of abulla meaning “gate (of a building)” in PSD A/2, 181, uniformly refer to city-gates. Cf. Steinkeller, RA 72 (1978) 75.
- 10. This tablet is to be added to the later group of Isin materials listed in Steinkeller and J. N. Postgate, *Third-Millennium Legal and Administrative Texts in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad*, MC 4 (Winona Lake, 1992), 7-8.
- 11. Cf. Steinkeller in *Festschrift für Burkhardt Kienast*, ed. by G. J. Seltz, AOAT 274 (Münster, 2003), 630.
- 12. These facts exclude Tell al-Wilayah as a possible candidate for Larak, as considered by J. N. Postgate, Sumer 32 (1976) 82, since Tell al-Wilayah is situated considerably to the east of the Tigris. For the course of the Tigris during the third and second millennia, see Steinkeller, “New Light on the Hydrology and Topography of Southern Babylonia in the Third Millennium,” ZA 91 (2001) 22-84.
- 13. Ga-ša-an-x-x [...] é-ba La-ra-ak<sup>ki</sup>-a (W. H. Ph. Römer, *Die Klage über die Zerstörung von Ur*, AOAT 309 [Münster, 2004], 14 line 19).
- 14. See J. A. Black in *Velles paraules : Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Miguel Civil*, ed. by P. Michalowski et al., Aula Or 9 (1991), 30 n. 56.
- 15. For the attestations, see Rép. géogr. 8, 210.
- 16. See Steinkeller, ZA 91, 39-41 with Map 1.
- 17. The Murašu texts also mention a “Larak canal” (ÍD.UD.UD.KI – Rép. géogr. 8, 375 ; Stolper Entrepreneurs no. 13 : 7', 13', 15'), which may have been identical with the MAŠ.TI.HAR of the Pre-Sargonic riddle. Possibly, but not necessarily, that canal connected Larak with the Tigris.
- 18. A good candidate for Larak in that general area would be the site of Tell al-Laham, which is situated ca. 22 miles to the northeast of Isin as the crow flies, and which shows Ur III through Achaemenid occupation. See R. McC. Adams, *Heartland of Cities : Surveys of Ancient Settlement and Land Use on the Central Floodplain of the Euphrates* (Chicago, 1981), 277 nos. 1230 and 1231.
- 19. Fitzwilliam O.9 : 3 (15.II.547/6 BCE), cited by Zadok in NABU 2000/3 p. 4 + NABU 2003/35 p. 36 (collation). I am deeply grateful to Ran Zadok for bringing this datum to my attention.
- 20. See Biggs, “A Letter from Kassite Nippur,” JCS 19 (1965) 95-102 ; Steinkeller, ZA 91, 41.

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**29) Marginalia on MSL XV.**— The eventual publication of *MSL XV* : M. Civil, *The Series DIRI* = (w)atru (Rome, 2004) is a matter for great rejoicing. Most of the major lexical texts are now available in *MSL*, and one may hope that *Malku* = šarru will not be so long delayed, and that before long the shorter lists such as *Igituh* may also appear in the same series.

The present writer is not too happy with the innovation in *MSL XV* of giving a normalized Akkadian in the reconstructed list and full transliterations of all the copies on the facing pages. Reference to the text

takes longer when two pages must always be scoured and the appropriate lines are rarely opposite each other. The lack of copies for the newly available tablets (of which there are many) also raises questions. By chance, the present writer years ago discovered that BM 57356 (A.H. 82-7-14, 1764) was an exercise tablet with the Akkadian column only of Diri I 208-217, and he made a copy which he offered for this publication. The offer was rejected because the piece was already known from a copy of Pinches. The present writer has now compared his copy with that of Pinches (courtesy C.B.F. Walker) and with the original (courtesy Trustees of the British Museum), and the tablet is now a little cleaner than when Pinches made his copy. The writer's copy is accordingly given here and two corrections need to be made to the apparatus in *MSL XV* p. 113 under the siglum S<sub>3</sub>

208 : read *m[a]-hu-ú*  
213 : read *da-ap<sup>!</sup>-nu šá g̃š!-narkabti*

The latter is the more significant. Though the context and BM 38592+64190 require *da-pa-nu*, the exercise tablet has a clear *da-ap-nu*.

Two lines of Nippur Diri are given as :

<sup>d</sup>BÁHAR *ni-na-ga-na*  
<sup>d</sup>SIMUG *ni-in-nu-ra*

(p. 34 Section 10, 7-8)

There is a problem of reading in the first of these lines. The note on p. 35 offers the readings of the two tablets with these lines as : 3NT 316 = A 30211 : "ni-na-ga-na (o.e. [apparently = "over an erasure"] but definitely -na," and 3NT 268 = A 30191 : "ni-na-ga-n[a], clear NA." The present writer copied these tablets some years ago and while he can accept the latter reading -n[a] as extremely probable, he saw the former as by no means certainly *na* over an erasure, but possibly either *-la* or *-al*, see the drawing here. But whichever reading one chooses it is certain that the line refers to the god normally written <sup>d</sup>*nin-á-gal*. Note the forerunner to An = Anum of late Old Babylonian date :

<sup>d</sup>*nun-ur<sub>4</sub>-ra*  
<sup>d</sup>BÁHAR  
<sup>d</sup>*nin-á-gal*  
<sup>d</sup>SIMUG

(*TCL XV* pl. xxxi 468-471)

and the late copy of a god list with glosses like Diri Nippur :

DIŠ *nun-úr-ra* <sup>d</sup>BÁHAR      <sup>d</sup>é-a ša *pa-ha-ri*  
DIŠ *nin-á-gal* <sup>d</sup>SIMUG      <sup>d</sup>é-a ša *nap-pa-hi*      (CT 25 48 7-8)

Excellent sense comes from these passages. The god written with the BÁHAR is of course the potter deity, and "Lord of the big arm" is of course the blacksmith, first attested in the inscriptions of Ur-Baba of Lagash (*RIME* 3/1, pp. 15 ff. nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8) written <sup>d</sup>*nin-á-gal*. Thus the conclusion is forced that the scribes of Diri Nippur have wrongly mixed up the glosses in these lines. BÁHAR is in fact Nunurra, and SIMUG is Ninagal. Whether they also read Ninagan wrongly is a more open question. It is possible that *n* and *l* were interchanged, but reading is not fully certain.

3NT 316      3NT 268



BM 57356 (Obv.)



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30) Relative clauses in Old Akkadian – A recent article by Amikam Gai ('The Relationship between the

relative clauses of Akkadian and Old Akkadian', RA 96:103-108) takes issue with my article 'The Akkadian relative clauses in cross-linguistic perspective' (ZA 92:86-105), and in particular, with the description of the historical development in which the Old Akkadian system of relative clauses with the inflected pronouns *šu*, *ša*, *ši*, *šūt*, etc. disintegrate to leave only the invariable relative marker *ša* in the second millennium.

The only factual claim I can tease out from the six pages of theorizing in Gai's article is that "the difference [in relative clause formation] between Akkadian [by which is presumably meant 2nd millennium Akkadian] and Old Akkadian is that of dialect. Neither A stems from B nor B stems from A" (p.108). But my description of the development from Old Akkadian to later stages of the language was a simple statement of attested facts. The fall of the Old Akkadian system can be observed in progress. As mentioned in my article (p.101-101, n.26) there are signs of the disintegration of the old system already in the Sargonic period, when we find 'mistaken' examples of *ša* where the 'correct' usage should have been *šu*. Later on, the earliest OB letters from Eshnunna still show the last vestiges of the older system in place, with the pronoun *šūt* used in the plural. In all later texts from the second millennium, *ša* has established itself as the only remaining relative marker. This is the case in both Babylonian and Assyrian, so the disintegration of the inflected pronoun system must have been a feature of all dialects of Akkadian. Since very little is known about the dialectal situation in the third millennium, we cannot tell if the change happened in some areas first and spread to others later. But to deny that these simple and well-known facts amount to a historical change is absurd.

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**31) Zum Gebrauch des Ablativs im Sumerischen –** Wenn man in RTC 350,8, einer neusumerischen Urkunde der Gattung "Botentexte", Personen als lú-susin<sup>ki</sup>-ta-me "Leute aus Susa sind sie" bezeichnet findet, dann besteht wohl kein Zweifel daran, dass die beiden vorstehend genannten Männer entweder nach Erledigung ihres Auftrages von Susa nach Girsu zurückgekehrt, oder zwei Leute aus Susa eingetroffen sind, die in Girsu (oder in Sumer) einen Auftrag ausführen oder eine Botschaft überbringen sollten. Das wäre kaum der Rede wert, wenn nicht in zwei Fällen des Corpus der Gudea-Inschriften diese Verwendung des Ablativs Verwirrung hervorgerufen hätte.

Da heisstes einmal in der neuesten Bearbeitung von D.O. Edzard, RIME 3/1, 70-71 : Zyl. A III 2. 18 ; III 27 und IV 5 von der Göttin Nanše : nin<sub>9</sub> AN.UD.MÁ.NINA.KI.TAG.TA "sister in Sirara", bzw. kisal-AN.UD.MÁ.NINA.KI.TAG.TA-ka "in the courtyard of Sirara". Was die Zeichen AN und TA dem Ideogramm für Sirara zugehörig erscheinen lässt. Doch waren nach bisheriger Kenntnis diese Zeichen zu keiner Zeit Bestandteil des komplizierten Städtenamenideogramms. Welche Schreibung zur neusumerischen Zeit üblich war, davon kann man sich leicht anhand von D.O. Edzard und G. Farber, RGTC 2, 1974, 169-170 überzeugen. Es bleibt also nur die Rückkehr zur älteren Auffassung : nin<sub>9</sub>-dingir-sirara<sub>6</sub>-ta, bzw. kisal-dingir-sirara<sub>6</sub>-ta-ka "die Schwester (Ningirsus) (und) Göttin(, die) aus Sirara (stammt)" und "in den Vorhof der aus Sirara (stammenden) Göttin".

Für diese Stellengruppe war auch Gábor Zólyomi, OLZ 94, 1999, 182 in seiner Rezension des Werkes zum selben Ergebnis gekommen. (Der von Zólyomi herangezogene Feldernname GÁN-dingir-sirara<sub>6</sub>-ta-mu-zu [CT 50, 180, 10] ist aber aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach von einem Personennamen mit einer Verbalform mu-zu abgeleitet. Zu diesem Typ s. H. Limet, Anthr. 324.) Dagegen beanstandete er die nachfolgende Stelle nicht.

Bei Gudea, Statue F I 12-II 1 findet sich : <sup>d</sup>gá-tùm-dùg, nin-a-ni, lagaš<sup>ki</sup> uru-ki-ág-gá-ni-ta, unu<sub>6</sub>-šùba-a, mu-ni-tu-da-a, was D.O. Edzard, a.a.O. 47 wie folgt wiedergibt : "to whom Gutumdu, his lady, had given birth out (of the womb, being) Lagaš, her beloved city, in the *brilliant shine*". Die einfache Aussage, dass die aus Lagaš stammende Göttin Gudea in Girsu zur Welt gebracht haben soll, erhält damit eine mystische Dimension, die den Schriftzeugnissen Gudeas gänzlich fremd ist. Freilich verbirgt sich hinter den Formulierungen ein Problem, aber das ist theologischer und nicht sprachlicher Natur und braucht uns hier nicht weiter zu beschäftigen. Da den sumerischen Göttern weder Ubiquität noch Omnipräsenz unterstellt wurde, ergab sich die Frage nach der jeweiligen An- oder Abwesenheit einer Gottheit an einem bestimmten Ort.

Diese Art der Verwendung des Ablativs ist bereits altsumerisch belegbar. Es sei hier nur an drei Beispiele erinnert. Lugalanda benennt eine Stele : <sup>d</sup>nin-gír-su en nibru<sup>ki</sup>-ta ud-sud-še mah (Lug. 15 II' 6'). Auf Nippur bezieht sich auch der Name eines Kanals bei Uruinimgina : <sup>d</sup>nin-gír-su nibru<sup>ki</sup>-ta nir-gál (Ukg. 4 XII 36=5 XII 12). Dagegen lautet der Name einer von Enmetena geweihten Stele : <sup>d</sup>nin-gír-su en abzu-ta ud-sud-še ma[h] (Ent. 30 II 4'-6'). Wir können diese Aussagen mit Götterreisen Ningirsus nach Eridu und Nippur verbinden.

Die Reise des Gottes nach Eridu wird bei Gudea, Zyl. B III 5-12 und B VIII 13-16 erwähnt. (Man vergleiche auch Ninurtas Reise nach Eridu und s. A.W. Sjöberg, RIA 3, 1957-1971, 481-482). Eine Reise Ningirsus nach Nippur kann nach seiner Gleichsetzung mit Ninurta, dem Sohn Enlils, angenommen werden.

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**32) Ein neuer Join in den hethitischen Gesetzen –** Einer der hethitischen Texte, der in einer Vielzahl von

Exemplaren vorliegt, sind die Gesetze. Für die Paragraphen 1-100 listet Harry A. Hoffner (The Laws of the Hittites, London/New-York/Köln : Brill 1997) über 20 Textexemplare auf. Einige davon bestehen auch aus Fragmenten, für die indirekte Joins angenommen werden.

Gerade bei kleineren Fragmenten aber ist es mitunter sehr schwierig, sie bestimmten Exemplaren zuzuordnen, wenn nicht ein direkter Anschluß nachgewiesen werden kann.

Ein solches Fragment ist Bo 6292, das als KUB 40.32 veröffentlicht ist. Inhaltlich paßt es zu Paragraph 60 der Gesetze und wird diesem von Hoffner auch als einziges Fragment des Exemplars U zugeordnet.

Allerdings ist dies nicht die einzige Möglichkeit, da es sich nämlich genauso gut Paragraph 63 zuordnen läßt. An dieser Stelle bildet das Fragment einen direkten Join mit KBo 19.3 (Bo 68/233) des Exemplars F, so daß die Annahme eines Exemplars U obsolet wird.

Eine Verifikation des Joins im Museum ist mir im Augenblick nicht möglich. Dr. Silvin Košak von der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, war aber so freundlich ihn am Photo zu überprüfen. Obgleich auf dem Foto der obere Teil des Doppelstriches in Bo 68/233 kaum zu sehen ist, während er in Bo 6292 tief eingeschnitten zu sein scheint, ist Dr. Košak davon überzeugt, daß der Join stimmt, da Schriftgrösse und Form übereinstimmen.

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**33) Quelques observations supplémentaires sur le compte rendu oraculaire hittite KUB 22.61** – Dans mon article « KUB 22.61 (CTH 578) : comment traiter les yeux de mon Soleil ? » à paraître dans le *Welt des Orients* de 2005, je me proposais de collationner la tablette afin de tenter de répondre à toute une série de questions. Cette collation a pu être effectuée grâce à la publication sur le site internet « Das Mainzer Photoarchiv »<sup>a)</sup> de la photographie de KUB 22.61 (sous le numéro d'inventaire Bo 5030).

Voici les observations que je peux à présent formuler :

- ma proposition de voir dans KUB 22.61 une tablette à une colonne par face (au lieu de deux, comme le suggérait la numérotation d'A. Walther) semble confirmée par la photographie.
- le signe EN de Ro 6' que la copie d'A. Walther faisait ressembler à un signe LNS pourrait en réalité avoir

une forme ancienne. Voici le dessin de ce signe comme je le vois sur la photographie<sup>b)</sup> :   
le premier signe partiellement visible dans Ro 21' semble bel et bien être un signe IT, comme je le suggérais.

Voici les traces de ce signe telles que je les vois sur la photographie : 

.Je propose de le reconstituer ainsi :

ceci en me basant sur les autres signes IT de la tablette.

La photographie ne me permet cependant pas de résoudre les deux problèmes suivants :

- le signe HA de Ro 22' étant très proche de la bordure de la tablette, la photographie ne permet pas de déterminer s'il s'agit d'une forme LNS ou non.
- les traces précédant la lacune de Ro 5' ne sont pas reconnaissables d'après la photographie.

Lors de la collation de KUB 22.61, j'ai en outre remarqué que le signe de Ro 6' se trouvant après : *pa-ar-re-en-ti* qu'A. Walther a dessiné comme un signe NU (car c'est le signe que nous attendons à cet emplacement) est en réalité un signe ŠI. Le scribe a donc inscrit à tort un signe ŠI à la place de NU. Le clou vertical a été profondément imprimé et est bien visible sur la photographie.

**a)** Ce site est accessible à l'adresse suivante : <http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/fotarch/> On peut accéder à la photographie de KUB 22.61 par l'intermédiaire du site « Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte » de S. Košak (<http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/>). Elle a été publiée en 2004. Je tiens à exprimer ma gratitude à toute l'équipe efficace de Mainz (Prof. Dr. G. Wilhelm, Dr. S. Košak, G. G. W. Müller pour ne citer qu'eux) qui nous offre de formidables outils de travail.

**b)** Je pense qu'un petit clou vertical est présent sous l'horizontal mais il ne faut pas perdre de vue qu'il peut s'agir d'une ombre trompeuse sur la photographie, comme me le signale très justement J. -M. Durand.

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**34) On Learning Old Babylonian Multiplication** – In a recent paper, Robson published two Old Babylonian

multiplication tables from the Ashmolean bearing colophons identifying them as written by the same trainee scribe, Suen-apil-Urim (*SCIAMVS* 5 (2004) pp. 13-15). These two tablets, Ashmolean 1924.447 and Ashmolean 1924.451, are both standard multiplication tables for the principal number 24. Along with the name of the scribe, the colophons also include partial date formulas, the former, which contains a small error in the table, dated Month XII, day 9, and the latter, where the student makes no mistakes, dated Month XII, day 13. Robson also notices that YBC 11924, a multiplication table with principal number 4 (*MCT*: 23, no 99, 13b), was written by the same scribe and contained a full date : Month VI, day 11 of the year Rim-Sin 8.

Noting the approximative six-month difference in the dates between the 24 times table and the 4 times table, and their relative positions in canonical list of forty multiplication tables (tenth and thirtieth, respectively) Robson concluded that learning the entire set of multiplication tables probably took about a year and commented, ‘This is our first concrete evidence for the duration of any part of the Old Babylonian curriculum. It is impossible to know yet whether this result is generalisable or an idiosyncratic case’.

Robson’s conclusion is intrinsically reasonable. Even allowing for a school year of, say, 300 days, covering forty multiplication tables would imply an average seven or eight days per table from beginning to perfection. Given that the students were presumably studying Sumerian for much of their time, this is a plausible estimate. A note of caution, however, may be sounded about the methodology. As there are no year formulas on either of the Ashmolean tablets, the presumed order in which the Ashmolean and the Yale tablets were written is derived solely from their respective positions in the standard list.

Robson has argued that tablets containing single multiplication tables such as the three of Suen-apil-Urim were written during the first stage of learning multiplication, and that tablets of the sort containing numerous tables were prepared as part of a review process (‘More than methology : Mathematics education in an Old Babylonian scribal school’. In *Under One Sky : Astronomy and Mathematics in the Ancient Near East* (London, 2001) (eds. J.M. Steele and A. Imhausen) (AOAT 297), Ugarit-Verlag, Münster, p. 344). The organization of the latter style of tablet conforms to the canonical arrangement whereby the multiplication tables are listed in descending order of principal number. However, this does not necessarily imply that the tables were originally learned in that order. It is conceivable that students progressed from simple to more complex tables. They might, for example, have started with 2 times or 10 times tables, before tackling the multi-place tables. In the standard arrangement, the only three-place tables, that of 44, 26, 40, comes fourth out of the forty tables to be studied.

The tablets Robson has published are not the only ones including both name and date. YBC 6705 and YBC 6739 (*MTC* 22 : nos.99” and 99,3a) are both signed by one U-bar-rum and dated Month VI, day 25 and Month VI, day 20 respectively. No year is given in either case. However, YBC 6739, the tablet written earlier, is an 8 times tables, and the later YBC 6705 is a 9 times table. Thus, in this case, a student has completed the 8 times table before the 9 times, in opposition to the standard order of descending principal number. We must be cautious in generalizing about the details of Old Babylonian mathematical pedagogy and curriculum, as Robson wisely notes in the quotation above.

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**35) Mois intercalaire et fêtes religieuses : de Mari à Babylone, du deuxième au premier millénaire** – La lettre SAA XIII 60 rapporte que des notables de Babylone et Borsippa sont allés trouver le roi assyrien pour lui demander de prendre position par rapport à l’éventuelle intercalation d’un mois supplémentaire, de façon qu’ils puissent ensuite organiser la fête de Bêl à Babylone. Cette lettre est cataloguée comme « not dated » par H. Baker (*PNA* 2/II, p. 736b-737a). Selon S. Parpola, elle a été vraisemblablement adressée à Asarhaddon (*LAS* II, p. 187 ad 17f.) et elle serait à mettre en rapport avec *LAS* 190 (= *SAA* X 253) ; dans cette lettre, le chef-exorciste Marduk-šakin-Šumi rappelle au roi (Asarhaddon) que l’intercalation d’un mois VI (ITI KIN = *Elul*) a été décidée et planifiée le calendrier religieux pour les mois qui suivent.

Je voudrais attirer l’attention de nos collègues spécialistes du premier millénaire sur un parallèle que fournissent les archives de Mari. Au moment où Zimrî-Lîm s’empara du trône, un problème analogue se posa en effet. Le ſangûm Iddin-Sîn, déjà en poste sous Yasmah-Addu, demanda au nouveau roi quel était le mois en cours, selon son propre comput (A.3735 : 5-12, d’après J.-M. Durand, *FM* III, p. 30 et n. 65). Comme il y avait un décalage entre le calendrier utilisé par Zimrî-Lîm et celui jusqu’alors en vigueur à Mari, il fallut attendre encore deux mois avant de célébrer les fêtes liées au changement d’année (voir D. Charpin et N. Ziegler, *FM* V, p. 174). Il me semble qu’une telle décision du pouvoir politique dans la fixation du calendrier et du même coup dans la date des célébrations religieuses constitue un intéressant précédent à la situation décrite par *SAA* XIII 60.

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**36) Samsu-ditana était bien le fils d’Ammi-ṣaduqa** – Dans les actes de la 48<sup>e</sup> R.A.I. qui viennent de paraître

(W. H. van Soldt, R. Kalvelagen & D. Katz [éd.], *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia, Papers Read at the 48th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Leiden, 1-4 July 2002*, PIHANS 102, Leyde, 2005), S. Richardson a publié une étude au thème fort intéressant : « Trouble in the Countryside *ana tarši* Samsuditana : Militarism, Kassites, and the Fall of Babylon I » (p. 273-289). Je voudrais apporter au débat un élément qui me semble de nature à dissiper des doutes infondés sur la légitimité de Samsu-ditana.

L'auteur commence par une analyse des lettres écrites en l'an 15 d'Ammi-ṣaduqa par le roi lui-même ou d'autres personnes (cf. tableau p. 274). Il conclut que les « maisons » des Kassites (É.HÁ Kašši) sont la source de l'information relative à l'« ennemi », jamais nommé, mais nullement la cause des troubles qui affectent la région de Sippar. Cet ennemi étant situé « à l'intérieur du pays » (*ina libbu mātim*), l'A. passe à une discussion de ce concept, ce qui l'amène à une sorte de digression sur l'édit d'Ammi-ṣaduqa. L'A. montre ensuite à quel point les forteresses des campagnes ont joué un rôle important à la fin de l'époque paléo-babylonienne ; elles étaient tenues par des soldats d'origines ethniques très variées, mais chaque établissement semble avoir formé une unité à cet égard. Il suppose donc que « l'ennemi » mentionné dans les lettres écrites en l'an 15 d'Ammi-ṣaduqa n'était pas formé par des Kassites, mais par des soldats rebelles (p. 284), ce qui, il faut l'avouer, n'est qu'une hypothèse sans aucune base assurée. Il fait alors remarquer que nulle part Samsu-ditana n'est désigné comme fils d'Ammi-ṣaduqa (p. 285) ; il souligne en outre qu'on ne possède aucun nom d'année de Samsu-ditana à Babylone avant l'an 7 et que justement le nom de l'an 8 commémore l'offrande d'une statue de lui-même à Enlil, le seigneur de Babylone, comme s'il venait seulement d'entrer en possession de la ville. Sur cette base (et malgré ses précautions p. 285 n. 59), il propose de voir en Samsu-ditana un usurpateur, qui pourrait avoir été le chef des troupes d'une forteresse rebelle à Ammi-ṣaduqa. Ce sont ces rebelles qui auraient mis fin à Sippar-Amnânum (incendie de la maison d'Ur-Utu) et aussi à Harrâdum, ces deux localités ayant été détruites au même moment (an 18 d'Ammi-ṣaduqa).

Cette reconstitution se trouve infirmée sur un point essentiel. Les fouilles de Nimrud ont en effet livré la copie d'une consultation oraculaire (*tamītum*) qui mentionne « Samsu-ditana, fils d'Ammi-ṣaduqa, roi de Babylone » (CTN IV 63 i 42-43). Plus loin, l'indication historique se précise : on craint que les habitants d'une ville « parlent avec l'ennemi, qu'ils ouvrent le système de fermeture / le pont<sup>1</sup> de la grand'porte, qu'ils fassent sortir la garnison de Marduk et Samsu-ditana, fils d'Ammi-ṣaduqa, roi de Babylone, et fassent entrer l'ennemi dans la ville » (ii 11) ki erin<sub>2</sub> kúr (12) *la i-ta-mu-ú gi-iš-ra šá ká-gal la be-ma* (13) *ša-ab birs-ti šá* *damar-utu* *ù* *sà-am-su-di-ta-na* (14) dumu *lam-mi-ṣa-du-qá lugal ká-dingir-raki* (15) *la ú-še-ṣi-ma erin<sub>2</sub> kúr ana šá uru* *lal ú-še-ri-ba*). J'ai rendu compte de ce texte dans la RA 91, 1997, p. 190 ; il est dommage que S. R. n'y ait pas prêté attention (voir désormais OBO 160/4, p. 382-383). J'ajoute qu'il n'est pas question d'écarter ce document sous prétexte qu'il est seulement connu par une copie néo-assyrienne : assurément, la graphie et le vocabulaire ont été « modernisés », mais divers indices montrent qu'il ne saurait en aucun cas s'agir d'un apocryphe. C'est ce que montre l'évocation, dans la même tablette, de la campagne de Hammurabi contre Kazallu, ou la mention du chef de son armée, Hadanšu-likšud. On notera également dans une autre *tamītum* la mention de *a-bi-šu* *lugal ká-dingir-raki* dumu *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* (CTN IV 62 iv : 11-12) : si la filiation d'Abî-ešuh est correctement indiquée, il n'y a pas de raison que celle de Samsu-ditana soit erronée. Bref, une fois de plus, on voit qu'il est dangereux de raisonner à partir d'arguments *a silentio*.

1. Le sens de *gišru* dans ce contexte demanderait à être précisé. Le CAD G avait placé les exemples de YOS 10 dans *gišru* A avec le sens de « barricade » ; mais dans le volume N/1, on retrouve le même extrait avec une traduction par « bridge » (p. 174a *nakāsu* 1c). Quoi qu'il en soit, l'allusion à un *gišru* dans le contexte d'un siège confirme l'époque d'origine de CTN IV 63, puisqu'on en retrouve mention dans un recueil de présages paléo-babyloniens.

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**37) mB : MAŠKANU “Depot” ?** – Die Streitwagenfahrer in altorientalischer Zeit waren üblicherweise mit einem Panzerhemd ausgestattet, dessen Bezeichnung sariam/siriam in verschiedene altorientalische Sprachen übernommen worden<sup>1</sup> und mB als sirijam belegt ist.<sup>2</sup>

So werden in einem mB Text (PBS 2/2, 140:24, Leonhard Sassmannshausen, BaF 21, Mainz 2001, 172) 20 Schafvliese für Panzerhemden für 20 Streitwagen ausgegeben : 20 KU UDU.NÍTA a-na ma-aš-ka-na-ti ša si-ri-ia-am ša 20 GIŠ.GIGIR ša ger-ri, was Sassmannshausen mit Verweis auf CAD M/1 373 und CAD S 314, sowie auch AHw 627 (“Depot”) mit “20 Schaffelle für die maškattu/maškanu (Lagerhäuser) der Panzerhemden für 20 Streitwagen” übersetzt, was jedoch nicht recht überzeugt und zu Recht von Sassmannshausen in Frage gestellt wird. Das Determinativ KUŠ kann sowohl für Fell/Haut (z.B. KUŠ.UDU “Schafvlies”) als auch für alle Gegenstände aus Leder (mašku) stehen. Wie die Texte aus Nuzi zeigen, bestanden die Panzerhemden entweder aus Leder oder einer Kombination aus Leder mit zusätzlich aufgenähten Metallplättchen (JEN 533 ; HSS 15,3) ; auch eine Kombination von Leder und Filz (HSS 15,4) ist in Nuzi belegt. Daher ist hier bei dem mB Eintrag davon auszugehen, daß der Schreiber klarstellen wollte, daß 20 Vliese für die Lederteile der Panzerhemden ausgegeben wurden, und er entschied sich für die sonst wohl unübliche syllabische Schreibung a-na ma-aš-ka-na-ti (Plural von mašku) für Leder.

Dieser Beleg kann daher wohl nicht für das Vorhandensein einer “Art Zeughaus” herangezogen werden.

1. Siehe hierzu G. Wilhelm, *Das Archiv des Šilwa-teššup*, Heft 2 (1980) S. 132, sub § 9.
2. Siehe inzwischen T. Dezsö, "Panzer", *RIA* 10 (2004) 319-323.

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**38) Again on Old Assyrian *tuzinnum*** – In a recent article I discussed the words *unuššum*, *arhālum*, *tuzinnum* and *ubadinnum*, that occur in Old Assyrian texts from Kültepe/Kaniš (Dercksen 2004). New information necessitates the following additions and a correction.

I used the evidence from text Kt 88/k 90, published by Salih Çeçen in *Archivum Anatolicum* 1 (1995), as an argument in favour of an interpretation of *tuzinnum* as 'a type of agricultural land' (p. 149). Following the publication of my article, Veysel Donbaz kindly provided me with a photo of Kt 88/k 90. Contrary to Çeçen's copy of the text, the second word in line 11 is a clear *hu-zi-nim*, not *tū-zi-nim*. The temporal clause reads therefore: *inūmi rubā'um ana hu-zi-nim eşādim ēruba*, 'when the king entered to harvest the *h.*' The meaning of *huzinnum* is obscure. The same word may occur in the unpublished Leiden text LB 1216, quoted in CAD L, p. 106b: (9) 2 TŪG *a-lá-sí-me-e* (10) *ša hu-zi-nim lá-bu-ší-im*, '2 textiles to dress the runners of the *h.*' Although an important piece of evidence has thus been reduced to nought, I still retain the interpretation suggested in the article.

The articles by Cahit Günbatti and Irfan Albayrak elsewhere in the Larsen Anniversary Volume contain important new evidence on *arhālum* and *unuššum*. The Level Ib treaty concluded between Assur and a great king of Kaniš, published by Günbatti, contains a paragraph that forbids the king to give a work assignment to Assyrians for the *unuššum* when he plans to do so for his country (p. 252). The imposition of this type of service obligation on the Assyrian population was therefore a real possibility that had precedents in the past. This corroborates my interpretation of Kt 85/t 17 (p. 147).

That Assyrians could be bound to perform the *arhālum*-obligation emerges from Kt 2001/k 325b, published by Irfan Albayrak. The four sons of the Assyrian whose house had been given by the king of Kaniš to one of his favourites (although no evidence of it has survived, it is likely that such royal grants were recorded on special tablets, forerunners of the Hittite royal land-grant documents), are separated from the household and lines 32-34 (p. 14) state that 'they are free, they can go wherever they want, they have been separated, they are not attached to the *arhālum*' (*ellūtum šunu ašar libbišunu illukū paršū ana arhālim lā ɻahhu'ū*). Their sister, however, continues to live in the house together with the Anatolian owner and his wife and mother, on the condition that they will not harm her and that another *arhālum* will not be imposed on the house. This 'other *arhālum*' is another task which could be imposed, compare the *ilkum šanūm* 'another *ilkum*' in AbB 3, 26 : 19, and see M. Stol, *Studies Houwink ten Cate* (1995), p. 295.

**Bibliography** :: I. Albayrak : 'She will live, eat and be anointed together with them'. *ušbat aklat u pašsat ištīšunu*, in : J. G. Dercksen (ed.), *Assyria and Beyond. Studies Presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen* (PIHANS 100), pp. 9-20. Leiden : Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2004.

J.G. Dercksen : 'Some elements of Old Anatolian society in Kaniš', idem, pp. 137-177.

C. Günbatti : 'Two treaty texts found at Kültepe', idem, pp. 249-268.

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**39) Minima eblaitica 18 : G > [d]** – The value *zār* for SUM at Ebla is proven by the Lexical Lists, which have *GIŠ-asal<sub>x</sub>* = *zār-ba-tum /šarbatum/* "Euphrates poplar", Sem. *ðarbat-*, see M. Krebernik, ZA 72 (1982), p. 201 ; G. Conti, in : *Miscellanea Eblaitica* 3 (Firenze 1990), p. 127.

This sign is found also in the GN *La-ru<sub>12</sub>-zār-duki* in TM.75.G.2464 obv. XIV 15-16 : <sup>d</sup>'*A<sub>5</sub>-da-KUL L.*, which is an unusual writing for *La-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-duki*, in recent documents *A-ru<sub>12</sub>-ga-duki*, the town with an important temple of the god <sup>d</sup>'*A<sub>5</sub>-da-bal*, see ARES II, 110-114, 331-332. We have to admit, therefore, [ga] > [ða(r)]. The sign read *zār* in ARES II 480-481 is, instead, LAK-783 : *zar<sub>x</sub>*, see *Zar<sub>x</sub>ki* and *Za-ar<sub>ki</sub>*, *Zar<sub>x</sub>-bad<sub>ki</sub>* and *Za-àr-ba-ad<sub>ki</sub>*, in : ARES II 475-476.

The same anomalous use of SUM = *zār* is in [1] TM.75.1904(+) rev. II 4-7 : 5 *gín D(ILMUN)* kb.1 *mar-wa-zār-tum šu-šu en* "5 shekel silver (39.15 gr) (for) 1 m. (to be used by) the hands of the king." This name is written usually with -*ga*.

This object could be plated with simply 1 shekel silver (7.83 gr) : [2]-[3] TM.75.G.2507 obv. IX 13-15 and TM.75.G.10202 obv. IV 9-11 : 1 *gín D. kb. ni-zi-mu 1 mar-wa-ga-tum*, or even with 2 shekles gold (15.66 gr), [4] TM.75.G.10148(+) obv. VI 4-8 : 2 *gín D. [kg.] ni-zi-mu 1 mar-wa-ga-tum lú 2 šu en*.

This object, rarely attested, occurs in general in connection with vessels, as H. Waetzoldt, *MEE* XII, p. 244, has remarked.

[5] TM.75.G.2428 (*MEE* XII 35) obv. XXVII 38-XXVIII 3 : 4 *ma-na tar kb. 1 níg-bànda 1 GIŠ-šú 1 mar-*

*wa-ga-tum* 2 šu en “4 minas and half silver (2114.1 gr) (for) 1 drink-vessel, 1 bowl, 1 saucer (for) the hands of the king.”

[6] TM.75.G.10201 obv. XXVIII 14-16 : 4 ma-na 20 (gín) kb. 1 níg-bànda 1 GIŠ-šú 1 *mar-wa-ga-tum* en “4 minas and 20 (shekels) silver (2035.8 gr) (for) 1 drink-vessel, 1 bowl, 1 saucer (for) the king.”

The weight of these three vessels is remarkable. The passage [1], together with the two following here below, point, however, to the fact that the *m.* was much lighter in comparison with the other two vessels.

[7] TM.75.G.10077 obv. X 9-13 : 4 ma-na tar (gín) kb. 1 GIŠ-šú 1 níg-bànda 5 gín kb. 1 *mar-wa-ga-tum* (... en) “4 minas and half silver (2114.1 gr) (for) 1 bowl (and) 1 drink-vessel ; 5 shekels silver (for) 1 saucer.”

[8] TM.75.G.2109 obv. I 1-II 4 : 3 ma-na 16 (gín) 2 NI kb. 1 GIŠ-šú 1 níg-bànda PN<sub>1</sub> 13 (gín) lá-4 NI kb. 1 *mar-wa-ga-tum* PN<sub>1</sub> “taka<sub>4</sub>” mu-ti “3 minas 16 (shekels) 2 NI silver (1535 gr) (for) 1 bowl (and) 1 drink-vessel : PN<sub>1</sub> (has done[?]) ; 12.4 shekels silver (94 gr) (for) 1 saucer : PN<sub>1</sub> (has [?]) delivered ; received.”

[9] TM.75.G.2310 (*MEE* XII 30) offers the following weights of the three objects in gold (perhaps for two statues !). GIŠ-šú : 14 shekels (109.62 gr) ; níg-bànda : 1.5 shekels (11.74 gr) ; *mar-* : 3 shekels (23.49 gr). In this case the *m.* weighs about 1/5 of the bowl and the double of the drink-vessel.

The níg-bànda is usually much heavier : ca. 300 - 950 gr, but not so heavy as the GIŠ-šú, see Waetzoldt, *ARET* XII, pp. 66-67. For the GIŠ-šú, see P. Fronzaroli, *ARET* XI, p. 24 (with previous literature), who quotes also 2 GIŠ-šú with the capacity of 1/2 níg-šagšu or sìla.

Waetzoldt, *MEE* XII, 243-245, derives *mar-wa-ga-tum* from \*rī/ūk, Akk. *rāku*, *AHw*, p. 948 : *rāku* “ausschütten,” *CAD*, R, p. 110 “to smear,” and translate this term with “Kanne (?).” This object is, however, too light to be a jug. The three objects seem to be a complete set of vessels for the king. Because the meaning “drink-vessel” for níg-bànda, and “bowl” for GIŠ-šú seem sure, the third object could be a “(small) dish, saucer.” This term meaning a vessel with low edges could be perhaps derived from \*rhq, Akk. *rēqu(m)*, Ass. *ruāqum* “to withdraw, to depart.”

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**40) Minima eblaitica 19 : *na-gu-lum /naqqurum/ “to engrave”*** – G. Conti has seen that *na-gu-lum*, *ARET* VII 68 r. III 2, means “una azione relativa la lavorazione dell’oro, cf. forse akk. *nuqqurum*, ‘incidere’ termine relativo alla lavorazione dell’oro ... la radice è attestata anche nel VE 214, nella denominazione del ‘cesello’ (*ma-gàr-tum*, /maqqartum/, var. *ma-gàr-ru<sub>12</sub>*)”, see in : *Quaderni del Dipartimento di Linguistica* 4 (Università di Firenze ; 1993), p. 104. On these equivalences of the Lexical Lists, see G. Conti, *Miscellana Eblaita* 3 (Firenze 1990), p. 97.

*na-gu-lum /naqqurum/* is one of the *PaRRuS* forms well attested at Ebla, while the Babylonian form is *nuqqurum* “to engrave”, *CAD N*, I, p. 239. On these forms, see in general G. Conti, “Thèmes ‘assyriens’ et thèmes ‘babyloniens’ d’Ebla,” in : *Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Literatures. Memorial Volume of K. Petrácek* (Praha 1996), pp. 193-202.

*ARET* VII 68 has : “822 minas gold assigned (?) ; *zag-mì* (for) 1 jar. 27.50 minas gold : its (part) consumed/drossed (?) ; *a-bí-lum-sù*. 17.10 minas of gold : lost (zàḥ) in engraving (it) (*in na-gu-lum*).” The term *a-bí-lum* (cfr. Akk. *abālum* “to dry up” ?) is not clear. It could refer to the metal consumed in the refining process. In this case the metal “lost” (zàḥ) could be the metal removed in engraving the jar. The whole amount of gold for the jar was 386.34 kg ; 13.08 kg were *consumed*, and other 8.77 kg went “lost.”

*na-gi-lu /nagiru(m)/* is the verbal adjective. *ARET* VII 67 obv. II 2-4 : 5 ma-na kù-gi 1 dug *na-gi-lu* “5 minas gold (for) 1 engraved vase.”

Another passage can be added, which registers also an extraordinary amount of precious metals. TM.76.G.974 obv. I 1-II 6 : 4 [l]i 73 ma-na kb. *na-gu-um* 70 lá-2 ma-na kù-gi 7 m[i] 32 ma-na [...] wa zi-ru<sub>12</sub> *na-gu-um* wa zi-ru<sub>12</sub> [nu<sup>1</sup>] [na-gu]-[u]m “4,073 minas of silver (1,914.31 kg) to engrave ; 68 minas of gold (31.96 kg) ; 732 minas (344.04 kg) of [gold / silver] (for) [...], and zi-ru<sub>12</sub> to engrave, and zi-ru<sub>12</sub> not to engrave.”

The *zi-ru<sub>12</sub>*, Sumerian dar-áb, was a vessel which held ten sìla (c. 10 litres). The standard weight of this vessel was ten minas (4.7 kg), see A. Archi, *Iraq* 61 (1999) 157 (at pp. 152-157, the documentation concerning the jars, la-ḥa, is discussed).

*na-gu-um* in this context seems to be /naqqurum/, although this interpretation is against the rule that the *l*-reduction is possible for /l/, not for the L-signs which represent etymological /rl/, according to the syllabar of Ebla.

The form *ma-za-um*, attested twice in two older documents (minister Arrukum), has to be interpreted, instead, according to the rule, that is : /mazzálum/ “messenger,” because of the contexts, see A. Archi, in : *Boundaries of the Ancient Near Eastern World. A Tribute to C. H. Gordon*, M. Lubetski, Cl. Gottlieb, Sh. Keller edd. (Scheffield 1998), pp. 390-391. A third documented, also dated to the minister Arrukum, presents the writing *ma-za-um*, TM.75.G.2161 rev. II 3. The usual form is *ma-za-lum*, which has been analyzed, instead, as /maşşārum/ “guard”.

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**41) Minima eblaitica 20 : mar-za-u<sub>9</sub>** – The first passage concerning *mar-za-u<sub>9</sub>* has been edited as *MEE* II 46 (TM.75.G.1372) obv. II 3-rev. I 1-2 : 4 fb+III-TÚG gùn ne-DI *A-mu-du šu-ba₄-ti* in ud *mar-za-u<sub>9</sub>* “4 multicoloured kilts (for 4) dancers, A. has received on the occasion of the *m.* ceremony”. G. Pettinato, in his commentary at p. 309, has immediatly connected this term with Ug. *mrz̥h*, Heb. *marze₄h* (see, further, D. O. Edzard, *ARET* II, p. 133). On ne-DI “dancer”, see G. Conti, *Miscellanea Eblaitica* 3 (Firenze 1990), pp. 201-203. For the *marziḥu* at Ugarit, see D. Pardee, *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit* (Atlanta 2002), pp. 217-220.

The participation of dancers points to a festive ceremony probably at the presence of the king. Five dancers, the sons of a certain Mazamau, are mentioned again in connection with the *m.* of the king in TM.75.G.1389 obv. IX 4-11 : 5 fb+III-TÚG gùn 5 dumu-nita *Ma-za-ma-ù* ne-DI in *mar-za-u<sub>9</sub>* en *šu-ba₄-ti* “5 multicoloured kilts : the five sons of M., (who were) the dancers for the *m.* of the king, have received”. An “overseer”, ugula, had the responsability of the *m.* ceremony of the king. According to the two following documents, Dudaša acted as overseer of the *m.* of the king during several years of the minister Ibbi-zikir, TM.75.G.1389 obv. VI 3-5, and *ARET* I 3 (74) : *Du-da-sa ugula mar-za-u<sub>9</sub>* (en).

This ceremony had convivial aspects ; wine is, however, not mentioned. TM.75.G.2622 obv. VII 6-9 registers 5 shekels silver expended for a veal for the *m.* of the king : 5 (gín) kù-babbar níg-sa<sub>10</sub> 1 amar *mar-za-u<sub>9</sub>* en. Another expenditure of 5 shekels silver could have been used in the same way, TM.75.G.2508 rev. XIV 29-33 : 5 (gín) kù-babbar *mar-za-u<sub>9</sub>* en *In-gär šu-ba₄-ti* (month *za-lul*). The 24 shekels silver for another *m.* of the king are also left without any further explanation, TM.75.G.2462 obv. XIV 17-19 : 24 (gín) kù-babbar *mar-za-u<sub>9</sub>* en. According to an offering list, some sheep could be needed for the *m.* ceremony, instead of the veal, *ARET* II 5 (39) : 5 (gín) kù-babbar 2 udu in *Sa-za<sub>x</sub>ki mar-za-u<sub>9</sub>* en ; (40) 7 (gín) kù-babbar níg-sa<sub>10</sub> 1 udu *Sa-ra-NIki* lú *mar-za-u<sub>9</sub>* ; (41) 3 (gín) 3 NI níg-sa<sub>10</sub> 2 sila<sub>4</sub> lú *mar-za-u<sub>9</sub>*. The three passages should concern a single occasion. According to section (39), the *m.* ceremony of the king was performed at the palace (*Sa-za<sub>x</sub>ki*) ; it needed 2 sheep of 5 shekels silver, the same value of the veal mentioned in a previous document. A more expensive sheep came from the village *SaraNI* ; two kids were added to it. The work of a smith could also be needed from time to time, TM.75.G.10139 rev II 4-9 : [1?] fb+III-TÚG gùn NI-a-da-ar *Ba-nu<sub>x</sub>ki* é-simug *šu-ba₄-ti* lú *mar-za-u<sub>9</sub>*.

The *m.* of the king did not fall in the same month. The passage in TM.75.G.2508, quoted above, mentions the month *za-lul*. TM.75.G.2398 is a monthly document concerning the sheep distributed by the central administration in the month *iti kur<sub>6</sub>*, which falls three months after *za-lul*. This document has in obv. I 22-26 is : 1 udu gaba-ru *mar-za-u<sub>9</sub>* en nídba “1 sheep : consignment (for) the *m.* of the king (as) offering”.

The documents of the central archive concern solely the *m.* ceremony of the king, as it is to be expected. This ceremony included a sacrifice (?) followed by a meal, for which either a veal or some sheep were needed. The presence of dancers points to an happy event. This kind of registrations, focusing on the movement of goods, does not mention people admitted to this ceremony.

Alfonso ARCHI (8-07-2005)

**42) Minima eblaitica 21 : maš-da-bù and the cult of the deceased royal ancestors** – The marriage ritual for the royal couple, interpreted by P. Fronzaroli, *ARET* XI, prescribes that the king and queen visited the mausoleum (é *ma-tim*) in NE-na-áski, a small centre not far away from Ebla, where king and queen presented offerings to some of the most prominent ancestors. On these divinized ancestors, see A. Archi, “The King-Lists from Ebla”, in : T. Abusch *et alii* ed., *Historiography in the Cuneiform World* (Bethesda 1991), pp. 1-13. The ancestors mentioned in connection with NEnaš are : Ibini-lim, Sagisu, Išrud-damu, Hamana and Igriš-Halab, *ARET* XI 1 (60)-(61), (86), (89), (92), (97) ; 2 (63), (90), (93), (96), (107).

Several monthly documents concerning deliveries of textiles register 1 cloth and a small amount of wool for “a woman who has done a *maš-da-bù* for NEnaš”. This *maš-da-bù* was sent to NEnaš in the second month of each year. Another event concerning the *maš-da-bù* is registered for the fifth month.

*maš-da-bù* has been interpreted by G. Pettinato, *MEE* II, p. 81, as “bandage”, cfr. Akk. *naštiptu* “bandage”. He derived this term from \*štp, Akk. *šatāpu* “to preserve life, to save”. The passage in *MEE* II 8 obv. XI 12-rev. I 6 refers to a gift for two ga-dug “wet-nurses” of two children. See, further, *ARET* IV 7 (31), where the *m.* is the wool bendage for the child begotten by the queen : (further similar passages have been collected by J. Pasquali, in *MisEb* 4 [1997], pp. 249-250, who quotes also TM.75.G.2507 obv. V 7-10 : *maš-da-bù* dumu-nita *Ig-su-ub-da-mu* ; *Igsub-damu* was a dumu-nita en of the last king). Pettinato, *Il rituale per la successione al trono ad Ebla* (Roma 1992), pp. 269-270, connected *maš-da-bù* with *sa-da-bí-iš* and *sa-dab-tum*, which all he derived from štp. P. Fronzaroli, *ARET* XI, pp. 27-28, derives this term, more convincingly, from \*stp “to cut”. A manuscript of the LL, no. 1142, has *mu<sub>4</sub>mu<sub>4</sub>* = *sa-dab-tum* “dress”, J. Krecher, *apud* A. Archi, in : Michael, *Studies M. Heltzer* (Tel Aviv-Jaffa 1999), p. 46 note 3 ; cfr. *ARET* IV 11 (53) : ... in ud *mu<sub>4</sub>mu<sub>4</sub>-sù* “on the occasion of her (i.e. the dam dingir priestess) taking the habit”.

1) *The ceremony of the 5th month.* Pasquali, op. cit., p. 252, has collected three parallel passages, *ARET* III 467 rev. VIII 16-22 ; *ARET* IV 25 (27)-(28) ; *MEE* VII 26 rev. II 9-III 3, mentioning “the dressing (*ša-da-bí-iš*) of the king and the queen for Nenaš”, to which TM.75.G.2478 rev. VI 19-VII 6 can be added : 1 *zi-rí* siki *gi<sub>6</sub>* babbar *ša-da-bí-iš* en *wa ma-lik-tum si-in* NE-na-áski (*ARET* III 467 has the variant : *ša-dab-tíš*) “1 z. measure

of black and white wool for dressing the king and the queen for (the ceremony in) the town of NEnaš". ARET IV 25 (27) adds that "Enna-i(l), the son of Adulu brought (it to NEnaš)". Enna-il, and his father Adulu before him, were a kind of attendants, *pa₄-šeš*, of the god Kura, see A. Archi, VO 10 (1996), pp. 43-56. The four texts are monthly accounts, all dated to the month *ha-li(-NI)*, the fifth one. They refer, therefore, to a ritual performed in NEnaš by the king and the queen on that month every year. The queen, Tabur-damu, married Išar-damu in the 14th year of the minister Ibrium, according to TM.75.G.1730 (MEE VII 34). These documents mentioned above : ARET III 467, MEE VII 26 and TM.75.G.2478 (all dated to Ibrium and mentioning the queen) cover, therefore, three of the four following years of the minister Ibrium (he died in the 19th year of his mandate). ARET IV 25 has to be dated, instead, to the minister Ibbi-zikir. TM.75.G.10160 (month [x]) is also to be dated to the minister Ibbi-zikir, rev. XI 11-19 : 1 *zi-rí siki gi₆ babbar maš-da-bù en wa ma-lik-tum si-in NE-na-áški* *En-na-i šu-ba₄-ti*. The following text is fragmentary, ARET XII 313 rev. VII 2-8 : 1 *zi-rí siki maš-da-bù en wa ma-lik-tum in NE-na-áški*.

Other two monthly accounts of Ibbi-zikir refers to the same event, although with a different wording. The first one is dated to the previous month, *gi-NI* (IV), TM.75.G.2450 rev. VIII 2-9 : 1 *zi-rí siki gi₆ babbar 1 kù-sal 1 buru₄-MUŠEN babbar :kù maš-da-bù En-na-i šu-ba₄-ti si-in NE-na-áški* "1 z. measure of wool, 1 buckle (with) 1 falcon in silver (and) the m." : Enna-i(l) has received (to bring) to NEnaš". TM.75.G.2573 rev. VIII 12-17 (the month name is not preserved) : 1 *zi-rí siki gi₆ babbar maš-da-bù si-in En-na-i šeš :pa₄ dKu-ra*. That piece of clothing needed black and white wool. Two further texts concern this event : TM.75.G.1942 (Ibbi-zikir ; month *gi-NI* = IV) : 1 *zi-rí siki maš-da-bù si-in NE-na-áški*; ARET XII 154 (fragmentary) rev. VI 2-4 : 1 *zi-rí siki maš-da-bù si-in [NE-na-áški]*.

This yearly ceremony seems to be commemorative of the marriage ritual. This ritual foresaw that the god Kura and his spouse Barama arrived in the mausoleum in NEnaš, where some of the king's ancestors were worshipped (ARET XI 1 : ritual for king Irkab-damu [56] = ARET XI 2 : ritual for king Išar-damu [59]). There was, then, a kind of renewal of the divine couple and of the royal couple : "the announcement of the Mother goddess is that (there is) a new Kura, a new Barama ; a new king, a new queen", (1 [65] and 2 [68]). "The woman who is in charge of clothing says her blessing (*wa-a ti-ig-da-ra-ab* dam *mu-a-bí-iš-tum*). She covers the queen with a veil : her face and hands. She, the woman of NEnaš, covers the queen seven times, when king and queen are sitting" (1 [78]-[80] = 2 [82]-[84]; see the explanatory remarks by P. Fronzaroli, ARET XI, pp. 45-46). Notice that the dam of NEnaš was already listed among the personnel of the ritual in 1 (33) = 2 (36).

The document concerning the sheep expended by the palace for the month *gi-NI* (IV) of the last year registers : "15 sheep (for the ceremony of) the *maš-da-bù*; Enna-i(l) took the delivery", TM.75.G.1945 rev. V 4-9 : 15 udu *maš-da-bù{.KI}* in *NE-na-su₄ki* *En-na-i šu-du₈*. This delivery of animals seems to concern the ceremony of dressing of the royal couple of the fifth month mentioned above (this Enna-il is the same who appears in ARET IV 25 [27]).

2) *The ceremony of the 2nd month.* Another list concerning the expenditure of sheep for the month *še-gur₁₀-kud* (according to the local calendar = *ig-za* of the "Semitic" calendar, II), points to another ceremony in the town of NEnaš concerning a *maš-da-bù*, which fell in the second month, TM.75.G.2635 obv. II 9-14 : 6 udu *dKu-ra* en *nídba* in *ud maš-da-bù* "6 sheep (for) the god Kura on the occasion of (the ceremony of) the m." Many monthly accounts of delivery of textiles refer to a *maš-da-bù* done by "the woman of NEnaš", apparently at Ebla in the second month of the year, which was then sent to NEnaš. TM.75.G.2450 (Ibrium ; month *ig-za* = II) rev. X 13-21 presents a full wording (showing that each action was rewarded with wool and clothes) : 1 *túg-NI.NI* 2 *KIN<sub>x</sub>* *siki* *dam* *NE-na-áški* *kin<sub>x</sub>-ag* *maš-da-bù* 6 "bal" *siki* *níg-dug-DU* 1 *siki na₄ è maš-da-bù* "1 mantle (and), 2 K. measures of wool (to) the woman of NEnaš (for) having done the m.; 6 b. measures of wool (for) being entrusted; 1 n. measure of wool (for) the issue of the m.". Similar passages are TM.75.G.1741 (Ibrium ; month *še.gur₁₀-kud-min* = *ig-za-min*, II) rev. IX 5-13 : 1 *túg-NI.NI* 2 *KIN<sub>x</sub>* *siki* *dam* *NE-na-áški* *maš-da-bù* 6 "bal" *siki* *níg-dug-DU* è *maš-da-bù*; TM.75.G.2468 (Ibrium ? ; month [*ig-za*, II]) obv. VII 1-4 : [...] 6 "bal" *siki* *níg-dug-DU* 1 *siki na₄ è maš-da-bù*; TM.75.G.10140 (Ibbi-zikir ; month *še-gur₁₀*, II) rev. V 2-8 : 1 *zara₆-TÚG* 2 *KIN<sub>x</sub>* *siki* 1 *dam* *kin<sub>x</sub>-ag* *maš-da-bù* 4 "bal" *siki* *níg-dug-DU* *maš-da-bù*; TM.75.G.2239 (Ibrium ; month *ig-za*, II) obv. VII 1-9 : 1 *túg-NI.NI* 2 *KIN<sub>x</sub>* *siki* *dam* *NE-na-áški* *maš-da-bù* 1 *na₄* *siki* *níg-dug-DU* è *maš-da-bù*; TM.75.G.2252 (? ; month [x]) obv. IV 9-V 4 : 1 *túg-NI.NI* 2 *KIN<sub>x</sub>* *siki* *dam* *NE-na-áški* *kin<sub>x</sub>-ag* *maš-da-bù* 1 *na₄* *siki* *níg-dug-DU* è *maš-da-bù*; ARET III 277 III 2-8 (? ; month [x]) : 1 *túg-NI.NI* 2 *KIN<sub>x</sub>* *siki* *dam* *kin<sub>x</sub>-ag* *maš-da-bù* *NE-na-áški* 1 *na₄* *siki* *níg-dug-DU* 1 [na₄(?)] è *maš-da-bù*.

TM.75.G.2276 (Ibbi-zikir ; month [*ig-za*]) obv. IX 2-11 shows that this *maš-da-bù* was brought to NEnaš by Enna-i(l) : 1 *na₄* *siki* *šu-mu-tag₄* *maš-da-bù* *En-na-i šeš :pa₄ dKu-ra* 1 *túg-NI.NI* 2 *KIN<sub>x</sub>* *siki* *dam* *kin<sub>x</sub>-ag* *maš-da-bù* "1 n. measure of wool (to) Enna-i(l), the attendant of the god Kura, (for) having brought (to NEnaš) the m.; 1 mantle (for a woman) (and) 2 K. measures of wool (to) the woman (of NEnaš) (who) did the m."

The shortened formula just mentioning the delivery of the mantle as reward to "the woman of NEnaš" and the 2 measures of wool possibly for doing the *maš-da-bù* is found in a large number of monthly documents (Arr. = Arrukum ; Ibr. = Ibrium ; I.Z. : = Ibbi-zikir) :

ARET I 16 (24) (I.Z. : ? ; month *ig-za*, II) : 1 *túg-NI.NI* 1 *dam* *kin<sub>x</sub>-ag* *maš-da-bù*. ARET II 14 (5) (Arrukum ? ; month *za₂-à-na-at*, III) : 1 *túg-NI.NI* 2 *zi-rí* *siki* *dam* è *maš-da-bù*. ARET IV 10 (53) (Ibr. ; month [x]) : 1 *túg-*

NI.NI 2 GIŠ-kin<sub>x</sub> siki dam kin<sub>x</sub>-ag maš-da-bù NE-na-áški. ARET VIII 522 XVII 13-17(!) = MEE V 2 (51)(!) (I.Z. ; month *ig-za*, II) : [1 tûg-]NI.NI [1 n]a<sub>4</sub> siki [da]m [NE-]na-áški [kin<sub>x</sub>]-ag [maš-]da-bù. ARET XII 238 (fragmentary) II 1-3 : [...] níg-dug-DU è maš-da-bù [... MEE II 33 (Arr. ; month *ig-za*, II) rev. III 7-11 : 1 tûg-NI.NI 2 KIN<sub>x</sub> siki dam kin<sub>x</sub>-ag maš-da-bù NE-na-áški ; VI 9-13 : 2 KIN<sub>x</sub> siki dam kin<sub>x</sub>-ag maš-da-bù NE-na-áški MEE II 41 (Arr. ; month [*ig-za* = II]) obv. III 9-IV 1 : 1 tûg-NI.NI 2 KIN<sub>x</sub> siki dam kin<sub>x</sub>-ag maš-da-bù NE-na-áški 1 na<sub>4</sub> siki *Gâr-'*<sub>a</sub>-tum šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> maš-da-bù (at the time of the minister Arrukum, it was Gar'atum who was in charge to bring the *m.* to NEnaš). TM.75.G.1344 (Ibr. ; month za-'*a-na-at*, III) rev. V 8-14 : 1 tûg-NI.NI 2 KIN<sub>x</sub> siki dam kin<sub>x</sub>-ag maš-da-bù 1 zi-rí siki è maš-da-bù NE-na-áški. TM.75.G.1399 (Arr. ; month *i-si*. I) rev. XII 17-XIII 1 : 1 tûg-NI.NI 2 KIN<sub>x</sub> siki dam kin<sub>x</sub>-ag maš-da-bù NE-na-áški. TM.75.G.1560 (Arr. ; month za-'*a-na-at*, III) : rev. I 11-14 : 1 tûg-NI.NI 2 KIN<sub>x</sub> siki dam maš-da-bù NE-na-áški ; X 1-4 : 2 KIN<sub>x</sub> siki kin<sub>x</sub>-ag maš-da-bù NE-na-áški. TM.75.G.1675 (I.Z. ; month za-'*a-na-tum*, III) : 1 tûg-NI.NI 2 KIN<sub>x</sub> siki dam NE-na-áški lú maš-da-bù. TM.75.G.1784 (Ibr. ; month [x]) : 1 tûg-NI.NI 2 KIN<sub>x</sub> siki dam NE-na-áški kin<sub>x</sub>-ag maš-da-bù. TM.75.G.1946 (I.Z. ; month [x]) rev. II 7-11 : 1 tûg-NI.NI 2 GIŠ-KIN<sub>x</sub> siki 1 dam kin<sub>x</sub>-ag maš-da-bù. TM.75.G.2457 (Arr. ? ; month *ig-za*, II) : 1 tûg-NI.NI dam NE-na-áški kin<sub>x</sub>-ag maš-da-bù. TM.75.G.2588 (Ibr. / I.Z. ; month *ig-za*, II) rev. VIII 7-11 : 1 tûg-NI.NI 2 KIN<sub>x</sub> siki 1 dam NE-na-áški kin<sub>x</sub>-ag maš-da-bù ; edge 1-3 : 1 na<sub>4</sub> siki šu-mu-tag<sub>4</sub> maš-da-bù. TM.75.G.2653 (I.Z. ; month *ig-za*, II) rev. III 1-6 : 1 tûg-NI.NI 2 GIŠ-KIN<sub>x</sub> siki 1 dam kin<sub>x</sub>-ag maš-da-bù in NE-na-áški. TM.75.G.10083 (Ibbi-zikir ; iti [x]) obv. III 1-6 : 1 tûg-NI.NI 2 GIŠ-KIN<sub>x</sub> siki [1] dam NE-na-áški kin<sub>x</sub>-ag maš-da-bù 1 na<sub>4</sub> siki 1 kù-sal babbar:kù 1 maš-da-bù.

3) *Concluding remarks.* The ceremony of the “dressing”, *maš-da-bù*, of the fifth month concerns both king and queen. It seems not to be attested for the first 13 years of minster Ibrium, when king Išar-damu had not yet married his queen. It seems, therefore, commemorative of the marriage of the royal couple.

The ceremony of the second month is attested already from the time of minister Arrukum. Two documents of that period, *MEE* II 33 and *TM.75.G.1560*, register first 1 mantle and 2 K. measure of wool as reward for “the woman of NEnaš for having done the *maš-da-bù*”; there are, then, “two (further) K. measures of wool for having done / doing the *maš-da-bù*”. It seems that this second amount of wool was needed for the *maš-da-bù*, a kind of *pallium*. In later documents, this second registration disappears, perhaps the first 2 K. measures of wool being used for tha *maš-da-bù*. “The woman of NEnaš” did not weave the *maš-da-bù* at NEnaš ; it was brought there by Enna-i(l), the *pa4-šeš* of the god Kura. Before him, this duty was probably performed by his father Adulu, and at the time of minister Arrukum, by Gar'atum (*MEE* II 41). Because of Enna-i(l), the ceremony of the *pallium* concerned the god Kura in relation with the cult of the royal ancestors.

Another ceremony needing the *maš-da-bù* is attested also for the goddess <sup>d</sup>*Ga-na-na*. Pasquali, *op. cit.*, p. 253, quoted already *ARET* III 467 rev. VIII 16-19 and *ARET* IV 25 (28) for “1 zi-rí siki tur for the opening of the gate (giš-gal-tag<sub>4</sub> ká) of the temple of Ganana”. Two further monthly documents concerning deliveries of clothes mention explicitly a *maš-da-bù* also for this ceremony of the temple of Ganana. Both are dated to the month *ig-za*, II, and register also the *maš-da-bù* for NEnaš. *TM.75.G.2353* (Ibbi-zikir) rev. X 1-8 : 1 tûg-NI.NI 2 KIN<sub>x</sub> siki dam kin<sub>x</sub>-ag maš-da-bù (NE-na-áški) 1 na<sub>4</sub> siki 1 kù-sal é <sup>d</sup>*Ga-na-na*. *TM.75.G.2653* rev. X 16-19 : 1 na<sub>4</sub> siki 1 kù-sal babbar:kù *maš-da-bù* é <sup>d</sup>*Ga-na-na*. Another, fragmentary, document seems to point that the opening festival of the temple of Ganana could also fall on the fifth month, *ARET* XII 313 rev. VII 2-8 : 1 zi-rí siki *maš-da-bù* en *wa ma-lik-tum in NE-na-áški* 1 zi-rí siki lú KIN<sub>x</sub> siki giš-gál-tag<sub>4</sub> ká <sup>d</sup>*Ga-na-na Da-ba-a-du* [šu-]ba<sub>4</sub>-ti. On this festival, see A. Archi, *JNES* 64 (2005), pp. 98-100.

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**43) On Some Recently Published Late Babylonian Copies of Royal Letters** – The new volume of *Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, edited by I. Spar and W. G. Lambert (CTMMA 2, New York 2005), contains a considerable number of interesting new texts. Among them, published by Lambert as no. 44, is an intriguing, though badly damaged, Late Babylonian copy of a letter which the Assyrian king Sîn-šarru-iškun, obviously in great distress, wrote to the Babylonian ruler Nabopolassar shortly before the addressee conquered his capital, Nineveh. The letter is an important new source for the history of the downfall of the Assyrian empire—or at least how that event was subsequently viewed by Late Babylonian scholars. Two other remarkable late copies of royal letters have recently been published in *Iraq* 67 (2005), 265-284, in an article co-authored by G. Frame and A. R. George. The first one (no. 1) is a message sent by the scholars of Borsippa to the Assyrian king Assurbanipal. The second one (no. 2), less well preserved, is, according to the editors, addressed to the same king by the scholars of Babylon. I am wondering, however, whether the letter is not in truth rather a message of Assurbanipal sent to those scholars. The beginning of the tablet is badly broken and does not provide clear evidence for the writer and addressee, but the rest of the text makes more sense if it represents the words of Assurbanipal.<sup>1</sup> Both letters concern Assurbanipal’s Babylonian tablet hunt.

The new letters belong to a growing corpus of Late Babylonian tablets with copies of messages written by or addressed to earlier kings. With regard to the royal senders and addressees, the letters can be divided chronologically into four major groups.<sup>2</sup> First, there are two letters by a king of Isin and Samsuiluna from the Old Babylonian period (Al-Rawi, *Iraq* 52 [1990], 1-13 ; Al-Rawi and George, *Iraq* 56 [1994], 135-139). Letters from the Middle Babylonian period form a second group. They can be subdivided into messages

exchanged between Babylonian and Assyrian rulers (George and Llop, *AfO* 48/49 [2001/03], 1-23), the correspondence between Elamite kings and Babylonian citizens (two of the so-called Kedor-laomer texts published by Pinches, *JTVI* 29 [1897], 43-90, and a letter edited by van Dijk in *OrNS* 55 [1986], 159-170), and a message Nebuchadnezzar I sent from Elam to the people of Babylon (VS 24, no. 87; see George, *BiOr* 46 [1989], 382f; Hurowitz, *ZA* 82, 52). In addition, there is a letter of Kurigalzu known so far only from fragments published by Wiseman in *BSOAS* 30 (1967), 495-504.<sup>3</sup> A third group of letters has its setting in the Late Assyrian period. Four tablets from this group document the exchange between Assurbanipal and the scholars of Babylon and Borsippa (the two letters published in *Iraq* 67, and the two copies, published in CT 22, no. 1, of a letter sent by Assurbanipal to the scholars of Borsippa). One text may be a letter written to Šamaš-šumu-ukin by an unknown sender (BM 114753, a badly broken tablet copied by M. Jursa and prepared for publication by him and the present author). Two letters belong to the correspondence between Nabopolassar and Sîn-šarru-iškun (CTMMA 2, no. 44 and Gerardi, *AfO* 33 [1986], 31-38). Finally, there is a fourth group of letters, represented by CTMMA 2, no. 22 and some other badly broken pieces, whose historical context remains elusive.

The texts in question share a number of common features. Many of them seem to be written on one-column tablets in the "landscape format," and some have subscripts identifying the correspondents.<sup>4</sup> Most letters are written in a fairly poetic language, characterized by Standard Babylonian and chiastic constructions and metaphors.<sup>5</sup> In some letters, the same phraseology occurs. For example, the address of Nabopolassar as *mā[si mala li]bbuššu Mard[u]k apkal šamē u eršeti [... u]ma”iršuma* in CTMMA 2, no. 44:1-2 is almost identical with that of Assurbanipal as *māši mala libbuš š[a Marduk ... (only one epithet)] uma”iršuma* in *Iraq* 67, no. 1:1-2.<sup>6</sup> The expression *ana turri gimilli māt Akkadī* "to avenge the land of Akkad (i. e., Babylonia)" is attested in Nabopolassar's letter to Sîn-šarru-iškun (*AfO* 33, 35:12) and in what may be the latter's response to this message (CTMMA 2, no. 44:2).<sup>7</sup> The two letters of the scholars of Borsippa and Babylon have numerous structural and phraseological similarities. On the level of content, it is noteworthy that several messages, especially the Middle-Babylonian ones from Elam, show a conspicuous interest in the question of royal legitimacy. If Lambert's readings are correct, two letters, *JTVI* 29, 53:19 and *AfO* 33, 36: r8, would even claim that mighty Assyrian kings, Tukulti-Ninurta I and Sargon II, were children of Babylonian slaves.<sup>8</sup> The presence of such *topoi* could indicate that the letters are *ex post facto* fabrications, but the question of their authenticity may be more complex. The letters from earlier times (the messages of the king of Isin, of Samsuiluna, and Kurigalzu) are certainly, because of their many anachronisms, pseudopigraphical, but the later ones could at least be based on genuine letters.<sup>9</sup> Remarkably, the copies of the letters of Samsuiluna, Nebuchadnezzar I, and the scholars of Borsippa mention that these messages were also written on *narrū* monuments (*Iraq* 56, 137:4; VS 24, no. 87:4; *Iraq* 67, no. 1:21).

The royal correspondence outlined in this note represents an exciting antidote to the stability-oriented, one-sided texts that otherwise dominate ancient Mesopotamian historiography. Like the famous royal correspondence of the Ur III period studied in the Old Babylonian schools,<sup>10</sup> the letters we are concerned with here demonstrate a strong interest in historical change, exemplified by the downfall of mighty states. While the "Kedor-laomer" letters treat the end of the Kassite dynasty, the correspondence between Sîn-šarru-iškun and Nabopolassar deals with the fall of the Assyrian empire, a topic that fascinated the classical and the Biblical world as well. The letters are testimonies of an ambivalent attitude towards these catastrophic scenarios—they give us, in an almost dialectical fashion, the views from both sides.<sup>11</sup> In a certain way, they can be regarded as historical avatars of the famous Mesopotamian debate literature.

To assess more thoroughly the letters' function within the "stream of tradition," we have to identify the Late Babylonian scholars who copied and collected them. In the following, I would like to offer a few suggestions regarding the scribes of the recently published texts, beginning with a discussion of the colophon of the Sîn-šarru-iškun letter CTMMA 2, no. 44. Lambert transliterates it as follows: <sup>32</sup>G[IM] x x x [...] x šá lal(?) ina é-sag-gil IGI <sup>33</sup>[...] x-šú dumu-a-ni E<sup>k</sup>[i iti]x-(x) UD.(x+)5.KAM MU 1.ME. x [...]. KAM <sup>I</sup>A-lik-sa-an-dar LUGAL. He translates: "According to ... [...], which was ... and was found in Esagil. [Tablet of ..., hand of ...].. his son. Babylon, [month .., day(0)] + 5, year 100 + [...] of Alexander the king." In his commentary, Lambert suggests that the date should be restored as MU 1.ME.6[0 + x]. KAM," which would imply that the tablet was written around 150 BC.

My own interpretation of the first part of the colophon is slightly different. I propose to read: <sup>32</sup>G[IM] <sup>I</sup>SUMUN<sup>2</sup>-r-šú<sup>1</sup> <sup>I</sup>SAR<sup>21</sup> [*git̪tu*l<sup>1</sup>*uppu*(?) Id<sup>1</sup>*Bēl*(?-x)-(x)] <sup>I</sup>A<sup>21</sup> šá <sup>I</sup>UMUN-ina-é-sag-gil-IGI <sup>33</sup>[*qāt̪l*<sup>1</sup>*ṣupur* Id<sup>1</sup>*Bēl-ku*(?-*ṣu*)<sup>1</sup>*r-ṣú*] DUMU.A.NI "Written according to its original, [tablet of *Bēl*-...], son of Bel-in-a-Esagil-lumur, [hand of] *Bēl-kuṣuršu*, his son." The name *Bēl-in-a-Esagil-lumur*<sup>12</sup> is only rarely attested in sources from the Hellenistic period, but it does appear in CT 44, no. 84, a long list of *kalū* priests from the reign of Antigonus Monophthalmus (obv. 8, 10), and probably also in the unpublished document BM 32997 from 58 SE, brought to my attention by M. Jursa. The rather tentative restoration of the names of *Bēl-kuṣuršu* and his father *Bēl*-... is based on the assumption that the tablet was written by the same scribe who owned the temple ritual CTMMA 2, no. 20, whose colophon reads (r11'): *gi-<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>* <sup>I</sup>d<sup>1</sup>+E[N-k]u-ṣur-šú A šá Id+EN-[x x] <sup>I</sup>x<sup>1</sup> <sup>I</sup>x<sup>1</sup>

[...].<sup>13</sup> In any case, Lambert's assumption that the tablet was copied from one "found in Esagil" is not born out by the colophon.

The tablet is dated to the reign of Alexander Balas, who was recognized as king as early as 1.I.162 SE (23 April 150 BC) in a prebend sale from Uruk.<sup>14</sup> He assumed full power when he defeated his predecessor Demetrius I after a siege of the city of Antioch, which caused a serious famine. The siege and the eventual battle are described at great length in an entry for III 162 SE in the Astronomical Diary No. –149 (Sachs and Hunger, *Diaries* 3, 84–87 : r3<sup>2</sup>–14<sup>2</sup>). CTMMA 2, no. 44:33 offers little space to restore much more than "60" (DIŠ+ŠU) in the gap, but a restoration MU 1 ME [DIŠ+ŠU 2].KAM (the same year date is found in the colophon of SBH, no. 17) seems not completely unfeasible. If so, the tablet would date to 150 BC as well. Since Sîn-šarru-iškun's letter provides information on the period when the siege of Nineveh was under way, it is tempting to hypothesize that the Late Babylonian scribe who studied the text did so because the legendary assault on the Assyrian capital provided a historical model for the more recent one at Antioch, which had just made news in Babylon.

The colophon of the letter written by the scholars of Borsippa to king Assurbanipal (*Iraq* 67, no. 1) states that the tablet was copied by Nabû-mušetiq-uddi and owned by his father Bel-uballissu, son of Nabû-mušetiq-uddi, descendant of Mušezip. Frame and George observe that while "the date of Nabû-mušetiq-uddi's tablet is uncertain," a cryptographic spelling from its colophon is also found in the colophon of a tablet from 148 BC (p. 266). Some additional remarks may be in order here. The Mušezip, one of the great scholarly families of Hellenistic Babylon, have recently been discussed by J. Oelsner,<sup>15</sup> who points out that one of its latest descendants, Nabû-mušetiq-uddi son of Itti-Marduk-balâtu,<sup>16</sup> appears in the documents BOR 4, 132 and CT 49, 144 from Babylon, dated to 127 and 119 BC, respectively. According to CT 49, 144:9f, Nabû-mušetiq-uddi had a grown-up son in 119 BC, called Nabû-aplu-uṣur, who was, like his relatives, an astrologer and *kalû* priest. It seems feasible that the Nabû-mušetiq-uddi mentioned in the two documents is identical with the grandfather of the scribe of *Iraq* 67, no. 1,<sup>17</sup> which would imply that this tablet was copied at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> or the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

Such a dating would be in line with the putative date of the tablet's companion piece *Iraq* 67, no 2, the letter Assurbanipal sent to the scholars of Babylon (or *vice versa*). The badly mutilated colophon of this tablet mentions the name of the Egibatila family, whose members, as Frame and George point out (p. 270, 277), copied and owned a number of scholarly tablets during the late Seleucid and Parthian periods.<sup>18</sup> To the texts mentioned by the editors, of which three are dated (to 103, 102, and 90 BC, respectively), we can add the *Iqqur-ipuš* commentary DT 35 from 103 BC (unpubl.), the *Alu* commentaries F.2 (*AFO* 21, pl. IX-X, Freedman, *If a City*, 330) and BM 41586 (unpubl., brought to my attention by N. Heeßel), the medical(?) commentary CTMMA 2, no. 69, and two unpublished commentaries on extispicy (DT 84) and Sa-gig (DT 87) briefly discussed by Finkel, CTMMA 2, p. 283.<sup>19</sup> The modest traces that are left of the colophon of *Iraq* 67, no 2 in l. 40 may be very tentatively restored as: [giṭu Bēl-šumu-līšir māri ša Itti-Marduk-TI]N? DUMU Id<sub>E4</sub>-gi<sub>7</sub>-ba-t[i-la ...], assuming that the tablet was written by the same scribe who copied, in 102 and 90 BC, respectively, the tablets SBH, nos. 3(?) and 51 (BAK, no. 144) for a member of the Nanna-utu family. The SBH tablets were written in Babylon, and it seems probable, in spite of the editors' preference for Borsippa (p. 270), that *Iraq* 67, no. 2 comes from Babylon as well.

It is noteworthy that three of the Egibatila tablets, F.2, BM 41586, and perhaps DT 84, and two other ones without scribal names (BM 41548 = Leichty, *Izbu*, 200f, and CTMMA 2, no. 38), mention copies of cuneiform texts on parchment (*magallatu*), which shows that Parpola was wrong when he stated that "there are no references to papyrus or parchment originals in colophons of Mesopotamian literary texts" (JNES 42, 8, n. 26). The tablets examined here provide good evidence that such texts were in fact copied and handed down on parchment during the Hellenistic period.

There is still much food for thought in the texts discussed in this note. I intend to tackle some of the questions raised above at greater length in the near future.

1. Especially significant are the reference to Šamaš-šumu-ukin as lúŠEŠ lú<sub>ta</sub>-li-mi-<sup>2</sup>-i-á in l. 16 and the 1st ps. pl. form nušaqqā in l. 35, which refers to both Assurbanipal and Šamaš-šumu-ukin. Lines 36–38 are an epilogue that explains that on the arrival of Assurbanipal's message, 5000 Babylonian citizens gathered at E[sagil]. Note that in l. 30, a preferable reading might be: [D]JUB.SAR-tú gab-bi TA u<sub>4</sub>-mu IGI.MEŠ(pāni!?) GIM šá ina E<sup>k</sup>i ina KUR Aš-šur<sup>k</sup>i (<i>-ba-áš-š[u<sup>1</sup>?-ú] "all the scribal learning from old days onwards (which) is in Assyria such as in Babylon."

2. For a more extensive overview that includes letters studied in earlier periods and in Assyria (e.g., the letters of Sargon of Akkad and the "Gilgamesh letter"), see Llop and George, *AFO* 48/49 (2001/02), 9. On the role the letters played in Late Babylonian elementary education, see P. Gesche, *Schulunterricht in Babylonien im ersten Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (AOAT 275), 148f.

3. The fragments duplicate a better preserved, but so far unpublished manuscript from the Sippar library; see Al-Rawi and George, *Iraq* 56 (1994), 135, n.2.

4. VS 24, no. 87: r18 ([...] šu-bi-lu(?)) šá TA KUR Elam-ma<sup>k</sup>i ana lúTIN.TIR<sup>k</sup>i-MEŠ iš-pu-ra), CTMMA 2, no. 22:24' ([....ana (...)] l<sup>x1</sup>-MEŠ<sup>1</sup>) E<sup>1</sup>?ki!<sup>1</sup> iš-pur-[ru]), and CTMMA 2, no 44: (ši-piš-tu Id<sub>30</sub>-LUGAL-GAR-un l<sup>LUGAL</sup><sub>4</sub>

<sup>1</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup> Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup> šá <sup>2</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [x x] <sup>3</sup>a?1-<sup>4</sup>na?1 <sup>5</sup>Id<sub>6</sub>+AG<sup>1</sup>-AxZA-ŠEŠ EN-šú iš-pur-ru) have structurally similar subscripts, such as the two new letters *Iraq* 67, no. 1 and 2. These subscripts seem to be typical for copies from the Hellenistic period.

5. Compare, for example, the animal metaphors in the "Kedor-laomer" letter Sp 2, 987 (JTVI 29, 52 :10-14, translated by van Dijk, *OrNS* 55, 166) and in CTMMA 2, no. 44 :10.

6. Frame and George restore *āšib Esagil* after *Marduk*, but in the light of the parallel provided by the Sín-šarru-iškun letter, a restoration *apkál šamē u eršeti* seems worth considering as well (although the gap is fairly small). Another option is to restore *ārtu (rabiš)* before *uma"iršuma* in both texts, following VS 24, no. 87 :9 (partly restored by George, *BiOr* 46, 382). In parenthesis, an additional observation on *Iraq* 67, no. 1 may be offered here : In line 12, the editors read *nu-pal-š[u?]* šur-qí-iš, which they regard as an error for *nu-pal-š[u?]* surriš. An alternative reading would be : *nu-bal K[UR A]š-šur<sup>ki</sup>-iš* "We will bring (the tablets) to Assyria." Since the text uses the locative three times (in lines 1 and 3), the occurrence of a terminative-adverbial case ending would not be overly surprising.

7. Note that it is also attested in the Nabopolassar epic (Grayson, BHLT, 84 :21), a further text about this king studied in the Late Babylonian period. YOS 15, no. 8, to be published shortly, may be yet another Late Babylonian copy of a text regarding Nabopolassar, although this attribution is not certain.

8. W. G. Lambert, "The Enigma of Tukulti-Ninurta I," in : G. Frame (ed.), *From the Upper to the Lower Sea*, FS A. K. Grayson (Leiden 2004), 197-202. Unlike Lambert, I am not inclined to believe that these claims are actually correct ; too many sources imply that both Tukulti-Ninurta I and Sargon II were descendants of Assyrian kings.

9. A very indirect (and somewhat dubious) argument in favor of the letters' authenticity can be based on the reference to *na-ru-tú* "the song corpus" in *Iraq* 67, no. 2 :9, in a context that requires *ba-ru-tú* "the extispicy corpus" instead. The slip could be explained as a failure, on the part of the scholars who copied Assurbanipal's letter, to distinguish between the signs *ba* and *na*, which in Assyrian script, but not in Babylonian, are very similar. If this is indeed the explanation for the mistake, we would have to assume that there was once a real letter of the Assyrian king. Note also the Assyro-Babylonian form *šubhīrā'* in line 29 of the same text.

10. The historical authenticity of these letters is debated as well ; see, most recently, F. Huber, "La Correspondance Royale d'Ur, un corpus apocryphe," ZA 91 (2001), 169-206. A comparative investigation of the Ur III letters studied in the Old Babylonian period and the royal correspondence studied in Late Babylonian times would be a most interesting project.

11. There seem to be several cases where an initial message and the response to it are preserved. The "Kedor-laomer" letter Sp 2, 987 (JTVI 29, 51-57) may be the answer of the Babylonians to the message of the Elamite king edited by van Dijk (*OrNS* 55, 159-170), and the new Sín-šarru-iškun letter could be the response to the letter of Nabopolassar published in *AfO* 33, 31-38. Whether the letters are authentic remains an open question, of course.

12. Writings of the divine name *Bēl* with the sign UMUN are frequently attested in contemporary colophons ; see, for example, <sup>1</sup>UMUN-A-MU in SBH 25 : r26' (Hunger, BAK, no 147), dated 130 BC.

13. If this assumption should be wrong, the name in line 33' might also be restored as [*Bēl-uṣu*]ršu or as [*Nabū/Ea/Šamaš-(k)uṣu*]ršu.

14. For references and a historical discussion, see van der Spek, *AfO* 44/45, 168f.

15. "Von Iqišā und einigen anderen spätgeborenen Babyloniern," FS Cagni, 797-814. See also van der Spek, *BiOr* 32, 548-555.

16. Itti-Marduk-balatu was the owner of the latest Gilgameš tablet known so far ; it was copied for him, probably some time between 141 and 113 BC, by his son Bel-ahhe-ušur. See George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*, 740 for an edition of the colophon of this tablet.

17. Although it can of course not be excluded that he is a so far unattested member of the Mušezib family. Note that a Nabū-mušetiq-uddi, son of [...], was the owner of a Late Babylonian copy of *Enūma eliš* (Hunger, BAK, no. 422) ; the date of this tablet is mostly lost.

18. See also Oelsner, FS Cagni, 801f.

19. Finkel's interpretation of the cryptographic passages in CTMMA 2, no. 69 and DT 84 does not convince me. It makes more sense to take the eight UD signs following DINGIR as a writing of the divine name *Nabū*, although it must be admitted that such a rendering is not attested in the god lists offering alternative names of this deity (5R 43, CT 25, 35f). If my interpretation is correct, the scribe of the two tablets would be Nabū-balassu-iqbi and not Marduk-zeru-ibni.

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#### 44) Observations on the Name and Age of Sargon II and on Some Patterns of Assyrian Royal Onomastics\*

- In a review, published in *BiOr* 62 (2005), 82-86, of M. Dietrich's edition of the Babylonian correspondence of Sargon II and Sennacherib (SAA 17), J. R. Novotny presents some new ideas about the name and the date of birth of the Assyrian king Sargon II, who ruled from 722-705. According to Novotny, Sargon's name should be normalized as *Šarru-ukīn*, not as *Šarru-kēn(u)*, and should be regarded not as a throne name, as is frequently assumed, but as a birth name, with the meaning "The king (i.e., Tiglath-pileser) has established stability/justice." Novotny suggests that Sargon was born shortly after his father Tiglath-pileser III<sup>1</sup> had assumed power on Ayyaru 13, 745, and that he received his name in celebration of the new era of law and order that his father was determined to introduce. If Novotny is right, Sargon would have been only 23 years old when he ascended the throne, and 40 when he died.

It is true that the available evidence favors reading the king's name as *Šarru-ukīn* instead of *Šarru-kēn(u)*.<sup>2</sup> The normal spellings of the name, <sup>1</sup>ugal-gi-na and <sup>1</sup>ugal-gin,<sup>3</sup> are logographic and do not settle the question. But among the syllabic renderings, the spellings <sup>1</sup>20-ú-ki-in on an enamel knob from Aššur (*AfO* 9 [1933], 79), *ugal-ú-kin* in a (Sumerian) brick inscription from the same city (KAH 1, no. 38 :2) and a cylinder

inscription from Uruk (YOS 1, no. 38:26), [lugal]-*ú-kin* in a Babylonian letter (SAA 17, no. 46:1), and *lugal-ú-kīn* in several Assyrian letters and other documents,<sup>4</sup> clearly outweigh the one, albeit significant, case of a spelling [*lugal-ke*]-*e-nu*, attested in a threshold inscription from Khorsabad (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons aus Khorsabad*, 255:1, var.). While *Šarru-ukīn* seems to be attested so far only as a name of Sargon II, the name *Šarru-kēnu* was also born by an Assyrian official from the reign of Assurbanipal.<sup>5</sup> The spelling *NgrS* found in a seal inscription from Khorsabad, and the Biblical spelling of Sargon's name, *NogrS*, which is attested in Isa. 20:1 and forms the basis for its modern conventional rendering, indicate that Sargon's name may have been pronounced *Sar(ru)gīn* in Assyria, following the rule that a voiceless stop in Assyrian may become voiced between vowels or immediately beside a voiced consonant like [r].<sup>6</sup>

It is indeed possible that *Šarru-ukīn*, as suggested by Novotny, means "The king has established stability,"<sup>7</sup> but it should be noted that the name is typologically rather unusual. Names ending in *ukīn* normally begin with a theophoric element (or the word "king"), which is followed by a direct object, such as in *Šamaš-šumu-ukīn* or *Šarru-šumu-ukīn* "Šamaš/The king has established an heir."<sup>8</sup> The lack of an object in *Šarru-ukīn* is problematic and leaves some doubt that this is the correct interpretation of the name.

Highly unlikely is Novotny's idea that Sargon was born in 745 and received his name in honor of the new era his father was about to inaugurate. We know that Sargon's son and successor Sennacherib, who ruled from 705 to 681, had a son of his own, Aššur-nadin-šumi, who became king of Babylon in 700.<sup>9</sup> Aššur-nadin-šumi was probably at least 20 years old when he was chosen to hold this challenging position; thus, he must have been born around 720 at the latest. The average age when Assyrian men married seems to have been relatively high; according to M. Roth,<sup>10</sup> they normally became husbands when they were between 26 and 32 years old. Although it is quite possible that members of the royal family married and had children significantly earlier since they did not have to wait for their fathers to die in order to found their own household, they were probably not much younger than 20 when they did so. If we take into account that Sennacherib's name (which means "Sin has replaced the brothers") indicates that he had not been Sargon's first child—at least two older brothers of him must have died before his birth—it seems reasonable to assume that Sennacherib was born around 745. Sargon, correspondingly, must have come into the world not much later than around 765; he can hardly have been born in 745.<sup>11</sup>

Whether *Šarru-ukīn* is a birth name, a throne name, a profession-related name ("Beamtenname")<sup>12</sup> or something else remains a thorny issue. Semantically, a name meaning "The king has established stability" could certainly be a birth name or a "Beamtenname," the "king" invoked in the name being not its bearer but the ruler who was in office when the name was given. It should be noted that the very existence of Assyrian throne names has been questioned by several scholars. Edzard has recently written:

« Ebenso wenig wie bei den sum. Herrschern gibt es bei den akkadischen deutliche Hinweise darauf, daß mit der Thronbesteigung auch eine Neubenennung einhergegangen wäre. Die akk. Königsnamen sind wie die sum. allgemein gängige Namen. Eine Ausnahme bilden nur Königsnamen, die in eine höhere Sphäre entwichen waren und nicht mehr gebraucht wurden. Wenn ein König sich viele Jahrhunderte nach Sargon von Akkad dennoch wieder *Šarru-kīn* (I. und II. von Assyrien) oder *Narām-Sîn* . . . nannte, so ist denkbar, daß dies nicht die ursprünglichen Namen der jeweiligen Herrscher waren. »<sup>13</sup>

But the matter is more complex. It seems, in fact, that the reign of Sargon is the turning point between two very different patterns of royal name giving. Of the twenty kings who preceded Sargon, starting with Eriba-Adad II (1056-1054) and ending with Shalmaneser V (727-722), nineteen had names that had already been carried by rulers from the Middle Assyrian period.<sup>14</sup> This indicates that their names were meant to be ostentatiously royal,<sup>15</sup> although they do not necessarily have to be "throne names"—the kings who bore them might have been given them at birth, in the understanding that they would one day become rulers; they might have received them at the moment when they were formally nominated to the office of crown prince sometime later in their lives; or they might indeed have adopted them when they eventually ascended the throne. Some of the names in question were very likely not birth names. Shalmaneser IV, Aššur-dan III, Aššur-nerari V, and Tiglath-pileser III, all bearing names of earlier kings, were all sons of Adad-nerari III,<sup>16</sup> and since it is unlikely that their father knew, when they were born, that each of them would follow him on the throne one day, it is probable that at least some of the four men received their ultimate names later in their lives. Tiglath-pileser's birth name may have been Pulu, a name attested for him in later Babylonian sources, the "Ptolemaic Canon," and the Bible, while his son and successor Shalmaneser V was probably called Ululayu at his birth.<sup>17</sup>

A very different pattern of royal onomastics is detectable in the names of the successors of Sargon II. Of the eight kings who followed him, only one, Assyria's unfortunate last ruler Aššur-uballit II (612-609), bore the name of an earlier Assyrian king; all the others carried new royal names. This shift may reflect an awareness on the part of the Late Assyrian rulers that they had entered a new political age. Earlier Neo-Assyrian kings like Tukulti-Ninurta II or Adad-nerari II were engaged in an attempt to reconquer the territories ruled by the great Middle Assyrian kings; those rulers were their models, and they proudly bore their names. But when

Assyria became a true empire under the iron hand of Tiglath-pileser III, a state larger than any that had ever existed in Mesopotamia before, the greatness of this achievement required that the Assyrian kings adopted new names, names never used by any of their predecessors.

Whether they received these names at their birth or later in their life is clear in only one case. We know that Esarhaddon, who became crown prince in a surprise move of his father Sennacherib in 683, obtained the name Aššur-etel-ilani-mukin-apli on this occasion, although he decided to use his birth name instead of the solemn new one when he eventually became king.<sup>18</sup> Typologically, a name like Sennacherib seems to be a birth name, while a name like Assurbanipal, carried by a son who was not the firstborn, appears to have been adopted later.<sup>19</sup>

In spite of not being traditional royal names any more, the names of the Late Assyrian rulers were still special. They were only rarely born by commoners,<sup>20</sup> and a legal document, possibly from about 670, seems to imply that it was considered a grave crime in Assyria to give the name of Assurbanipal or Sennacherib to one's own child.<sup>21</sup> The fact that none of the names of the Sargonic kings was adopted again by a later monarch may be evidence for the strong desire of the Late Assyrian rulers to stress their individual qualities, a desire that appears also in their annals and their reliefs.<sup>22</sup>

The reign of Sargon II thus marks the transition between two very different patterns of royal onomastics. Whether Sargon himself received his name at his birth, when probably nobody could anticipate that he would be king one day, or at some later moment in his life, possibly on the occasion of his much contested accession to the throne,<sup>23</sup> can, however, still not be established with certainty. Sargon himself had his own way to account for this name : He claimed that it came from the gods. In his Cylinder Inscription from Khorsabad, written in 713, he boasts :

« In accordance with the name that the great gods have given me, to maintain righteousness (*kittu*, derived from *\*kūn*) and justice (*mīšaru*), to give guidance to the weak, and to protect the feeble from mistreatment, I paid back to their owners ... the price of the fields of this town (i.e. Magganubba, the site of Sargon's new city, Dur-Šarrukin). »<sup>24</sup>

And a little later in the text, Sargon uses his name to provide a famous early example of Mesopotamian gematriah. He writes :

« I made the circumference (lit., measure) of its (the city's) wall 16,283 cubits, (corresponding to) my name (*nibīt šumīya*), and established the foundation platform upon the bedrock of the high mountain. »<sup>25</sup>

The riddle presented here, which is meant to provide an esoteric explanation why Sargon's new city bears the name *Dūr-Šarru-ukīn*, lit., "Wall of Sargon," remains essentially unsolved. So far, no consensus has been reached about how to correlate Sargon's name and the number of cubits mentioned in the text. Von Soden has suggested that the number represents the number of days Sargon had lived before the measurements of the city wall were finally fixed,<sup>26</sup> which would provide us with a date of about 758 for Sargon's birth and elegantly settle the issues raised by Novotny. But von Soden's hypothesis, like others that have been brought forward, is highly speculative and, in my view, rather unlikely.<sup>27</sup> Another sign system Sargon used to encrypt his name were the "Assyrian hieroglyphs" that have been discovered recently. Large images of a lion and a bird depicted on three glazed-brick panels in Sargon's palace in Khorsabad, which precede other images representing the title "king of Assyria," may be a pictographic writing of *Šarru-ukīn/kēn(u)*.<sup>28</sup>

Whether he adopted it when he became king or had received it earlier,<sup>29</sup> Sargon II was clearly convinced that his name reflected his royal role—and he most probably believed that it provided a link with his famous namesake—or almost namesake—Sargon of Akkad, the imperial king *par excellence*.<sup>30</sup> Sargon's name seems to have intrigued even his successor : if H. Tadmor is right, Sennacherib characterized himself as a "keeper of righteousness (*kittu*, derived from *\*kūn*), lover of justice (*mīšaru*), one who does charity, who comes to the aid of the destitute, who turns to acts of kindness" because he wanted to stress that his ethical values were not only nominal, as in the case of his father, but real.<sup>31</sup>

\* I am indebted to Andreas Fuchs, Tübingen, for reading an earlier version of this note and making a number of valuable suggestions.

1. For evidence that Sargon was a son of Tiglath-pileser see F. Thomas, "Sargon II., der Sohn Tiglat-pilesers III.", in : M. Dietrich—O. Loretz (eds.), *Mesopotamica—Ugaritica—Biblica*, FS Bergerhof, AOAT 232 (1993), 465-470. W. G. Lambert, in : G. Frame (ed.), *From the Upper to the Lower Sea*, FS A. K. Grayson (Leiden 2004), 202 has recently suggested that Sargon was the offspring of a Babylonian slave, a claim made in a Late Babylonian copy of a royal letter, but as long as no corroborating evidence for such a scenario is found, his assumption must be regarded as unlikely.

2. Most scholars take it for granted that the name should be read as *Šarru-kēn(u)*; see, most recently, D. O. Edzard, "Name, Namengebung. B," § 5.1. "Thronnamen?," *RIA* 9, 109, and H. Tadmor, "Sennacherib, King of Justice," in : C. Cohen et al. (eds.), *Sefer Moshe : The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume* (Winona Lake 2004), 386.

3. See Tallqvist, APN, 217f.; A. Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad* (Göttingen 1994), 414f.; F. Thomas, *loc. cit.* (n. 1), 466.

4. For example in SAA 13, no. 134:10'. For other attestations, see K. Tallqvist, APN, 218.
5. SAA 4, no. 305, r6. This name, understood as "The king is righteous," may be profession-related. The name of the Old Assyrian king Sargon I is spelled <sup>I</sup>lugal-ke-en/ki-in in later Assyrian king lists (A. K. Grayson, *RIA* 6, 105, §9, 116, I 6).
6. See A. R. Millard, "Assyrian Royal Names in Biblical Hebrew," *JSS* 21 (1976), 8 ; M. Luukko, *SAAS* 16 (2004), 69-71.
7. This has already been suggested by G. W. V. Chamaza, "Sargon II's Ascent to the Throne : The Political Situation," *SAAB* 6 (1992), 30, and by myself in *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inscriften*, *AfO Beih.* 26 (1997), 2.
8. The name *Šarru-šumu-ukīn* is attested in SAA 14, no. 32, r5 (<sup>I</sup>20-mu-gin, post-canonical, the chariot driver of the crown prince) and in SAA 14, no. 155, r11 (<sup>I</sup>20-mu-gin-in, post-canonical, a witness). The editor reads in both cases *Šarru-šumu-ka'* in, but *Šarru-šumu-ukīn* is an equally probable normalization. A third attestation of the name (SAA 6, no. 297:3) offers <sup>I</sup>lugal-mu-ki-in (a slave-owner, 671). The correct Assyrian form of the 3rd pers. sg. pret. D of *kānu* would be *uka'* in, but Assyrian names regularly show certain Standard Babylonian features.
9. For Sennacherib's family background, see my entry on *Sîn-ahhē-erība* in H. Baker (ed.), *PNA* 3/1, 1113-15 (with references).
10. M. Roth, "Age at Marriage and the Household : A Study of Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian Forms," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29 (1987), 715-747, especially 737. See also K. Radner, *SAAS* 6 (1997), 157.
11. This chronology has already been established by S. Parpola, *LASEA* 2, 231, n. 390.
12. That Sargon II's name is a "Beamtenname" was suggested by W. Mayer, *Politik und Kriegskunst der Assyrer* (Münster 1995), 319. Mayer normalizes the name as *Šarru-kēn*.
13. Edzard, loc. cit. (n. 2). See also M.-J. Seux, "Königtum. B," § 30. "Nom de trône," *RIA* 6, 149f., who remarks "Toute cette question de noms de trône demande une nouvelle étude." Mayer *Politik und Kriegskunst*, 318, states : "Es gibt ... keinen Anhaltspunkt dafür, daß assyrische Könige ... Thronnamen angenommen hätten."
14. The exception is Assurnasirpal I (1049-31), a king who claimed he was "born in the mountains" (*AfO* 25, 39:22). Note that in contrast to the kings in power from 1056 to 722, only one of the eighteen Middle Assyrian kings who ruled from 1391 to 1056 had a name that had already been born by an earlier ruler : Aššur-nerari III (1202-1197). The more kings there have been, the more probable it becomes of course that their names appear again, but since the differences concern the name patterns of lengthy periods, this can hardly explain the shift.
15. Note also that only three of the names in question, those of Eriba-Adad II, Aššur-reši-išši II, and Aššur-dan II/III, were born by other people during the Neo-Assyrian period ; see the respective entries in K. Radner (ed.), *PNA* 1.
16. They were possibly children of different royal wives. For arguments that Tiglath-pileser III, who came to the throne as a result of a coup d'état, was indeed a child of Adad-nerari III, in spite of an entry in the Assyrian King List that states he was the son of his predecessor Aššur-nerari V, see A. K. Grayson, *CAH* III/2<sup>2</sup>, 73.
17. See J. Brinkman, *PHPKB*, 61f., 240, n. 1544 ; 243, n. 1560, for references and discussion. The Ululayu who sent five undated letters to Tiglath-pileser (H. W. F. Saggs, *CTN* 5, 182-84, 194, 195f., 200f., 204f., and K. Radner, *AfO* 50, 95-101) is almost certainly identical with the later king Shalmaneser V. The salutation he uses in the letters makes it probable that he was already crown prince when they were written, which raises some problems. Tiglath-pileser III seems to refer to his son (although this is not certain) as *Salmānu-ašarēd* in a badly damaged inscription written before 734 (H. Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III* [Jerusalem 1994], 152f. : 28), and it stands to reason that he had given him this name when he formally declared him crown prince. Perhaps we have to assume that Shalmaneser did in fact receive his new name on the occasion of his official designation as royal successor, but started to use it actively only after he had become king.
18. For references, see K. Radner, *PNA* 1/I, 184 sub *Aššūr-etel-ilāni-mukīn-apli*.
19. Note, however, that E. Weissert, *PNA* 1/I, 161 has recently invalidated the conjecture that Assurbanipal was called *Sîn-nadin-apli* at his birth.
20. The names Aššur-abu-iddina, Aššur-etel-ilani, and Aššur-uballit are attested for commoners in Neo-Assyrian texts, but not in texts from the time after the respective kings had ascended the throne ; for references, see *PNA* 1/I and H. D. Baker, "Approaches to Akkadian Name-Giving in First-Millennium BC Mesopotamia," in : C. Wunsch (ed.), *Mining the Archives*, FS C. Walker (Dresden 2002), 6f.
21. L. Kataja, "A Neo-Assyrian Document on Two Cases of River Ordeal," *SAAB* 1 (1987), 65-68.
22. For some remarks on individual relief styles during the Late Assyrian period, see J. M. Russell, "Bulls for the Palace and Order in the Empire," *The Art Bulletin* 69 (1987), 520-539.
23. It is commonly assumed that Sargon became king in a somewhat irregular fashion. This has however been questioned by G. W. V. Chamaza, *SAAB* 6 (1992), 21-33, who regards the story of Sargon's illegitimate status as a modern historiographic myth. Chamaza is right that the matter is not completely clear, but there is strong circumstantial evidence that Sargon's accession was indeed not smooth, and there is no doubt that he regarded his predecessor Shalmaneser V as a man unfit to be Assyria's ruler ; see my *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inscriften*, 1f., for discussion. No texts are available so far that elucidate the role Sargon played under Tiglath-pileser III and Shalmaneser V. He may have belonged to a junior branch of the royal house.
24. *kīma zikir šumīya ša ana naṣār kitti u mišari šutēšur lā le'ī lā ḥabāl enši imbū'inni ilāni rabūti kasap eglēt āli šāšu ... ana bēlīšunu utērma* (Fuchs, *Die Inscriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*, 39f. : 50f. ; 293). Sargon uses the same language in the royal decree SAA 12, no. 19:5'f., which deals with Magganubba as well : [šar]ru kīnu [x x x] ša ana lā ḥabāl enše šušur lā le'[i] Ninmena[nna] (x x x) u šāteru bēlūssu "The just king [...] whose lordship the goddess Ninmena[nna] ("Lady of the Crown of Heaven") has magnified, to protect the feeble from mistreatment and to give guidance to the weak" ; šarru kīnu is an epithet here, but clearly one that refers to Sargon's name. See also Sargon's self-predication as šarru [k]ayyān[u] in the "Aššur Charter" (*Iraq* 37, 14:34, reading uncertain), and as šarru kīnu in his letter to Aššur (TCL 3, 20:114). In Sargon's annals from Nineveh, the title *rubū kēnu* follows immediately after the royal name, written <sup>I</sup>lugal-gi-na (Fuchs, *SAAS* 8, 46:33). Fuchs believes that reading the name *Šarru-kēnu* in this case provides a better wordplay, but it should be noted that Assurbanipal makes a pun based on the similarity between the verbal form *ukīn* and the adjective *kēnu* when he calls his faithless brother Šamaš-Šumu-ukīn *āhu lā kēnu* in several of his inscriptions (e. g., R. Borger, *BIWA* 109, B vii 7f.).

25. šár šár šár géš+u géš+u géš+u 1 UŠ 3 qa-ni 2 ammati(kùš) nibit šum̄iya mišl̄ti dūrīšu aškunma eli aban šadē zaqri ušaršida temmēnšu (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*, 42:65 ; 294f.).

26. W. v. Soden, *Aus Sprache, Geschichte und Religion Babylonien*, ed. L. Cagni and H. P. Müller (Naples 1989), 334f., n. 33.

27. For literature on Sargon's "Zahlenrätsel," see L. Pearce, "The Number-Syllabary Texts," JAOS 116 (1996), 462, and Fuchs, *op. cit.* (n. 25), 294, n. 88. My attempts to solve the riddle by employing the numerical values associated with cuneiform signs in the number-syllabaries published by Pearce have been unsuccessful. Fuchs has observed that the writing of the number 16,283 is unusually complicated, and that Sargon's bull inscriptions contain the passage about the circumference of the city as well, but without the reference to Sargon's name, and with "1 1/2 ninda" instead of the numerically equivalent "3 qa-ni." This leads me to think that the solution of the riddle may be simply to associate the first šár in the numerical notation with Šarru- and the word *qanî* with the (phonetically similar) -ukīn/kēn(u) of Sargon's name—although this would be a disappointingly unsophisticated explanation.

28. See I. L. Finkel—J. E. Reade, "Assyrian hieroglyphs," ZA 86 (1996), 244-268 ; J. A. Scurlock, "Assyrian Hieroglyphs Enhanced," NABU 1997/92 ; M. Roaf—A. Zgoll, "Assyrian Astroglyphs," ZA 91 (2001) 264-295. Leaving the two figures of the king and the crown prince(?), which frame the central sequence of symbols, out of consideration, I would be inclined to read Sargon's "hieroglyphs" in ZA 86, 266, Abb. 1 as follows : Šarru(a lion as a symbol of the king)-ukīn(a bird whose outlines resemble the sign GI) šar(a bull as a symbol of the king) māt(a fig tree, whose relationship to the word "land" is not completely clear to me) Aššur(a seeder-plough looking similar to the sign groups an-šár and aš-šur). The two glazed-brick panels that omit both the bird and the bull may represent šar māt Aššur. Note that these readings are conjectural and differ in part from those suggested so far.

29. Sargon's almost obsessive interest in his own name might point to a scenario where he actually adopted it himself, but this remains uncertain. Fuchs suggests (oral communication) that Sargon's original name was Šarru-ukīn, and that he reinterpreted it as Šarru-kēn(u) when he became king. He points out to me that spellings that render the name as Šarru-ukīn are attested only in less important royal inscriptions and in letters and documents.

30. Sargon II never mentions the great Akkad king explicitly, but it should be noted that he was sometimes called Šarru-ukīn/kēn(u) arkū "the later Sargon" (Hunger, BAK, no. 294, 297, 313), of which the name he bears in the Ptolemaic canon, Αρκανος (RIA 6, 101), may be a late reflection. It is likely that the earlier Sargon he is implicitly related to here is Sargon of Akkad, and not the less significant Sargon I of Assyria. In literary texts from the Late Assyrian period, the name of Sargon of Akkad is written lugal-gin or lugal-gi.na, like Sargon II's name (see Tallqvist, APN, 217) ; whether it was still pronounced Šarru-ukīn, as in the 3rd and 2nd millennia (see the spellings of the name in J. G. Westenholz, *Legends of the Kings of Akkade* [Winona Lake 1997], 34, 68, 76, 82, 144, 150), is unclear. The idea that Sargon II emulated Sargon of Akkad is an assumption that underlies attempts to date such famous text as the "Sargon Geography" and the "Sargon Legend" to the reign of Sargon II, and to explain Sargon II's political ideology in general ; see B. Lewis, *The Sargon Legend* (Cambridge, MA 1980), 97-107, W. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (Winona Lake 1998), 92f., and M. van de Mieroop, "Literary and Political Discourse in Ancient Mesopotamia : Sargon II of Assyria and Sargon of Agade," in : B. Böck et al., *Munuscula Mesopotamica*, FS J. Renger, AOAT 267 (1999), 327-339.

31. Tadmor, loc. cit. (n. 2), 385-390.

Eckart FRAHM (15-07-2005)

**45) Wer den Halbschekel nicht ehrt – nochmals zu Sanheribs angeblichen Münzen –** Die Inschriften des assyrischen Königs Sanherib (705-681) enthalten einen kurzen Passus über den Guß kleiner Bronzeobjekte, der wiederholt, aus assyriologischer Sicht zuletzt von Kwasman und Parpola, SAA 6, xxii, xxxix, Anm. 26, als Beleg für die Existenz einer assyrischen Münzprägung verstanden worden ist. Allerdings ist diese Auffassung nicht unwidersprochen geblieben. Ihre Fragwürdigkeit haben in den vergangenen Jahren S. Dalley, E. Lipinski, K. Radner und J. Renger betont, und auch P. Vargyas kommt in seinem Aufsatz "Sennacherib's Alleged Half-Shekel Coins", JNES 61 (2002), 111-115 zu dem Schluß, daß die Annahme, aus dem besagten Abschnitt lasse sich auf die Anfänge einer assyrischen Münzwirtschaft schließen, unzutreffend sei.<sup>1</sup> Dieser Meinung ist grundsätzlich zuzustimmen. Dennoch bedürfen Vargyas' Ausführungen einer kritischen Diskussion. Denn die von ihm vorgeschlagene und zur Begründung seiner These herangezogene neue Lesung der Sanherib-Stelle ist, wie im folgenden dargelegt werden soll, mit einiger Sicherheit unzutreffend.

Vargyas verweist auf zwei Inschriften, in denen der in Frage stehende Passus bezeugt ist: ein von L. W. King in CT 26, pl. 1-37 publiziertes Prisma aus dem Jahr 694 und eine von A. H. Layard in ICC, pl. 38-42 veröffentlichte undatierte Stierinschrift. Beide Inschriften bieten nach herkömmlicher Lesung den folgenden Text : *kī tēm ilimma zi'pi tītī abnīma erā qerebšu aštappaka ki-i pi-ti-iq 1/2 GÍN.TA.ĀM ušaklila nabnīssun*,<sup>2</sup> was in CAD Š/3, 224 s. v. šuklulu wie folgt übersetzt wird : "Upon the inspiration of the god (Ea), I built clay molds, poured copper into each, and finished their forms (of the bull colossi) as perfectly as half-shekels pieces." Vargyas schlägt in seinem Aufsatz nun eine neue Interpretation der Stelle vor, für die er metrologische Gründe anführt : "The basis of Mesopotamian metrology is the shekel and not the half-shekel .... It is thus clear that the context of Sennacherib's reference ... requires the mention of the shekel ...." Folglich sei, so Vargyas, statt *ki-i pi-ti-iq 1/2(MAŠ) GÍN.TA.ĀM* vielmehr *ki-i pi-ti-iq ina(!) 1(!) GÍN.TA.ĀM* zu lesen und zu übersetzen : "as in pouring into one-shekel pieces".

Diese neue Lesung ist jedoch sowohl aus epigraphischen wie auch aus grammatischen Gründen wenig plausibel. Epigraphisch bewährt sie sich nicht, weil sich weder in den beiden von Vargyas angeführten

Inschriften noch in drei anderen, in denen der fragliche Passus bezeugt ist,<sup>3</sup> eine Schreibung *ina* DIŠ findet; überall steht vielmehr deutlich: 1/2(MAŠ). Vargyas Anmerkung, in einigen neu- bzw. spätbabylonischen Texten sei das Zeichen MAŠ nur schwer von ligaturartigen Schreibungen für *ina* DIŠ zu unterscheiden, vermag diesen Befund nicht zu erschüttern. Denn in den Inschriften Sanheribs sind solche Ligaturen nirgends bezeugt. Vielmehr wird die Verbindung der Präposition *ina* mit dem Zeichen DIŠ in den Sanherib-Inschriften stets mit klar voneinander geschiedenen Zeichen geschrieben. Im *King-Prisma* finden sich entsprechende Schreibungen in vi 6 (*ina* DIŠ *me* 90), vi 66 (*i-na* 1-en NA<sub>4</sub>) sowie in v 91, vi 1 und vii 59 (jeweils: *ina* DIŠ KUŠ).<sup>4</sup> Zahlreiche andere Inschriften, die hier nicht im einzelnen aufgeführt zu werden brauchen, weisen analoge Graphien auf. Auch grammatische Erwägungen sprechen gegen Vargyas' Lesung. *pitiq* ist eine *Status-constructus*-Form, nach der man ein Nomen, nicht aber eine Präposition wie *ina* erwartet.

Die von Vargyas behandelte Sanherib-Stelle ist vermutlich *pitiq zūzi* zu lesen, entsprechend dem Eintrag 1/2 GÍN = *zu-ú-zu* in *Nabnītu XVII* (= J), Z. 236 (MSL 16, 162); *zūzu*, der akkadische Terminus für den Halbschekel, ist nach Powell, *RIA* 7, 513f. "not weight specific, but perhaps only used with measures"; er ist von der mittelbabylonischen Zeit an bezeugt "and survives into the Roman period". Der Halbschekel ist auch in den Inschriften anderer assyrischer Könige belegt. Von besonderer Bedeutung ist seine Erwähnung in einem eigenartigen Passus im Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals, in dem es heißt: *qabalti mātiya gammalē ina* DIŠ GÍN *ina* 1/2 GÍN *kaspi išammū ina bāb mahīri* "Man kauft inmitten meines Landes (infolge der durch die Araberfeldzüge hervorgerufenen Inflation) am Markttor Kamele für einen (oder) einen halben Schekel."<sup>5</sup> Die Stelle beweist, daß sowohl der Schekel als auch der Halbschekel als Metaphern für besonders kleine Metallmengen fungieren konnten.<sup>6</sup> Mesopotamische Gewichtssteine, die einen halben Schekel wiegen, sind nicht unbekannt – erst kürzlich hat W. G. Lambert einen solchen Stein in NABU 2002/57 veröffentlicht. Er wiegt 4,0177 Gramm, datiert nach Lambert in die Zeit zwischen 1400 und 900 v. Chr. und trägt die Aufschrift: NA<sub>4</sub> 1/2(MAŠ) GÍN GI.NA šá UTU "(Gewichts)stein, (der) einen halben Schekel (wiegt), korrekt (geeicht), dem Gott Šamaš gehörig."

Vargyas Behauptung, der halbe Schekel habe im mesopotamischen Gewichtssystem praktisch keine Rolle gespielt, ist also nicht zutreffend. Auch in den westlicheren Regionen des Vorderen Orients war der Halbschekel von erheblicher Bedeutung. So wird etwa in der Bibel in Ex. 30:12-16 ein "Hebeopfer für den Herrn" festgesetzt, das für reich und arm gleichermaßen einen halben Schekel (lqsh texcm) Silber beträgt; es wird ausführlich im Mišnah-Traktat *Šeqalim* kommentiert.

1. Ältere Literatur bei Vargyas, a. a. O., 111f., Ann. 1 und 7 sowie bei K. Radner, "Money in the Neo-Assyrian Empire", in : J. G. Dercksen (ed.), *Trade and Finance in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Leiden 1999), 127, Ann. 2.
2. D. D. Luckenbill, OIP 2, 109, vii 16-18 (*King-Prisma*) ; ebd., 123, Bull No. 2, Z. 28-30.
3. Heidel-Prisma, vii 32 (A. Heidel, *Sumer* 9, 164), *Bull* 4, slab 4, Z. 24 (3R, pl. 13) und die Stierinschrift Layard, ICC, pl. 59-62, Bull No. 2, Z. 31 ; vgl. Verf., *AfO Beih.* 26, 87-89, 115-118. Im Prismenfragment 1909-2-13, 1 ist die Zahl weggebrochen.
4. Hiermit zu vergleichen ist die Formulierung *i-na* 1/2(MAŠ) IKU in v 88.
5. R. Borger, BIWA, 114, 244 : B VIII 18, C X 25f.
6. Auch der Assurbanipal-Passus ist nicht als Hinweis auf eine assyrische Münzprägung zu interpretieren; das zum Kauf der Kamele verwendete Silber war abzuwiegen. In Zusammenhang mit Stellen wie dieser von "Geldwirtschaft" zu sprechen, scheint jedoch nicht unberechtigt.

Eckart FRAHM (10-7-2005)

**46) La chronique de la monarchie une et l'écriture de l'histoire à la fin du 3<sup>e</sup> millénaire** – La publication récente, par P. Steinkeller, d'une version de cette chronique datant de l'époque d'Ur III (W. Sallaberger, K. Volk et A. Zgoll, éds, *Literatur, Politik und Recht in Mesopotamien, Festschrift für Claus Wilcke*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 2003, pp.267-292) mérite toute la considération. Parue fin 2003, je n'ai guère eu le loisir que d'intégrer les informations qu'elle recèle dans les notes de bas de page du chapitre VI et d'en offrir un commentaire sommaire dans le chapitre III des *Mesopotamian Chronicles* (WAW 19, SBL, Atlanta, 2004), sans aborder les questions de fond la concernant. Observant que la distribution des noms royaux en une pluralité de dynasties n'est pas encore apparente dans cette version de l'œuvre, son éditeur formule l'hypothèse qu'elle ne fut introduite, avec le temps cyclique qui la caractérise, que plus tard et qu'elle serait une création des historiens d'Isin (P. Steinkeller, *art. cit.*, 285-86).

La chronique a pour objet de présenter un classement des monarques porteurs du titre *lugal/šarrum* qui précédèrent les souverains sous les règnes desquels les diverses versions de l'œuvre furent rédigées et dont eux-même se voulaient les héritiers légitimes.

Les noms royaux y sont classés dans un ordre qui subit parfois des modifications mineures et qui sont autant les reflets de traditions différentes que de fautes de copistes. Mais l'auteur ne se satisfait pas de ce premier effort de mise en ordre. Il propose un second classement qui se surajoute au précédent et qui ordonne les noms royaux en groupements successifs identifiés au moyen de toponymes à savoir les noms des capitales où ils régnerent. Or, ce second mode de classement sert à son tour à composer une nouvelle classe faite d'éléments disjoints : les noms des souverains ayant régné dans une même capitale sont répartis en dynasties séparées les unes des autres dans l'ordre du temps.

Le document nouvellement édité, plus ancien que les autres, n'admettrait pas encore ce troisième mode de classement.

Comme on a eu l'occasion de le souligner déjà (*Chroniques mésopotamiennes*, Belles Lettres, Paris, 1993, pp.83ss, = *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, pp.67ss), les auteurs des diverses versions de la chronique ne sont pas dupes du mode de présentation linéaire que l'écriture leur impose, car c'est l'effet de l'écriture que de produire par simplification un mode superficiel qui est le reflet du dispositif spatial et linéaire propre à cette technique. Le choix des deux critères de classement retenus simultanément, l'un d'ordre spatial (la diversité des toponymes), l'autre d'ordre temporel (la succession des noms royaux avec leurs années de règne), montre clairement que la bi-dimensionalité est le trait essentiel à l'intelligence de l'œuvre et qu'elle est sciemment introduite par les premiers concepteurs. La notice biographique concernant Dumuzi d'Uruk vainqueur d'Enmebaragesi de Kiš (*Chroniques mésopotamiennes*, p.84, = *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, pp.67-68) en fait foi.

Inversement, autre effet de la mise par écrit sur un support extérieur, la représentation désormais spatiale de la chronique ouvre la possibilité d'une lecture qui échappe à la linéarité et autorise une vision globale de l'œuvre. La liste étant sous leurs yeux, les scribes ont tout loisir de la parcourir, d'en sauter des éléments, de les coupler, voire de les numérotter. Les suites linéaires, les unes temporalisées, les autres spatialisées, qu'offre la chronique grâce à la mise par écrit et la représentation spatiale qui en découle, construisent à leur manière oblique la bi-dimensionalité. Cela suppose les techniques intellectuelles développées par tout lecteur d'un texte.

Or, l'auteur de la version d'Ur III de la chronique ne fait pas autre chose. Considérant la totalité de l'œuvre, il choisit de réunir en des séquences uniques, respectivement, les noms des rois de Kiš et d'Uruk antérieurs à l'époque d'Akkadé (il réunit donc Kiš I à IV et Uruk I à III), sautant des passages entiers des sources dont il dispose. On en veut pour preuve qu'il confond, par erreur ou à dessein (voir *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, p.106), Nanniya de Kiš avec Nanné d'Ur, ajoutant ainsi deux noms de rois d'Ur à la litanie de ces de Kiš (iii 12-16). Il avait donc bel et bien à sa disposition une version subdivisée en cycles royaux. Soulignons, en outre, qu'à partir de la dynastie d'Akkadé, il reprend le classement par dynasties propre aux autres versions connues de la chronique.

Ses intentions sont clairement identifiables : il cherche à montrer ce que d'autres firent à la même époque avec d'autres moyens, l'existence du lien primordial qui unit la royauté d'Ur à celles de Kiš et d'Uruk (*Chroniques mésopotamiennes*, pp.120-121, = *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, pp.102-103).

En l'état des sources, il n'est donc pas possible d'avancer que la présentation par dynasties avec la conception cyclique du temps que cela suppose date de l'époque d'Isin.

C'est toujours un exercice périlleux que de vouloir évaluer la longueur d'une tablette à moitié perdue. Il apparaît, toutefois, que les propositions de restitutions de P. Steinkeller ne peuvent être retenues :

- 1) la photographie de la tranche de la tablette (*art. cit.*, p.289) montre nettement que le milieu est préservé et que la longueur de la partie perdue est moindre qu'il ne le pense ;
- 2) cette observation est confirmée par le contenu de la colonne ii. P. Steinkeller propose de restituer, au sein de la liste des rois de Kiš, aux lignes 12'-15', deux noms royaux entre Lugalmu et Ku-Baba ; or, aucune version de la chronique ne mentionne de tels anthroponymes royaux. Jusqu'à plus ample informé, ces quatre lignes sont donc à supprimer ;
- 3) partant, il convient de supprimer, en v 2', le quatrième nom royal, non documenté par ailleurs, que P. Steinkeller suggère d'ajouter à la triade Nanum-Elulu-Imi, au sein de la dynastie d'Akkadé ;
- 4) semblablement, on supprimera un ou deux noms royaux de la liste des rois du Gutium en vi 1'-11' ; toutes les sources divergeant sur le nombre et les noms des rois de cette dynastie, aucune restitution sérieuse ne peut être envisagée ;
- 5) aux colonnes iii et iv, il est impossible de rétablir la liste des rois d'Uruk ;
- 6) enfin, à la colonne i, force est d'admettre que la liste des rois formant la cour d'Etana doit être amputée d'un ou deux noms ; du reste, cette même liste se trouve déjà amputée dans le manuscrit J (*Chroniques mésopotamiennes*, tableau 2, pp.75-76, = *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, table 2, pp.60-61).

L'unique nouveauté que contient donc cette version de la chronique, mais qui est loin d'être négligeable, tient dans la présence d'une dynastie d'Adab qui comprend le nom de Tirigan.

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**47) Le siècle de Carkémish prend du poids** – Toutes les informations que l'on possède sur Carkémish, comme sur Alep, proviennent exclusivement de sources extérieures. Mais, à la différence d'Alep, cette documentation épigraphique fait très souvent référence à la spécificité du système pondéral de Carkémish à travers trois expressions : « le poids de Carkémish », « le siècle de Carkémish » et surtout « la mine de Carkémish » qui n'est mentionnée que dans les documents néo-assyriens. D'après une poignée de textes provenant de Mari et d'Ugarit, et plusieurs exemplaires de poids d'environ 470 g trouvés à Ebla, Alalah et Ugarit<sup>1)</sup>, il est

communément admis que le sicle standard en usage à Carkémiš pèse environ 7,8 g et que « la mine de Carkémiš » est composée de 60 sicles ( $7,8 \text{ g} \times 60 = 468 \text{ g}$ ) du Bronze Ancien au Bronze Récent. C. Zaccagnini a récemment démontré que « la mine de Carkémiš » des textes néo-assyriens pesait 564g, et correspondait à 60 sicles de 9,4g<sup>2)</sup>.

Une réinterprétation des textes clefs provenant d'Ugarit permet d'émettre une autre suggestion : le « sicle de Carkémiš » pourrait correspondre en réalité au standard de 9,4g, du Bronze Récent jusqu'à l'époque néo-assyrienne. RS 17.146 (*PRU IV* p.154-157) et RS 18.115 (*PRU IV* p.158-160) représentent un accord passé entre le vice-roi hittite de Carkémiš Ini-Tešub et les gens d'Ugarit. Il stipule qu'une compensation de « 3 mines » d'argent devra être versée pour un marchand de Carkémiš ou d'Ugarit retrouvé mort dans les régions respectives d'Ugarit ou de Carkémiš. Cet accord est appliqué sur les textes RS 17.158 (*PRU IV* p.169-171) et RS 17.42 (*PRU IV* p.171-172) traitant de la même affaire, et précisant que des gens d'Ugarit ont payé « 180 sicles » pour le présumé meurtre chez eux d'un marchand provenant du royaume de Tarhuntašša, à l'ouest du Taurus<sup>3)</sup>. En considérant que les deux écritures sont équivalentes<sup>4)</sup>, on a déduit que la mine désignée dans les deux premiers textes comportait 60 sicles (180 sicles / 3 = 60 sicles). Les points de vue sur le lieu où cette mine était en usage ont au départ divergé. Pour A. Archi et E. Klengel-Brandt, elle correspondait à l'exemplaire standard de Carkémiš<sup>5)</sup>, alors que M. Heltzer, E. Lipinski et C. Zaccagnini l'attribuaient à Ugarit<sup>6)</sup>. Comme les études ont montré par la suite que la mine principalement en usage à Ugarit comportait en réalité 50 sicles, la première interprétation a été finalement retenue<sup>7)</sup>. La valeur en argent mentionnée dans les textes (3 mines) aurait été choisie en raison de sa convertibilité simple dans les systèmes de poids d'Ugarit (3 mines de 50 sicles de 9,4 g), de Carkémiš (3 mines de 60 sicles de 7,8 g) et de l'empire hittite (3 mines de 40 sicles de 11,75 g)<sup>8)</sup>.

Pourtant, deux traits caractéristiques dans ces textes sont à prendre particulièrement en considération. Le premier concerne leur nature même. Les textes RS 17.158 et RS 17.42, traitant de l'affaire des marchands tués du roi de Tarhudašša, ont été rédigés à Carkémiš<sup>9)</sup> lors du jugement de l'affaire devant le roi Ini-Tešub, puis ramenés par la « partie accusée » à Ugarit. Plus précisément, le premier document représente un acte du procès rédigé pour les gens d'Ugarit, et le second un acte de garantie stipulant qu'ils ont bien versé la somme de 180 sicles. Les documents RS 17.146 et RS 18.115, quant à eux, représentent deux versions de l'accord passé entre Ini-Tešub et les gens d'Ugarit. Ce sont donc des doubles d'un document officiel rédigé à Carkémiš selon les directives de Ini-Tešub. Le second trait caractéristique est discernable dans l'écriture métrologique des unités pondérales, qui suit parfaitement la partition des documents selon leur nature. La somme de « 180 sicles » versée par les gens d'Ugarit est écrite sur les actes juridiques sous une forme qui leur est familière, selon l'habitude à Ugarit de compter avec les multiples du sicle en système décimal. En revanche, cette même somme est exprimée sous la forme « 3 mines » dans l'accord officiel supervisé par Ini-Tešub, selon le principe d'écriture qui semble en vigueur à Carkémiš où une mine est donc composée de 60 sicles. Le texte paléobabylonien *ARM VIII* 78, retrouvé à Mari mais rédigé à Carkémiš, confirme ce principe d'écriture et la division sexagésimale de la mine de Carkémiš<sup>10)</sup>.

Nous n'avons donc pas affaire dans ces textes à deux types d'écritures d'une même valeur pondérale employés simultanément dans une même ville (Carkémiš ou Ugarit), comme on le pensait jusqu'alors, mais à deux types d'écritures renvoyant aux pratiques scribales distinctes de deux villes. Carkémiš et Ugarit partageaient en réalité l'utilisation d'un même sicle standard : seule variait la façon de noter les unités pondérales<sup>11)</sup>. L'absence d'indication métrologique à propos de standards de poids spécifiques dans les textes d'Ugarit concernant Carkémiš, par exemple sous la forme « selon les poids de (telle ville) », ne fait que confirmer cette interprétation<sup>12)</sup>. Je propose donc de considérer le « sicle de Carkémiš » en usage au Bronze Récent jusqu'à l'époque néo-assyrienne comme identique à celui principalement en usage à Ugarit pesant environ 9,4 g. Les fouilles archéologiques, qui ont révélé en particulier un poids en basalte pesant 574,3 g dans le palais G d'Ebla du Bronze Ancien et un autre pesant 575g provenant d'Anatolie et utilisé par les marchands assyriens au début du IIe millénaire suggèrent même de faire remonter l'emploi de la mine associée, la fameuse « mine de Carkémiš » (60 sicles de 9,4 g), au Bronze Ancien et Moyen<sup>13)</sup>.

1) A. Archi & E. Klengel-Brandt, « I pesi provenienti da Zincirli », *SMEA* 24, 1984, p.245-261.

2) C. Zaccagnini, « The Mina of Karkemish and Other Minas », *SAAB XIII*, 1999-2001, p.39-56.

3) S. de Martino, « Ura and the boundaries of Tarhuntašša », *AoF* 26, 1999, p.291-300.

4) P. Vargas critique cette équivalence et fournit des contre-exemples issus de trois textes dans : « Talent of Karkamish and Talent of Yamhad », *AfO* 25, 1998, p.305. Les deux premiers, RS. 18.19 (*PRU IV*, p.160) et RS 17. 252 (*PRU IV*, p.232) sont dans un tel état de conservation qu'aucune conclusion ne peut être dressée à propos de leur contenu. Le troisième texte, RS 17.145 (*PRU IV*, p.172-173) est un verdict du roi Ini-Tešub, suite à la plainte d'un certain Aballâ dont plusieurs marchands ont été tués en Ugarit. Comme la compensation versée par les gens d'Ugarit s'élève à 1200 sicles, et que cette valeur n'est pas divisible par 180 sicles correspondant à la compensation attendue pour un marchand tué, P. Vargas conclut qu'aucune équivalence ne peut être envisagée entre les « 3 mines » et les « 180 sicles ». Mais les 1200 sicles représentent en réalité une somme décidée après une négociation entre Aballâ et les gens d'Ugarit, et un barème inférieur au tarif légal a vraisemblablement été appliqué. Voir S. Lackenbacher, *Textes akkadiens d'Ugarit*, *LAPO* 20, p.163 note 520 (d'après une suggestion de S. Lafont).

5) A. Archi & E. Klengel-Brandt, *SMEA* 24, p.247 note 10.

6) M. Heltzer, « Metal Trade of Ugarit and the Problem of Transportation », *Iraq* 39, 1977, p.204 ; E. Lipinski, *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East II*, Leuven, 1979, p.576 note 51 ; C. Zaccagnini, *Or NS* 48, p.472 note 2.

7) La structure du système d'Ugarit a été étudiée par N. Parise : voir en particulier « Per uno studio del sistema ponderale ugaritico », *Dialoghi di archeologia* 4-5, 1970-1971, p.3-36 et « Mina di Ugarit, mina di Karkemiš, mina di Khatti », *Dialoghi di archeologia* NS 3/3, 1981, p.155-160. Ses travaux sont restés la base des études postérieures sur le sujet : voir par exemple C. Zaccagnini, *SAAB XIII*, p.41 et J.-C. Courtois, « Poids, Prix, Taxes et salaires, à Ougarit (Syrie) au IIe millénaire », *Res Orientales* II, 1990, p.122-123.

8) N. Parise, « Mina di Ugarit, mina di Karkemish, mina di Khatti », p.155.

9) RS 17.158 porte en effet le sceau de Ini-Tešub et RS 17.42 celui d'Ari-šima, représentant légal du roi de Tarhundaša lors du procès.

10) *ARM VIII*, 78 a en effet été rédigé à Carkémiš. L'affaire dont il est question ainsi que la date à la fin du document selon le calendrier de Carkémiš (ligne 39) le prouvent clairement : voir la relecture de J.-M. Durand dans *MARI I* p.118-119, et les remarques de C. Zaccagnini dans *SAAB XIII*, p.43.

11) Nous pouvons faire un parallèle avec le texte *ARM XXV*, 20 qui permet de montrer que le sicle d'Alep et le sicle de Mari sont identiques à l'époque paléo-babylonienne, bien que les notations des unités pondérales soient distinctes dans les deux villes. Voir J.-M. Durand, *MARI 5*, 1990, p.605.

12) Dans la correspondance entre les Hittites et Ugarit, une spécificité métrologique est par exemple signalée. La version ugaritique du tribut que le roi Niqmadu doit payer à Šuppiluliuma mentionne la somme de 12 mines 20 sicles d'or donnée en "sicles lourds", c'est à dire en sicles Hittites. Des documents administratifs rédigés en ugaritique mentionnent aussi parfois l'utilisation de ces sicles "lourds" : voir par exemple RS. 17.118 = *PRU II* 135, p.169, lignes 4 et 5.

13) Ces exemples ont été relevés par C. Zaccagnini, *SAAB XIII*, p.39 note 3 et p.40 note 7. Voir A. Archi, « Reflections on the System of Weights from Ebla », in C.H. Gordon, G.A. Rendsburg & N.H. Winter (éds.), *Eblaistica. Essays on the Ebla Archives and Eblaite Language*, 1987, p.58 n°22. J.G. Dercksen, *The Old Assyrian Copper Trade in Anatolia*, Leiden, 1996, p.253.

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